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## Sun, Sea, and Sand: U.S. Militarism and Tourism in the Philippines

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Sun, Sea, and Sand: U.S. Militarism and Tourism in the Philippines

A Capstone Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements of the Renée Crown University Honors Program at  
Syracuse University

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and Renée Crown University Honors  
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## **Abstract**

This study explores the complex relationship between U.S. militarism and tourism in the Philippines. The tourism perspective that is prominent throughout challenges the equality of the military partnership between the U.S. and the Philippines. This study analyses the history of the U.S. military presence in the Philippines, starting with the colonial era at the turn of the twentieth century. Assessing infrastructure—its past and ongoing development—reveals itself as a significant connection between militarism and tourism—mobility. Ultimately, this study of the relationship between U.S. militarism and tourism provides a better understanding of the future impacts of the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement—a 2016 bilateral agreement—in the Philippines.

## **Executive Summary**

This study investigates the relationship between U.S. militarism and tourism in the Philippines, exploring the wide-spread impacts of U.S military bases. This relationship and the U.S. military presence in the Philippines is first understood in the context of the U.S. military empire in Asia and the Pacific. The Philippines has been a long-term host of the U.S. military, beginning in 1898 when the U.S. bought the Philippine Islands from Spain. Until 1992, the U.S. military had bases in the Philippines important during the Vietnam War and for reinforcing the U.S. military presence in Asia. In 1992, the Philippines told the U.S. military to leave their bases and leave the Philippines. Other prominent bases in the Pacific include Hawaii and Guam, both within U.S. territory. Today, U.S. military wants to maintain their strong presence in the region to monitor China, the rising world superpower in Asia.

During this long-term military occupation, a tourism industry emerged and now dominates the Philippine economy. This study explores how tourism developed during the U.S. colonial era, how it continued to develop during the Vietnam War era, and how it looks today. The goal of analyzing the history of tourism development is to gain an understanding of what tourism may look like in the future, especially in relation to the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA). This agreement, approved in 2016, actually allows the U.S. military to return to the Philippines and grants them access to five bases. American soldiers historically have demanded for entertainment and, thus, have been influential in the emergence of entertainment industries in neighboring cities of the bases. This study compares the new bases, their locations, and the history of U.S. militarism in the Philippines to predict what tourism will develop as a result of the EDCA.

Infrastructure is another topic explored in this study. Infrastructure revealed itself to be one of the key correlations between militarism and tourism. Both contribute to the development of infrastructure, as well as, benefit from better infrastructure. This study investigates infrastructure and its development and reveals infrastructure as a symbol of modernity and mobility.

The research for this study included field research in the Philippines. In a two week trip, I visited the three cities which served as my case studies (Manila, Cebu, and Coron), as well as Subic Bay Freeport and Clark Freeport, former U.S. military bases. These three destinations and two former bases served as the primary locations for comparison and analysis in this study. Interviews of American tourists and Filipinos in the tourist industry were conducted in each of these locations. These interviews helped to determine the tourism industry in each destination, as well as, establish an understanding of Filipinos' opinions on Americans and the U.S. military presence in the Philippines.

In addition to field research, this study analyzed many news articles to understand current events in the Philippines, specifically concerning the EDCA or the territory dispute in the West Philippine Sea. There is extensive research about both U.S. militarism and tourism which was referenced. Most of these sources, however, did not overlap, or they did not focus on the Philippines if they did.

The specific investigation of militarism and tourism and how they relate is what makes this study significant. Militarism and tourism are often studied separately, but when this is done, the understanding of their combined effects and impacts is missed. By evaluating the military partnership through the lens of tourism, the inequalities of the partnership between the U.S. and the Philippines may be better understood.

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# Introduction

## Purpose and Research Questions

This study investigates the relationship between U.S. militarism and tourism in the Philippines, exploring the wide-spread impacts of U.S military bases. I aim to evaluate the U.S. military's role in the development of the Philippine's tourism industry, as well as the influence of American tourists on the U.S. military presence. The U.S. military in the Philippines is not limited to the bases they occupied; they use roads between bases and Manila, soldiers go on vacation, and significant amount of soldiers marry Filipino women. The following questions shape the nature of this study and led to some unexpected results: What economic impact have U.S. military bases had on the Philippines? How do these military bases affect tourism development? How does the U.S.-Philippine military relationship shape American's reputation among Filipinos? Does tourism encourage militarism? Is tourism a new form of imperialism? How have the lives of Filipinos been shaped by both militarism and tourism?

My research examines the relationship between U.S. military bases and the tourism sector in the Philippines by focusing on former bases, such as Subic Bay and Clark, and new bases including the five that were a part of the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (Antonio Bautista, Basa, Fort Magsaysay, Lumbia, Mactan Benito Ebuen). I conducted a three-part comparison between three tourist destinations to exemplify the effect tourism has on local culture. The three case studies are Manila, Cebu, and Coron. Cebu serves as an example of a long-term tourist destination that is very built up. El Nido, Palawan is a growing destination that is sought by tourists looking to escape the crowds of Cebu. Manila is an example of a highly developed Filipino city that comparatively lacks tourism development. Comparing the three tourist destinations reveals how they developed differently and how military relations or other



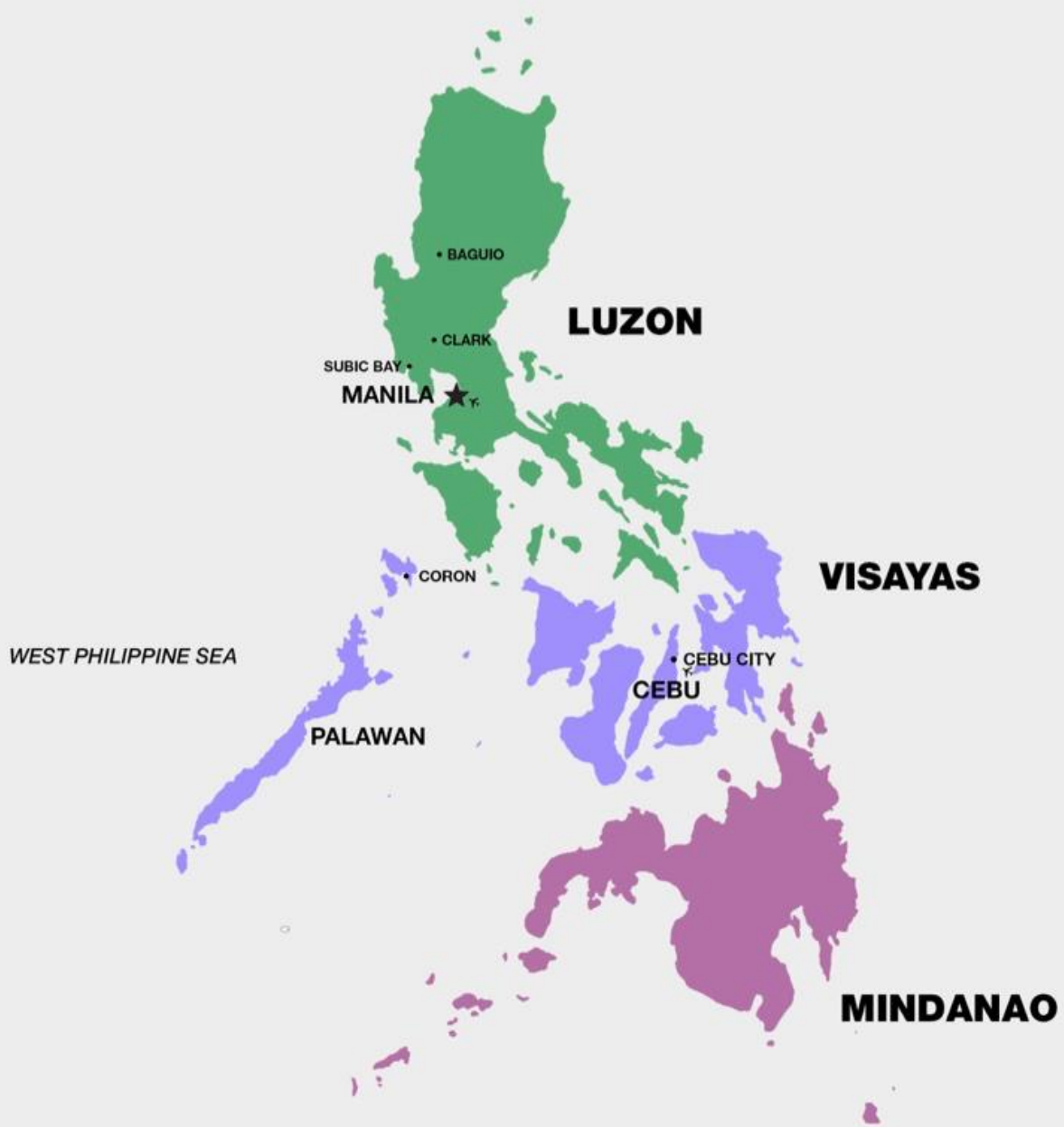
factors influenced the different development. The comparison of the geographic location of U.S. bases and tourist destinations will determine if geography has an impact on tourist development.

### **Research Site**

The idea for this study arose from my observations of how tourism has developed in a former top destination city in Thailand: Phuket. Today, Phuket's tourism has been overshadowed by the less-developed and more beautiful islands around it, but Phuket acts as popular port to them. When I visited in May of 2017, it was run down, grimy, full of various types of sex tourism and clearly tailored for Westerners. Traditional ways of life have completely disappeared, and the most significant cultural identity that remains is Pad Thai and Chang beer. Although these observations on tourism were in Thailand, the tourism industry is likely similar in other countries. There has been much research on tourism development that reveal a variety of aspects and issues of tourism development (Skwiot 2010; Frew 2011; Frew 2016; Lindquist 2009; Enloe 2000; Gems 2006).

The Philippines became the site for this study because of its unique and extensive history with the U.S. The U.S. colonized the Philippines from the beginning of the twentieth century until just after WWII. The U.S. military remained on a number of bases until 1992. Despite their official departure, the U.S. military has continued to have a presence in the Philippines and is now set to move back in under the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement. The Philippines as a research site provides the opportunity to compare militarism and tourism, a comparison that is rarely made. This study will add to the literature that exists about tourism by understanding the mutual relationship of militarism and tourism in the Philippines. By evaluating the military partnership through the lens of tourism, the inequalities of the partnership between the U.S. and the Philippines may be better understood.

# THE PHILIPPINES



## **Qualitative Research and Methods**

The research for this study included field research in the Philippines. In a two week trip, I visited the three cities which served as my case studies (Manila, Cebu, and Coron), as well as Subic Bay Freeport and Clark Freeport, former U.S. military bases. In each of these locations, I made observations of tourism attractions, tourist accommodations, quality of infrastructure, and traces of the U.S. military, where appropriate. These observations were essential to having a current understanding of these destinations, as they are changing rapidly. My own experiences as a tourist in these destinations was helpful to understanding what other American tourists may experience. Additionally, I gained a better understanding of the geography of the Philippines through this field research.

I also conducted several interviews in each of the destinations with either American tourists or Filipinos who work in the tourism industry. The role of the Filipinos in the industry changed in each location, as each destination has its own respective tourist industry. American tourists helped me understand if the tourism industry is tailored to Americans or Westerners, and they also gave me insight as to why Americans travel to the Philippines. As expected, there were some American tourists that had either family or military ties to the Philippines. Local Filipinos in the tourist industry provided insight on the rate of development and expansion in the area, as well as Filipinos' opinions on Americans, U.S. military, and the U.S. military bases. In addition to local Filipinos, I had the chance to interview a professor in tourism development who provided an academic perspective to both the history of tourism and U.S. militarism and the current discourse on tourism development.

Additional sources include Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez's *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawaii and the Philippines* (2013) and several news articles to provide information on the history of the U.S. military in the Philippines as it relates to tourism. The news articles offered both American and Filipino perspectives on past and current events, such as the EDCA. *Securing Paradise* and other literature offer the comparison between military and tourism in Hawaii, as its military presence in the Pacific is comparable to the Philippines (Skwiot, 2010). Other books used include David Vine's *Island of Shame* (2011), Cynthia Enloe's *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases* (1990), and Chris Pearson's "Researching Militarized Landscape" (2012), as they provide more context about the U.S. military empire, sex tourism, and impacts of militarization.

### **Limitations**

One limitation during this study may have been in gaining the opinion of the Filipinos, as I only interviewed Filipinos in the tourism industry. This limited group of Filipinos may not represent how all Filipinos feel about Americans, the U.S. military, Filipino relations with China, and more. However, the Filipinos in the tourism industry are the most essential to this research topic – tourism as it relates to militarism. The questions asked about their opinions were still focused on tourism, and military as it relates to tourism. Working in the tourism industry at all levels, the Filipinos I interviewed were best to answer these questions.

My study was also limited by time and funding. If I have a chance to continue studying these research questions, perhaps I would interview a wider range of Filipinos to gain a more holistic understanding of Filipino's opinions.

### **Ethical Considerations**

As the researcher, I conceived the idea for this study, conducted the research and the interviews, and analyzed the qualitative data. The research required the participation of human subjects, so there were ethical considerations. First, all participation was voluntary, and there was no incentive in order to prevent coerced participation. Participants had to be at least eighteen years old. Second, all data was de-identified, and no names were collected or recorded. Participants were allowed to choose the location of the interview if they did not feel comfortable in the location in which I recruited them.

As this research was conducted in a foreign country, cultural differences were also considered. The American tourists faced minimal to no risk answering the questions about their tourist experience, and there was no cultural difference to consider. The questions asked of the Filipinos also posed a minimal risk. Filipinos have a similar right of free speech, so even talking about the government or the military poses minimal risk. Women in the Philippines exercise a similar amount of independence as women in the U.S., so it was appropriate to approach women alone. The participants were allowed to refuse any given question to protect themselves from any risk they saw.

### **U.S. Militarism and Tourism**

The background of U.S. militarism in the Philippines, alongside much context of the U.S. military empire is explained in Chapter 1. After a foundation of the context of the U.S. presence in the Philippines, Chapter 2 explores two significant U.S. bases – Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Base – and their transition to “freeports” and tourist destinations. Chapter 3 focuses on the case study destinations and explores the tourism economy, as it differs from the military economy. This chapter lays out what each destination offers to tourists and how the tourist crowd

differs between destinations. Chapter 4 analyzes the infrastructure in the Philippines, as it may be the biggest impact the U.S. military has had on tourism and has left in the Philippines. Finally, Chapter 5 places all the history of the U.S. military and the diverse tourism industry in the context of the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) and looks forward to how the return of the U.S. military could impact the Philippines.

## Chapter 1: The U.S. Military in the Pacific

“I shall return.” These words spoken by Douglas MacArthur after the Japanese defeated American-Filipino forces in Corregidor are representative of both military history and the tourism industry. This defeat in 1942 marked the beginning of the Japanese occupation, but MacArthur did, in fact, return in 1945 along with another half-century of official U.S. military presence in the Philippines. Alongside soldiers came American civilians seeking the exotic and untouched beauty of the Philippines. The Philippines as a tourist destination and an essential island base is better understood within the context of U.S. relations in Asia and the Pacific. This chapter will explore many bases of the U.S. military empire and their historical and geopolitical relevance. I will explain the significance of the Philippines as a military tool for the U.S. This will set a foundation for understanding the tourism industry and its development, both in how it is influenced by militarism and how it fosters a friendly environment for militarism.

The long and friendly relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines remains significant, as it allowed for a new military agreement (EDCA) in which the U.S. military will have access to military bases in the Philippines. This chapter will explain how international relations between the U.S., China, and several South East Asian countries led to the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA), confirmed by the Philippines Supreme Court in 2016.

### History of U.S. Bases

There has been a lot of research done on U.S. military bases around the world that reveal the complexity of U.S. militarism and its impacts (Lipman 2009; Bennett 2017; Davis 2015; Hirshberg 2015; Herman 2008). One example is David Vine’s *Island of Shame: The Secret History of the U.S. Military Base on Diego Garcia* (2011) in which Vine puts forward the word “empire” when referring to the extensive network and collection of U.S. military bases around

the world. Vine chose to describe U.S. militarism in this way because the U.S. has over one thousand military bases outside of the fifty states. These bases are located on the sovereign territory of many of our allies such as Germany, Japan, and South Korea. 287 bases in Germany made sense during World War II and to keep East Germany at bay during the Cold War, but 287 in a small country like Germany seems excessive in times of peace.

The other front of the Cold War was in Asia and the Pacific. Most bases from WWII remained, but the function of them shifted to containing communism. Bases in Hawaii and Guam that were previously utilized to combat the Japanese now monitor the Pacific. The Philippines was a colony during WWII, so the U.S. military had obvious reasons to protect their territory. The Philippine bases were extremely useful for the U.S. during the Vietnamese war, partly because of the geographic proximity between the two countries (Interview F3). Filipinos also trained U.S. soldiers in guerilla warfare to prepare them to face the Vietnamese.

In 1992, the Philippine government terminated the U.S. land leases and effectively ended the *official* U.S. military presence in the Philippines. Bases, airfields, and bays all over the islands emptied and were turned over to the Filipino people and its government. The biggest lesson from this military exile is that the only way to insure access to land is to own it. Even a long-time ally and partner, such as the Philippines, can change its opinion on the U.S. military occupying its sovereign land. Bases in Guam and Hawaii are certainly more reliable being on U.S. territory and remain vital to the U.S. military agenda in Asia and the Pacific.

Foreign military bases must cooperate with foreign governments and its people to have access to its land. In Guam, the ruling government is the U.S. but military operations must still cooperate with the people. The ideal foreign military base would be on land that has no native



population. Vine tells the story of Diego Garcia in *Island of Shame* (2011) where the U.S. and the U.K. worked together to manifest the ideal land for a military base.

### **Timeline of Major Events Regarding U.S.-Philippine Relations**

#### **1898-1899 Treaty of Paris**

Treaty of Peace between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Spain that ended the Spanish-American war and the Spanish Empire. The United States acquired Puerto Rico, Guam and Cuba. The U.S. paid one hundred thousand dollars to Spain for the acquisition of the Philippine Islands.

#### **1900 Onset of American Colonial Era**

#### **1942-1945 Japanese Occupation**

The fall of Bataan and Corregidor, two major bases for the American-Filipino forces was followed by the Japanese Death March. Douglas MacArthur led the American forces that retook the Philippines in 1945, ending the Japanese Occupation.

#### **1946 Filipino Independence**

The U.S. granted independence to the Philippines on July 4, 1946.

#### **1965-1986 Ferdinand Marco's Rule**

The President of the Philippines for over twenty years declared Martial Law which lasted from 1972 to 1981.

#### **1992 U.S. Military left the Philippines**

The U.S. military turned over leased land and active military bases to the Filipino government including Subic Bay Naval Facility and Clark Air Base, effectively leaving the Philippines.

#### **1998 Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA)**

The U.S. military was given access to Philippine ports for fueling, repairs, supplies, and rest and relaxation in this bilateral agreement.

#### **2016 Rodrigo Duterte becomes 16<sup>th</sup> President of the Philippines**

#### **2016 Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA)**

A bilateral agreement confirmed between the U.S. and the Philippines give U.S. troops and equipment wide access to Philippine military bases including Antonio Bautista Air Base, Basa Air Base, Fort Magsaysay, Lumbia Air Base, and Mactan-Benito Ebuena Air Base.

The British government displaced over one thousand inhabitants of the Chagos archipelago with the approval of the U.S. The British then gave the island of Diego Garcia, free of inhabitants and conflict, to the U.S. military. *Island of Shame* (2011) focuses on the acquisition of the island and the displacement and the detriment of the native people. However, the story of Diego Garcia also reveals how the U.S. military operates. Vine quotes John Pike, a military expert, saying, “It’s the single most important facility we’ve got,” as it reaches parts of Africa and Asia, and the Persian Gulf (9). U.S. military leaders seek to have control over all parts of the world. Through their actions, the military leaders value their agenda more than the human right to land and economic opportunity and sovereignty rights. If military action in Diego Garcia led to the displacement of native people (many of whom died or fell into extreme poverty), what are the consequences of U.S. military action elsewhere?

### **The West Philippine Sea**

Although the U.S. military left its Filipino bases, including Subic Bay Naval Facility and Clark Air Base, in 1992, the military has continued to have presence throughout the islands. The Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) was passed in 1998 which allows the U.S. military to have access to Philippine ports for fueling, repairs, supplies, and rest and relaxation (Interview F14). Through this agreement, the American-Filipino partnership remains active and visible to the rest of the world. A strong military presence or partnership in Asia was important for the U.S. during the Cold War. Such a presence remains important for China, a rising world super power and neighbor to the Philippines.

The U.S. military has continued to have a military presence in the Philippines since 1992 in an annual joint military exercise between the U.S. and Filipino armed forces called *Balikatan*, meaning shoulder to shoulder (Interview A2). Despite leaving the bases, the American-Filipino

partnership remains strong and brotherly. Such a close partnership created the foundation for the 2016 bilateral agreement named the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) which gives the U.S. military much greater access to Filipino military bases than the VFA (Viray 2018). The recent agreement is underway with the first groundbreaking on Cesar Basa Air Base in Pampanga in April 2018.

The EDCA has two agendas for both the Philippines and the U.S. The U.S. Embassy stated that the agreement was “mutually beneficial,” (Viray 2018). The agreement is more explicitly designed to build up Filipino forces to protect the West Philippine Sea (South China Sea) from Chinese land reclamation in the disputed territory. China has been threatening the sovereignty of the nations surrounding the sea by building islands. Vietnam is another vulnerable nation, but the Filipino military partnership makes the Philippines a much better location for U.S. military bases. The U.S. has further interest in monitoring China and their military activity, as China is the dominating power in Asia and challenges the U.S. as the world superpower.

The EDCA is also a timely agreement. Although officially agreed upon in 2016, it was originally signed in 2014, before President Rodrigo Duterte was elected. President Duterte came into office in 2016 and has been a controversial leader internationally and domestically (Miller 2018). Duterte’s war on drugs, a promise of his presidency, has become deadly and highly criticized abroad. Furthermore, Duterte favors China to the U.S. as a military ally. Addressing the Philippines-China Trade and Investment Forum in 2016, Duterte announced “a military and economic separation from the U.S.” (Ranada 2016). However, most Filipinos prefer the U.S. partnership--and consider it as such--because they believe the U.S provides the Philippines with better military supplies and equipment (Interview F10). Despite Duterte siding with China, he does not approve of the Chinese military aggression in the West Philippine Sea. Ultimately,

Duterte supports the U.S. military for the protection it provides in the maritime dispute with China. The EDCA further confirms the American-Filipino partnership and a U.S. military presence in Asia.

The history of American-Filipino relations--which included both historical occupation and the modern military partnership--has a complementary relationship with tourism in the Philippines. The U.S. presence opened borders for tourism to develop, and the friendly presence of tourists allowed the military presence to expand without appearing threatening. The geography of the Philippines plays a role in both, as well. The geographic location of the Philippines in Asia makes it a vital part of the network of U.S. military bases. That same tropical location influences the types of tourism that have developed: sun, sea and sand (Interview F14). The following chapters will describe many aspects of tourism development in the Philippines, as well as destinations that directly emerged from the U.S. military presence.

## Chapter 2: Base Transformation and Tourism Development

### JEST Camp

*Jungle Environment Survival Training (JEST) Camp is the most famous (and toughest) survival school in the Philippines. Since the 1960s, we have offered adventurous souls a chance to uncover their primitive instinct for survival through teaching them indigenous skills inside the mighty Jungle itself.*



The modern tourist researches potential destinations, attractions, and activities online. When I first read of the JEST camp in Vernadette Gonzalez's *Securing Paradise* (2013) in its historical context, I searched for the JEST camp website online. The intro above was found on this website. It introduces the camp without mentioning its military history. In fact, there is no mention of the U.S. military, the original trainees, throughout the whole website. Only a list of the jungle survival courses, the instructors and tickets can be found.

Although the website does not market their tourist experience as military history, U.S. militarism is at the heart of its origins. Gonzalez gives a more in-depth description of the JEST Camp as a U.S. military operation, its transition to tourist attraction, the continued military presence, and the relation between the Aeta tribe and the U.S. military. The Aeta tribe are the people indigenous to the jungle where Subic Bay Naval Base was built. Being native to the jungle, they were the most-knowledgeable and best-suited to take on the task of training U.S. troops about jungle survival and guerrilla warfare. The U.S. military was quite active in the Philippines during the Vietnam War, as the Philippines was an important Pacific base during this time. The JEST Camp was used to prepare U.S. soldiers for fighting in the unfamiliar landscape of Vietnam.

The camp continued to exclusively train U.S. soldiers up until the U.S. military left their bases in the Philippines in 1992. After which, it was simple for the Department of Tourism (D.o.T.) to repurpose the camp for tourist use. Marketed as ecotourism, the JEST Camp experience offers "jungle skills demonstrations, hikes, and overnight camping trips," (Gonzalez 2013, 182). Without marketing it, the JEST Camp also offers the experience of a U.S. soldier in the Vietnam War and could, therefore, be considered military tourism. The ecotourism offered here is a cross between the preservation of natural resources and neoliberal management. The trainers remained at the camp during the transition to freeport and "became employees of the Freeport Services Corporation," (Gonzalez 2013, 208). The Aeta people report liking the U.S. military trainees more, as they took better care of the natural environment than both the tourists and the Filipino land management (Gonzalez 2013, 200).

While the U.S. military has left the bases in 1992, some troops have returned to the JEST Camp for "Special Assistance Trainings" between the U.S. Special Forces and the Armed Forces of the Philippines (Gonzalez 2013, 211). The JEST Camp exemplifies the transition of U.S. military bases in the Philippines to tourist destinations, as well as shows how the U.S. military continues to have an active presence in the Philippines.

As an introduction to the case studies of tourism in Manila, Cebu, and Coron presented in Chapter 3, I will discuss various aspects of tourism development throughout the Philippines, including the emergence of the Department of Tourism (D.o.T.). The tourism of Subic Bay and Clark Air Base is closely related to the tourism of Manila, as the three cities are within a couple hours by car. However, the transition from U.S. military bases to Filipino property is more exemplary of how tourism has developed and will be discussed specifically. The goal of this chapter is to understand trends of tourism including attractions, the employment of locals, and the effects of a capitalist industry.

### **Base Tourism**

The U.S. military occupied Subic Bay Naval Base from the purchase of the Philippine islands in 1899 until 1992. Clark Air Base was built by the U.S. military a few years into the American colonial era and also occupied until 1992. Both bases were essential to U.S. military control in the Philippines, as they are both on the island of Luzon with the capital of Manila. The bases of Subic and Clark were also active and useful throughout the Vietnam War. Subic Bay is located in the Luzon rainforest where native inhabitants of the jungle were enlisted to train U.S. troops in guerilla warfare tactics. The JEST camp was designed to prepare American soldiers for an unfamiliar form of combat in Vietnam.

Throughout military occupation, Olongapo and Angeles, the neighboring cities of Subic and Clark respectively, developed entertainment reputations. The U.S. soldiers would visit these cities for bars with Filipino performers, karaoke, gambling, prostitution, and more (Interview F14). Soon enough, the entertainment industries of Olongapo and Angeles began to attract Filipinos who were seeking good bands and good nightlife. The American-built roads from

Manila to the bases increased mobility and allowed Filipinos to travel with ease and become tourists.

Olongapo was notorious for its prostitution. Although sex tourism is active throughout the Philippines, Olongapo is one of the only cities to have a distinct and popular red-light district (Interview F14). Many tourists of Olongapo, foreign or Filipino, were visiting specifically for the sex tourism that the city had to offer. Cynthia Enloe, the author of *Bananas, Beaches & Bases* (2014), would describe the sex tourism industry of Olongapo as “shaping power relations between the [U.S.] military and the society it is supposed to be protecting,” (2). Enloe’s book discusses female experiences in international politics and how women have a much more significant role in international politics that is discussed. One example of these female experiences is the relation between foreign soldiers and local women that become employed by sex tourism. The presence of the U.S. military in Olongapo and in the Philippines has shaped employment opportunities for local Filipinos by offering opportunities for singers, dancers, bar owners, or sex workers--the types of entertainment that many soldiers seek.

### **Post-Base Transformation**

December 28, 1991, the New York Times front page story read, “Philippines Orders U.S. to Leave Strategic Navy Base at Subic Bay.” The Philippine government saw the U.S. military presence “as a vestige of colonialism and an affront to Philippine sovereignty,” (Sanger 1991). The departure of the U.S. military in 1992 left the Philippine government to decide what to do with the land of the former bases. While some bases were turned over for the Filipino armed forces to use and occupy, Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Base became freeports where visitors can enjoy duty-free shopping, casinos and various eco-tourism attractions. The freeports are a private-public partnership in which the land is publicly managed and private companies are

approved to conduct business within the tax-free zone. The design of the freeports is to attract foreign investments, promote a neoliberal economy, and attract foreign tourists through duty-free shopping and shipping. For example, a visit to the theme parks in Subic Bay (see figure 2.1) reveals these converging forces and formations.

The tourism development of Subic Bay Freeport Zone was administered by the Subic Bay Metropolitan Authority and chairman Richard Gordon, former mayor of Olongapo. In *Securing Paradise* (2013), Gonzalez discusses in more detail Gordon's role in the liberalization of Subic and Clark, as well as the transition of military facilities to tourist accommodation. Gordon, as Gonzalez describes, envisioned economic independence and autonomy for the Philippines and used the American neoliberal model to transform a place of U.S. militarism into a tourist destination (89). Mirroring the Filipino tourism slogan "It's more fun in the Philippines," Subic Bay Freeport Zone advertises "It's more fun-tastic in Subic!"

In my visit to Subic Bay and Clark Freeport Zone, it felt as though it was not the Philippines. One American tourist claimed, "you could've told me I was somewhere in the U.S." while driving through Clark (Interview A7). Although the monsoon threat that is typical during August in Luzon scared away many tourists, both freeport zones were full of hotels, resorts and condos that are filled the rest of the year. A road sign in Subic stated, "D.o.T.'s #1 Destination in Luzon- Subic Bay." There are several other road signs directing visitors to different attractions: casinos, restaurants, bars, karaoke. The one thing Subic offers that Clark does not is the plethora of eco-tourism activities and theme parks (see figure 2.1).



## Attractions and Activities



**YOUR THEME PARK CAPITAL.** The widely varied yet unique theme parks in Subic Bay virtually make it the theme park capital of the Philippines. Tucked in deeply forested mountains or in open blue seas, these theme parks cater to the daring and intrepid or to the gentle and meek.



### OCEAN ADVENTURE

Southeast Asia's only open water marine park stands at the foot of a rainforest and opens to the blue waters of Subic Bay. This kind of environment provides a natural habitat for the whales, dolphins and sea lions that treat visitors to spectacular shows and up-close personal encounters.

### ZOOBIC SAFARI

This expansive 21-hectare amusement park lives up to its name with a wild array of Asia's exotic animals freely roaming in their natural habitat. Every encounter with the wild, ranging from tigers to pythons to camels and many more, promises a once-in-a-lifetime thrill.

### TREE TOP ADVENTURE

The world's first motorized canopy tour can be found in this natural sanctuary nestled within Subic Bay's well-protected and densely forested area. From 100 feet above the ground, fly off to new and higher peaks of excitement – literally and figuratively – across breathtaking panoramic views of rainforests.

3

## Attractions and Activities



### MORE THEME PARKS...



### JEST CAMP

Originally known for Jungle Environmental Survival Training, JEST now also features the Magaul Bird Park, the Aerial Adventure Walk, the Kawayan Kitchen Restaurant, and other unique attractions, some of which are the first of their kind in the Philippines. Learn indigenous skills in an active, hands-on environment and experience the many wonders of nature.

### HOLY LAND SUBIC SANCTUARY

The first of its kind in Asia, this prayer sanctuary and biblical theme park takes you on a spiritual journey to the land of the Bible in ancient Jerusalem before and at the time of Jesus Christ. Trek through hillsides and forests for life-sized dioramas of well-known biblical scenes.

### FUNTASTIC PARK

An indoor educational fun park that offers a host of fun learning activities such as Mirror Maze, 3D Trick Art, Enchanted Forest (3D), Dark Room, Science Zone, Ames Room, Optical Illusion Wall, Kids Learning Nook, Costume Area, Subic Bay History Corner, Grass Slide, Garden Maze Adventure, Trampoline and more. A most enjoyable one-a-kind activity for the young and the young at heart.

4

Figure 2.1: Subic Bay Freeport Zone Attractions and Activities from [visit.mysubicbay.com.ph](http://visit.mysubicbay.com.ph)

The wide roads of Clark Freeport Zone are lined with casinos, golf courses, and resorts. Clark Air Force Park is the biggest military-related attraction where about six Filipino war planes are on display, commodifying tokens of Filipino military history (see figure 2.2). Several international hotels, including the Clark Marriott Hotel, Hotel Seoul, and Hotel Royal Amsterdam are visible from the main boulevards of Clark. The numerous developing condos and resorts alongside the several malls reveals that Clark is attracting foreign investment which was the goal of Richard Gordon, when he was Secretary of Tourism.



*Figure 2.2: Clark Air Force Park – Clark Freeport Zone, Philippines*

In the transition from Clark Air Base to Clark Freeport Zone, the airport and runways built by the U.S. military remained for commercial use. As of August 2018, Clark International Airport is on track to be the international air “hub” of the Philippines (Interviews F2, F3, F4, F14). Ninoy Aquino International Airport in Manila is the current hub, but much of this traffic ends up congesting Manila. The expansion of the Clark International Airport serves as another example of the commercial transition of Clark and Subic Bay.

### **The D.o.T.**

After being chairman of the Subic Bay Metropolitan Authority, Richard Gordon held the office of Secretary of Tourism from 2001 to 2004 (Interview F14). During this time, the Department of Tourism had two initiatives to increase tourism. Gordon proposed to invite former U.S. military who were stationed in the Philippine bases, such as Subic Bay and Clark. This would be a new kind of “military tour” where military nostalgia meets tourism (Gonzalez 2013, 86). As former mayor of Olongapo, Gordon never wanted the U.S. military to leave and tried to keep military tourism alive through initiatives such as this (Interview F14).

“Bring home a friend to the Philippines” is another initiative of the D.o.T. that began in 2017 (Interview F14). Both sponsors and invitees are incentivized to participate with prizes including condos, cars, and gift cards for sponsors and travel packages for invitees ([philippinetourismusa.com](http://philippinetourismusa.com)). Encouraging Filipinos and expats to invite foreign friends is a way to increase tourism while also promoting their reputation of friendliness and hospitality. Bring home a friend is an example of the promotional aspect of the D.o.T.

The D.o.T. operates like a business, as it manages, accredits, and promotes the tourism industry, the basis of the Filipino economy. The D.o.T. operates at local, regional and national levels. Just like a business degree, Filipino universities offer degrees in tourism development to prepare students for the tourist economy. A professor of tourism development I met with specializes in destination development. This subject includes courses on destination and development management, regional clusters and local governments (Interview F14). This professor labelled tourism as the priority of economic growth and transportation, specifically air travel, as the main way to increase access to more destinations throughout the archipelago. Tourism is entwined with much of Filipino society, as it is a part of education, the economy, the

government, and employment opportunities. As mobility increases for tourists, mobility increases for Filipinos. The D.o.T. has had to change and develop to handle the ever-growing tourist economy.

One role of the D.o.T. is marketing and promotion of destinations that are already developed. This means that the role of the D.o.T. is not to build destinations but to sell it to tourists. Local municipalities are responsible for developing tourism. In order to do this, local governments regulate what is built where and may invite foreign investment for resorts or shopping centers (Interview F10). A regional tourism department does the accreditation for hotels, resorts, restaurants and shopping centers so that these destinations can be promoted either through the regional or national D.o.T. Destinations are only promoted through the D.o.T. if it is easily accessible. An increasing number of airports are being built to facilitate transportation across the archipelago and create more accessibility for destinations (Interview F13, F14).

Airports are a key element of the Philippines' tourism industry. Due to infrastructure needs, tourism traffic varies around the country. Clark International Airport is currently being developed to handle more traffic, much of which currently goes to the airport in Manila. Until Clark takes over as the international hub, there are just two major international airports: one in Manila that brings travelers to Luzon and the other in Cebu City which is in the heart of the Philippines. Cebu province contains many destinations; the modern international airport and extensive roadways facilitates large amounts of tourists. In addition, tourists will stop in Cebu for just a couple days before hopping to the next island with the help of Cebu's large airport. The volume of tourism that Manila and Cebu have contrasts Coron, the third destination of my case studies. Coron is located in the region of Palawan, known for being relatively untouched by civilization and development. In Coron, the airport has two gates and the road to town has many

unfinished parts. The smaller amount of tourism in Coron and the lack of promotion by the D.o.T. is reflective of the poor infrastructure. The tourism of each of these destinations will be further explored in chapter 3.

## Chapter 3: Island Hopping Manila, Cebu, Coron

### Traveling to Coron

Manila traffic is notoriously bad. It took one hour to drive from the airport to the hotel when we arrived. The following day, traffic was so bad that it took two hours to go fifteen miles. On our way back to the airport at 5:00 am, there was no traffic at all, and the Grab taxi only took fifteen minutes! Upon arriving at MNL domestic terminal 4, we went through brief security at the door which simply required a luggage scanner and a walk-through metal detector. No need to take out laptops or liquids. After checking in to the flight, there was a second security check that was no more invasive than the first. We waited to board in a semi-crowded room that had a line of food stalls in the back.

Our flight to Coron was quick, only 40 minutes. The same flight leaves several times each day. As we descended, a glimpse of the blue and green water came into view. We stepped out of the plane on the tarmac just twenty yards from the two-room terminal. One room being for departures and the other for arrivals. Baggage claim was manual; passengers restlessly waited behind the barrier waving their baggage tickets and hoping the worker would serve them next. Although it seemed quite chaotic, the whole event lasted no more than three minutes.



Figure 3.1: Passenger: “The black bag over there. No, no, the other black one. No, the black one next to it. Yeah, that one!”  
Francisco B. Reues Airport Busuanga

There was a line of tour agencies and van drivers waiting outside the terminal. The tour agency employees were passing out discounts for the boat tours available in town, and the van drivers were offering rides all for the same set price of 100 pesos a person—about 2USD. The road from the airport to Coron Town is mostly paved. There are portions of the road that are dirt and bridges that are under construction. Along the route, there are a couple cattle grids which are uneven, narrow bridges that keep livestock from wandering too far. Other obstacles included stray dogs and a mudslide that blocked half the road. Upon reaching Coron town, the only full-sized cars are the vans that taxi tourists to the airport. Trikes and motorcycles are the only vehicles in town as the roads are very narrow. The town is right on the water with a breath-taking view of the cliffs and surrounding islands.

There is a close relationship between U.S. militarism and tourism in Subic Bay and Clark Freeport, as these freeports are former U.S. military bases. However, the impact of U.S. military has reached tourism around the Philippines. To offer a holistic understanding of tourism in the Philippines, this chapter introduces three case studies of destinations around the islands with different types of tourist attractions and tourists. Manila, Cebu City, and Coron are each on separate islands, making air travel the fastest form of travel. Each of these destinations have their own native language(s) and local food cultures. Manila is the capital of the Philippines that generally has less Western tourists than other destinations. Tourism of Subic Bay and Clark Freeport is also connected to Manila, as they are all located on the island of Luzon. Cebu offers an abundance of ecotourism throughout the island, and many of those tourists stay in Cebu City for a couple days. Many visitors of Cebu City are there for business, but the city still has entertainment and tourist attractions of its own. Lastly, Coron is an island destination in Palawan, the island next to the West Philippine Sea. It is a rapidly-developing destination that mostly offers eco-tourism, popular with backpackers.

Travelling to each of these destinations gave me the opportunity to speak with American tourists to understand their experiences, as well as with local Filipinos that worked in the tourism industry. The interviews with Filipinos gave insight to the type of work the industry offers them. They were also able to provide observations on change and development over time, as well as how tourism impacts the locals. This chapter will describe each of these destinations and discuss the overall patterns seen in tourism in the Philippines.

## Destinations

While the military economy of the Philippines has been and still is impacted by the U.S. military, there are other economies that exist and are significant on their own. *Figure 3.2*

illustrates the different types of economies and the tourism available in the case studies of

Manila, Cebu and Coron. The similarities and differences between these destinations are largely influenced by the geography of the cities and of the Philippines. Manila and Cebu City offer similar lifestyle attractions, such as shopping and casinos, and business and development

### Why are there so many Filipino-Americans?

- ❖ Many Filipinos immigrated to Hawaii to work on pineapple plantations.
- ❖ Many U.S. soldiers married Filipino women demonstrating the gendered history of the U.S. military presence in the Philippines.
- ❖ The shared language, economic partnership and friendly political relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines encouraged many Filipinos to immigrate to the U.S.

*Figure 3.3: (Interviews F3 & F14)*

opportunities. This is due to the fact that Manila and Cebu are the two largest cities in the Philippines, and additionally, these cities are where the two big international airports are located.

While Manila is the hub for tourism in Luzon, Cebu is centrally located in the Philippines, making Cebu City a hub for the island of Cebu, the islands of Visayas, and even Mindinao (Interview F13) (see *Figure 3.4*). Cebu is also protected by islands on all sides from strong typhoons, so the weather is less severe during the rainy season. Large cities such as these are likely to attract many family members living abroad, specifically many Filipino-Americans (see *Figure 3.3*).

I found that Filipino-Americans tend to visit the Philippines with two goals: visiting family and exploring the country. For example, I met a couple who was enjoying vacation in Coron after visiting family in Manila (Interview A1). Another Filipino-American that I met manages properties on Cebu City. The purpose of his visit was to both manage properties and visit family in Cebu (Interview A5).



*Figure 3.2: Tourist Attractions:  
what these destinations have to offer*

Destinations	Historic	Lifestyle	Eco-tourism	Beaches	Business	Tourists
<b>Manila</b>	Intramuros- former Spanish walled city Fort Santiago Corregidor Island Museum St. Augustine Church	Makati City Shopping Centers	Subic Bay Freepport: JEST Camp Ocean Adventure Zoobic Park	None	Outsourcing Malls Casinos Building development	Business Filipinos Filipino-Americans
<b>Cebu</b>	Fort Pedro Magellan's Cross Museo Sugbo Lapu-Lapu Shrine The Heritage of Cebu Monument Basilica del Santo Niño	Shopping Centers Casinos Sinulog Festival	Watersports Bojo River Kawasan Falls Whale Shark Watching Canyoneering Olango Wildlife Sanctuary	Private Beach Resorts on Mactan Island Mactan Newtown Public Beach Malapascua Island Camotes Islands Moalboal	Property Management Resort Development Casino Development	Filipinos Business Travellers on a layover
<b>Coron</b>	WWII Japanese Shipwrecks Saint Agustin Church	Public Market Coron Baywalk	Scuba Diving Hot Springs Mt. Tapyas Safari Island Hopping Tours: Kayangan Lake Barracuda Lake Twin Lagoons Coral Gardens	Malcapuya Island Ditaytayan Island Bulog Island CYC Beach Sunset Beach Cabo Beach	Fast-food chain development Resort Development	Backpacker-friendly Mostly Filipinos Foreigners include Americans, Chinese, Europeans, Japanese, Koreans

While Filipino-Americans were a large part of the Americans that I encountered, the majority of tourists were Filipino. I had predicted that more Filipinos would be traveling to cities such as Manila and Cebu than Americans and other foreigners, but Filipinos also made up the majority of the tourists in Coron. The destination that offers almost exclusively eco-tourism with scuba diving and boat tours around the islands had 137,978 Filipino tourists and 44,860 foreign tourists in 2017 (Tourism Office- Coron 2018). When asked his opinion of American tourists, a boat driver said Americans are friendly, nice, and environmentally conscious compared to other foreign tourists. He also recalled a group of twelve U.S. soldiers that were on his boat in 2015 who were even more environmentally friendly (Interview F8). Coron is a rapidly developing destination. As of May 2018, the tourist arrival count was 20,000 higher than May 2017, but the ratio of Filipinos to foreigners is approximately the same (Tourism Office- Coron 2018).

The role of the tourism division of the municipal government of Coron has changed over the last several years due to the ramped development. A key role of the tourism division in 2013 was to welcome media and bloggers that would promote Coron for it to be well known in local and international media (Interview F10). At this time, there were only about 20,000 tourist arrivals in a year, and they were mostly divers to see the Japanese shipwrecks. Sufficient accommodation was a common issue that led to opening the colosseum for accommodation and even homestays at locals' homes. In 2018, there is enough accommodation for 3,000 to 4,000 tourists daily, and more hotels and resorts are being built, some of which are foreign resort chains (Interview F10).

While the accommodation has caught up to the tourism in Coron, the airport remains outdated. Palawan did not experience any U.S. militarism like Clark did, so Coron does not benefit from having any U.S.-built infrastructure. The small airport has two gates and a crowded waiting

room. It will soon be too small to accommodate for the tourists that will fill the new hotels and resorts. Additionally, the outdated facilities will not match the standard of luxury some of the new high-end resorts will set. Comparing the airports of Manila, Cebu, and Coron reflects the tourist traffic of each destination, as well as the wealth that air travelers bring to the destinations (see *Figure 3.5*). Coron is a popular destination for backpackers and budget travelers; its airport reflects that. As the primary hub, Manila’s airport has four terminals that service domestic and



Figure 3.4: Historical and Cultural Attractions of Cebu

international flights. While the international terminal was modern and clean, the domestic terminal was rather dingy. The airport of Cebu is certainly the nicest with modern and clean facilities. While Cebu may attract some budget travelers, resort-vacationers, business and investors also frequently use the Cebu airport. Each destination is surely unique in what attractions they offer, and therefore, the economic opportunities of the Filipinos vary between destinations.

*Figure 3.5: Airports in the Philippines*

<b>Ninoy Aquino International Airport (MNL)</b> Serving Metro Manila	4 terminals International and domestic	Outdated, yet clean facilities No transfers between terminals Disparity between domestic and international airport quality No souvenir shops in domestic terminal Somewhat crowded
<b>Mactan-Cebu International Airport (CEB)</b> Serving Metro Cebu & Cebu Island	1 terminal International and domestic	New, modern, and clean facilities Many souvenir shops- Cebuano themed
<b>Francisco B. Reyes Airport (USU)</b> Serving Busuanga and Coron	1 terminal, 2 gates Domestic only	Small airport with 2 gates Open-air, no AC Manual baggage claim Small bathroom with faulty fixtures Three airline check-in counters Manual signage for flight status

### Opportunities

The Filipino-American managing property in Cebu is reflective of the type of business in Cebu that has caused rapid development from both foreign and domestic investors over the last several decades. One Cebu tourist commented that there were no skyscrapers when they had last been there in the 1980s (Interview A10). Cebu City now has a high skyline that is growing upward and outward. Galleria Residence is a “three-towered resort-inspired residential development” projected to be completed 2020-2024. Their slogan is “Life Above the Ordinary” supporting the trend of upward development.

A new and big business deal was signed in August 2018 between Cebu City Mayor Tomas Osmeña and Universal Hotels and Resorts Inc, a Manila-based developer. The 18 million peso deal will surely attract tourists, as it will build an integrated resort and casino that will also include a commercial shopping center, convention center, performing arts theater and theme park. *The Freeman*--a local newspaper--covered the project, as it was contentious among the city council. “The mayor admitted this project is a ‘fundraising’ activity for his group, as it would solicit votes from Cebuanos who can be employed by the development,” (Demecillo 2018). One of the big employment opportunities that the tourism industry offers is construction jobs for all the new development. According to its proponents, therefore, this project will both attract tourists and create jobs.

While construction may be a male-dominated job, hospitality in hotels and restaurants tends to be female-dominated (Interview F1, F2, F10). The tourism industry has a positive influence on women, as most jobs in hospitality are entry-level (Interview F14). Women of all education levels can find employment which offers greater independence. Women work at the tour agencies, at the reception in hotels, and as tour guides. In restaurants, the gender distribution was actually similar to what you could find in the U.S.; the cooks are almost exclusively male, and the wait staff is mostly female. Filipino men seem to have more traditionally-male jobs including boat drivers, taxi drivers, fishers, and construction workers.

Coron offers new opportunities for locals of Coron and due to its growing tourism industry, Filipinos even migrate to Coron for employment. However, more people have moved to Coron than jobs available (Interview F10). Coron’s main attraction are the boat tours. There are about five different tour options called Tour A, Tour B, Ultimate Tour, etc. Tourists can book these tours through a number of tour agencies around town or at the docks the morning of. The

boats themselves are picked by the tour agencies through a daily lottery, so all boat drivers have a fair opportunity to work each day (Interview F10). The influx of Filipino workers as boat help has made the job competitive. If workers get hired for a day's work, they are paid that day to be able to feed their families; however, the following day's employment is not guaranteed (Interview F10). While tourism has created jobs in Coron, the employment is not always stable, as employment has become much more competitive. Employment is dependent on the tourist and her travel plans. For Filipinos in the tourism industry, a "job" does not have the security that other economies, such as academia or government, may have.

A more stable source of tourists may stabilize jobs in the tourism economy. Nearby U.S. military bases could be a stable source of tourists. U.S. military bases in Luzon contributed to the development of Baguio as a destination for R&R. American soldiers from Subic Bay Naval Base created the industry of sex tourism in Olongapo. These soldiers were regular enough patrons that Olongapo has the most distinct sex tourism in the Philippines (Interview F14). As the U.S. military returns to the Philippines under the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA), American soldiers could contribute to tourism in nearby destinations--whether it be R&R like in Baguio or sex tourism as in Olongapo (Interview F13). Chapter 5 will go more in-depth into the EDCA and its potential impact on tourism. Expanding on the discussion of the airports as it relates to tourism traffic, Chapter 4 will further discuss the infrastructure in the Philippines and the role of the U.S. military in the buildup of infrastructure.

## Chapter 4: Infrastructure

### The Road Between Bases and Destinations

#### Road to Baguio

The capital of the Philippines during the American colonial era was Manila. Being so close to the equator and just South of a rainforest, Manila was far too hot and humid for the American colonial government. In 1908, urban architect Daniel Burnham built the city of Baguio for U.S. governmental offices to move to during the summer months (Interview F14). Burnham was an influential urban planner in the U.S. and the Philippines and was responsible for much infrastructure in the Philippines (Kirsch 2017). Baguio was built in the mountains where the higher elevation created a cooler climate. Although its original purpose was to be the summer capital for the U.S. government, Baguio soon developed into a destination for rest and recreation (R&R).

Throughout the American colonial era, Baguio was visited by colonial troops during their time off, as well as by American teachers working in Filipino public schools (Interview F3). These were among the first vacationers that sparked tourism in Baguio. After Filipino Independence, Baguio was no longer an American summer capital but remained a destination for R&R. This industry took off during the Vietnam War, as there were more troops, teachers and business men in the Philippines during that time. Baguio has continued to be an R&R destination enjoyed by Americans, Filipinos, and other foreign tourists. By the 1980s, Baguio was just another tourist destination with no obvious ties to its American colonial roots (Interview A6).

The road to Baguio was an attraction of its own as described by Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez (2013) in *Securing Paradise*. Kennon Road was the original route from Manila to Baguio, and it was one of the more significant roads built by the early colonial government. It stretched through an undeveloped and untouched jungle landscape. Kennon Road climbs mountains, follows cliffs and is filled with awe-inspiring views of the tropical landscape of the Philippines (Gonzalez 2013, 58). Kennon Road has served as a route with two purposes: the American colonial government going to their summer capital and tourists seeking the untouched. Kennon Road exemplifies the convergence of American militarism and tourism, as the road serves one of their primary needs: mobility.

Baguio serves as an example of the importance of infrastructure, and specifically American-built infrastructure, on tourism. What was once the American colonial government's summer capital seamlessly developed into a tourist destination. Kennon Road was the original way to get to Baguio, but other safer routes were developed with the high tourist traffic. Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base underwent transformations from U.S. military facilities to tourist destinations. The ease of these transformations was due to the extensive infrastructure already in place.

Infrastructure can be divided between transportation, such as roads and airports, and structures, such as buildings and monuments. The U.S. military and its bases have built both types of infrastructure throughout their military presence in the Philippines. President Ferdinand Marcos, whose regime lasted from 1965 to 1986, left a legacy of infrastructure development. Both the U.S. military's infrastructure and state-led infrastructure has influenced mobility in the Philippines. Mobility is key to tourism development, as destinations need to be accessible in order to be visited. For Filipinos, mobility also offers the promise of modernity, as they can also engage in tourism, which is seen as a middle-class activity. This chapter explores the infrastructure build-up in the Philippines and how it has paved the way for tourism for both Filipinos and foreigners to enjoy.

### **Infrastructure of Bases**

Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Base underwent seamless transformations to become freeports, duty free zones, and tourist destinations after the U.S. military left the bases in 1992. This transformation and the role of the D.o.T. was explained in Chapter 2, but here I will highlight the infrastructure left behind by the U.S. military and repurposed by the tourism industry.



The U.S. military bases of Subic Bay and Clark were complete with roads, ports, barracks, and other buildings. While there are several new hotels and resorts that have been built, the former barracks were once used to accommodate tourists (Gonzalez 2013). “The U.S. Navy left behind more than 1,800 centrally air-conditioned houses in neighborhoods designed to resemble American suburbs. Some sit empty, while others have been converted into tourist accommodations (Whaley 2013). In my visit to Subic Bay Freeport in August 2018, it appeared that most of the original military buildings and structures had been replaced by restaurants, hotels, and other new developments. Some shopping centers were located in buildings with the style and architecture of military structures, suggesting that they were originally used by the U.S. military. There is even one repurposed bunker that is now a restaurant named Bunker Bob’s (Whaley 2013).

Similarly, in Clark the remaining structures from the U.S. military era are few and often hidden behind big, new developments such as resorts or casinos. The roads in Clark were a stark contrast from the roads in Manila; they were wide, drivers stuck to the traffic laws, and there was ample signage on the road (Interview A7). It has been over two decades since the U.S. military left the bases, so much of the infrastructure has been updated. However, the extensive military infrastructure was essential to the initial transformation of the bases to freeports. When buildings or roads were updated or replaced, the original layout guided renovations.

Outside of the bases, the U.S. military built entertainment infrastructure, as well. There are several golf courses in Clark Freeport. While the golf courses now entertain the tourists in Clark, they once entertained the U.S. troops stationed on the air base. Subic Bay’s neighboring city Olongapo is most well-known for sex-tourism largely sponsored by the U.S. military (Gonzalez 2013, 84). Olongapo’s red-light district gained regional popularity during the U.S.

military presence but continues to have the most distinct district for sex-tourism in the Philippines today (Interview F14). The U.S. military set up an industry for their own entertainment that foreign and domestic tourists have continued to enjoy long after the U.S. military presence.

The JEST camp located in Subic Bay is another example of infrastructure built by the U.S. military that has been repurposed for tourism. The jungle barracks that once housed U.S. troops during their training now houses tourists seeking the jungle experience (Gonzalez 2013, 203). The trainers also have remained the same, employing locals of the Aeta tribe to train both soldiers and tourists in jungle survival.

While these examples of infrastructure have mostly just contributed to tourism on the bases, airstrips built for the bases have contributed to tourism throughout the Philippines. Airports are expensive to build, so the investment made by the U.S. military continues to benefit the Philippines. The airstrip in Subic Bay does not service commercial flights, just cargo flights and other shipment. The airport in Clark has long been open for international commercial flights, therefore bringing in foreign tourists. The Department of Transportation is working to make Clark International Airport the main international hub, rather than NAIA in Manila. The Manila-Clark Railway project is key to promoting Clark International Airport as the primary airport. The railway, planning to be finished in 2020, will cut travel time between the airport and Metro Manila from two hours to fifty-five minutes (ABS-CBN News 2017).

Airports are not just key to welcoming foreigners, but also make travel around the Philippines easier due to the fact that it is an archipelago. Boat travel is one way to move tourists around the islands, but air travel allows tourists to see more in the same amount of time. Islands and beaches are the primary tourist attraction of the Philippines; therefore, air travel adds to the

accessibility of these island destinations. Accessibility is essential to tourism development, as the tourists need to be able to get to the destination for it to gain popularity (Interview F14). Finally, tourism is a modern privilege, and many tourists, both domestic and foreign, seek the modern experience. The experience of air travel adds to the perceived modernity of tourism (Interview F14). While the U.S. military is responsible for much infrastructure around the former bases and airports that also reach other islands of the Philippines, the Filipino government also contributed to infrastructure development during the U.S. military era.

### **The Legacy of President Marcos**

The regime of President Ferdinand Marcos is remembered for many things, but the buildup of infrastructure is a key part of his legacy. Marcos' regime was controversial, as he was a dictator that implemented marshal law. Sterling Seagrave's book *The Marcos Dynasty* (1988) explains the issues and the complexity of the Marcos regime that made it so controversial. Despite numerous critics of his authoritarian regime and suppressive military violence, the concentrated state power led to government reform, reclamation projects, and a massive expansion of infrastructure (The Manila Times 2013). "Granting himself the title 'Master Architect and Builder of the Nation,' the savvy and charismatic leader undertook infrastructure development with the blessing of the United States and international banks," (Gonzalez 2013, 49). Marcos had a neoliberal approach by utilizing international banks for investing in development of roads and other infrastructure that would, in turn, promote international trade. This revenue would then be used to pay back international banks for loans that were used to fund the infrastructure projects.

Marcos's infrastructure development agenda resulted in several structures designed to demonstrate and enrich Filipino culture. The Cultural Center of the Philippines complex included

the Folk Arts Theater, Manila Film Center and the Philippine International Convention Center. The goal of the complex had an “emphasis on nurturing Filipino culture and ‘the Filipino soul,’” (Martial Law Museum). The Cultural Center of the Philippines complex attracts both domestic and foreign tourists. The complex has hosted a Miss Universe contest, therefore attracting global attention. Additionally, the convention center welcomes business tourism, demonstrating how Marcos’s infrastructure project has developed multiple aspects of the tourism industry.

Roads constructed during this time opened “the country’s natural and cultural resources to international capital investment in the guise of tourism and other service-, export-, and extraction- driven industries,” (Gonzalez 2013, 49). Kennon Road to Baguio was not capable of handling a high volume of tourists, so Marcos built a new road to Baguio called Marcos Highway. Other roads built include the Manila North Diversion Road and the North Luzon Expressway, the road to Clark (The Manila Times 2013). Marcos established the Department of Tourism during his regime and tasked them to develop roads in designated tourism zones. Road construction was as much about promotion of international trade as it was tourism development. For Marcos, road building was not only the means of modernizing the country, but it was a way to maintain the U.S. colonial practice of infrastructure development. The near century-long U.S. military presence left roads, infrastructure, and a value system oriented around this kind of development.

### **Looking Forward**

President Duterte, who was inaugurated in 2016, has followed in Marcos’ footsteps and put forward a strong infrastructure plan that will involve a lot of public spending and investment. ‘Build, Build, Build’ is an initiative of Duterte’s administration that will address the country’s poor road and transportation infrastructure (see figure 4.1). Many cities in the Philippines have

notoriously bad traffic, as I experienced in both Manila and Cebu. This is largely due to the lack of an efficient public transportation system. Although there are buses or jeepneys, these operate on the roads, only adding to the congestion.

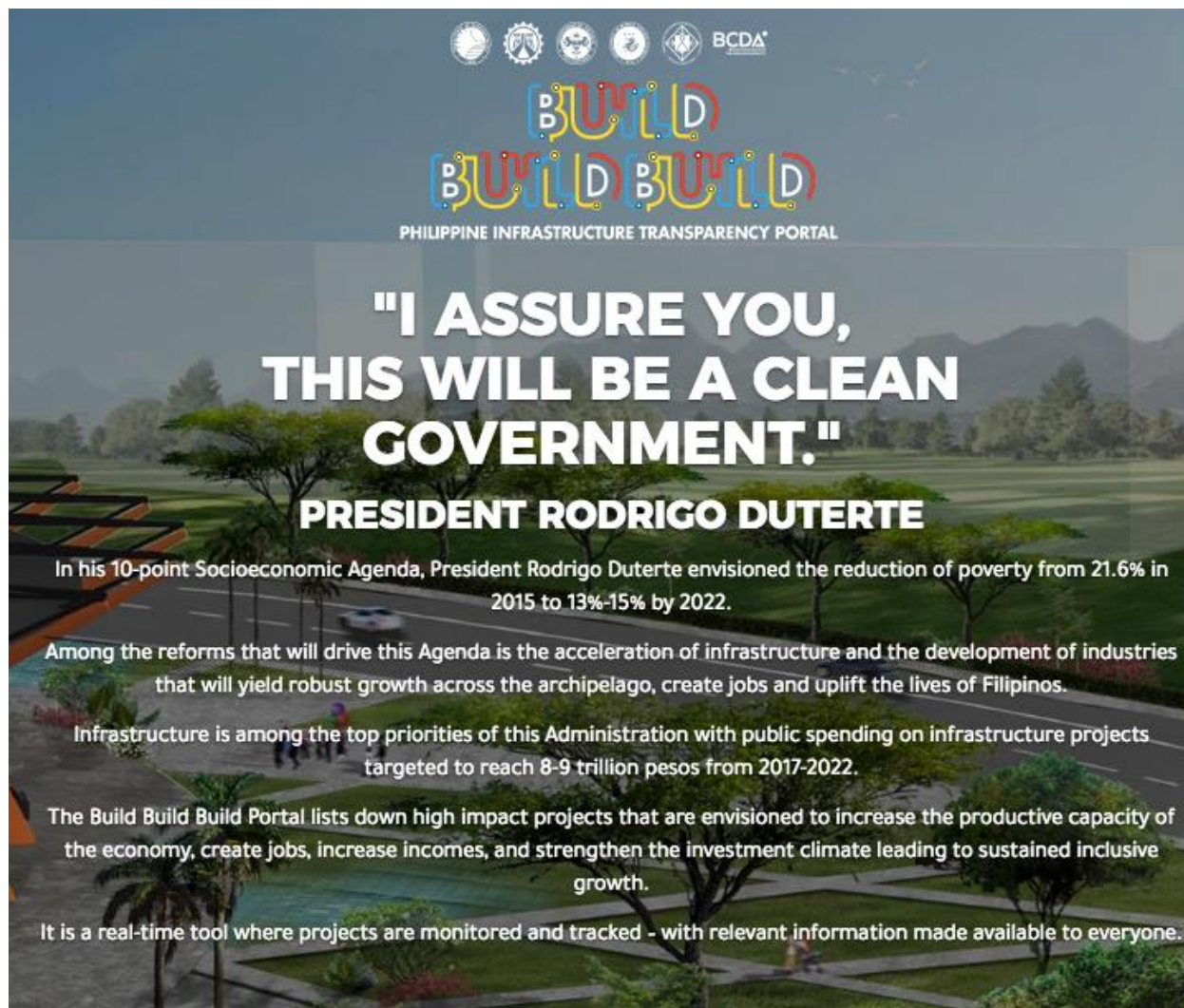


Figure 4.1: from the official website of 'Build, Build, Build' <[www.build.gov.ph](http://www.build.gov.ph)>

The projects under 'Build, Build, Build' include the expansion of Clark International Airport, bus transit projects in Cebu and Manila, and a connector road between North Luzon Expressway (NLEX) and South Luzon Expressway (SLEX) that would decongest traffic in Metro Manila ([build.gov.ph](http://build.gov.ph)). Duterte calls this the "Golden Age of Infrastructure," mirroring the values

promoted by Marcos about the modernization and economic benefits that come with good infrastructure. Although there are 18,086 open jobs for all Filipinos, the distribution of the infrastructure projects is not equal ([build.gov.ph](http://build.gov.ph)). An article from The Asia Foundation explains this issue:

While the national government is increasing investment in infrastructure, planning remains fragmented as national government priorities do not always reflect or link with local economic development needs. The priorities outlined in the infrastructure program are focused on national-level impact, leaving gaps in investment in critical areas at the local level, including funds for local roads and maintenance, which have been virtually non-existence since 1991. (Ocampo 2018).

There was a reform of public spending after the U.S. military was asked to leave in late 1991 to adapt to new state revenue, as the U.S. was no longer paying a lease. Duterte has begun to address the infrastructure problem in the Philippines at the same time the U.S. military begins to come back to the Philippines.

The Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA), approved in 2016, has essentially invited the U.S. military to return to bases in the Philippines. Chapter 5 will explore the EDCA and how it will change the current Filipino-American military relationship. Considering how it might impact tourism development, I will focus on the new bases that are located near my tourism case studies. As the U.S. military has influenced the infrastructure in the past, they will surely influence Duterte's infrastructure development when they return.

## Chapter 5: The U.S. Military Returns

### Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement

WORLD NEWS JANUARY 12, 2016 / 1:29 AM / 3 YEARS AGO

## Philippine court allows military deal with U.S. as sides meet in Washington

4 MIN READ



MANILA/WASHINGTON (Reuters) - The Philippines Supreme Court on Tuesday declared constitutional a security deal with the United States allowing an increased U.S. military presence in the former U.S. colony as tension rises in the South China Sea.

*Figure 5.3: Reuters.com (2016)*

### A Big Deal? US, Philippines Agree First 'Bases' Under New Defense Pact

A look at the significance of the initial locations agreed for EDCA's implementation.

By Prashanth Parameswaran  
March 19, 2016



### Where is the New US-Philippines Military Pact Under Duterte?

A closer look at the progress both sides are making on this front.

By Prashanth Parameswaran  
January 28, 2017



*Figure 5.3: thediplomat.com (2017)*

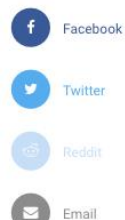
*Figure 5.2: thediplomat.com (2016)*

## Duterte reaffirms EDCA, U.S. ties in meeting with Trump

EDCA is an agreement which allows the US military to construct facilities and pre-position defense assets inside Philippine military bases

Carmela Fonbuena  
@carmelaforbuena

Published 6:22 PM, November 14, 2017  
Updated 6:41 PM, November 14, 2017



*Figure 5.4: rappler.com (2017)*

PH-US TIES. EDCA was forged in 2014 by the predecessors of US President Donald Trump and Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte. Rappler file photo

OPINION

02/23/2018 05:46 am ET

# America's Indefensible Alliance With The Philippines

By Rhonda Ramiro and Azadeh Shahshahani, Guest Writers



REUTERS

Former U.S. President Ronald Reagan with former Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos on Sept. 16, 1982.

Figure 5.5: Reuters.com (2018)



Defense Secretary Delfin Lorenzana and US Ambassador Sung Kim led the groundbreaking ceremony of the first project under the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement between the Philippines and the United States at the Cesar Basa Air Base in Pampanga.

US Embassy/Released

## First EDCA facility breaks ground in Pampanga

127  
SHARES

(philstar.com) - April 18, 2018 - 10:49am

Figure 5.6: philstar.com (2018)

## Why the New US-Philippines Military Pact's First Project Launch Matters

The launch of the first EDCA project this week deserves attention amid a challenging context for the U.S.-Philippine alliance in the Duterte era.

By Prashanth Parameswaran  
April 19, 2018



Figure 5.7: thediplomat.com (2018)

# The US military are back in the Philippines

The ultimate and real purpose of the US bases within Philippine bases remains unclear

Figure 5.8: ucanews.com (2018)



As these headlines show, the EDCA has not been without its share of friction. The dramatic change in leadership, both in the US and the Philippines has added additional stresses on the agreement. The EDCA has gone through two administration changes between the time it was signed in 2014 and the first groundbreaking in 2018. President Duterte had been elected and the U.S. presidential election that elected President Trump was well underway by the time the Philippine Supreme Court confirmed that agreement in 2016. An agreement made between the Obama and Aquino administrations, the EDCA strengthens the U.S.-Filipino partnership by giving “U.S. troops and equipment access to Philippine military bases on a rotational basis...[and] increase[ing] the complexity of their combined training, activities, and exercises – including major bilateral exercises like the recent Balikatan exercise in which [U.S.] service members trained with the Philippines on humanitarian assistance and maritime operations,” (Dreyer 2016). The bilateral agreement perpetuates the U.S. military presence in the Philippines that began with colonization in 1898. The EDCA symbolizes the official return to the Philippines after the U.S. military was ordered to leave its bases in 1992. Although there was no official U.S. military presence, U.S. troops have been in the Philippines during this time for Balikatan, training at the JEST Camp, and through the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) of 1998. The EDCA is a reaffirmation of the U.S. military presence as a part on the U.S.- Filipino military partnership.

The administration change is significant because Duterte has previously declared “a military and economic separation from the U.S.” (Ranada 2016). One function of the EDCA is to boost military defense in the West Philippine Sea (South China Sea), yet Duterte “has shown an increasing willingness to accommodate Beijing’s assertiveness in the South China Sea,” (Lawrence 2018). Duterte is in favor of a Philippine-China alliance despite how Filipino citizens

feel (Interview F10). However, Duterte promises to uphold the agreement, and the EDCA has continued as planned, breaking ground at the Cesar Basa Air Base in Pampanga in April 2018 (Viray 2018).

Cesar Basa Air Base is one of five agreed-upon bases of the EDCA. It is located in Luzon between Clark Freeport and Subic Bay Freeport. The other bases are Fort Magsaysay Military Reservation in Nueva Ecija, Lumbia Air Base in Misamis Oriental, Antonio Bautista Air Base in Palawan and Mactan Benito Ebuen Air Base in Cebu. In this chapter, I will more closely examine Cesar Basa Air Base, Antonio Bautista Air Base, and Mactan Benito Ebuen Air Base to understand how these bases could potentially impact the near-by case study destinations--Manila, Coron, and Cebu. Antonio Bautista Air Base is particularly important because Palawan borders the West Philippine Sea and the tension with China. Furthermore, I will share Filipino's opinions of the U.S. military and their presence in this chapter.

### **West Philippine Sea**

The military tension in the West Philippine Sea is between China and many South East Asian countries that border the sea. The body of water is more popularly known as the South China Sea, but even the dispute over the name exemplifies the dispute over rights the water. In 2012, "Hong Lei, China's foreign minister, states that 'no country including China has claimed sovereignty over the entire South China Sea'," (Lockett 2016). Since this claim in 2012, Chinese fishing vessels and other ships have been reported being in Vietnam and Philippine waters. The Chinese military has also had several reclamation projects to either expand islands or build islands on reefs (Lockett 2016). As the dispute developed and as China began reclamation, the EDCA was signed.

Senior Associate Justice Antonio Carpio of the Philippines asserts that ‘dispute’ is an inaccurate way to describe the tension, despite that dispute has been widely used. There is no legal dispute over the ownership of the water and its resources, as “the West Philippine Sea refers to the body of water consisting of the Philippines' territorial sea,



Figure 5.9: Financial Times Online (2016)

exclusive economic zone, and extended continental shelf,” (ABS-CBN News 2018). The issue is that China has not been respecting territorial claims.

The goal is to get China out of the West Philippine Sea, but Duterte’s pro-China policies have complicated securing the territory. China's President Xi Jinping and Duterte have made an agreement “to develop natural resources in the West Philippine Sea,” (Cullen 2018). The EDCA offers the military support of the U.S. that is comparable to the strength of the Chinese military, however the EDCA will likely not be utilized for Chinese aggression during the Duterte administration. The Antonio Bautista Air Base located in Palawan is still on track and will be the most important base of the five EDCA bases for the West Philippine Sea territorial protection either way the dispute unfolds.

## **Big Brother?**

There is a common term that is used throughout academia to describe colonial relations across the U.S. empire. “Big white brother” and “little brown brother” refer to the U.S. colonial or military presence over nations or peoples with darker skin. These terms were coined by William Howard Taft when he was the American Governor-General of the Philippines (nps.gov). The U.S. takes a different approach to colonization and expansion than its European counterparts. During the era of exploration, European countries conquered lands and its people, often even leading to genocide. The ‘discovery’ of the Americas by Christopher Columbus resulted in the genocide of the people of what is now Dominican Republic and Haiti, so Columbus could bring gold back to Spain.

The U.S. claims to have a more humanitarian approach in that the U.S. is helping a less developed society by giving them democracy or military aid. Throughout interviews with Filipinos, most mentioned the helpfulness of the U.S. military, either in the past or present times. The U.S. also justifies military action overseas as peace keeping. A famous example is the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003 because there was concern that Iraq may have had possession of weapons of mass destruction and was responsible for outrageous human rights violations. Throughout the Cold War, the U.S. military invaded several countries to protect against communism and spread democracy. In this narrative of the benevolent invader, the terms “big white brother” and “little brown brother” emerged to describe how the U.S. military presence in a foreign land helps the local government and people because the U.S. has more money, military and other resources to do so.

The U.S. military base of Diego Garcia located in the Indian Ocean is an example of military invasion that did not reflect the prevalent discourse of the U.S. military: democracy or

human rights. As told by David Vine in *Island of Shame* (2011), the U.S. military, with the help of the British military, invaded the island and forced all of the native people to evacuate. Compensation was promised but never fulfilled, so the displaced people either died or were forced to live in extreme poverty in a foreign land. The island of Diego Garcia was chosen because the population was small enough to evacuate without major issues. The U.S. military wanted sovereignty over the land, so there would never be any tension or dispute with the local government. Being kicked off bases, as the U.S. military was exiled from the Philippines in 1992, would never happen. The story of Diego Garcia shows what U.S. military officials are capable of when no one is looking. Realizing the motivations of the U.S. military and its officials can break down the idea of the “big white brother.” The U.S. may seem benevolent in its aid, but this is only to secure their military posts.

“Big white brother” came to the Philippines when the U.S. took over colonial rule from Spain. The U.S. military saved the Philippines from the Japanese during World War II, and finally the U.S. granted the Philippines its independence after WWII. The U.S. is seen as a liberator to Filipinos. In Gonzalez’ *Securing Paradise* (2013), “big white brother” is used to describe the U.S. in its role as a liberator to suggest that freedom from Spain and Japan was best for the Philippines and neglects the idea that the Philippines is more useful to the U.S. military agenda under U.S. rule. The U.S. military would have lost their bases in the Philippines if it remained under Japanese rule. Despite the agenda of the U.S. military, the colonization and military presence left a positive reputation. One Filipino claimed, “many Filipinos idolize Americans because of their standard of living. Many of the Filipinos want to be white and will use products to make their skin whiter. They will color their hair, so they, too, will be blonde,” (Interview F10).

The U.S. military also contributes to the “big white brother” narrative, as it can physically protect the Philippines, like a big brother would. Many Filipinos are fond of the U.S.-Filipino military partnership; one Filipino even claims “America and the Philippines are best friends” (Interview F9). American tourism contributed to the friendly presence of Americans in the Philippines (Gonzalez 2013). Even American soldiers can act as an American tourist. A boat driver in Coron recalled a time that twelve American soldiers were on his boat for a tour of the islands. They left a positive impression by being eco-friendly and picking up trash out of the water (Interview F8). Another Filipino said there is no difference between an American tourist and an American soldier, as Filipinos are known for their hospitality and will treat both tourist and soldier the same (Interview F4). A friendly presence, a history of liberation, military protection, and continuous aid and investment has created an image of the U.S. and the Philippines’ “big white brother.”

As I came across the term throughout my research, I found it to be problematic, as it promotes white superiority. There is obviously a racial difference between the U.S. and the Philippines, as well as between the U.S. and other colonized nations. However, the term does not address any racial oppression that has occurred as a result of the colonization. “Big white brother” simplifies, homogenizes, racializes the relationship, and it depicts the white race as knowing what is best for the brown people they have colonized. Furthermore, this is also an incorrect term, as the U.S. is not an exclusively white country. Despite my resistance to the term, I found several Filipinos during interviews describing Americans and the U.S. military as one would describe “big white brother.” Although the term was not used, the narrative still seems to exist in the Philippines with the high reputation of Americans that many Filipinos expressed. Furthermore, the high-regard for this U.S. military and its equipment has led to approval of the

new bases under the EDCA from the Filipino people, seeing the agreement as a way to strengthen the military partnership and the Filipino military.

### **New Bases**

President Duterte is openly in support of a Chinese military and economic alliance, but he has also agreed to uphold the EDCA with the U.S. Filipino citizens remain in favor of a U.S. alliance and military presence. “President [Duterte] does not change how we look up to the U.S. military,” one Filipino said. She continued to tell me how there are a lot of comments on Facebook that bash the Duterte’s position on China because they want more of the military equipment that the U.S. military provides (Interview F10). Many Filipinos that I interviewed mentioned military equipment, believing the U.S. has superior equipment than China and is therefore a more valuable military partner (Interview F9, F12, F4).

Although President Duterte has sided with China, the Filipino people still want their territory in the West Philippine Sea defended (Interview F3). Therefore, many Filipinos are happy with the military support and protection that the EDCA will bring, especially since the Philippines is so much smaller than China (Interview F12, F6). A Filipino from Cebu explained why she was pleased with the U.S. return to the Philippines; “the EDCA is for our protection and for the good of every Cebuano. Maybe [the U.S. military] will stay here for a long time,” (Interview F13). Overall, Filipinos claimed they will feel safer with the U.S. military in the Philippines, and this renewed partnership is not a surprise given the long and friendly history between the two nations (Interview F1, F10, F11).

In comparison, none of the Americans I interviewed cared about U.S. military bases in the Philippines. They said they would not feel more or less safe near by a U.S. military base. Good military relationships do not attract tourists, but bad relationships would deter Americans

from visiting a country (Interview A1-A11). New bases under the EDCA will have a greater impact on Filipinos than American tourists. Furthermore, if there was to be an increase in American tourists, they would likely be from the U.S. military and their family members rather than Americans unaffiliated with the military.

As I explained what I learned of Filipinos feelings about Americans, the U.S. military presence, and the EDCA, I also sought to discover how the EDCA and the new bases that come with it will impact tourism in the Philippines. Looking specifically at Cesar Basa Air Base, Antonio Bautista Air Base, and Mactan Benito Ebuen Air Base, there are several ways that Manila, Cebu, and Coron could potentially be impacted by the militarization.

Cesar Basa Air Base was the first project to be launched in April 2018. It is located between Subic Bay and Clark and is, therefore, near Manila. As seen with Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Base, cities develop outside U.S. bases to accommodate for nightlife, R&R, and other entertainment. As it was only a 90-minute drive between Subic and Clark, U.S. soldiers in Cesar Basa could easily travel to either Angeles (outside Clark) or Olongapo (outside Subic Bay). These cities are already built up, full of entertainment and have previously accommodated U.S. soldiers. Another potential outcome of Cesar Basa is that a much closer city is built up right outside the air base. As more and more soldiers come searching for entertainment and nightlife, the city could surely adapt to the increased demand. Manila never received significant amounts of U.S. soldiers seeking entertainment during the military occupation prior to 1992, so Manila is not likely to have to accommodate tourists from Cesar Basa Air Base. Cesar Basa is, however, close to Clark International Airport. As the expansion of Clark's airport continues, it will be easier for U.S. soldiers and their families to vacation around the Philippines, potentially to Coron or Cebu.



Antonio Bautista Air Base is located in central Palawan, closer to Puerto Princesa than Coron. Puerto Princesa attracts similar types of tourists and has similar eco-tourism as Coron, but it is more popular because of its more accessible airport. Like Cesar Basa, any U.S. military base is likely to develop a nearby city for entertainment and tourism. There are no major cities nearby Antonio Bautista besides Puerto Princesa. Again, there are two options: U.S. soldiers go to Puerto Princesa which already has tourism, entertainment, and night life in place; or a new city develops around Puerto Princesa. Being located in Palawan, there are many destinations available for U.S. soldiers and their families. As there are generally smaller airports located in Palawan, it would be easier to travel within Palawan than around the islands. Therefore, Coron and other destinations, such as El Nido and Puerto Princesa, will likely see an increase in tourist traffic from the U.S. military. Alongside this new source of revenue, perhaps small airports such as the one in Coron will be renovated and expanded to accommodate increased traffic.

The third base I will discuss is Mactan Benito Ebuen Air Base located on Mactan Island, right outside Metro Cebu and on the same island as Mactan-Cebu International Airport. The impact of this base would differ from the other two previously discussed because of the proximity of Mactan Benito Ebuen to Metro Cebu. Metro Cebu is already growing new developments up the coasts and on Mactan. There is nowhere a new city could develop specifically for the U.S. Air Base. U.S. soldiers, however, have several options for entertainment and nightlife in Cebu City and plenty of beaches located on Mactan. I asked an accreditation officer from the Cebu tourism authority office what impact on tourism the base may have, and she responded, "I think we are ready. We have nightlife, we have hotels, and we have beaches. Cebu is very ready for [the U.S. military]. Maybe there will be some additional enhancements, but on a small scale" (Interview F13). Another Filipino who is the reception manager at a hotel

predicted the biggest change would be more families of soldiers would visit Cebu (Interview F12). While these Filipinos from the tourist sector predicted the U.S. military base would have little impact to Metro Manila, there are still other possible outcomes.

Mactan Island is currently mostly resorts and residential developments, besides the airport and military base. It is possible that these resorts and residences will increase their nightlife options for U.S. soldiers so that they do not need to waste time in traffic on the bridge to Cebu. The U.S. military may contribute to building bigger and more bridges from Mactan to Cebu to improve traffic. While the roads in Cebu are wider and in better shape than roads in Manila, the notoriously bad traffic reflects poor infrastructure and an inefficient mass transportation system. Being so close to Metro Cebu and being affected by the traffic will likely encourage the U.S. military to invest in the infrastructure of the city.

The international airport is large enough that a few extra American travelers would not impact the airport. U.S. soldiers will have easy access to most of the islands around the Philippines with this central airport. They could always travel around Cebu, but the big airport facilitates travel to other regions of the Philippines. Mactan-Cebu Airport will function like Clark Airport after the new bases are running, U.S. soldiers will have easy mobility around the Philippines.

The most significant impact of the new bases under the EDCA will likely be the development of entertainment nearby the bases. For Cesar Basa Air Base and Antonio Bautista Air Base, new cities are likely to develop close by to the bases. For Mactan Benito Ebuena Air Base, Cebu city is not likely to be greatly affected, but perhaps nightlife will become more popular on Mactan Island. Tourism traffic is also likely to increase from both U.S. soldiers on vacation and from their families visiting. Lastly, the U.S. military is likely to improve

infrastructure around the bases, just as they did with Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Base. If the U.S. military does not build infrastructure itself, the increased revenue from the bases and the soldiers could possibly go towards building infrastructure, especially given President Duterte's "Build, Build, Build" project.

### **Concluding Thoughts: U.S. Military Empire**

The U.S. and the Philippines have a long and complex military relationship that is one of the more unique partnerships of the U.S. This unique relationship creates the grounds for the comparison between the U.S. militarism and tourism in the Philippines addressed by several guiding research questions. What economic impact have U.S. military bases had on the Philippines? How do U.S. military bases affect tourism development? Often considered two separate economies, militarism and tourism are deeply connected. For one, militarism helps choose the location of tourism. Americans reported not wanting to travel to countries that the U.S. had bad relationships. Therefore, where there is at least friendly alliance is where Americans feel safe enough to travel. Furthermore, U.S. military bases abroad will likely influence nearby entertainment and tourism, as seen in the development of the red-light district in Olongapo outside Subic Bay.

The effects of U.S. military bases on tourism in the Philippines is not limited to just this country. The trends in the relationship between militarism and tourism in the Philippines can be found elsewhere the U.S. military is active. Gonzalez' book *Securing Paradise* (2013) not only covers the Philippines but also militarism and tourism in Hawaii. Ultimately, the purpose of this research was to understand the many ways militarism could affect tourism, and vice versa, throughout the many U.S. military bases around the world.

What is the impact of the U.S. military empire? The answer could be summed up by three factors: infrastructure, sex tourism, and neoliberalism. U.S. military bases build infrastructure for their own facilities. They will build roads around the bases, to and from major cities. In addition, the U.S. military could also influence the government to increase public spending on infrastructure, as the U.S. influenced President Marcos to do so in search of mobility. U.S. militarism does not have a significant impact on tourism attractions themselves, besides sex tourism. The Philippines has enough of its own entertainment, nightlife, beautiful beaches, and eco-tourism, but it was the U.S. military that patronized the sex tourism industry. Everything else is neoliberalism. The conversion of military bases to freeports, the highly competitive nature of jobs in the tourism industry, and the rapid development of resorts and residential complexes in Cebu are all examples of a neoliberal market.

How has militarism and tourism shaped the lives of Filipinos? The two have built roads and other infrastructure, created economic opportunities, and contributed to the competitiveness of the job market. How does the U.S. – Philippines military relationship shape Americans' reputation among Filipinos? Does tourism encourage militarism? The Filipinos look up to Americans and their lifestyle after a long history of colonialism and a military presence. Coupled with the familiar and friendly face of American tourists, Filipinos are happy to welcome back the U.S. military. Despite the military departure in 1992, the U.S. remained an influential economic partner to the Philippines to ensure neoliberal values were practiced in their military absence. With the EDCA, these three factors will repeat themselves in the location of the five new bases and all over the Philippines.

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## Appendix

### Interviewee Background Information

<b>Number</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
<b>Filipino 1</b>	8/10/18	Manila	Vegan Restaurant Owner
<b>F2</b>	8/11/18	Clark	Customer Service Assistant- SM mall
<b>F3</b>	8/12/18	Manila	Tour guide and Restoration Expert
<b>F4</b>	8/12/18	Manila	Airport Passenger Service Agent
<b>F5</b>	8/14/18	Coron	Tour Agency and Ticketing Office Employee
<b>F6</b>	8/14/18	Coron	Dive Shop Employee
<b>F7</b>	8/15/18	Coron	Boat Tour Guide
<b>F8</b>	8/15/18	Coron	Tour Boat Driver
<b>F9</b>	8/16/18	Coron	Bar Waiter
<b>F10</b>	8/17/18	Coron	Coron Tourism Operations Officer
<b>F11</b>	8/18/18	Mactan	Information Reception, Newtown Beach
<b>F12</b>	8/19/18	Cebu City	Front Desk Manager
<b>F13</b>	8/20/18	Cebu City	Cebu Accreditation Officer
<b>F14</b>	8/10/18	Quezon City (Metro Manila)	Professor in Tourism Development- Destination Development
<b>American 1</b>	8/13/18	Coron	Active Duty Army Officer
<b>A2</b>	8/13/18	Coron	Reserves Army Officer
<b>A3</b>	8/15/18	Coron	University Student
<b>A4</b>	8/16/18	Coron	N/A
<b>A5</b>	8/19/18	Cebu City	Retired School Teacher, Cebu Real Estate Owner
<b>A6</b>	8/13/18	Manila	Data Analyst
<b>A7</b>	8/13/18	Manila	School Teacher
<b>A8</b>	8/17/18	Coron	Data Analyst
<b>A9</b>	8/17/18	Coron	School Teacher
<b>A10</b>	8/20/18	Cebu City	Data Analyst
<b>A11</b>	8/20/18	Cebu City	School Teacher