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The Anti-Base Movement in Okinawa: An Analysis of Factors Influencing Social Movement Development

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THE ANTI-BASE MOVEMENT IN OKINAWA: AN ANALYSIS OF FACTORS

INFLUENCING SOCIAL MOVEMENT DEVELOPMENT

by

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Under the Direction of Jelena Subotic, MA/PhD

ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes two perspectives in the literature examining the development of social movements. The first perspective is based on the concept of political opportunity structure and emphasizes the influence of political structure and conditions on the development of social movements. The second perspective is based on new social movement theory and emphasizes the importance of collective identity, emotion, and culture on the development of social movements. Instead of emphasizing one factor over another, I argue that both collective identity and political structure/conditions have a significant impact on the development of social movements. I substantiate this argument through examining the development of the anti-base movement in Okinawa from the 1990s onward. The influence of both theoretical perspectives offers a cohesive explanation for the rise of the anti-base movement. First, I analyze each theoretical perspective separately in the context of the anti-base movement's development then I present my own argument.

INDEX WORDS: Political Opportunity Structure, New Social Movement Theory, Social Movements, Collective Identity, Political Conditions and Structure.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my grandmother Nancy Jean Ruff, my mother Towanda Danette Harts. I love you mommy and Grammy. You guys taught me everything I know, and I wouldn't be here without you.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The development of social movements is a reoccurring phenomenon throughout the world. Social movements exist in different areas of the world and have variety of unique missions. The social movement this analysis focuses on is the anti-base movement in Okinawa from the 1990s onward. Throughout the literature some scholars argue that the development of social movements depends on the nature of the political structure and/or conditions in which it is developing. Other scholars argue that the development of social movements depends on a sense of common identity that unifies citizens and helps them mobilize. I argue that the development of the anti-base movement in Okinawa was not completely a result of the influence of common identity or the state of political structure/conditions but a combination of both factors. Okinawa has a rich and diverse history and has been aggressively combating the presence of U.S military forces on their soil for decades. Generally, there have been many arguments presented by scholars to explain why social movements develop and what factors influence their development.

A mix of political and social factors have contributed to the emergence and development of the anti-base movement in Okinawa. The political structure and conditions in Okinawa, as well as the Okinawan sense of collective identity contributed to the development of the anti-base movement. Okinawa has experienced significant political and cultural shifts as a result of the U.S military presence there, and this presence has also heavily influenced the social conditions in the area. Throughout this thesis I will examine political groups and women's groups that were active in the anti-base movement because they were two of the most influential types of groups during the movement's development throughout the 1990s and 2000s. Even though environmental activism is a part of the anti-base movement, I chose to only focus on political groups and women's groups which call attention to the social effects of the bases. I will analyze the existing

explanations in the literature on the development of social movements generally and within the context of the anti-base movement in Okinawa. Then I will argue how both factors in combination with one another contributed to the movement's development.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to offer an alternative explanation for which factors are most significant in the development of social movements. A portion of the of the literature emphasizes the importance of exogenous political factors in the development of social movements (McAdam et al 1996). Some authors argue that the type of governing structure established within a society influences the amount of political opportunities available for citizens to mobilize and form social movements (McAdam et al 1996). They also argue that the political conditions of an area influence the ability for social movements to progress and develop (McAdam et al 1996). If citizens are living under a governmental system that is restricting their ability to mobilize, the development of social movements within that area would occur more slowly (and vice versa). Another portion of the literature examining social movement development emphasizes the importance of cultural linkages and collective identity (Pichardo 1997). These authors believe that if individuals unite to resolve a common grievance or bring awareness to particular issue they will eventually mobilize and form a social movement (Pichardo 1997)..

There have been many studies done supporting and refuting these arguments; however, there has not been a significant amount of literature discussing how both political structure/conditions and collective identity combine to help the development and formation of social movements. In the case of anti-base movement in Okinawa, the marrying of these two factors heavily contributed to the movement's development. The complex political environment

of Okinawa and the influence of Okinawan collective identity have both been critical elements in development of the anti-base movement there. These two factors have also given the anti-base movement in Okinawa the ability to develop local, national, and transnational networks. The establishment of these networks helped advance the anti-base movement into a collective transnational one that actively combats the presence of the U.S military within different countries around the world.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 The Political Factors

2.1.1 *Political Structure/Conditions and the Development of Okinawa's Anti-base Movement*

This group of literature presents arguments that draw on the concept of political opportunity structure. These authors mention the political structures and conditions that limit Okinawan citizens ability to form social movements and organize effectively to achieve complete demilitarization. These political structures and conditions include repression by the Japanese central government, existing or developing political tensions between Okinawan citizens and the Japanese central government, neglect and lack of support from the Japanese central government, the ongoing presence of U.S military bases, and the negative political climate generated by the presence of these bases. Literature exploring the development of social movements is substantial. An essential component of this literature is the concept of political opportunity structure. Political opportunity structure emphasizes the effects of political structure and conditions on the development of social movements (Tridicon 2011). Political opportunity structure asserts that the political structure/conditions of a society can halt, constrain, or

encourage the availability of political opportunities for citizens to form social movements (McAdam et al 1996). Political structure/conditions can include a country's regime type, political climate, open and closedness of political institutions, existing or developing political tensions between citizens and their governments, the use of force/repression by the state, and the level of political, economic, and social support or negligence citizens receive from the government (McAdam et al 1996). This framework highlights the importance of political structure/conditions in the development of social movements and offers clarity on the relationship between political opportunities and accessibility of those opportunities for citizens attempting to mobilize (McAdam et al 1996). Overall, the concept of political opportunity structure has significantly influenced the literature on the development of social movements. This literature emphasizes the idea that the political structure/conditions of an area are important elements in the development of social movements that should be acknowledged.

The literature examining the development of the of the anti-base movement in Okinawa emphasizes the importance of political structure/conditions on the development of the movement from the 1990s onward. Mulgan discusses the influence of U.S-Japan relations on the presence of U.S military bases in Okinawa. Mulgan examines the political conditions of Okinawa and discusses the asymmetrical power relationship between the central government of Japan and the local government in Okinawa. The author argues that the presence of U.S military bases is a form of institutionalized discrimination towards the Okinawan people (Mulgan 2000). The central government created, and continues to create, institutional barriers that influence the political conditions and opportunities allotted to Okinawan citizens (Mulgan 2000).

The Special Measures Law for Land Use by American Forces signed in April of 1997 is an example of the repressive political barriers put in place by the Japanese central government. This

law extended the leases of U.S military bases in Okinawa a month before they were set to expire in May 1997 (Mulgan 2000). The neglect and repressive behavior of the central government in Japan represents how the social climate of Okinawa is negatively impacted by broader US-Japan relations. Repression from the central government influenced the negative political conditions in Okinawa and set off a wave of anti-base protests in the 1990s (Mulgan 2000). Throughout this piece, Mulgan demonstrates how the political structure and negative political conditions of Okinawa both influenced the amount of political opportunities available to citizens and acted as a catalyst for anti-base organizing.

On the grassroots level, Reardon discusses how the political structure/conditions in Okinawa influenced its citizens ability mobilize against the presence of U.S military bases. Reardon discusses how citizens non-violently resisted the political imposition of the United States on Okinawan soil (Reardon 2016). An important catalyst that influenced the development of the anti-base movement in Okinawa occurred in 1995 when a 12 year old Okinawan young women was walking home from school and three U.S servicemen kidnapped, brutally beat, and raped her (Reardon 2016). This is known as the 1995 rape incident and after it occurred support for the anti-base movement intensified in Okinawa (Reardon 2016). This incident acted as a trigger event for continued development of the anti-base movement in Okinawa.

As a result of this, citizens in Okinawa began to stage large scale protests against the presence of U.S military bases. During these protests citizens drew attention to the dangers and risks the imposition of the U.S military caused in Okinawa. The United States military presence had already influenced the political climate of Okinawa for decades, but this crime acted as a catalyst of mobilization for the anti-base movements development because it exposed the ongoing tension between the Okinawan people and the Japanese central governments foreign

policy objectives. The existence of the U.S-Japan security treaty (AMPO-1960) ensures the continued presence of U.S military bases in Okinawa, which is the main issue Okinawan activists were fighting against (Mulgan 2000; Reardon 2016). Due to the existence of AMPO, the presence of U.S bases blocked the availability of political opportunity and effectiveness of activism in Okinawa. Reardon's analysis of local activism demonstrates how the political structure/climate of a society can impact the amount of political opportunities available for citizens to mobilize.

Suzuyo and Kiyomi discuss the issue of violence against women caused by the presence of U.S military bases and the transnational impact it had on the anti-base movement in Okinawa. The political climate of Okinawa was negatively impacted by the continued presence of U.S military bases and as a result, the political conditions in Okinawa influenced the development and reach of women's groups in the anti-base movement on both a local and transnational level (Suzuyo and Kiyomi 1999). Suzuyo and Kiyomi discuss the 1995 rape incident and examine how it influenced the development of women's groups and transnational networking initiatives (Suzuyo and Kiyomi 1999).

The authors discuss how the presence of U.S military bases severely affected the lives and safety of Okinawan women. This in turn led to the creation of women's groups like DOVE (De-Activating Our Violent Establishment) and the Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence (OWAAMV) (Suzuyo and Kiyomi 1999). Women's groups participated in raising awareness about the harmful presence of U.S bases and the violence Okinawan women faced in international settings like the 1993 UN Women's Conference in Vienna, Italy and the U.N Beijing Conference in 1995 (Suzuyo and Kiyomi 1999). The closedness of domestic political institutions created by the Japanese central government caused Okinawan activist to establish

national and transnational advocacy networks. The negative political climate in Okinawa and closedness of political institutions helped with the development of anti-base women's groups and their ability to establish transnational networks.

Fukumura and Matsuoka discuss the efforts of women's activist organizations in response to the presence of U.S military bases on the local and national level in Okinawa. Fukumura and Matsuoka examine the political climate of Okinawa in the context of U.S militarism (Fukumura and Matsuoka 2002). The authors detail the historical legacy of the U.S occupation in Okinawa, the continued U.S military presence in Okinawa after the conclusion of the occupation in 1972, and the continued rape and sexual assault of Okinawan women by U.S military personnel (Fukumura and Matsuoka 2002). Over the years, the presence of U.S bases created unsettling political conditions for the citizens of Okinawa. In addition, the negligence and laissez faire attitude of the Japanese central government exacerbated the negative political climate for Okinawans. The negligence demonstrated by the Japanese central government angered citizens in Okinawa because their complaints and grievances were being ignored. The negative political climate and tension between the citizens of Okinawa and the Japanese central government facilitated a wave of anti-base organizing (Fukumura and Matsuoka 2002).

The authors discuss the importance of women's activist organizations like the Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence in these efforts. Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence (OWAAMV) played a crucial role in mobilizing resistance to the U.S military presence and their legacy of violence against women in Okinawa by organizing large-scale protests, rallies, workshops, and transnational networking initiatives (Fukumura and Matsuoka 2002). Fukumura and Matsuoka's examination of OWAAMV demonstrates how the political conditions of a society can influence the development of social movements and impact citizens ability to

organize. The negative legacy and ongoing political presence of the U.S military influenced the continued development of the anti-base movement in Okinawa during the 1990s and 2000s (Fukumura and Matsuoka 2002).

Chanlett-Avery and Rinehart discuss the relocation of the Futenma airbase and its impact on the development of the anti-base movement in Okinawa. Chanlett-Avery and Reinhart examine how the Japanese government's plan to relocate the Futenma airbase strengthened grassroot organizations opposition to the presence of the U.S military in Okinawa (Chanlett-Avery and Reinhart 2014). The authors mention that Okinawans living and working near Futenma (and other U.S bases) receive limited economic benefits (Chanlett-Avery and Reinhart 2014). They also mention that a generational gap exists between Okinawans who experienced the negative impacts of the U.S military firsthand and the younger generation (Chanlett-Avery and Reinhart 2014). Despite these mitigating factors, the presence of the anti-base movement was strong, and the development of the movement still increased throughout the 1990s and 2000s in Okinawa (Chanlett-Avery and Reinhart 2014). The authors identify two factors of the U.S military presence that continued to fuel the progression of the anti-base movement in Okinawa: (1) local concerns that the presence of military bases degraded the environment, safety and comfort of Okinawan citizens and (2) strong local support for anti-militarism and non-violence (Chanlett-Avery and Reinhart 2014). In this case the closedness of political institutions further influenced the development of the anti-base movement.

The negligence displayed by the Japanese central government in handling these concerns increased the tension between citizens of Okinawa and the national government (Chanlett-Avery and Reinhart 2014). The level of frustration within Okinawa was exacerbated by the fact that the presence of U.S bases was justified by the Japanese central government as an essential

component in the protection of the entire country (Chanlett-Avery and Reinhart 2014). Both the presence of U.S bases and the negligence of the central Japanese government was a set of double suppression for the Okinawan people. These political conditions furthered the progression of anti-base organizing in Okinawa because of the mistreatment and negligence by Japanese central government. Throughout this piece the authors discuss how the conditions of the political sphere strengthened the development of the anti-base movement in Okinawa.

Taylor discusses the presence of U.S military bases and their impact on Okinawa in relation to the G8 summit in July of 2000. Taylor describes how the U.S bases have negatively impacted the quality of life for native Okinawans for decades (Taylor 2000). The political constraints placed upon Okinawans by the central Japanese government imposed on citizens ability to mobilize. Taylor also details how these constraints influenced activists to use global tactics and form transnational networks (Taylor 2000). An example of these tactics can be observed in the weeks leading up to the G8 summit in 2000 (Taylor 2000). Anti-base activist groups planned large-scale demonstrations, which included roughly 25,000 Okinawans joining hands in an interlocking circle surrounding the U.S Kadena airbase (Taylor 2000). Throughout Taylor's analysis there is a clear linkage between the presence of U.S military bases, its negative effect on Okinawan citizens, and its impact on the development of the anti-base movement throughout the late 1990s and early 2000s. The political conditions of Okinawa were heavily impacted by the presence of U.S military bases on the island and as a result, the consistent presence of the U.S military had a profound influence on the development of the anti-base activism in Okinawa.

Cockburn discusses U.S military bases and their impact on the anti-base movement, specifically regarding the formation of women's groups. Like other authors, Cockburn discusses

the importance of the 1995 rape incident and how it served as a focal point in the development of the anti-base movement throughout the 1990s and early 2000s (Cockburn 2012). Cockburn mentions that the Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence (OWAAMV) is an anti-AMPO women's group (Cockburn 2012). This means that in addition to not supporting the presence of the U.S military bases in Okinawa, OWAAMV also does not support the mutual security treaty between Japan and the United States (AMPO) (Cockburn 2012). This demonstrates how the central mission of one of the most prominent anti-base women's groups in Okinawa is heavily politically oriented. The outgrowth of the Rape Emergency Intervention and Counselling Centre (REICO) from the Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence (OWAAMV) also displays the increased development of the anti-base movement in Okinawa during the 1990s and 2000s (Cockburn 2012). The OWAAMV advocation against AMPO (Mutual Security Treaty between the U.S and Japan) is another example of how the political structure and conditions of a society can influence the formation of social movements.

Akibayashi discusses the legacy of the U.S military in Okinawa and the efforts of anti-base activist groups like the Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence in the 1990s and 2000s. Akibayashi begins by elaborating on the ongoing negative effects resulting from the presence of U.S military bases in Okinawa for sixty-five years (as of 2004) (Akibayashi 2004). The quality of life for Okinawan citizens has been severely diminished because of the social, environmental, political, and economic impacts of U.S military bases on the island (Akibayashi 2004). Over the years the anti-base movement began to strengthen, and activist groups began to resist the U.S military imposition in Okinawa by organizing non-violent protests. Women's groups like Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence organized sea-side sit ins (either by swimming or canoeing) to disrupt the surveying of water ways for the construction of new bases and also

organized popular protests in different areas on the island such as Nago, Ginowan and Henoko (Akibayashi 2004).

The mission of the Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence is centered around a myriad of anti-base issues including violence against women; however, the groups feminist stance offered a valid critique of the political structure and conditions imposed on Okinawa by mainland Japan. The central argument for the bases still existing on the island is for the "protection" of Japan as whole, but the OWAAMV argues that the presence of the bases is doing more harm than good (Akibayashi 2004). The group points out that the safety of Okinawan citizens is, and has been, put in jeopardy because of the continued rape, sexual assault, environmental degradation, and physical imposition of U.S bases in Okinawa (Akibayashi 2004). Throughout this argument Akibayashi shows that the development of the anti-base movement in Okinawa has been shaped by the political structure and conditions that resulted from the presence of U.S bases on the island.

This strand of literature focuses on the impact of political structure/conditions on the formation of social movements but does not consider the influence of identity. The political structure/conditions of a society are essential components in the development of social movements, but the unification of individuals based on a collective sense of identity is a primary element of social movement development that is neglected by this strand of literature. Collective identity plays an important role in the development of social movements because it is an effective mechanism of unification. Since identity acts as an essential bonding factor, without it the process of unification among citizens would be lengthy and more challenging. In the next section an examination of the significance of identity in the development of social movements

will be observed through literature assessing the progression of the anti-base movement in Okinawa from the 1990s onward.

2.2   Social Factors

2.2.1   *Collective Identity and the Development of Okinawa's Anti-Base Movement.*

The literature examining the influence of identity in the development of social movements is expansive. A large portion of this literature is based on new social movement theory. New social movement theory emphasizes culture and identity as central components in the development of social movements (Tridicon 2011). New social movement theory discusses how identity and the individualized experience of different cultures influences the development of social movements (Pichardo 1997). New social movement theory argues that the development of social movements is driven by a collective sense of emotion, common identity, symbolism and culture (Pichardo 1997). Unlike political opportunity structure, new social movement theory focuses on the mobilizing effects of collective identity in civil society and in social movement development (Pichardo 1997). The presence of common identity creates a stronger bond between citizens and can act as a catalyst for mobilization throughout the development of social movements. New social movement theory is an important part of the research examining the development of social movements within Sociology. In addition to political structure and conditions, collective identity is also an essential factor that should be considered when examining the development of social movements.

Flint discusses the importance and development of collective identity in the progress of the anti-base movement in Okinawa. Flint examines the development of Okinawan identity throughout the political history of Okinawa dating back to the fall of the former Ryukyu Kingdom (Flint 2018). The author points out that the concept of Okinawan identity is not fixed

and has evolved over the years to form a collective identity based on the struggle against the U.S military presence on the island (Flint 2018). Flints analysis also breaks down the influence of the Okinawan collective identity on the gubernatorial election of Takeshi Onaga (Flint 2018). Onaga ran as an independent anti-base candidate, and throughout his campaign Onaga used Okinawan identity as a tool to gain political support (Flint 2018). After he assumed office in 2014, Onaga used his political position to bring the agenda of the anti-base movement to the forefront of Japans central government (Flint 2018). Even though this argument has political components it is centered around the influence of collective Okinawan identity. The impact collective identity had on Onaga's victory in 2014 also had a significant impact on the progression of the entire anti-base movement because it helped bring Okinawa's anti-base agenda to the forefront of Japanese politics.

Kirk provides insights on Okinawan anti-base identity and its role in creating transnational networks. In May of 1997 Okinawa hosted the International Women's Working Conference (Kirk 1997). During this conference anti-base activists from Okinawa, the Philippines, Japan, Korea, and the U.S gathered to discuss the negative impacts of U.S military bases within their countries (Kirk 1997). This conference gave activists the opportunity to share their own unique experiences and grievances regarding the presence of U.S military bases in their countries (Kirk 1997). This platform gave activists in Okinawa the chance to mobilize based on their collective identity and form alliances that helped the development of transnational anti-base networks (Kirk 1997). This demonstrates how collective Okinawan identity gave the prefecture the opportunity to host a conference that furthered the mission of anti-base activism in Okinawa, while also building valuable transnational networks with other nations. This furthered the development of the anti-base movement on local, national, and transnational levels.

Takahashi discusses the importance of identity in the development of the anti-base movement in Okinawa and the formation of trans-local relationships with Korean anti-base activists. Takahashi examines how the different personal narratives of Okinawans created a sense of collective "place-based" identity (Takahashi 2019). This collective sense of identity acted as a catalyst for mobilization within the anti-base movement locally and transnationally. Takashi mentions how the mass demonstration in Okinawa in response to the 1995 rape incident caught the attention of Korean anti-base activist Kim Yong Han (Takahashi 2019). In 1996 Han traveled to Okinawa to observe the situation first-hand and this spawned the creation of an "inter-regional anti-US base solidarity campaign" between Okinawa and Korea (Takahshi 2019).

Following Han's visit in 1997, a group of forty-three Korean activists visited Okinawa and encouraged local activists to create a group that could operate as a point of contact between Korea and Okinawa (Takahashi 2019). Thus, they formed the Okinawa-Korea People's Solidarity group (Takashi 2019). The collective sense of identity that fueled the activism of local groups like the OWAAMV and DOVE in Okinawa also had an impact on the development and influence of the anti-base movement beyond national borders. The transnational networks that were generated out of the dialogue between Okinawan anti-base activists and Korean anti-base activists is an example of how collective identity can have a mobilizing affect, and in turn influence the development of social movements locally and transnationally.

Inoue discusses the development of a collective sense of identity in Okinawa. Inoue highlights the impact of the 1995 rape incident on the construction of collective Okinawan identity (Inoue 2007). Inoue argues that Okinawa's collective memories of humiliation, the continued presence of the U.S military in Okinawa after 1972, and the use of Okinawa as a "sacrifice" to ensure the safety of mainland Japan contributed to the formation of a contemporary

Okinawan identity (Inoue 2007). This collective Okinawan identity generated a shared sense of anger in response to the 1995 rape incident and spawned mass anti-base organizing (Inoue 2007). This included an all Okinawa protest rally attended by roughly 85,000 people and sit-ins near U.S military bases that lasted from ten to twelve days (Inoue 2007). Inoue states that political leaders, such Governor Ota, utilized the rape incident in a way to frame Okinawan identity as specifically anti-base and anti-U.S military (Inoue 2007). This analysis displays how the unification of Okinawa based on a common sense of identity contributed to the development and mobilization of the anti-base movement there in the late 1990s.

Suzuyo discusses the negative legacy left by the presence of U.S military bases in Okinawa and its impact on the construction of Okinawan identity. Throughout her analysis Suzuyo discusses the destructive imprint the U.S military presence left on Okinawa and examines how Okinawan identity is an essential component of anti-base organizing (Suzuyo 1994). The sexual assault and forced commodification of Okinawan women by U.S military forces over the years became a large factor of mobilization for the anti-base movement in Okinawa (Suzuyo 1994). Even before the occurrence of the 1995 rape incident Okinawan women already experienced intense forms of sexual violence perpetrated by U.S military personnel (Suzuyo 1994). Women's activist groups like the Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence (OWAAMV) and De-Activating Our Violent Establishment (DOVE) organized in order to combat the imposition of the U.S military in Okinawa during this time (Suzuyo 1994). These groups staged protests, rallies and sit-ins (locally and nationally) to fight against the U.S military presence in Okinawa (Suzuyo 1994). The unification of Okinawan citizens based on the efforts of women's groups helped with the construction of a collective identity (Suzuyo 1994). This collective sense of identity influenced the mobilization of the populace in their fight against the U.S military

presence. This shows how a sense of common identity can influence the development and progress of social movements.

Hein discusses the evolution of Okinawan identity and its significance in the development of the anti-base movement. Hein describes how the formation of collective Okinawan identity has influenced their sentiments towards U.S bases in Okinawa (Hein 2001). For decades the people of Okinawa have been forced to navigate through the social and political barriers placed on them by Japan and the U.S (Hein 2001). The neglect and mistreatment of Okinawa by the Japanese government and the prolonged imposition of U.S military bases in Okinawa have made the protection of Okinawan identity an imperative component of the anti-base movement (Hein 2001). In this constrained environment activist have had to continuously defend the meaning of Okinawan identity from the narrow perceptions and degradation of larger states like the U.S and Japan. Hein's argument demonstrates the value and importance of collective Okinawan identity in the development of the anti-base movement. In this case, a sense of common identity is a substantive component in the development of social movements.

Yonetani discusses the role of collective identity on the local level in Okinawa in relation to the relocation of Futenma airbase and the G8 summit in 2000. The collective anti-base resentment that festered for years in Okinawa influenced the election of Governor Ota Masahide in the late 1990s (Yonetani 2001). Governor Ota's political ambitions were aligned with the collective identity in Okinawa. Governor Ota's decision to not renew the leases of U.S military bases during the final years of his term reflected his support for the anti-base movement and backing of collective Okinawan identity (Yonetani 2001). In the following years leading up to the G-8 summit grassroots activism in Okinawa became increasingly more active. Women's groups like Nago women's Yarukiizu (Ready for Action) mobilized on the collective sense of

Okinawan identity while they worked to find a replacement for pro-base mayoral candidate Higa (Yonetani 2001). The Nago women's Yarukiizu (Ready for Action) group and OWAAMV group also organized large-scale protests during the weeks leading up to the G8 summit in 2000 (Yonetani 2001). Through this analysis one can observe the influence of identity on the development and politics surrounding social movements.

This group of literature presents arguments that are heavily based on the tenets of new social movement theory with a focus on the impact of collective identity. These authors mention how the presence of collective identity influenced the development of the anti-base movement in Okinawa. This strand of literature emphasizes identity as a key component in the development of social movement but does not specifically include details about influence of political structure and conditions. The collective identity that unifies a group of individuals is an essential component in the development of social movements, but the political structure and conditions of an area are also a primary element of social movement development that is neglected by this strand of literature. In the next section I propose that the examination of both collective identity and political structure/conditions is needed in further research to accurately assesses the development social movements. The development of the anti-base movement in Okinawa is an example of how collective identity and political structure/conditions can both heavily influence the development of social movements.

3   CONCLUSION

3.1   The Importance of Both Perspectives

3.1.1   The Importance of Collective Identity and Political Structure/Conditions

The arguments presented in these two groups of literature identify key factors in the development of social movements generally and in the context of the anti-base movement in Okinawa. The first group of literature is based on the concept of political opportunity structure and highlights the importance of political structure/conditions on the development of the anti-base movement in Okinawa. The second group of literature is based on new social movement theory and stresses the importance of collective identity and culture in the development of social movements. In each of these strands of literature there is a polarization in emphasis on either the political or social factors that influence the development of social movements. However, I argue that political structure/conditions and collective identity are both essential components in the development of social movements. The development of the Okinawa anti-base movement from the 1990s onward demonstrates how each of these factors are not mutually exclusive in their impact on the development of social movements. The presence of collective identity and influence of political structure/conditions have both had a profound impact on the development of the anti-base movement in Okinawa on local, national, and transnational levels. In-depth research assessing the influence of both factors should be included in the interdisciplinary body of literature examining social movement development.

Assessing the impact of political structure/conditions and collective identity would require a two-step process. The first step would be to examine identities that already exist within a given country and whether their concerns overlap. This is the first step because the existence of different identities and the presence of a common grievance are essential components in the

unification process that helps citizens mobilize. The second step would be to assess the political structure/conditions within a country. Examining the political structure/conditions of a country would allow researchers to observe the effect of political factors like regime type, political climate, open and closedness of political institutions, existing or developing political tensions between citizens and their governments, and the use of force/repression by the state. Observing these political structures/conditions would also allow researchers to determine the impact these factors have on the formation of collective identity within a given country. This approach would allow researchers to examine how collective identity and political structure/conditions influence development of social movements simultaneously.

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