

## **U.S. Power Penetration through the Military Bases in Guam**

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*The purpose of this study is to provide an interpretation of the power penetration delivered through the United States' overseas military bases. This study specifically concentrates on the military bases in Guam.*

*The penetration of U.S. power into the Guam economy delivers three results. First of all, military bases boost the island's economy. Secondly, the bases bring economic structural change to Guam. Such change is shown through the average hourly wages among industries. Lastly, as the military bases increase in size, the functions of foreign companies enlarge as well. The increase of foreign companies can be traced back to the enlargement of military contracts awarded by the Department of Defense. Along with the economic influence, the military base in Guam is interpreted to influence the island's identity indication.*

*In this study, U.S. military bases in Guam have been explained as a method of United States' power implementation into the economic sphere and the island's identity. In sum, the military bases affect the economic growth, economic structure, and the generation gap towards identity indication.*

**Keywords:** *US Overseas Military Base, Guam, Power Penetration, Identity, Generation Gap*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present study is to provide an interpretation of power penetration put forth by United States' overseas military bases. In particular, this study focuses on the military bases in Guam by analyzing the Guamanian economy and identity. Rather than interpreting the military bases in Guam from a security-oriented perspective, the present study explains the influence of U.S. base expansion from economic and cultural standpoints. This paper does not consider the cultural and economic impact to be equally important as the security function of military bases. However, it does point out that these areas are also important elements in explaining the effects of military bases.

The end of the Spanish-American War and the Treaty of Paris in 1898 granted the United States an island called Guam as an unincorporated and unorganized territory. Meanwhile, the Organic Act<sup>1</sup> in 1950 approved Guam with limited self-governing authority, making it an organized yet unincorporated territory. 'Unincorporated territory' means being under the United States with limited control. With this background, the military bases that take up about 30 percent of the island can be understood as another means of U.S. power penetration. In light of "the power delivering"<sup>2</sup> function of military bases, this study shows that the

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<sup>1</sup> U.S. Federal Law 48 U.S.C. § 1421: "the territory ceded to the United States in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain, signed at Paris, December 10, 1898, and proclaimed April 11, 1899, and known as the island of Guam in the Marianas Islands, shall continue to be known as Guam."

<sup>2</sup> Here the power delivering function is drawn out throughout this paper via the word 'penetration.'

expansion of U.S. bases have economic and social impacts on host territories.

At this point, one may wonder why the economy and identity of a small island in the Pacific matters to the United States. The importance of the Guam case is that it is the key military base for the United States' power establishment in the Asian Pacific region. With the movement of 8,000 marines from the Okinawa base, the significance of Guam is highlighted. Although there is a risk to defining Guam as a foreign base due to its political status, Guam represents a location that can be understood as both a U.S. inland base while being an overseas base. With this particular trait, studying the Guam military base is important for its dual representation. Therefore, along with this dual representation and the present situation of military bases increasing, the military base increase in Guam contains significant importance as a case study. With the Guam case, we shed light on rather veiled effects of military bases: the economic and cultural impacts imposed on the host territory.

The U.S. overseas military bases influence the security, economy and culture of a territory; all three of which are important when observing the impact of a foreign military base. By looking at all three factors, the influence of military bases can be reevaluated.

## 2. THE POLITICS OF U.S. OVERSEAS MILITARY BASES AND BASES IN GUAM

Prior to evaluating the influence of the military bases, let us first go through a brief overview of its history. The history of overseas military bases can be traced back to the days of the Roman Empire. Much later the British established off-island bases to sustain its power. As an island nation, there was a great need for Great Britain to control the surrounding seas and its colonies. Until the end of World War I, Pax Britannica had her days as the ruler of overseas bases. Likewise, throughout history, empires have proven their strength through widespread military forces. Since World War II, with the onset of the American Empire, one of the most important strategies used to display its military strength has been the solidification of its bases and troops. The United States has used overseas bases to control "operational staging areas and as tools for strategic deterrence" (Calder, 2007:7-33). For instance, the use of military bases as a tool for strategic deterrence can be identified during the Cold War.

However, after the fall of the iron curtains, there was another need for the United States to sustain its size and location of the overseas basins. One of the main reasons for the U.S. overseas base locations after the Cold War can be traced to its 'symbolic' function. The 'symbolic' function of overseas bases is also mentioned in the "National Security Strategy of the United States" delivered by President George Bush:

"...The presence of American forces overseas is one of the most profound symbols of the U.S. commitments to allies and friends. Through our willingness to use force in our own defense and in defense of others, the United States demonstrates its resolve to maintain a balance of power that favors freedom. To contend with uncertainty and to meet the many security challenges we face, the United States will require bases and stations within and beyond Western Europe and Northeast Asia, as well as temporary access arrangements for the long-distance deployment of U.S. forces" (Bush, 2009).

One of the most commonly used variable when sizing U.S. power is military strength. Through overseas bases, the United States is able to project its strength into other countries.

With no other country in the world on par with this military giant, the U.S. is a clear leader in armed forces competition. This assurance of military strength is surely a direct means of proving the existence of the American Empire.

According to the Department of Defense's 2009 Base Structure Report, the United States possesses "539,000 facilities (buildings, structures, and linear structures) located on more than 5,570 sites, on approximately 29 million acres (U.S. Department of Defense, 2009)." Among the properties of the DoD military infrastructures, 121 are in U.S. territories while 716 are located in non-U.S. territorial states. As mentioned earlier, bases that are part of both U.S. and non-U.S. territories, such as Guam, are considered as overseas bases in this study. Other than visible military powers, displayed by the size of U.S. bases, the accessibility of military strength and the political influence which it delivers is considered when assessing the influence of overseas bases.

The definition of 'base politics' used in this study is "the interaction between basing nations and host [territories<sup>3</sup>] on matters relating to the status and operation of local military facilities in the host [territories], together with related transnational interactions involving non state actors" (Calder, 2007:65). Keeping in mind the interactions between the basing nation (the United States) and the hosting territory (Guam), base politics in this study is focused on the politics of power penetrated into the hosting societies. The present study tries to explain the influence of the U.S. overseas basins toward the economy and identity of the host territories. Moreover, the word 'penetration' used throughout this paper suggests that there is indirect influence of U.S. power via its military bases. By setting the military bases<sup>4</sup> in Guam as a 'power penetrating tool,' this study examines the influence of the U.S. military bases in a host territory.

In Guam, there are two bases, Naval Base Guam and Andersen Air Force Base, which means the U.S. Department of Defense owns 40,000 acres of land—approximately 29 percent of the island (Joint Program Office Guam, 2010). Naval Base Guam is located in Apra Harbor. In 1994, Naval Station and Naval Magazine Guam were consolidated into Naval Activities, bringing forth a name change to Naval Base Guam in 2004. Naval Base Guam consists of four naval commands: Guam Naval Activities, the Naval Fleet and Industrial Supply Center, the Naval Ship Repair Facility, and their Naval Facilities Engineering Command called Marianas. Having numerous operating bodies, Naval Base Guam is an essential site in the Western Pacific (Naval Base Guam, n.d.). With the sea secured by Naval Base Guam, the airway of the Pacific is protected by the Andersen Air Force Base (AFB) located in Yigo, Guam. The host unit at Andersen is the 36th Wing (36 WG), assigned to the Pacific Air Forces' 13<sup>th</sup> Air Force. The 36 WG's mission is to provide support to deployed air and space forces to Andersen and to support tenant units assigned to the base (Andersen Air Force Base).

For possessing both a naval base and an air force base, Guam is often referred to as the "tip of the spear" (Bevan, 2010) for its vital location in the Asia-Pacific region. For this reason, the strategic importance of the military position in Guam is being heightened. The basic reasoning behind is the value of this location and with the 9.11 terror crisis as a

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<sup>3</sup> Kent Calder uses the term "host nations" for his definition of base politics. However, since this study broadens the scope of hosting nations to also the territories own by the United States, the term is changed to "host territories."

<sup>4</sup> In Guam, there are the Navy Bases and the Andersen Air Force Base. In this paper, the distinction among the navy and the air-force is not made and will look at the bases as the military base in general.

facilitator, the strategic importance of the Guam base is being evermore emphasized. Since 2000, the U.S. military has initiated a buildup project in Guam. The purpose of this enlargement of military ability is to increase deterrence and power projection in response to potential crises and disasters, counter-terrorism, and contingencies related to Asian countries like South Korea, Japan, the Philippines, and Taiwan. Therefore, the main political reason behind the launch of military bases in Guam is to secure the political power of the United States in the Asian Pacific region.

To increase regional power in the Pacific region during the past years, the size of the bases in Guam and investment towards them have increased as well. The following Tables 1-1 and 1-2 show the increasing figures of military expenditures in Guam from fiscal year 1997 to 2008.

Table 1 shows the overall investment put into the military bases in Guam. The total spending over the years has increased. However, the pattern of specific expenditures differs in direction. As the military bases in Guam have increased in 2000, the military and civilian payments have decreased while spending on the military construction has increased. The gap is shown in Table 2 below. By subtracting the military-related payments (the sum of military and civilian payments) from the amount of military construction expenditure, the spending increased in military construction can be observed.

When annually compared, the direction of changes is shown to have altered. From 1997 to 2008, approximately 30 million dollars on average have increased in terms of military expenditures in Guam. However, the payment toward the military/civilian personnel has decreased. This means the number of soldiers has declined while businesses and workers related to the base construction have increased. The gap between the two expenditures has dramatically increased since 2000 due to the DoD's announcement regarding the importance and size of the Guam bases. In addition, the construction increase in Guam can be linked to the inflow of foreign companies and foreign nationals.

**Table 1-1.** Military Expenditures in Guam: Fiscal Years 1997 to 2008

(Millions of Dollars)

Expenditures	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Total Spending	451.2	479.0	403.1	431.2	432.2	532.4
Military Pay	195.2	167.1	127.6	134.0	166.3	193.4
Civilian Pay	195.2	151.7	150.1	85.9	54.8	56.4
Military Construction	113.9	160.2	125.5	211.3	211.1	282.6

\*Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Consolidated Federal Funds Report- FY1997-FY2002*

**Table 1-2.** Military Expenditures in Guam: Fiscal Years 1997 to 2008

(Millions of Dollars)

Expenditures	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Total Spending	778	624.3	682.4	696.7	791	775.2
Military Pay	224.5	227.1	234.8	252.2	234.8	115.2
Civilian Pay	54.4	54.1	55.3	56.1	58.4	60.8
Military Construction	499.1	343.1	392.3	388.1	497.8	599.2

\*Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Consolidated Federal Funds Report- FY2003-FY2008*

**Table 2.** Expenditure Shift from Military Related Payment to Military Construction

(Millions of Dollars)

Year	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Expenditure Gap	-276.5	-158.6	-152.2	-8.6	-10	32.8
Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Expenditure Gap	220.2	61.9	102.2	79.8	204.6	423.2

\*Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Consolidated Federal Funds Report- FY1997-FY2008*

\*\*Formula: Military Construction – (Military Pay + Civilian Pay)

\*\*\*Note: Calculation done by the author.

Size increase should not be the only aspect in measuring the increase of a military base. Other than the external purpose of locating military bases in Guam, there are also ‘inner-island’ reasons. For Guam, the existence of the U.S. military bases can be interpreted as a continuance of the colonial period. According to the Organic Act 1950, the still-existing U.S. military bases deliver “colonial presence (Dalisay, 2008)”. According to a scholar who studies the Guamanian public opinion, regarding American presence, the Chamorro in Guam (Dalisay, 2008) have their way of “making sense” of it. Concerning the research question of how, it turns out that the native islanders have an “ambivalent” (Dalisay, 2008) emotion. Through Dalisay’s interviews conducted on the island, it is clear that the military bases act as a resemblance of U.S. power. In Dalisay’s study, the relationship between the U.S. and Guam is explained in a metaphorical context of ‘master and servant.’ This illustrates that the military base in Guam is normally viewed as a symbol of Americanization and modernization (Perez, 2002; Perez, 2001; Perez, 2005; Kehoe, 1976).

The existing academic studies on the relationship between the military base and the local society have been focused on the native indigenous population: the Chamorro. This study not only deals with the native population but also goes further. Military bases have been viewed as a medium for delivering military power. However, other than the intensification of military strength, the military bases in Guam also affect the economy and promote a greater awareness of the Guamanian identity.

### 3. POWER PENETRATION OF U.S. MILITARY BASES INTO THE GUAMANIAN ECONOMY

Due to the aftermath of the 1997 Asian Economic Crisis and the U.S. military contradiction in 1999, the Guamanian economy was suffering. This indicates just how much Guam depended on U.S. military bases. Although the Asian Economic Crisis was an inevitable occurrence, the downsizing of the U.S. military presence was debatably an act that could be controlled.

It is true that Guam’s military dependency has decreased over the years. U.S. federal support has helped promote Guam’s economic independence. In light with these efforts, the tourism industry has come into the spotlight. Although the military comprises of 30 percent of the island’s economy, this is, in fact, still the second largest component of Guam’s

**Table 3.** Core Components of Guam’s Economy

Major Revenue Source	1960s	2002
Tourism	20%	60%
Military/Federal	75%	30%
Other	5%	10%

\*Source: Bureau of Statistics and Plans and Guam Economic Development and Commerce Authority, the Guam Comprehensive Economic Development Strategy (CEDS)

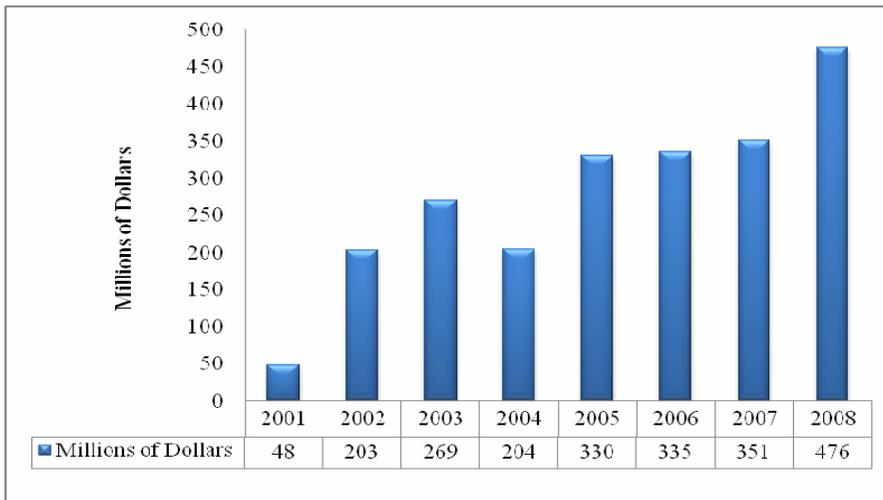
economy. Not to mention that still “the largest federal expenditure on Guam is for military operations” (Bureau of Statistics and Plans, 2003: 11).

**3.1. Military Buildup as an Economic Growth Engine**

The military is a major infrastructure for the Guamanian economy because Guam cannot survive without support from the U.S. military bases. Guam has no natural resources. One of the direct sources that explain the influence of U.S. military bases on the Guamanian economy is the military contracts awarded for base buildup.

Figure 1 shows the military contracts delivered to Guam since 2001. The military contracts were not high prior to the buildup. However, since the buildup announcement by the United States, military contracts delivered to private companies increased. In 2001, the amount of federal dollars awarded for the buildup of the military bases amounted to 48 million dollars. The number increased to 203 million dollars in year 2002 and kept rising until 2008. Although there was a slight decrease in 2004, the amount has escalated compared to 2001.

**Figure 1.** Guam Military Contracts Awarded



\*Source: USAspending.gov Website, <http://www.usaspending.gov>, recited from Ruane, Maria Claret M., “Economic Forecast- Guam Edition 2010” (First Bank of Hawaii, 2010).

According to the Economic Forecast reported by the Bank of Hawaii, the military increase of Guam due to the continual rise of military contracts from the DoD has also meant a boost in the economy as well (Ruane, 2010). The military contracts signified not only the rise of companies but the growth of the island's population. With this buildup, the Guamanian population is expected to increase by 30 percent until 2012. This is "almost 550,000 people within a 6-year period" (Camacho, 2008:10). With the help from military contracts, the increase in population along with businesses has directly influenced the growth of the Guamanian economy. Moreover, the U.S. military bases not only benefits Guamanian economy by bringing cash flow into the island, but also intervenes the formation of the market structure.

### 3.2. Economic Structure Change among Industries in Guam

As there are positive growth opportunities for the host territories from U.S. military spending, there are also negative impacts on the hosting grounds (Fallows, 2002; Hooker, 2001; Soden, Shauer and Conary, 2005). Those with negative views argue that military bases limit the diversity of the local economy. On this note, this paper provides the limitation of the industrial diversity in Guam. In turn, the U.S. military bases penetrate U.S. power into the host territories by influencing the economic structure.

Although efforts have been made by the Guamanian government and the Guam Economic Development and Commerce Authority to facilitate non-military related sectors, the link between military and economy is unavoidable due to the limited resources and its geological limitations. This study identifies the effects of the military bases on the economy with hourly wages in industrial sectors.

The average hourly wage can be used as a tool to measure the relationship between the economy and the military. Referring to the hourly wages of industries allows us focus solely on the industry. Below in Tables 4-1 and 4-2, the average hourly earnings of private sector workers from 1999 to 2008 are provided<sup>5</sup>. When observing the total wage change during the 10 years span, there has been an increase of approximately 2 dollars. However, different observation can be seen by examining diverse economic sphere.

**Table 4-1.** Average Hourly Earnings of Private Sector Workers

(Unit: Dollars)

Sector	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Total	\$9.90	\$10.18	\$10.81	\$10.67	\$10.92
Agriculture	8.36	8.42	8.76	9.46	9.84
Construction	8.36	8.42	8.76	12.46	12.23
Manufacturing	12.29	13.97	11.61	13.14	12.19
Transportation	13.87	14.87	13.90	14.27	14.90
Wholesale trade	12.27	13.68	12.02	11.53	9.28
Retail trade	8.45	8.23	8.86	9.13	10.04
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	12.50	10.64	10.20	10.39	10.93
Services	8.02	8.61	10.30	9.47	9.43

\*Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Guam Department of Labor, Government of Guam

\*\*Note: Figures are averages of four quarters of the calendar year.

<sup>5</sup> Division of business sectors have been divided by the Guam Department of Labor.

**Table 4-2.** Average Hourly Earnings of Private Sector Workers

(Unit: Dollars)

Sector	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Total	11.03	10.85	10.84	11.29	11.47
Agriculture	9.01	7.74	7.95	8.32	8.72
Construction	13.06	12.90	13.48	12.66	13.41
Manufacturing	12.47	12.34	14.54	14.42	13.07
Transportation	14.63	15.35	13.49	14.80	14.71
Wholesale trade	8.82	9.28	8.98	9.35	10.37
Retail trade	9.97	9.95	10.33	9.96	9.89
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	10.98	10.93	12.03	12.19	12.44
Services	9.87	8.93	9.01	9.85	10.21

\*Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Guam Department of Labor, Government of Guam

\*\*Note: Figures are averages of four quarters of the calendar year.

**Table 5.** The Amount of Variation of Average Hourly Earnings of Private Sector Workers between 1999 and 2008

Sector	AV
Total	\$1.57
Agriculture	0.36
Construction	5.05
Manufacturing	0.78
Transportation	0.84
Wholesale trade	-1.90
Retail trade	1.44
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	- 0.06
Services	2.19

\*Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Guam Department of Labor, Government of Guam

\*\* Note: Data calculation done by the author

\*\*\*Note: Figures are averages of four quarters of the calendar year.

\*\*\*\*AV: Amount of Variation

There has been change in wages in every business sector over the years; however, not all changes have been made in the same direction. Table 5 shows the calculation of variation in average hourly earnings between 1999 and 2008. A comparison is possible because the amount of variation considers all sectors from the equal baseline of the year 1999.

In Table 5, construction (+\$5.05), services (+\$2.19), transportation (+\$0.84), manufacturing (+\$0.78), and retail trade (+\$1.44) has positively shifted in the average annual earnings. Among the 5 positively affected areas, construction (+\$5.05) has achieved the most gain. This shows that military buildup entails major construction projects. However, there are industries negatively affected by the military expansion. Wholesale trade wages have decreased by 1.90 dollars, while insurance and real estate by 0.06 dollars. Although agriculture has had a positive shift of 0.36 dollars, the fact that the average hourly wage between construction and agriculture was the same in 1999 shows that agriculture has been in a position of relative disadvantages.

Such change of economic structure can be interpreted as an impact of the U.S. military base buildup. With other variables controlled, the makeup of industries has shifted according to the direction of U.S. military bases. This economic structure tends to make the host territory lean towards the military bases with or without legal obligations, forming an 'invisible structure' to convey U.S. influence.

### 3.3. Increase of Foreign Companies

Another influence of U.S. military bases is the increase of foreign companies in the island. Due to the inflow of foreign firms, the importance of foreign and multinational firms has increased. Therefore, the politics of military bases of the DoD affects the nationality structure of the host territory.

As the fall of the iron curtains announced a shift in the structure of world power, there was no longer a need for the United States to continue its military buildup. With the increase of both the public and governmental opinions toward the decrease of U.S. forces, the DoD had to cut down its budget for military investment (Grasso, 2005). With such background, the OMB Circular A-76 Policy was announced for effective DoD business performance.

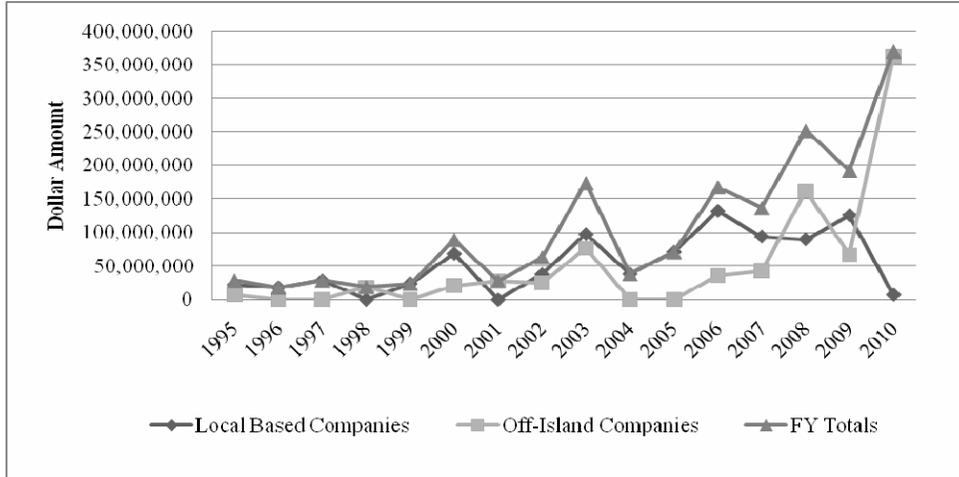
The OMB Circular A-76 Policy allows foreign companies and their employees to enter the host territory. Although military-related jobs are created by competition among companies, the cost-effective foreign companies have more chance to take advantage. For such reasons, local firms have less opportunity in DoD projects. As noted in the 146<sup>th</sup> Congressional Record H925, Congress member Robert Underwood appealed to the Congress about the hardships faced by local companies.

“The Navy justified using a Base Operating System contract, taking such diverse things as providing day care to loading ordinance to house maintenance, and bundling them all in one contract because they said that this was the way that they would get an economy of scale. Another cost saving measure that was being considered by the Navy at the time was to use foreign or H-2 workers which were allowed into Guam and therefore it would significantly depress the costs of the contractor, thereby competing more unfairly with the existing civil service., ..... The contractor comes in and says I can do it for less, does not have the labor pool to identify, and will end up bringing in a lot of people from off island, from off of Guam, resulting in some level of displacement of the population” (Underwood, 2000).

In Figure 2, federal contracts granted from the DoD to companies in Guam are categorized according to their national origin. Since the military bases build up in Guam, the number of military contracts given to foreign companies has increased. Meanwhile, opportunities given to local firms have decreased.

The increase of foreign companies has, in turn, produced an increased inflow of foreigners into the island. It is evident in Table 6 that the increase of U.S. military bases has not only brought soldiers but also business-related foreigners into the island. After the 1990s when U.S. military bases began to increase in size, a huge inflow of off-islanders came into Guam. While 690 respondents have entered the island for military reasons, 882 have come for business-related reasons. As military bases grow in size, more foreign companies and businesses are needed, diversifying the inflow of ethnicities and nationalities. The following part of this paper deduces the formation of Guamanian identity.

**Figure 2.** Department of Defense Construction Contracts in Guam (Fiscal Year 1995-2010)



\*Source: Guam Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Defense Contracts Archive

**Table 6.** Cross table for Guam Entrance Reason by Year of Entrance

		Reason for Guam Entrance				Total
		Employment	Military	Follow spouse or parent	Other	
Entrance Year	1990's	882	690	2070	842	4484
	1980's	22	2	15	7	46
	1970's	45	5	35	12	97
	1960's	75	15	190	47	327
	1950's	210	24	463	150	847
	before 1950	291	41	855	277	1464
Total		1525	777	3628	1335	7265

\*Source: U.S. Census Bureau, "2000 Public Use Microdata Sample"

#### 4. IMPACT OF U.S. MILITARY BASES ON THE GUAMANIAN IDENTITY

An important form of power penetration besides economic intervention is the influence on the "inner" part of a society; the "inner" meaning social identity of the people. The identity of Guamanians is greatly linked to the military bases. This can be found through "the remoteness, economic dependency, and political autonomy" (Baldcchino, 2008: 138) of the host territories of U.S. military bases.

This section of the paper explores the impact of the bases on the local identity of the Guamanians. The local residents promote a unique local identity called the Guamanian identity. Such Guamanian identity is a 'trans-ethnic' identity that includes the diverse racial backgrounds of the Guamanian residents. By explaining the origin of the Guamanian identity

from the native Chamorro race and the “neo-Chamorro,” this study describes the promotion of the Guamanian identity. Moreover, a generation gap regarding the identity indication is shown as a result of the increase in military bases.

Guam is a culturally and nationally complex area. Before coming into contact with the West, Guam was populated by the indigenous Chamorro people. Although the Chamorro culture still exists on the island, their former stance as the owners of Guam has greatly deteriorated. Especially during the Spanish reign, the pure blooded Chamorros were drastically reduced in size. According to the Spanish census conducted in 1710, there were 3,539 natives. By 1742, only 1,576 pure Chamorros remained (Underwood, 1976).

The term “Guamanian” appeared in the early years following World War II. This new name for the residents of Guam had first been given by the U.S. Naval administration. With the U.S. governing the island, the people of Guam has “transformed in the wake of the war’s social, political, and cultural upheaval. Significant among these changes was the replacing of Chamorro with Guamanian” (Guampedia).

#### **4.1. Trans-Ethnic Characteristic of the Guamanian Identity**

Guamanian identity consists of a ‘colorful’ ethnic and cultural background. According to the 2000 census, of the total population of 154,805, the Chamorro represents 37.1%, Asians and other Pacific islanders 56%, and Caucasians 6.9%. While less than half of the population is indigenous, the diversity existing on the island can be seen through these numbers. Even though the population consists of diverse people, most of them are U.S. citizens while also being Guamanians.

81.9% of the total population<sup>6</sup> is U.S. citizens but the islanders view themselves as Guamanians. As mentioned above, there exists a shared identity among the local residents regardless of their original racial background. The 2000 U.S. Census public sample data on Guam provides different identity indications among the diverse races in Guam. Based on the shared historical and political experience among the people, the Guamanian identity can be viewed as a result of shared experience among the diverse races and ethnicities in Guam.

Table 1 in the footnote provides the frequency of respondents recognizing themselves with ‘the Pacific Islander Identity’<sup>7</sup> from the 2000 U.S. Census data. Based on the identities

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<sup>6</sup> Data based on the U.S. 2000 Census on Guam.

<sup>7</sup> In the dataset, the term Guamanian Identity Indication is not used. The answers for “What is this person’s ethnic origin or race?” is viewed to not being able to categorize the diverse identity in Guam. The answers for Guamanian (code: 821), Guam (code: 821), GU (code: 821), Chamorro (code: 822) and Chamorro Islander (code: 821) were all coded under the name *Chamorro*. Such coding does not consider the difference between the term Guamanian and the Chamorro. Moreover, another limitation which this indicator has within it is that the Chamorro, Palauan, Marshallese, Kosraean, Pohnpeian, Chuukese, Yapese, Carolinian and Other Pacific Islanders were all grouped into the category of “Pacific Islanders.” Therefore, to abstract only the respondent who answered as “Chamorro” or “Guamanian” for their origin, the respondents whom have indicated their birthplace as Hawaii, Commonwealth of the Mariana Islands, Samoa, Micronesia and Palau were deleted from the dataset. Therefore, the Pacific Islander identification in this paper can be viewed as the Guamanian identification.

**Table 7.** Guamanian Identity

Indicate the Guamanian Identity?	Frequency	Valid Percentage
Yes	6,139	97.8
No	140	2.2
Total	6,279	100.0

\*Source: U.S. Census Bureau, “2000 Public Use Microdata Sample<sup>8</sup>”

\*\*Note: Question: What is this person’s ethnic origin or race? The answers for Guamanian (code: 821), Guam (code: 821), GU (code: 821), Chamorro (code: 822) and Chamorro Islander (code: 821) were all coded under the name Chamorro. To abstract only the respondent who answered as “Chamorro” or “Guamanian” for their origin, the respondents whom have indicated their birthplace as Hawaii, Commonwealth of the Mariana Islands, Samoa, Micronesia and Palau were deleted from the dataset. Therefore, the Pacific Islander identification in this paper can be viewed as the Guamanian identification.

\*\*\*Note: The coding for the “Indicate the Guamanian Identity?” are Yes (1) and No (0).

that the respondents have chosen, the ‘Guamanian Identity’ variable was formed. The survey question used in this identity indication is an open-ended question, asking “*What is this person’s ethnic or racial origin?*” The respondents were free to answer in one or two ethnical or racial categories.<sup>9</sup> In Table 7, the Guamanian identity indication regardless of ethnical background is depicted.

Among the respondents of the “Guamanian” category,<sup>10</sup> 140 of them referred themselves to the “Guamanian” identity, while 6,139 referred themselves to other racial identifications. Such identification of the Guamanian identity is revealed in Perez’s work through interviews.

In “Colonialism, Americanization, and Indigenous Identity: A Research Note on Chamorro Identity in Guam,” Michael Perez conducts an empirical investigation based on semi-structured ethnographic interviews of native Chamorros in Guam. In his study, Perez focuses on the identity indications of the Chamorros. Other than focusing on the Chamorro identity, Perez’s study looks into the interviewed data related to Guamanian identity. In the interview results, the interviewees’ voices on ‘identity formation’ can be found. One of the respondents named Lisa has made an interesting response. This type of reformation can be seen as a Guamanian identity indication.

**Table 1.** The Pacific Islander Identity Indication

	Frequency	Valid Percentage
Yes	8,311	53.9
No	7,121	46.1
Total	15,432	100.0

<sup>8</sup> Ethnicity categorized as “others” has been deleted from the dataset for simplification.

<sup>9</sup> Due to the Federal Register Notice entitled “Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity” issued by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in 1997, five minimum race categories (White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander) have changed in the Census report since 1980. In addition to the five race groups, respondents were offered the option of selecting one or more races.

<sup>10</sup> Therefore, to show the level of Guamanian identity indication, the coding was done in an ordinal order: Yes (1) and No (0).

“Ok, well I consider myself a Chamorro before anything else ... And then Guamanian ... Some people, ... they don’t understand what Chamorro is. They say, “I’m not really a Chamorro, because they died a long time ago.” And I tell them, “If you want to get technical about it,” ... and “that I have Chamorro ancestry.” Because Guamanian is more like how people interpret it. Like the Haoles (white Americans) interpret it as they’re Guamanian if they’ve lived here (Guam) a long time” (Perez, 2005:858).

Lisa seems to interpret herself as part of both the Guamanian and Chamorro identity. She considers the Guamanian identity as her identity to emphasize her ethnic identity. The following is another interview with a man named John.

“I consider myself ... a Chamorro from Guam ... Guamanian ... describes your place of origin by geographic location .... Because once you move to Guam, you could be a Guamanian just as if you moved to California, you would be a “Californian” .... I guess a lot of people .... Use the term “Guamanian: a lot ... because they just want to make sure people know where they’re from ... And then “American.” ... I just don’t see myself as American ... It’s a label ... I do not use Asian American because I do not consider myself an Asian” (Perez, 2005:858).

John, who is ethnically an Asian American, does not relate himself to his ethnic background but rather to how he identifies himself towards the island. The variable of Guamanian identity in Table 7 and the interview conducted by Michael Perez show the notion of the Guamanian identity, which is shared among diverse ethnicities in Guam.

#### **4.2. The Generation Gap in Guamanian Identity Indication**

The military base in Guam also influences the generational gap among the Guamanian residents. Setting the Guamanian populace as the main focus group, there is a difference in indication towards the military depending on one’s generation cohort.

According to Robert Inglehart, there are limitations in explaining the whole “identity confusion issue” with one single aspect of a society. To explain the people’s indication, an economic and political shift must be viewed to explain the previous value system of the people (Inglehart, 1990). Since the economic and political effects are interlinked in such logic, an increase in the U.S. military force should be considered as one of the most important variables that affects the value system of the Guamanians.

Furthermore, “culture is a system of attitudes, values and knowledge that is widely shared within a society and transmitted from generation to generation.” For this reason, a shift within an identity implicates a “deeply disturbing” one. This can be seen in Inglehart’s *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*: “basic cultural norms are difficult to change [but] when they do change, the experience is likely to be disorienting and deeply disturbing to those raised under the previous value system” (Inglehart, 1990:13).

A change in the value system is closely linked with the cultural change in a society, especially in how people inside the society view the change. Regarding the military bases in Guam, there seems to be a generation gap in the public’s perception of the bases. In other words, the local residents have divergent opinions on the increase of the military bases. The overall opinion is that the bases are “good for the economy, [and] bad for the culture” (Owen, 2010).

A survey of 403 participants directed by Amy Owen, a scholar at the University of Guam,

shows that 53% of the Guamanian residents view the military buildup to be generally positive for the island. However, the perception towards the military base differs according to the age range of the participants. While the eldest group is concerned about the native culture, the youth in Guam is worried about the Guamanian culture. Thus, the survey results show that the ethnic origin of the Guamanian people is not an influential element on the different views of the military (Owen, 2010:314-15).

The Guamanian youth views the military-base buildup to negatively affect the island’s culture. Regarding the perception difference between generations in Guam, the present study connects such indication difference with the concept of the Guamanian identity. By connecting this perspective difference with the Guamanian identity, it can be concluded that military bases have a significant impact on the generational gap among the Guamanians. Table 9 shows the generational gap in terms of identity recognition among Guamanians. Among the respondents who consider themselves Guamanians, 82 are in their teens and 20s.

**Table 8.** Perception towards the Military Buildup in Guam

Perception questions	Response		Participant characteristics (p-value)
	Yes	No	
Build-up is overall positive	Yes (53%)	No (41%)	Age (0.04)
Build-up is good for Guam’s culture	Yes (21%)	No (74%)	Age (0.00)

\* Recited from Owen, Amy. 2010. “Guam Culture, Immigration, and the U.S. Military Build-up.” *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 51(3):313.

**Table 9.** Generation Gap in terms of Identity Recognition among Guamanians

Indicate the Guamanians Identity?	Age Group			
	10~20	30~40	above 50	Total
No	97.0% (2,654)	98.3% (2,108)	98.5% (1,377)	97.8% (6,139)
Yes	3.0% (82)	1.7% (37)	1.5% (21)	2.2% (140)
Total	100.0% (2,736)	100.0% (2,145)	100.0% (1,398)	100.0% (6,279)

$\chi^2 = 13.292, df=2, p=.001$

\*Source: U.S. Census Bureau, “2000 Public Use Microdata Sample<sup>11</sup>”

\*\*Note: Question: What is this person’s ethnic origin or race? The answers for Guamanian (code: 821), Guam (code: 821), GU (code: 821), Chamorro (code: 822) and Chamorro Islander (code: 821) were all coded under the name Chamorro. To abstract only the respondent who answered as “Chamorro” or “Guamanian” for their origin, the respondents whom have indicated their birthplace as Hawaii, Commonwealth of the Mariana Islands, Samoa, Micronesia and Palau were deleted from the dataset. Therefore, the Pacific Islander identification in this paper can be viewed as the Guamanian identification.

\*\*\*Note: The coding for the “Indicate the Guamanian Identity?” are Yes (1) and No (0).

<sup>11</sup> Ethnicity categorized as “others” has been deleted from the dataset for simplification.

Regardless of their original ethnical background, the younger generations (10s~20s) relate themselves more with the Guamanian identity than those in the middle age range (30s~40s) and the elder generation (above 50s). This can be understood as an influence of the perception gap on the military bases. Findings show that the youth tend to related themselves with Guamanian identity and at the same time negatively view the bases. Therefore, the difference in opinion towards the military bases demonstrates a generational gap in terms of identity recognition among Guamanian residents.

The inflow of military bases has produced an economic structural change in that the recognition towards military bases has changed over generations. Along with this attitude change, the categorization of the Guamanians has changed as well. Thus, the perception on the military bases differs among generations, which indicates a generation gap.

U.S. military bases denote a dominant power in Guam, which leads to a shared logic that the bases affect the minds of the Guamanian residents. The generational gap regarding the recognition of military bases, as well as a Guamanian identity indication, shows that military bases influence the generational gap of the Guamanian identity recognition.

## 5. CONCLUSION

“U.S. bases are ... institutions and embodiments of U.S. power, identity and diplomacy” (Cooley, 2008: 7). As shown throughout this study, U.S. military bases can be viewed as a symbol of U.S. power conveyance. The United States’ overseas military bases in Guam have been studied as a tool in delivering U.S. power into the economy and culture of host territories. As seen through this study, an overseas basin is not only an instrument of military power but also a medium that influences the economy and culture of a territory.

Based on this logical foundation, military bases in Guam have been explained as a method of United States’ power being implemented into the economic sphere and the island’s identity. It is true that military bases in Guam have limitations in representing all overseas bases. Since Guam has a limited self-governing structure under the influence of the United States, such particular situation cannot be applied to other U.S. overseas bases in other countries. For this reason, the variable of the political uniqueness of Guam was controlled. However, the influence of U.S. military bases in other sovereignties has more political impact as compared to Guam. Therefore, the Guam case can be viewed as a narrow prism in viewing the overall picture of overseas bases.

The present study also contains limitations for using data sets from the U.S. Census and other indirect surveys rather than conducting direct surveys to measure the influence of U.S. military bases on the economy and identity. However, by using the datasets presented in the study, the indirect borderline between the military base, the economy, and the Guamanian identity is made clearer. Such usage of data has proven to be useful in presenting indirect linkage for future studies. With such meaning, this paper has indicated that military bases affect the economic growth, economic structure, and the generation gap towards identity indication in hosting lands. Considering this influence as a consequence to U.S. military bases, the overseas basins can be revaluated for projecting such influence.

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