



身体文化におけるジェンダー研究 ・Gender Research on Physical Culture

スポーツに求められる 多様な性への尊重

LGBTがスポーツで直面する問題とは

Respect for Gender and Sexual Diversity in Sports:

Issues Faced by LGBT Individuals

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井谷准教授が項目執筆を担当した
「Routledge Handbook of Physical Cultural Studies」(Routledge・国際共著)
Associate Professor Itani's article in the "Routledge Handbook of Physical Cultural Studies" (Routledge, international co-authors)

自身も陸上選手だったことから、スポーツにおける女性排除や、性的マイノリティーの選手が「存在しないもの」として進められる制度設計に関心を持ち、身体文化やジェンダー研究の道へ進んだ井谷聡子准教授。当事者目線を交えつつ、グローバルな観点から「LGBT（レズビアン、ゲイ、バイセクシュアル、トランスジェンダー）のスポーツ参加」に切り込んでいく。

As a track and field athlete herself, Associate Professor Satoko Itani developed an interest in the exclusion of women in sports. They looked into how sports institutions are designed as if sexual and gender minority athletes do not exist. Such interest led them to pursue research on physical culture and gender. Itani would then focus on the participation in sports of LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) individuals from a global viewpoint while including the perspectives of such individuals themselves.

■スポーツにおける性別二元制と差別の壁

——LGBTがスポーツをする上で、特に妨げとなっていることは？

直面する問題は、性的指向によるLGBと、性別に違和感がある、あるいは性自認が男女のカテゴリーに収まらないTとで異なります。LGBの場合、例えば「男なら強く逞しくなければならない」「男ならスポーツができなければダメだ」など、ジェンダー像へのステレオタイプによる差別があり、パッシングを受けやすいことが研究により分かっています。

一方、Tの場合は、性別二元制と差別の問題があり、自覚した年齢やカミングアウトの有無で大きく違います。私自身、人に話すことができたのは23歳の時。伝えるのすら難しいのに、選手は参加規定に即して病院へ行き、ホルモン治療や手術をしなければなりません。そのような選手はほとんどおらず、まれにいても——特に、身体的性別は男性で性自認が女性の選手は、活躍すると差別的な発言に晒されます。また、カミングアウトできない選手は、ユニフォームや更衣室など、性自認にマッチしない環境でやっていく苦しさがあります。

——実際、身体的性別は男性で性自認が女性であるTの女子選手は有利なのでしょうか？

走る速さで比較すると、男女の数値は重なる部分が大きく、男子選手の平均より女子のトップ選手の方が速いです。身体的性別が男性だからといって、全ての女性選手より優れた選手になるわ



▲2017年度春季人権啓発行事の様子 Spring 2017 event to promote human rights awareness
▼ロサンゼルスで開催されたシンポジウム Symposium held in Los Angeles



けではなく、平均値のみを見ると多様性を見失います。また、安全面から「骨格が大きい」「力が強いから他の選手に怪我をさせる」などと言及されがちですが、ボクシングやラグビーなど、男子同士の競技でも負傷するケースはあります。Tの女子選手によってけがが生じたケースだけを指摘するのは偏った見方だと認識し、理解を深めていく必要があります。

■性的マイノリティの一生を左右する国際規定

——オリンピック等の国際的なスポーツ大会では、男性ホルモンの一種テストステロン量に上限を設ける「高アンドロゲン症検査」が適用されていますね。

1960年代半ばに「性別確認検査」が制度化され、2011年にはIOCと当時のIAAF(国際陸上競技連盟)が女子選手に「高アンドロゲン症検査」を導入しました。もともとは女子に扮した男子選手を排除し、女子競技の公平性を担保することが目的でしたが、失格となって排除されたのは、1000人に1・2人いるとされるインターセックス、身体的もしくは染色体の特徴が男女の枠組みに収まらない、あるいは両方の特徴を持つ、性分化疾患の選手たちでした。

14年には、検査により出場資格を剥奪されたインドのスプリンター、デュティ・チャンド選手がCAS(スポーツ仲裁裁判所)にその不当性を提訴。CASは差別を認めてIAAFに証明を要求し、IAAFらは17・18年に研究結果を報告しましたが、テストステロン量と競技力に相関性が見出せたのは、陸上競技では800～1500m走、

■ The Gender Binary and Wall of Discrimination in Sports

—— What are the barriers faced by LGBT individuals when participating in sports?

The issues that are faced are different for individuals identifying as lesbian, gay, and bisexual, and other terms referring to sexual orientation. Such is also true for transgender individuals, who are uncomfortable with their assigned gender or whose gender identity does not fit into the categories of “man” or “woman.” In the former case, research has shown that there is discrimination based on gender stereotypes. These inclusionotions such as “men must be strong and powerful,” or “men should be able to do sports,” and the fact that are often verbally attacked.

In the latter case, issues include gender binary and discrimination. The problems being experienced differ significantly on many factors. Such may depend on the age the individual came to see themself as transgender, as well as whether they have come out as such. In my case, I became able to talk to people about it when I was twenty-three years old. Despite it being difficult to share such things with people, following rules for participation, they must go to hospitals and undergo hormone therapy and even surgery. There are almost no athletes who do so, and even when there are, they are exposed to discriminatory remarks when they participate. This is especially true for transwoman athletes who were assigned the male gender at birth but currently identify as a woman. Furthermore, athletes who are unable to come out are faced with the difficulty of being in an environment that does not match their gender identity. Examples of these difficulties include the lack of gender-neutral uniforms and changing rooms.

—— Are transwoman athletes those who identify as a woman and have male physical characteristics? Is this actually at an advantage for them?

Comparing their running speed, there is a considerable overlap between males and females. Top female athletes are faster than average male athletes. A transwoman athlete is not better than all cisgender women just because they are born with “male body.” We begin to lose sight of diversity if we only look at the average values of people. People tend to talk about their large build and risk of injuring other athletes due to their strength. However, there are cases in men's sports, such as boxing and rugby, in which players are severely injured. It's biased to just to point out instances of transwoman athletes causing injuries, and there is a need to deepen people's understanding.

■ International Regulations That Impact Gender Minorities' Lives

—— At international sporting events such as the Olympics, there is a hyperandrogenism test with a limit on the level of testosterone- a male hormone.

In the mid-1960s, “sex verification tests” were instituted. Furthermore, in 2011, the International Olympic Committee(IOC) and International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF, now World Athletics) introduced hyperandrogenism tests for female athletes. The initial aim was to ensure the fairness of women's competitions by excluding men disguised as women. Still, those who were disqualified ended up being athletes with the condition of intersex or differences of sex development (individuals with physical/ chromosomal characters that do not fit into a male-female framework or both male and female physical/chromosomal characteristics. It's said to be .1% or .2% of the population).

In 2014, the Indian sprinter Dutee Chand appealed to the Court of Arbitration for Sports (CAS) after being disqualified due to the test results. CAS recognized that she had been discriminated against and requested proof from the IAAF. The IAAF side reported its research results in 2017 and 2018. However, these results only



学会で発表をする井谷准教授
Associate Professor Itani giving a presentation at a conference

棒高跳び、ハンマー投げのみで、科学的根拠は全く不十分でした。同じく資格を剥奪された、リオデジャネイロ五輪800m走の金メダリスト、南アフリカのキャスター・セメンヤ選手は200m走への転向を表明しており、その実力も十分あるので、基準をクリアした場合どう扱われるのか注目しています。

また、昨年9月には、ウガンダの選手が検査にひっかかり、その告発映像が出されました。ウガンダは性的マイノリティが処罰の対象となる国です。その選手は身の危険に晒され、ドイツへ亡命しました。人生を左右する個人情報、競技を理由に計測し、世界にばらすのは人権問題ということが、団体側には見えていないようです。——ガイドラインや規定の整備は進んでいないのでしょうか？

国際的には少しずつですが緩和されて理解が進んでいます。Tの選手の出場に関しては、04年にIOCが明確なガイドラインを発表しました。条件は3つで、性別適合手術を受けていること、手術後の適切なホルモン治療を2年以上受けていること、法的に新しい性別になっていること。16～18歳の選手がクリアするのは、ほぼ不可能な厳しい内容でした。これが15年に改訂され、トランス女性の選手は、手術を受けていなくてもホルモン治療を1年以上受けていること、テストステロン値が一定レベルを下回っていることで容認され、トランス男性の選手に関しては、手術とホルモン要件が撤廃されました。

——どうしたら性的マイノリティも安心して競技できる環境を構築できるとお考えですか？

まず、スポーツの目的を明確にし直す必要があります。スポーツは一部のエリート選手のためでなく、人々が健康な人生を送り、日常で楽しめるものを中心とすべきです。教育を受ける権利と同じく、健康的に運動する権利は全ての人に開かれるべきものであり、国連でもスポーツ権が認められています。それを尊重し、皆が多様性を理解できる環境を作り、制度設計することも大切です。そして、五輪のように大規模な大会は、人間の身体の可能性とその動きの美しさをエッセンスとした文化の祭典であり、人々の暮らしや人権が大切にされてこそ成り立つものであると思います。



関西大学で開催された「きんきトランス・ミーティング」▲▶
Kinki Trans Meeting, held at Kansai University



交流の場を作り、正しい情報発信を

——昨年12月に設立された「KINKY cafe」の活動もされていますね。

「KINKY cafe」は、Tについて語り合う交流の場です。関西の大学教員や学生ら有志による「きんきトランス・ミーティング」が主催となり、多様な性を生きる人が安心して暮らせる社会のために、情報発信やイベント等の活動を行っています。発端は、18年にお茶の水女子大学がT女性の受け入れを発表し「女性が守られるべき安全な空間を危険なものにしてしまう」とフェミニストから相当なバッシングを受けたこと。オンライン上での誹謗中傷もエスカレートし、トランスフォビア(差別)への危機感を覚えたのです。女性学やジェンダー研究者による呼びかけもあり、2月に関西大学で開催した際は、告知からわずか数日で130人の定員が埋まりました。メディアや当事者も多く集まり、学術的な関心も高まっていますが、まだ日本には正しい情報を発信できる研究者が少ないのがつらいところです。

——今後の展望をお聞かせください。

セクシャリティに関しては「KINKY cafe」の活動を支援しつつ、同様に当事者のための場を作り、情報発信していきます。また、まだ構想段階ですが、環境問題も交えながら、アウトドアの中で性的マイノリティがもっと自分の身体を大切にする経験ができるクイアキャンプやトランスキャンプのような活動も実現したいと考えています。

五輪に関しては、研究者として社会で起こっている問題をこれまでの研究蓄積と照合し、見えてきたことを発信していく責任もあります。延期が決定した東京2020にこれから何が起きているのか、記録を残していきたいと思います。アメリカの政治学者、ジュールズ・ボイコフ氏をはじめ、今後の五輪開催予定地で活動している研究者や活動家たちとも交流があるので、情報交換を密にして進めていきます。

found a correlation between testosterone levels and performance in 800m to 1500m runs, pole vault, and hammer throw. There was no adequate scientific basis for their disqualification of Chand. The South African athlete, Caster Semenya, won the gold medal in the 800m running event at the Rio de Janeiro Olympics. However, like Chand, Caster also experienced being disqualified from participating in competitions. From then, she has announced that she is switching to the 200m run. She is quite capable, and I am interested to see how she will be treated if she meets the criteria.

Furthermore, a video was released in September of last year, highlighting claims that the human rights of athletes are being violated. The video showed a former Ugandan athlete who failed a hyperandrogenism test. In Uganda, one is punished for being a sexual/gender minority. With her life in danger, she went on an asylum in Germany. It appears that sporting organizations do not see that taking personal information for competition, which can significantly influence people's lives, and then divulging it to the world is a human rights issue.

——Is any progress being made in terms of guidelines and regulations?

On an international level, the guidelines and regulations are being relaxed and are becoming more understanding, albeit at a slow pace. In 2004, the IOC released clear guidelines regarding transgender athletes' participation in sports. There were three conditions for participation: having undergone gender-affirming surgery, having undergone appropriate hormone therapy for at least two years after surgery, and their new gender being legally recognized. These are conditions are extremely difficult to meet, if not impossible, especially for athletes just between sixteen and eighteen years old. In 2015 these guidelines were revised. Now, the rules only require that transwoman athletes must have undergone hormone therapy for at least a year, and they must have a testosterone level under a certain value. They do not need to undergo surgery anymore. The previous surgery and hormone requirements for transmen were eliminated.

——How do you think environments should be constructed where sexual and gender minorities can also comfortably compete?

First, there is a need to clearly re-work the aims of the sports. Sports should not be designed only for a select group of elite athletes. They should be centered on people living healthily and enjoying their lives. Just like the right to receive education, the right to healthily engage in exercise should be open and accessible to all. The right to sports is recognized by the United Nations (UN). It is important to respect this so that we will be able to create an environment and design institutions where everyone can nurture their understanding of diversity. Also, I think that large-scale sports competitions like the Olympics are cultural events. Its essence is the potential of the human body and the beauty of its movement. In this way, they can only be successful if people's lives and rights are valued.

■Creating Places for Exchange and Transmitting Correct Information

——You are also doing work related to the “KINKY cafe”, which was established in December of last year.

KINKY cafe provides an opportunity for people to get together and talk about transgender-related topics. It is run by “Kinki” Trans Meeting,” a group of Kansai-region university teachers and students interested in the topic of transgender. It shares information and hosts events and activities with the aim of creating a society where people of diverse sexualities and genders can live comfortably. It was launched after some feminists and other people engaged in considerable bashing when Ochanomizu University, an exclusive university for women, announced in 2018 that it would begin accepting transwoman students. They said that doing so would turn safe spaces where women should be protected into dangerous ones. Online abuse also escalated, and I felt that it was urgent that

we respond to the transphobia. Women's studies advocates and gender researchers called for people to participate.

In February, only a few days after a meeting at Kansai University was announced, it already reached a capacity— of 130 people. Many people from the media, as well as other transgender individuals and supporters attended. Academic interest is increasing. However, it's unfortunate that in Japan, there are still a few researchers who can share accurate information regarding this topic.

——Please share with us your plans for the future.

While continuing to support the activities of KINKY cafe, I am hoping to create a similar space for sexual minorities and broadcast related information. Furthermore, while this is still at the conceptual phase, I would like to hold queer camps and transcamps where sexual and gender minorities have the opportunity to value their bodies outdoors, while at the same time thinking about environmental issues as well.

With regard to the Olympics, it's my responsibility as a researcher to share things that become apparent when examining problems in the society, in light of the existing research on this topic. I would like to leave a record of what happens at the Tokyo Olympics, when they are held a year later than what was planned. I have relationships with scholars and activists, such as the US political scientist Jules Boykoff, who have active roles at the sites of future Olympics. I plan to ensure that we continue to share information with each other.

* A term used interchangeably with Kansai.

