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研究課題名(和文) Music from the Double Margins: Filipino and Local Women Musicians in Postwar Okinawan Popular Music.

研究課題名(英文) Music from the Double Margins: Filipino and Local Women Musicians in Postwar Okinawan Popular Music

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研究成果の概要(和文)：本研究は、文書の研究やインタビューなどの民族誌的フィールドワークを用いて、戦後沖縄における米軍基地内外の音楽的パフォーマンスに多いに貢献した沖縄人女性とフィリピン人のミュージシャンについて検証した。特に、アメリカ占領時代(1945-1972)にジャズやロックを演奏したミュージシャンや復帰後に音楽活動を始めたミュージシャンについて調べた。本研究は、(ポスト)コロニアル沖縄におけるポピュラー音楽のパフォーマンスにおいてのジェンダーとエスニシティに関する理解に貢献している。同時に、グローバルなアメリカ発奮の近代性のパフォーマンスによる構築の場としての米軍基地や基地門前町に関する理解にも貢献している。

研究成果の概要(英文)：Combining archival research and ethnographic interviews, this research investigated the largely unexplored contributions of Okinawan women and of Filipino musicians performing in the military base towns of postwar Okinawa. The research focused especially on musicians who performed jazz and pop/rock music beginning during the American Occupation years (1945-1972), and on those who later began their music careers playing in both on- and off-base clubs that catered primarily to American military personnel. The research contributes to understanding the gendered and ethnic dimensions of popular music performances in (post)colonial Okinawa and to understanding the transnational networks of popular music performance in Asia connected through American military base towns as local sites of the performance-based production of a global American-inspired modernity.

研究分野：文化人類学

キーワード：沖縄 ポピュラー音楽 米軍基地 フィリピン人 女性 ジャズ ロック

## 1. 研究開始当初の背景

As in mainland Japan, the development of popular music in postwar Okinawa is intimately related to the American Occupation and to the presence of American military bases, facilities and personnel. This history has been detailed for mainland Japanese, in particular in relation to jazz music (see Atkins 2001; Tōya 2005; Yoshimi 2007), though Aoki (2013) also describes other early postwar music forms including country-and-western and Hawaiian music performers and performances. However, there is surprisingly little research on the historical relations of the American Occupation and military bases with popular music performance in postwar Okinawa. The research described here helps to fill this gap.

After the Battle of Okinawa in 1945, Okinawa became the America military's "Keystone of the Pacific" and remained under American control until 1972. During the American Occupation years, Okinawa's economy was heavily dependent on the American military bases, and a range of consumer and entertainment businesses developed in military base towns such as Koza (Okinawa City), Kin and Henoko to service the needs and desires of American military personnel. In addition, Okinawan and other, particularly Filipino, workers and entertainers were employed on-base to provide a range of services, again including musical entertainment.

Initially focused on jazz music (Okinawa Jazz Society 2011), from the mid-1960s

such musical entertainment shifted to various genres of pop/rock music (Ishihara 1994; Okinawa Rock Music Society 2014; Roberson 2011). During the Vietnam War "boom" years, there were dozens of bands composed of Okinawan and Filipino musicians playing throughout the main island of Okinawa. After Okinawa's reversion to Japanese control in 1972 and the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, the American military base oriented service economy declined but has remained locally important, both economically and culturally, in base towns such as Koza and Kin. The performance of live music at off-base and on-base venues and events continues to be an important aspect of the musical legacy of the American presence and influence in Okinawa. Throughout this time, Filipino musicians and Okinawan women singers have played key roles in popular music performance in postwar, (post)colonial Okinawa.

## 2. 研究の目的

This research investigated the experiences of Filipino musicians and Okinawan women performers in postwar Okinawa. It thereby sought to fill the gaps left by their discursive marginalization and in doing so to explore the gendered and ethnic dimensions of popular music performance in postwar Okinawa. There were two dimensions to this: as connected with the individual and embodied localizing socio-cultural articulations and appropriations related to the American presence in Okinawa; and as more broadly contexted within the American empire-facilitated globalizing "currents" (see Shigematsu and Camacho

2010) connecting Japan, The Philippines and elsewhere in Asia and the Pacific.

### 3 . 研究の方法

The research combined archival research with ethnographic interviews to investigate the gendered and ethnic dimensions of popular music performances in (post)colonial Okinawa. Archival research was primarily conducted at the Okinawa Prefectural Archives and at the Okinawa Prefectural Library. Interviews were conducted with key Okinawan female jazz and pop/rock vocalists as well as with both Filipino and Okinawan jazz musicians. In addition, participant observation was at music events, including the “Girls Rock Night” and jazz performances that featured musicians relevant to the research. Stretching over three years, the research was designed to focus on the inscribed histories and narrated memories of these key performers as well as to articulate these within the gendered and ethnicized contexts of postwar Okinawa and the inter-Asian flows facilitated by American military bases.

### 4 . 研究成果

This research revealed the ethnic and gendered, but also the political-economic and historical, complexities, contradictions and continuities related to the embodied experiences and identities of the Filipino musicians and Okinawan singers investigated.

Filipino musicians were an especially important presence in popular music performance in Okinawa during the American Occupation years from 1945 to 1972, though

there continue to be resident and contract musicians from the Philippines who perform both jazz and pop/rock music in Okinawa. The research focused on the jazz era Filipino musicians. Interviews with older Filipino and Okinawan jazz musicians revealed the importance of the Filipino presence in early postwar Okinawan jazz history. Early in the American Occupation years, large numbers of Filipino musicians were recruited from the Philippines by American club managers and American or Filipino band leaders from music clubs on the American military bases. The Filipino musicians recalled being initially transported to Okinawa on U.S. military aircraft and staying in on-base housing. As well, there were Filipino musicians who had prior experience playing elsewhere in Asia, such as prewar Shanghai, or subsequently on U.S. military bases in Korea and the Philippines, thus revealing the transnational music circuits in which Okinawa was located and through which Filipino musicians traversed.

There were significant complications and contradictions inherent in the Filipino musicians’ experiences playing jazz music in Okinawa. On the one hand, these musicians, like other Filipinos working for the American Occupation, were initially provided with wages and benefits not afforded local Okinawan musicians. In addition, the Filipino musicians were very much respected for their musicianship and English-language abilities by the often younger, less experienced and initially non-English-speaking Okinawan musicians and singers. In fact, the American

Occupation instituted a policy of skills-introduction (技術導入) which required that local Okinawan musicians be incorporated into Filipino bands in order that the latter might learn the (music) skills necessary to complement, compete with, and later replace the Filipino migrant musicians. The contradiction indexed here came to fuller manifestation as many Filipino musicians were forced to leave Okinawa in preparation for and in conjunction with the 1972 reversion of Okinawa from American to Japanese control.

The Filipinos who remained in Okinawa included some married to local Okinawan women who were thus able to stay on as spouses of Japanese nationals. Regardless, with the decline of demand for jazz music performances in on- and off-base venues, the Filipino musicians seem to have pragmatically expanded their musical repertoires and styles to include, for example, pop-music songs and individual performances providing background music at on-base restaurants. The Filipinos who left Okinawa, while difficult to trace, appear to have exploited various individual, kinship-based and professional networks, in part enabled by trans-Pacific American imperial contexts and connections, to return to the Philippines, move elsewhere in the Asia-Pacific (including Guam), or to move to the United States.

The gendered musical experiences and identities of Okinawan female vocalists active in the earlier jazz period and later pop-rock era show an interesting set of

similarities and differences. Among the earlier generation of Okinawan women, as with the men, were those whose musical careers reflect in part the early postwar necessities of sometimes even very young family members to contribute to family finances. The older women, again like their male instrumentalist counterparts, were also significantly encouraged by school teachers to begin singing jazz (sometimes in bands that the teachers themselves lead!). The younger pop-rock era women's entries into music performance careers witness a wider range of initial inspirations. Among these were opportunistic invitations by high-school or college school-mates and friends.

The older jazz vocalists seem to have primarily performed in venues catering to higher-ranked military personnel (and their spouses and families). These included on-base Officers' clubs and well as off-base civilian clubs at hotels and elsewhere. The younger, pop-rock singers, on the other hand, performed in off-base live houses and on-base clubs catering primarily to lower-ranked officers and, especially, enlisted personnel—the vast majority being young single men. Such performance spaces could thus be highly contested and sexually charged. Contracts to play at on-base venues had to be negotiated with club managers; and, while not consistently recalled, these could force the female vocalists—who often had the best command of the English language among band member—to face unwanted sexual propositions.

Especially after the 1972 reversion of Okinawa from American to Japanese control, or because of the later, post-Vietnam War draw-downs of American forces, changes in music taste, etc., there were many musicians and singers, both Okinawan and Filipino and both male and female, who eventually were faced with having to support themselves or their families with incomes earned from non-music related sources. As well, as is common world-wide, the female singers often became faced with a choice between focusing on children and family or on their (time-consuming and increasingly only marginally remunerative) music careers, generally choosing the former.

However, for all the (former) singers and musicians who were interviewed, their experiences performing music (initially and often primarily for American [military-related] audiences) remained important in their memories and in their identity construction. Indeed, as noted above, some of Filipino and Okinawan musicians and singers continued to perform, while others (especially the women) later returned to performing in some form or other in later years. All such musically composed experiences and identities, reaching across decades, must be viewed within a complex of intersecting contexts that include the American military-based empire and the flows of people and appropriations of culture that it enables, as well as the ethnicized and gendered relationships and structures that obtain in the embodied performances of music from the double margins in postwar Okinawan

music.

#### 5 . 主な発表論文等 ( 研究代表者、研究分担者及び連携研究者には下線 )

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