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研究課題名(和文) Intersectionality of the Transgender and Transnational Lives of Transpinay Entertainers in Japan

研究課題名(英文) Intersectionality of the Transgender and Transnational Lives of Transpinay Entertainers in Japan

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研究成果の概要(和文)：本研究では、グラウンデッド・セオリーに基づき、日本におけるフィリピン人トランス女性やトランスピナイ・エンターテイナーの移住経験が、彼女たちのジェンダー・アイデンティティや移民のアイデンティティにどのような影響を与えているのかを探究する。また、intersectional invisibilityとトランスナショナリズムの概念的枠組みを用いてトランスピナイのナラティブを分析することによって、日本におけるトランスピナイのジェンダーと移民のアイデンティティを説明する社会学的理論の構築、および、彼女たちの経験がジェンダー肯定にどのような影響を与えるのかを明らかにすることを目的とする。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

The significance of my research achievements is in identifying how the transpinay entertainers' migration process and gender practices address social issues on gender, labor, migration, race, and citizenship, which continually question the host country's strategies for governing migrants.

研究成果の概要(英文)：Drawing on grounded theory, this study explores how the migration experiences of Filipino trans women or transpinay entertainers in Japan influence their gender and migration identities. It analyzes the narratives of transpinay using the conceptual framework of intersectional invisibility (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008) and transnationalism. This study aims to develop a sociological theory that explains the gender and migration identities of transpinay in Japan and to understand how their experiences influence their gender affirmation.

研究分野：gender and migration

キーワード：transgender trans women transpinay migration transnationalism Japan Philippines intersectionality

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## 様式 C-19、F-19-1 (共通)

### 1. 研究開始当初の背景

Recent scholarship on gender diversity centers on transgender people (Stryker, 2013). However, researchers have not extensively studied transgender migrants' untold stories, particularly in Asia, which mattered in the visibility of Filipino trans women in media, politics, and activism that happened after decades of struggles. One of the unique stories in this struggle is the experience of these trans women working as entertainers in Japan. Although there have been scholarly works on Filipino entertainers in Japan, these usually pertain to cisgender women; there is an absence of extensive literature on Filipino trans women. The research presented here aims to contribute to understanding an understudied group of entertainers in Japan—Filipino trans women or “transpinay,” a portmanteau of “transgender” and “Pinay” (Filipino woman)—and to identify how the flows of migration to and from Japan have affected the lives of transpinay. By integrating the presentation of self (Goffman, 1959), intersectional invisibility (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), and transnationalism conceptual frameworks in examining the narratives of transpinay, this research aims to develop a sociological theory to explain the gender and migration identities of transpinay as well as how their migration experiences affect their gender affirmation.

### 2. 研究の目的

The primary objective of this study is to examine both the migratory trajectories of transgender Filipino entertainer migrants and the varied ways they have performed and negotiated their gender and migration identities. Japan and the Philippines were selected as important sites that affect the negotiation practices of transpinay migrants. Other emerging topics focus on the private and public realms, including relationships, occupation, and transition, which provide the main overarching frameworks of transgender research. This study asks how the intersecting identities of gender, race, and social class affect the migration experience of transpinay entertainers. Moreover, it attempts to contribute to transgender and migration scholarship because the case studies of these Filipino transgender migrants in Japan have not been extensively studied. My research objective leads me to investigate these untold stories through an ethnographic approach. As I examine the migration pathways of transpinay participants and gender identity within their life course, I look for implications of how their attitudes and practices are transformed. The research is divided into two main themes—gender and migration—which follow the chronological life trajectories of my participants, mapped out in Japan and the Philippines. In the long term, this study's social impact lies in its ability to serve as a compass for the following macro-level research problems: 1) What are the migration trajectories of the transpinay entertainers in Japan? 2) How do their migration experiences in Japan affect the transpinays' life course? 3) How do transpinays perform and negotiate their gender and migrant identities?

### 3. 研究の方法

This three-year, with a one-year extension, qualitative research project from a long-term research study utilized grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) to systematically gather and organize data from two significant fieldwork efforts in Japan and the Philippines. First, the researcher conducted interviews (Weiss, 1994) and focus group discussions in Filipino, Japanese, and English to allow participants to code-switch. The researcher collected narratives from trans women entertainers who are still in Japan or return migrants to the Philippines. The interviews revolved around participants' backgrounds,

gender identity, visa and job application process, work, relationships, and aspirations before, during, and after migration. Aside from participant observation in a detention center, pub, trans women beauty pageant clubs, and netnography, the researcher interviewed a pub owner, audience members, NGO volunteers, policymakers, LGBTQ people, allies, activists, and educators for supplementary data. The primary data sources were audio and video-recorded interviews. Each participant selected an interview location and completed a signed consent form, and oral-informed consent was obtained. Second, the interviews were transcribed verbatim and analyzed based on grounded theory principles. Through snowball sampling and connections within the Filipino migrant and LGBTQ community, the researcher was able to gain access to transgender beauty pageants and secure introductions to transpinays in Japan and the Philippines.

#### 4. 研究成果

The recent rise in visibility for Filipino trans women in media, politics, and activism happened after decades of struggles. One unique story in this struggle is the experience of trans women working as entertainers in Japan. Although there have been scholarly works on Filipino entertainers in Japan, these usually pertain to cisgender women; there is a lack of extensive literature on Filipino trans women. The research presented here aims to contribute to understanding an understudied group—Filipino trans women entertainers in Japan or “transpinays,” a portmanteau of “transgender” and “Pinay” (Filipino woman)—and to identify how the flows of migration to and from Japan have affected the lives of transpinays. Employing grounded theory in a qualitative approach, this study examines how fourteen transpinay entertainers engaged in gender performance pre-migration in Japan and finally either returned to the Philippines or remained in Japan. The intersectionality lens focuses on how these transpinays—as performers, migrants, and romantic or life partners—negotiated gender, race, and citizenship. The main qualifications for becoming a transgender entertainer were feminine good looks that could let a transpinay “pass” and the transpinay’s talents as a performer. These resilient transpinay entertainers “performed” their gender as self-empowerment in the host society to negate their marginalization in their home country. However, their transpinay identity as migrants reveals an intersectional invisibility. Mapping the journey of these transpinay entertainers from the 80s to the early 2000s, I argue that their experiences in Japan have affirmed their gender regardless of gender confirmation surgery and have strengthened their sense of belonging to the host society as well as the home country where transgender visibility and activism have transformed over the years. This study concludes that the transpinays’ intersectional migration pathways parallel the transition of their gender identity and gender affirmation (Okada, 2020a, 2021).

Their first year of the study they have coincided with the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, making it challenging to conduct fieldwork. To increase and diversify findings from a broader study, the researcher collected data from sixty—to ninety-minute interviews with two Filipino trans woman detainees and two representatives of NPO organizations in Japan. One trans woman detainee was interviewed when she was still detained at the Japanese immigration bureau and received her provisional release. Other interviews with NGO members were conducted in person and via Zoom.

The progress of this study in the following year and the data quality were aligned with this project's objectives. However, the fieldwork conducted was limited due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Moreover, the findings highlighted new transmigration issues by examining current Japanese immigration policies. Lastly, the interviews with NGO members and specialists in migration studies provided new perspectives on how Japanese society and migration policies affect transgender migrants in Japan.

Participants, who described themselves as trans, *bakla*, or *bading* (gay man in Filipino), ranged in age from late thirties to fifties. Some of them became aware of their sexual orientation and gender identity as early as the age of six. Nearly all were either high school graduates or entered university with little work experience and no international travel experience before moving to and working in Japan.

Filipinos often migrate to Japan to seek greener pastures and financially provide for their loved ones due to the scarcity of opportunities back home. However, that is only sometimes the case for these transpinay entertainers. Working and living safely as a trans woman, even as an entertainer, was a form of emancipation and empowerment since professional jobs were limited for trans women in the Philippines from the 1980s until the early 2000s. On the other hand, the reasons for the migration of the younger generation of transpinays are family migration and lifestyle in Japan.

The peak of Filipino trans women show pubs in Japan was from the 1980s until the 1990s. Although there were constant changes in the procedures of the auditions and recruitment, which were influenced by gender policing and lookism, the main qualifications for becoming a transgender entertainer were good looks that could “pass” for or resemble a woman and the transpinay’s talents in performance, which were developed through intensive training. Most auditionees were in their late teens or early twenties and, at some point, considered undergoing gender confirmation surgery in the future. Pre-operative, post-operative, and non-operative transpinays all worked as full-time entertainers.

Since the entertainer visa was only up to a maximum of six months, most transpinays either renewed their contract to work in Japan several times, potentially spanning an average of fifteen years, or overstayed as undocumented Filipino immigrants, referred to as *bilog*. Having worked and lived as entertainers in Japan gave these transpinays economic and symbolic capital as a competitive edge over other transpinays. Their entertainment work facilitated flows of social remittances in the Philippines in the form of social capital, performing skills, ideas, and styles that transgender returnees could pass onto younger, aspiring performers. By analyzing the intersecting gender, migration, and entertainment work in their lives, this study illustrated how the resilient transpinay entertainers “perform” their gender as self-empowerment in the host society to negate their marginalization in their home country through nurturing personal relationships with the Japanese—as clients, business partners, and lovers (Okada, 2020b). Some transpinays who overstayed completely changed their identities to avoid being deported, hence leading to their “disappearance.” Their existence as migrant workers and even their sexual identity became untraceable. Therefore, “pretending” to be women and legal in a foreign country was the transpinay’s “performance” in itself, resulting in intersectional invisibility.

Moreover, entertainers who finished their contracts returned to the Philippines or went to other foreign countries and reinvented themselves as professionals in the entertainment

and corporate industries, public servants, and activists. Whatever they chose to do, they nurtured the values they learned from living in Japan. Professionalism and excellence, punctuality and discipline, cleanliness and orderliness, and doing one's best were the social remittances they were accustomed to. Hence, they took pride in their "reappearance" in the Philippines.

Throughout their narratives, various perceptions regarding gender identity, performance, and transnational practices arose. The transpinay entertainers felt a sense of belonging to Japan as long as they sustained their transnational activities since they found Japan, where gender ambivalence was manifested, to be a land of promise and a proper space to blend in and express their gender identity. Transpinays' performances onstage and offstage did not only translate into liberation but also became a source of professional growth and perhaps a life-changing experience, both in mind and body, making "transpinay" a viable identity in and of itself.

Transpinay entertainers provide a significant case by demonstrating flows of migration to and from Japan that come full circle, paralleling their transition and affirming their gender as trans women regardless of gender confirmation surgery. As the facets of transpinays have evolved through generations, diverse representations, and expressions, this study needs to be continued and consider the other Filipino LGBTQ migrants in Japan that can be contributed to the scholarship of Queer Diaspora in Asia.

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## 5. 主な発表論文等

〔雑誌論文〕 計5件（うち査読付論文 2件 / うち国際共著 4件 / うちオープンアクセス 2件）

1. 著者名 Tricia Okada	4. 巻 -
2. 論文標題 How did we end up here? Narratives of Filipinas teaching English in Japan	5. 発行年 2020年
3. 雑誌名 Candlin & Mynard e-publishing	6. 最初と最後の頁 239-254
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1. 著者名 Tricia Okada	4. 巻 -
2. 論文標題 Outsider teachers? Filipino teachers' reflections on English teaching and raising intercultural awareness in Japan	5. 発行年 2023年
3. 雑誌名 Candlin & Mynard e-publishing	6. 最初と最後の頁 204-225
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1. 著者名 The Migration Pathways and Gender Performance of Transpinay Entertainers in Japan	4. 巻 -
2. 論文標題 早稲田大学 学位論文 (博士)	5. 発行年 2021年
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1. 著者名 Negotiations in the Gendered Experiences of Transpinay Entertainers in Japan	4. 巻 19
2. 論文標題 Journal of Contemporary Eastern Asia	5. 発行年 2020年
3. 雑誌名 Korean Science	6. 最初と最後の頁 40-60
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1. 著者名 Okada Tricia	4. 巻 -
2. 論文標題 Gender performance and migration experience of Filipino transgender women entertainers in Japan	5. 発行年 2020年
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〔学会発表〕 計7件 (うち招待講演 1件 / うち国際学会 6件)

1. 発表者名 Tricia Okada
2. 発表標題 Trans Belonging and Transgendered Lives in Japan during COVID-19
3. 学会等名 XX International Sociological Association (ISA) World Congress of Sociology, Melbourne (国際学会)
4. 発表年 2023年

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4. 発表年 2023年

1. 発表者名 Speaker: Helene Le Bail; Commentators: Tricia Okada, Sho Niikawa
2. 発表標題 Migration, Sex Work, and Human Trafficking: reflexivity and methodology in a polarized field of research
3. 学会等名 Kobe Migration Research Center (招待講演)
4. 発表年 2024年

1. 発表者名 Tricia Okada
2. 発表標題 Double Pass: Examining the Migration Pathways and Belongingness of Two Filipino (Trans) Women Migrants in Japan
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3. 学会等名 The 5th Philippine Studies Conference in Japan (国際学会)
4. 発表年 2023年

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2. 発表標題 Philippine Queer Studies Conference
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4. 発表年 2020年

1. 発表者名 After the Curtain Call: The Homecoming of Filipino Transgender Women Entertainers in Japan
2. 発表標題 Association for Asian Studies (AAS)
3. 学会等名 Association for Asian Studies (AAS) (国際学会)
4. 発表年 2020年



〔図書〕 計0件

〔産業財産権〕

〔その他〕

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6. 研究組織

	氏名 (ローマ字氏名) (研究者番号)	所属研究機関・部局・職 (機関番号)	備考
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7. 科研費を使用して開催した国際研究集会

〔国際研究集会〕 計0件

8. 本研究に関連して実施した国際共同研究の実施状況

共同研究相手国	相手方研究機関
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