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SEXUALLY NONCONFORMING PINAYS NEGOTIATE RELATIONSHIPS WITH
PARENTS, PARTNERS, AND COMMUNITY

by

VERONICA B. SALCEDO

Under the Direction of Rosalind S. Chou, PhD

ABSTRACT

Documentation and analysis of lesbian, bisexual, and queer women's experiences in the U.S. centers White lesbians in urban settings. This study contributes to the growing literature on sexually nonconforming (SNC) women of color. When women of Filipino descent, or Pinays, are romantically attracted to other women, how do they negotiate relationships with their families of origin and choice? What are the raced and gendered experiences of SNC Pinays? I conducted narrative analysis of 10 in-depth, semi-structured interviews that center the voices of SNC Pinays in the U.S. Through Burawoy's extended case method, I find that both SNC Pinays and their parents complicate emphasized femininity by selectively using or interpreting aspects of patriarchal gender systems. I also find that older Filipina/Filipina American women seek recognition as successful mothers by reinforcing conformist displays of femininity. My findings show how intersections of race, ethnicity, and gender limit SNC Pinays' social and romantic interactions.

INDEX WORDS: Pinay, Filipina American, Women, Lesbian, Bisexual, Queer, Family,
Sexually Nonconforming, Emphasized Femininity, Doing Gender, Intersectionality

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PARENTS, PARTNERS, AND COMMUNITY

by

VERONICA B. SALCEDO

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2018

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by

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DEDICATION

For my family

Mom, Dad, Tesa, and Mahal Ko

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1 INTRODUCTION

In the summer between kindergarten and first grade, I tried my friend's bike in his driveway. It was sleek and black with red accents. I desperately wanted this bike because it looked like everything I wanted to be: tough, cool, and not "girly." I convinced my parents to buy the same model bike for me and immediately spent my summer nights in the cul-de-sac practicing. Since my father petitioned Lolo¹ from the Philippines in 1983, he was a part of my immediate family for almost two years. Lolo spoke with my parents about my bike and suggested that he buy one that I could grow into. Within a week, my bike was replaced with a feminine "girl's" model. It was lavender with pink flowers on the white plastic basket attached to the front. This model had a larger frame and would last me a few years.

Not surprisingly, I lost interest in biking and pushed the toy into the corner of the garage. My family attempted to enforce appropriate gender expression through one of my toys and I found a way to resist this. As I matured, my family reinforced their assumptions of me through other messages: no dating until after college, boyfriends with tattoos and piercings were not allowed, and critiques whenever I cut my hair shorter than my previous style. Given Filipino family expectations and my financial need after graduation, I lived with my parents in a conservative Virginia suburb. I struggled to accept my attraction to women, tell my family about these feelings, and connect with women like me within this social environment.

As a queer, lesbian Pinay² born and raised in the U.S, I experience marginalization through socially constructed systems of sexuality, gender, and race. My standpoint centers my research that critiques interlocking systems of oppression reproduced within and outside of

¹ This is the term for grandfather in the Tagalog language, which is spoken predominantly in the Luzon region of the Philippines.

² In Filipino community vernacular, this term refers to women of Filipino descent regardless of their generational status. As a self-identifier, Pinay can demonstrate one's social and/or political consciousness of being Filipina American. Thanks to Eleanor Castillo for bringing this distinction to my attention.

Filipino/Filipino American families. Previous studies challenge the assumption that these families provide emotional support for their daughters in the U.S. Filipino parents' reaction to U.S. imperialism, conflicting family values, and practices around gendered accountability are factors in Pinays' psychological distress (Espiritu 2001; Nadal and Corpus 2013; Wolf 1997) and suicidal ideation (Wolf 1997). While lesbian, bisexual, and queer (LBQ) women of color may seek affirmation outside of their family of origin, a racialized gender hierarchy complicate these interactions. Studies find that Black and Latina lesbians avoid excessive masculine gender presentation due to sanctions among family, co-ethnics, and the general public (Acosta 2013; Asencio 2009; Moore 2006), while queer Pinays find fulfillment manipulating their gender expression in these settings (Villa 2015). Forming a family of choice maybe an avenue for LGBTQ people to find solace; however, systems of sexuality, gender, and race operate simultaneously in maintaining hierarchies of beauty and desirability. Socially constructed boundaries subordinate and fetishize queer people of color in contrast to the heterosexual, masculine, and White standard of desire (Chou 2012, Collins 2004; Nagel 2003). My research explores racialized and gendered interactions between LBQ Pinays and their families. It bridges the gap between previous studies centering heterosexual Pinays and studies centering LBQ women of color.

The isolation that I felt as a young adult is mirrored in the current sociological literature. Among multiple studies on Filipino/Filipino American women in U.S., only Villa (2015) centers the experiences of LBQ Pinays. However, many respondents in this study refrain from in-depth discussion of family interactions. My research will build on Villa's (2015) findings and make visible the lived experiences of LBQ Pinays in the field of families, sexualities, race, and ethnicity research. Additionally, my research has goals in strengthening theory and in

application. Exploring how LBQ Pinays experience and respond to macro-level systems of power will contribute to a more nuanced understanding of how sexuality, gender, and race operate at the interpersonal level. I also hope to identify practical methods of resistance against interlocking systems of power for LBQ Pinays and their support networks in the U.S.

In the following sections, I contextualize LBQ Pinay visibility and review existing research around our population. I then define the goals of and terms in the study. Next, I explain theoretical frameworks of doing gender, emphasized femininity, and intersectionality utilized to address my research questions. I then justify using feminist standpoint epistemology and the extended case method in framing my qualitative data collection and analysis. In subsequent sections, I discuss the findings and implications of knowledge produced in collaboration with sexually nonconforming Pinays.

1.1 Background

My study on LBQ Pinays in the U.S. addresses various gaps within the extant research. The sociological analysis of non-heterosexual women's experiences in the U.S. centers white, middle-class lesbians (for a review of notable exceptions see Acosta 2013; Asencio 2009; Moore 2011). Scant empirical studies focus on the lived experiences of Filipina lesbians, bisexuals, and queers in the United States (de la Cerna 2016; Nadal and Corpus 2013; Villa 2015). Despite being the second largest Asian American ethnic group (Hoeffel, Rastogi, Kim, and Shahid 2012), Filipinos/Filipino Americans are underrepresented in secondary education textbooks (Suh, An, and Forest 2015), media coverage (David 2016), as well as empirical research (Nadal 2009). In short, Filipino/Filipino American experiences are ignored by white-dominated, institutional sources of information. Since white scholars influence sociological scholarship and benefit from the existing racial hierarchy (Zuberi and Bonilla-Silva 2008), they do not contribute to research

on LBQ Pinay experiences that interrogate the status quo. These women resist invisibility in the literature by documenting their images and experiences through self publications (Alcantara-Tan 2000; Asian Lesbians of the East Coast 1983; Nakano 2017; Sevilla 2005), ethnohistory (Ordon 2000), contributions in non-empirical anthologies (Aguilar-San Juan 1998; Alcantara, Mah, and Whang 1997; Lipat, Stewart, Ordon, and Ubaldo 2005; Ordon 2003), theater productions (Bindlestiff Studio 2006, 2014; Kreatibo 2005) and internet-based platforms (Nakano 2012; Tuazon and Pacificar 2011; Vallarta 2013). This body of work offers rich personal experiences, some critical analysis of oppression, and creative expressions by these women; however, these examples highlight the injustice of being excluded from empirical research. Given the various forms of documentation initiated by LBQ Pinays, I follow in the tradition of community insiders creating knowledge with each other in order to expand empirical research on an overlooked and marginalized population.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Empirical research, critical social theory, and personal recollections provide a foundation for my study on LBQ Pinays. Themes that emerge from the literature include gendered accountability within Filipino/Filipino American families, gender hegemony and lesbian, bisexual, and queer women of color, and the intersection of ethnicity, race, sexuality, and gender.

2.1 Gendered Accountability within Filipino/Filipino American Families

Previous research illustrates how the Filipino/Filipino American family is a site of tension between parents and daughters (Espiritu 2001; Nadal and Corpus 2013; Wolf 1997). Sociological and psychological studies identify why parents hold their daughters accountable to gendered, racialized, and sexualized expectations.

Filipino immigrant parents raising heterosexual daughters in California resist racism by claiming a moral position over white American women they deem promiscuous (Espiritu 2001). In addition to holding Pinays accountable to appropriate feminine behavior, such as conservative fashion, no dating before marriage to a man, and staying at home in the evening, these parents determine cultural authenticity based on their daughters' adherence to parental restrictions (Espiritu 2001). Wolf (1997:476) finds immigration, transnational struggles, and assimilation are gendered processes where parents restrict their daughters "bodies, mobility, sexuality, and education." Second-generation heterosexual Pinays in California experience transnational struggles, or "differing codes, cultures, ideologies and goals," because they are physically located in the U.S. and have ideological and emotional ties to the Philippines through their parents or other family members (Wolf 1997:459). Conflict between parents and Pinay youth stems from family practices that contradict family ideology; this is a contributing factor to high rates of depression and suicidal ideation among these women (Wolf 1997).

Among lesbian and bisexual Pinays in California and New York, Nadal and Corpus (2013) find that cultural values and family dynamics disrupt their ability to expand gender presentation and disclose their sexual orientation. Lesbian and bisexual Pinays face explicit and non-verbal sanctions from elders for their unfeminine clothes or hair style (Nadal and Corpus 2013). Some women experience having to come out multiple time to parents in denial while others uphold a mutual code of silence with family members regarding their same-sex relationships (Nadal and Corpus 2013). A couple of respondents in Nadal and Corpus's study (2013) and a personal reflection by a lesbian Pinay (Ordona and Thompson 1990) reveal that in some instances, these women experience subtle forms of acceptance from family members. However, Nadal and Corpus (2013) find that family interactions result in psychological distress for a majority of lesbian and bisexual Pinays.

These studies highlight the importance of appropriate displays of femininity and heterosexuality to Filipino/Filipino American parents. The process of accountability results in emotional strain for their daughters. My research will contribute to the literature by exploring in more detail how LBQ Pinays express their gender and navigate relationships with their families of origin.

2.2 Gender Hegemony and Lesbian, Bisexual, and Queer Women of Color

Research that centers LBQ women of color demonstrate how ideas associated with masculinity and femininity influence their gender display. Studies find that masculine presentation is stigmatizing (Acosta 2013; Asencio 2009; Moore 2006), and that feminine presentation with participation in masculine activities is an avenue for self-affirmation (Villa 2015).

Lesbian, bisexual, and queer Latinas in the northeast U.S. experience family and societal resistance to gender nonconformity (Acosta 2013; Asencio 2009). Acosta (2013:25) finds that parents of these women express their desire to distance the family from the shame associated with unfeminine women. Similar to the ideal Filipina established by Filipino immigrant parents, Latina femininity requires gender conformity in the way of dresses, jewelry, cosmetics, and obedience to her parents, especially her mother (Acosta 2013:24). Sexually nonconforming Latinas modify their gender display to accommodate the expectations of acceptable femininity. Avoiding the shame associated with women who appear overly masculine allows these women to stay connected to family of origin (Acosta 2013:37). Passing as a heterosexual woman protects migrant Puerto Rican lesbians from family rejection and discrimination from society at-large (Asencio 2009:12).

Moore (2006) finds that class and race shape the typology of the Black femme, gender-blender, and transgressive in New York. In addition to the gender display binary are gender-blenders who “combine specific aspects of both [feminine and masculine] to create a unique look;” an example would be a woman who wears light make-up with men’s clothing (Moore 2006:125). Across the typology of gender displays, sexually nonconforming Black women do not consistently demonstrate gendered behaviors like assertiveness or displaying emotions (Moore 2006:127). Similar to the majority of Acosta’s (2013) respondents, Black lesbians in Moore’s (2006) research express their desire to distance themselves from being associated with overly-masculine presentation. Gender presentation synonymous to Black men, who are stigmatized as lower-class and violent, undermines a Black lesbian’s social respectability (Moore 2006:133). Moore (2006) finds that Black lesbians modify their style in order to attract a desirable partner.

Lesbian and queer Pinays in southern California perform masculinity rather than exhibit masculine gender display (Villa 2015). Villa (2015) finds that some lesbian and queer Pinays engage in activities associated with masculinity and embody feminine gender presentation to affirm their sense of self in a society that renders them invisible through binary, heteronormative gender expectations. A femme queer Pinay in Villa's (2015) study finds self-affirmation and visibility by embracing feminine gender presentation; her presence challenges gender subordination in masculine-centered queer Filipino organizations and also defies queer non-binary discourse that shames feminine-presenting queer women (115-116).

These studies demonstrate how feminine gender display serves as a form of protection from and resistance to external pressure for non-heterosexual women of color. Villa's (2015) study shows how some of these women find self-affirmation, outside of family interactions, by combining different signifiers of masculinity and femininity. My study builds on this body of work by exploring how LBQ Pinays experience and respond to gendered respectability politics within their family and larger community.

2.3 Intersections of Ethnicity, Race, Sexuality and Gender

Studies on interactions within and across ethnic, racial, and national boundaries demonstrate how sexuality and ethnicity construct each other (Chou 2012, Collins 2004; Nagel 2003). These intersections also impact how individuals see themselves, and are seen by others, within a hierarchy of desirability.

Ethnosexual intersections are socially constructed sites where ethnicity and sexuality define and empower each other (Nagel 2003:10). Because sexual and ethnic stereotypes are intertwined, queer people of color experience fetishization, subordination, and invisibility by white gays and lesbians while also being alienated by their co-ethnics (Nagel 2003). Mail-order

bride websites that promote Filipina women as ideal wives for white, Western male consumption illustrate how the crossing of certain ethnosexual boundaries are eroticized (Nagel 2003:22).

Nagel (2003) contends that ethnosexual intersections create boundaries that define in/outsider status; in-groups construct and enforce appropriate standards of sexuality to marginalize or invite outsiders.

White masculine hegemonic ideology defines and maintains appropriate racial and sexual interactions in the U.S.; this ideology informs the interlocking systems of power, racism, and heterosexism (Collins 2004). A matrix of domination, as conceptualized by Collins (2000), organizes how power operates through four domains: structural (social institutions), disciplinary (regulations within bureaucracies), hegemonic (ideology for justification), and interpersonal (practical forms of resistance). Racism and heterosexism are systems of power in the U.S. that both utilize the state as a social institution to segregate and limit the advancement of Black and LGBT people (Collins 2005). Laws and organized religion regulate marriage so as to encourage “same race, different sex” partnerships. Racism and heterosexism employ a normal/deviant binary that constructs White, heterosexual, men as the “natural” standard in contrast to “inferior” Black people and sexual minorities (Collins 2005:96). Because hegemonic discourse stigmatizes Black people as promiscuous heterosexuals and LGBT people are stigmatized for their rejection of heterosexual relations, Collins (2005) asserts that this ideology does not provide space for the existence of Black LGBT people. Furthermore, respectability politics espoused by Black patriarchal organizations and politicians frame Black LGBT people as a threat to racial solidarity; individual resistance to these oppressive forces are limited by race, class, and gender (Collins 2005:112)

While Nagel (2003) and Collins (2004) articulate critical social theory with examples from existing historical evidence, popular media, and political discourse, Chou (2012:2) applies their theoretical approach to interview data and finds that white racial framing sexualizes Asian American women in a distinct manner. Heterosexual and queer Asian American women experience strict policing of their bodies and heteronormative expectations from parents; meanwhile, institutions outside the family construct and perpetuate images of these women as submissive, exotic, and sexually available. White racial framing, whether internalized by Asian Americans or from external social institutions, dictates beauty standards and the hierarchy of desirable partners in the U.S. (Chou 2012:72). It is difficult for heterosexual and queer Asian American women to develop counter-frames against these conflicting and dehumanizing messages (Chou 2012).

These studies demonstrate how ethnicity, race, sexuality, and gender do not operate separately; instead, these systems of power reinforce each other to exploit certain identities. My study extends the intersectional approach to LBQ Pinays. Because of differences in the sexualization of women across race, Philippine pre- and post-colonial conceptualizations of gender/sexuality, and the distinct immigration history of Filipinos/Filipino Americans, my study is needed to address the intersectional experiences of sexually nonconforming Pinays.

2.4 Study Goals

My sociological research is a step toward redressing academia's skewed representation of Asian Americans and alleviating the invisibility of Filipinos, specifically LBQ Filipino American women. With the exception of visual sociology (Villa 2015), existing sociological research (Espiritu 2001; Rodriguez 2013; Wolf 1997) focuses on interactions between heterosexual Pinays and their parents in the U.S. Southern California LBQ Pinays utilize collaborative film

documentary to identify work and leisure as sites of resistance to binary gender norms, solace from isolation, and self definition; however, they avoid commenting at length on their family (Villa 2015:4). My research bridges these areas of study by exploring how social systems of power shape the interactions between LBQ Pinays and their families of origin and choice.

Previous studies on this population draw respondents from California, a liberal-leaning state with majority-minority demographics where 43.2% of the Filipino population in the United States reside (Hoeffel et al. 2012). These studies neglect the experiences of LBQ Filipino American women in other parts of the U.S. New research needs to incorporate participants from other regions. While systemic racism and the White racial framing of society negatively affects Asian American women living across the U.S. (Chou and Feagin 2015), geographic location greatly impacts the acceptance (Kazyak 2012) and gender presentation (Moore 2011) of sexually nonconforming women. By centering the experiences of LBQ Pinays, my study reveals how these women experience family and community support as well as the nuances in their gender expression and racialized experiences.

My research investigates how Pinays, who are romantically attracted to women, navigate relationships with families of origin and of choice. More specifically, I examine how these women experience (in)visibility within their families and how they respond in these interactions. I also explore their gender display and the meanings they attach to their expression as women of color. I will analyze how responses to emphasized femininity manifest in the interactions between sexually nonconforming Pinays and their families.

2.5 Defining Terms

I use the term Pinay in reference to self-identified, cisgender women of full or partial Filipino descent. The term sexually nonconforming (SNC) acknowledges that lesbian, bisexual, and queer

women share “love, commitment, and desires for other women” which draws stigmatization from dominant society (Acosta 2013:6). Not every woman who loves women adopts a lesbian, bisexual, or queer identity, so Acosta’s term denotes a broad and inclusive category of women attracted to women.

Lastly, I utilize Lorber’s (1994: 31) definition of gender display “through dress, cosmetics, adornments, and permanent and reversible body markers” used to reflect personal aesthetic and to indicate one’s membership in a group. I expand gender display to also include other forms of non-material, outward expression such as body language and activities. My study seeks to understand how SNC Pinays outwardly express their gender and the meanings they attach to their attire, their activities, and relationships.

In my research, I utilize in-depth, semi-structured interviews to examine micro level interaction between SNC Pinays and their families. I apply the extended case method (ECM) to center the voices of these women and to examine how their interactions are shaped by racialized gender hegemony. I utilize theories of doing gender, emphasized femininity, and intersectionality.

3 THEORETICAL APPROACHES

In my qualitative study on SNC Filipino American women, I utilize West and Zimmerman's (1987) "doing gender" paradigm, Connell's (1987) theory of "emphasized femininity," and Collins's (2000) approach to "intersectionality." These theoretical approaches frame my exploratory study of how race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality impact these women's relationships with their family of origin and family of choice.

3.1 Doing Gender

West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that gender is an achievement that one does, and shifts from previous theoretical approaches that viewed men and women as essentially different with distinct roles in society. Doing gender is a process where a person behaves according to society's expectations associated with the person's presumed sex (West and Zimmerman 1987). Doing gender is not optional because a person is held accountable through routine social interactions. In addition, appropriately doing gender occurs within a gender binary, typically masculine and feminine.

Interactions between LBQ Pinays and their families may exemplify this process. Filipino families expect their daughters to demonstrate ethnic authenticity by modeling traditional femininity and maintaining their chastity until marrying a man (Espiritu 2001). SNC Pinays may adjust their mannerisms, attire, activities, or other avenues of gender display to navigate relationships with family members. The social process of doing gender also occurs outside the home where SNC Pinays work, play, and socialize. In her analysis of visual narratives that take place beyond the purview of their families, Villa (2015:108) contends that "queer Pinay tomboy femininities" challenge the gender binary and queer respectability politics. While West and Zimmerman's (1987) paradigm explains how binary gender is accomplished through social

interaction, it does not examine the interlocking systems of oppression (like race, gender, and sexuality) that affect these interactions. To address these limitations, I incorporate Connell's (1987) theory of emphasized femininity and Collins's (2000) approach to intersectionality.

3.2 Emphasized Femininity

Connell conceptualizes emphasized femininity as a cultural construct that stresses women's practice of compliance, nurturance, empathy and subordination to men's interest (1987:183). There is no femininity ascendant to masculinity in a "patriarchal gender order" (Connell 1987; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:848). Instead, all forms of femininity are subordinate to hegemonic masculinity, or the pattern of practice that fosters the dominance of men over women (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:832). Because masculinity and femininity operate in relation to each other, future research needs to examine "new configurations of women's identity and practice" that impact gender dynamics (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:848).

Pyke and Johnson (2003:35) reframe Connell's concept of emphasized femininity and argue that "race, class, sexuality, and age" shape a hierarchy of femininities that position white upper-class women as the embodiment of hegemonic femininity. Powerful groups construct controlling images to justify White supremacy and to maintain gender norms that subordinate Asian American women (Espiritu 2008). The controlling image of the Lotus Blossom hyperfeminizes Asian women as soft-spoken, exotic, servile and sexually available for white men (Espiritu 2008). Korean and Vietnamese American women distance themselves from racialized submissive femininities; their internalized oppression perpetuates White domination at the expense of Asian femininity (Pyke and Johnson 2003: 49-51).

Emphasized femininity is incorporated in parental expectations of an “authentic” Filipino daughter—accommodating to men, virginal until marriage to a man, nurturing, and procreating. Filipino parents express these expectations to their daughters in response to U.S. imperialist ideas of sexually passive Filipino women (Espiritu 2001). However, SNC Pinays challenge emphasized femininity through their erotic relations with other women; they are seen as a threat to their family’s unity and success in the U.S. (Villa 2015). In addition, their combination of feminine style and masculine activities complicate patterns of feminine practice (Villa 2015). In response to Connell and Messerschmidt’s (2005) call to action, I explore SNC Pinays’ nuanced gendered practices and how they shape gender hegemony.

3.3 Intersectionality

Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) conceptualized intersectionality to address the U.S. legal system’s single-issue analysis of Black women’s employment. When White women or Black men advanced in the workplace, courts dismissed plaintiffs’ claims of discrimination based on protected categories of sex and race, respectively. As Black women, sex and race interact to create distinct experiences not recognized by legal interpretation at the time.

Collins (2000) applies intersectionality to analyze how systems of oppression, such as race, ethnicity, social class, gender, and sexuality, shape each other and organize society. Intersectionality identifies macro-level social structures that produce distinct social positions as well as micro-level interactions where individuals occupy their social position within interlocking systems of oppression (Collins et al. 1995). Collins states that social structures and Black women’s experiences impact each other (299). Thus, intersectionality applies when analyzing the convergence of multiple identities, statuses, or systems of power.

Research on SNC Asian American women illustrates how race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality define and empower each other. Lee (1996) argues that American Orientalist discourse constructs an image of the hyper-feminine Lotus Blossom through visual media, the sex and mail-order bride industry, and U.S. military presence in Asia. Among Asian American lesbians and bisexual women, this heterosexual and hyper feminine stereotype simultaneously erases the sexuality of femmes while undermining the authenticity of butches (Lee 1996).

Failure to recognize how interconnected systems of oppression impact marginalized people results in “doing our enemies’ work by destroying each other” (Lorde 1984:142). When Filipino parents dictate ethnic authenticity (Espiritu 2001), they reproduce heterosexist oppression by essentializing Pinay daughters to a narrow definition of femininity: hard-working, obedient, and chaste before marriage to a man. Furthermore, Filipino parents perpetuate racism and sexism by labeling white women as promiscuous in order to bolster ethnic pride (Espiritu 2001). Moral superiority of the “authentic” Pinay remains fragile as it rests on the subordination of white women; meanwhile, White masculinist hegemony remains unchallenged. In this stifling situation, SNC Pinays remain invisible.

SNC Pinays may experience interlocking systems of power when marginalized in queer Filipino spaces and through discourse that centers masculinity (Villa 2015). They may also “face exclusion when they differentiate from family agendas because racism, citizenship, and masculinity are more established ways to make strides in the U.S.” (Villa 2015: 8). SNC Pinays occupy a marginalized social position within the systems of race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality; their experiences offer a perspective distinct from heterosexual Filipino women (Espiritu 2001; Rodriguez 2013; Wolf 1997), gay Filipino men (Manalansan 2003; Ocampo 2014), and SNC women of color (Acosta 2013; Asencio 2009; Moore 2011).

3.4 Incorporating Doing Gender, Emphasized Femininity, and Intersectionality

In the context of this research, conceptualizing gender as an interactive social process centers SNC Pinays' gender display and how they manage their behavior to negotiate relationships with their families of origin and of choice. The theoretical contribution of emphasized femininity frames gendered expectations of SNC Pinays. Lastly, intersectionality complements this research project by identifying macro-level social structures that shape, and are shaped by, SNC Pinays' experiences. This theoretical approach frames how these women occupy their distinct position within interlocking systems of oppression.

3.5 Research Questions

Given the limited empirical research on SNC Pinays, my exploratory study is guided by these research questions:

1. When Pinays are romantically attracted to women, how do they negotiate relationships with their families of origin and choice? How do these negotiations accommodate, resist, or complicate emphasized femininity?
2. How do these Pinays do gender when interacting with family members and potential partners? What can this tell us about gender display and race?
3. What are racialized and gendered experiences of these women and what might these experiences tell us about race and gender in the U.S.?

These questions explore how LBQ Pinays maintain family ties while resisting sexual conformity. Exploring the process of doing gender in SNC Pinay's personal relationships identifies these women's mannerisms, attire, and activities as well as the meanings attached to these actions. In addition, these questions explore how micro-level interactions are shaped by macro-level social structures of race and gender.

4 METHODS

4.1 Feminist Standpoint Epistemology

Feminist standpoint epistemology asserts that knowledge produced through research is relative to the experiences of both the researcher and the participant (Harding 2004). While traditional approaches to objectivity expect research to remain neutral and detached from objects of study, feminist standpoint epistemology recognizes that the researcher and participants co-construct knowledge given that their position within the social environment shapes how research is conceptualized, executed, and analyzed (Harding 2004). Harding argues that achieving stronger objectivity relies on strong reflexivity by the researcher (2004:136). Approaching the co-construction of knowledge through this perspective embraces multiple truths from various perspectives; it also recognizes the potential for marginalized women's experiences to challenge White, colonial, androcentric hegemony (Harding 2004).

Reflecting on my position helps me recognize the impact of my experiences on the construction of knowledge with participants in this study. Resisting appropriate femininity, coping with isolation from other SNC Pinays, and working toward acceptance within my family of origin motivate and shape my research. Memories of being hypervisible in both White-dominated gay/lesbian spaces and in heteronormative Filipino spaces prompt me to ask other SNC Pinays how they responded in similar situations. I extend this reflexivity to include how participants perceive me, which shapes our interaction during the interview. While we share the identity of SNC Pinays, I might be perceived differently based on skin tone, ability to speak Filipino dialects, age, education level, relationship status, or income. I recognize that the "multiple and simultaneous connections and disconnections" with co-ethnics impacts how I conduct interviews and analyze data (Võ 2000). Practicing reflexivity throughout the research

process keeps me from marginalizing participants' experiences and emotions; feminist standpoint guides me in co-creating knowledge with SNC Pinays (Hesse-Bibe 2014). The nuanced ways participants and I experience marginalization through systems of race, gender, and sexuality position us to "provide a better starting point" to critique these social systems of power (Harding 2004:129).

Given the lack of empirical research on SNC Pinays and the academy's mistreatment of marginalized populations, it is imperative to center the voices of SNC Pinay as they share their lived experiences. I utilize Burawoy's extended case method to meet this objective and connect personal experiences with macro systems of power.

4.2 Extended Case Methodology

The extended case method (ECM), according to Burawoy (1998), begins with the engagement between researcher and participant. Similar to feminist standpoint epistemology, ECM utilizes a reflexive approach to science and acknowledges that both researcher and participant draw from their own lived experiences to inform their dialogue (1998). ECM centers this dialogue as a starting point for examining micro level interactions in the context of macro level systems of domination (Burawoy 1998). When these interactions highlight a gap or contradiction in existing theory, ECM works to reconstruct and improve the theory (Burawoy 1998:28).

Starting with the social interaction and looking outward to large-scale social structures, ECM enables me to connect the lived experiences of SNC Pinays with their families to systems of race, gender, and sexuality. This methodology provides an opportunity to critique macro systems that perpetuate inequality SNC Pinays experience at the micro level, identify how these systems impact a marginalized population, and understand SNC Pinays' response to these power

systems. I utilize ECM because I am interested in reconstructing the theory of emphasized femininity through the experiences of my participants.

4.3 Participants

Potential SNC Pinay participants are a hidden population within an overlooked racial and ethnic group. I leveraged my knowledge of SNC Pinays to conduct convenience sampling and find my initial participants (Singleton and Straits 2010). I announced my study and call for participants in person, through email, Facebook messenger and Facebook posts. I reached out to family members, friends, coworkers, and colleagues in the Filipino American National Historical Society and the National Queer Asian Pacific Islander Alliance.

I used a script (Appendix A) and recruitment flyer (Appendix B) when announcing my study on social media and through email contact. I conducted snowball sampling by asking initial participants to refer potential respondents in their social network to me (Singleton and Straits 2010). These sampling methods resulted in locating 11 participants for my study. When these women contacted me to participate, I emailed them asking for a brief phone chat so that I could introduce myself and offer to take any questions they have about the study or me. I also verified that they meet the participation criteria stated on the recruitment flyer. After the introduction, participants picked a date and time for their interview. I then emailed the informed consent (Appendix C) and demographic survey (Appendix D).

To protect the privacy of all participants, I assigned pseudonyms to women and masked any identifying information in the transcripts. Participants in my study ranged between the age of 21 to 45. Two women³ were between the age 21-25. Two women were between age 26-30, three

³ Although my research criteria seeks SNC Pinays' experiences in the U.S., one of these women still wanted to share with me her experience in England where she currently resides. While I did not utilize her data in this project, I want to acknowledge her participation in this endeavor.

women were between age 31-35, one woman was between age 36-40, two women were between age of 41-45, and one woman was between age 46-50. Six women completed their bachelors or advanced degree and five women earn over \$40,000 yearly. Almost all participants used a combination of racial and ethnic identifiers, such as “Asian,” “Pinoy,” and “Filipina,” to describe themselves as women of partial or full Filipino descent. One woman only identified herself as “Asian American.” All participants in my study self-identified as cisgender women who have romantic desires for women. Six women were in some form of relationship at the time of interview. All participants used a combination of terms to describe their romantic attraction including “gay,” “bisexual,” “tomboy,” and “open.” Majority of the women in my study currently reside in the South; I had one participant each in the West and Northeast at the time of interview.

Table 1 Demographic Table A

Name	Age	Education completed	Income	Race and/or ethnicity
CJ Ramirez	21-25	Some college	Less than \$10,000	American, Asian, Asian American, Filipina, Filipina American
Elaine Gatus	26-30	Some college	Less than \$10,000	Asian American, Filipinx, Filipinx American, Pinxy
Maldita Ramos	26-30	Associates degree	\$30,000-39,000	Filipina American
Gloria De la Cruz	31-35	Masters degree	\$30,000-39,000	Filipina American
Trinity Bautista	31-35	Bachelors degree	Not available	American, Asian, Asian American, Filipina, Filipina American, Pacific Islander
FeLynn Baybay	31-35	Masters degree	\$100,000 or more	Asian, Asian American, Filipina American
Florence Aguillar	36-40	Bachelors	\$50,000-64,999	Asian American
Mona Espiritu	41-45	Associates degree	\$40,000-49,000	Filipina American
Tibayan Federico	41-45	Bachelors degree	\$50,000-64,999	American, Asian, Filipina, Pilipina, Pinay, Filipino, Pilipino, Pinoy
Vicky Chan	46-50	Bachelors degree	\$100,000 or more	Filipina, Filipina American

Table 2 Demographic Table B

Name	Relationship status	Sexuality	Region of residence	Interview format
CJ Ramirez	Single	Bisexual, Pansexual, Queer	South	Video call
Elaine Gatus	Married, Monogamous partnership, Boo'd up	Fluid, Gay, Queer	South	In person
Maldita Ramos	Married, Monogamous partnership	Gay, Queer	South	In person
Gloria De la Cruz	Single	Lesbian	South	In person
Trinity Bautista	Single	Gay, Lesbian	South	In person
FeLynn Baybay	Single	Lesbian, Tomboy	South	In person
Florence Aguillar	Monogamous partnership	Lesbian	South	Video call
Mona Espiritu	Married	Lesbian	West	Video call
Tibayan Federico	Married, Monogamous partnership	Gay, Lesbian, Tomboy, Open	South	Video call
Vicky Chan	Undefined togetherness	Queer	Northeast	Video call

4.4 Data Collection

I conducted and audio recorded 11 in-depth, semi-structured interviews that centered the perspective of the participant using open-ended questions and probes to elicit more details. I followed the flow of conversation to explore issues important to the participants with a flexible interview guide (Appendix E) providing starting points to initiate conversations about gender, race, sexual orientation, and family interactions. Five women chose to have in-person interviews and returned a signed consent form before we started our conversation. Six women utilized Skype, FaceTime, Google Hangout, or Facebook for video calls and gave their verbal consent before the start of our on-line interviews. Interviews lasted between 2 to 2.5 hours. At the end of each interview, I asked participants for their demographic survey. All participants completed and returned this survey to me. I backed up electronic files to an external hard drive and secured all files, electronic and hard copy, in my private residence.

5 DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In my transcription, I omitted fillers including “um,” “like,” and “you know” to make the quotations read more easily. I reviewed transcripts while listening to original audio recordings to determine clarity between pauses and ends of sentences. In my analysis section, I added italics for emphasis and brackets to clarify details expressed by respondents or the interviewer. Three ellipses points indicate when I omitted content within a sentence of a quote and four ellipses points indicate starting a new sentence within the quote; I only included parts of a quote relevant to the analysis.

Since my study seeks to deepen or reconstruct the theory of emphasized femininity, I utilize ECM’s combination of both deductive and inductive approaches in my data analysis (Samuels 2009). Based on existing theoretical discourse on racialized gender hegemony and emphasized femininity, I created nodes such as “intersectional experience” and “gendered experience” as well as parent nodes like “Family of origin-interactions” with child nodes like “Emphasized Femininity-resistance.” I also used an inductive approach to create nodes in NVivo 12 for my data as I completed interview transcription. A word count query identified which terms appeared frequently in the data. With these query results, I created nodes such as “religion,” “aunties,” and “dressing.” Matrix coding queries tallied and located the references for each participant by nodes that were relevant to my research questions.

5.1 SNC Pinays, emphasized femininity, and negotiating relationships with family of origin

The participants in my study shared family interactions where they felt, with varying levels of intensity, the expectations associated with emphasized femininity such as a girl or woman’s ability to nurture, compliance with authority, and the prioritizing of men’s interests

(Connell 1987). I find that emphasized femininity limits the mobility and communication of SNC Pinays. Three women discussed forms of preferential treatment towards boys and men in their families. Trinity Bautista spent her entire childhood in the Philippines before her family moved to the U.S. She reflected on her chores as a child:

I remember I learned how to cook rice before my brothers did, which is crazy because I have three older brothers. But somehow they don't know how to make rice! I'm the one that has to learn how to make rice! 'Cause I guess I'm the oldest female even though I'm the fourth child. I guess my brothers will do it, but they will either burn the rice or it will be too wet. So I'm not sure if they did it on purpose or they're just guys and they don't know how to do it, but they will either burn the rice or it will be too wet.

Trinity felt frustrated knowing her brothers had more recreation time and freedom at the expense of her cooking, cleaning, and doing laundry with her mom. Vicky Chan grew up with her brothers in New York. She and Trinity both recalled a much earlier curfew compared to their male siblings. According to Vicky, "my parents were so afraid I was going to get pregnant that I had to be home by 8 [p.m.]." Fearful her parents would restrict her movement further, she did not tell them about a man driving in the neighborhood who tried to pick her up while she walked home from school. SNC Pinays stated they were expected to follow their parents' instructions and that they had little recourse as children; questioning these demands would be disrespectful and possibly result in harsh verbal or corporal punishment. SNC Pinays' compliance was not isolated to childhood. As an adult, Mona shared how a visit on her mom's 80th birthday highlighted women's subordinate position to men in the family:

And all of a sudden, I was in charge of this reunion thing. So we had my Mama's birthday, where my aunt and my uncle went to the house, and I got in trouble for not helping clean. Like super in trouble. Like trouble to the point where I cried all night because that's how mad he was at me. Because it's like, "What? What are you talking about? I'm sorry. You're right." But it's just, like, 'There are 40 other members in this family who also did not help clean.' And they're mostly boys. They're mostly all boys. So I had a heart to heart with my uncle kind of, and he's like, "It's not just you, Mona." And then he only names the girls who didn't help out. And I was just like, "Mm-hm. Yep."

Mona apologized to her uncle because she felt there was no use arguing with an elder already set in his ways and who disapproves of her same-sex relationship. Although these women recognized the unfair treatment by their family, deferring to their elders' demands allowed SNC Pinays to maintain their own comfort and avoid futile family conflict in a patriarchal gender system.

In an effort to explore how SNC Pinays complicate emphasized femininity, I find that women reinterpreted certain elements of patriarchal social systems to empower their identity. Spanish colonization of the northern Philippines forced indigenous spirituality underground and replaced it with Catholic practices and beliefs (Mendoza-Strobel 2010; Santiago 2007). This colonial legacy is apparent in that nine of the ten participants identified being raised Catholic or having family members who are Catholic. Many SNC Pinays in my study expressed their distance from the church given that Catholic teachings reinforce the esteemed position of men as well as the abomination of homosexuality. My research supports Nadal and Corpus's (2013) findings that religious values challenge the ability of SNC Pinays and their family of origin to accept their sexual nonconformity. However, two women in my study view their Catholic upbringing differently. Gloria incorporates her parent's message to "be better" and "serve others" with her Catholic faith to resist marginalization in both her spiritual and gay community:

[T]hey're going through the motions, and they understand God's presence and this and that. But I feel like I'm the most Christian, as you will. I firmly believe in God. He works through me. So, I feel, again even with the gay community. I feel like I'm not here to yell at you for what is right and what's wrong. I don't like that. I don't like how some of the people in our [gay] community are like that. I'm just here to show you that I'm completely normal. I'm just living my good Christian life and doing my best. Here I am, this lesbian with - I have the Virgin Mary on me and the Saint Christopher!

Mona identified as a feminist and reflected on her Catholic upbringing:

There's a lot of romanticism and I appreciate the stories and I love the story of the Virgin Mary. I think she was a badass; so was Mary Magdalene. If anything, I love my Catholic roots because I look differently at those stories now knowing that these stories were also repressed and changed at some point in history because some men wanted to control women. I feel like that's just an obvious thing in history and religion is a big part of controlling women. If anything, me being Catholic, being raised Catholic, has influenced my interest in women's rights studies.

These women complicate emphasized femininity by carefully utilizing elements from a patriarchal and heterosexist religious institution to shape their identities. Gloria did not acknowledge her religious institution's stance on gender and sexuality. Gloria also distanced herself from acts of verbal condemnation by the gay community. Instead, her spirituality emphasized a "firm belief in God," who worked through her intentional efforts to normalize her lesbian presence in a Catholic place of worship and her Catholic presence within the gay community. While Mona was not a practicing Catholic, she found inspiration among "badass" women in the Catholic tradition. Like Gloria, Mona recognized a specific aspect of Catholicism that strengthens her identity. As a feminist, Mona appreciated how her religious upbringing fostered her "interest in women's rights studies."

SNC Pinays' parents also complicate emphasized femininity by expressing mixed messages to their daughters about femininity. Two SNC Pinay did not face sanctions when displaying independence from men, but were still expected to accommodate the needs of certain men. FeLynn Baybay described the contrast between her parents' support of her athleticism and her dad's expectation of her as a future wife:

But there were always small little comments that my dad would make. Like if I went to the park and I scraped my legs up or something, he's like, "Make sure that you're covering your legs. When you grow up, you don't want to have crazy legs when you're trying to find a man or trying to find a husband." He's like, "Try to take care of yourself." I remember he always yelled at me about scraping up my legs. But other than that, they let me dress the way I wanted to dress. They encouraged me to play baseball with the

boys. I played baseball until I was 12 on all guys' teams. And so there really was no expectation for me to be feminine or anything like that that I can remember. Except for the legs thing. That was weird.

Elaine Ramos's parents had an unspoken recognition and acceptance of her girlfriend, whom they left in charge of their household during a trip. Elaine also recalled how her parents' favorable treatment of her younger brother fostered his sense of entitlement. This led to a breaking point between Elaine and her brother during her parents' trip:

“You know what? Mom and dad let you act however you want to act, and you take advantage of that, and you don't get to speak to my girlfriend this way and have that be – we're not going to just deal with that and accept it.”...Mom and dad stopped paying for my college because my brother got into college. And so I had to drop out of college. Because they were like, “We don't have the money to pay for your school and his,” and I was like, “Okay, so?” And they were just like, “He gets to go to college,” and I was like, “All right, well.” So basically at that point, that's when my girlfriend applied for a job out west...and we packed everything in our car. We drove across country and we moved away because I was like, “I can't live in that house anymore.”

Parents of these SNC Pinays complicate emphasized femininity by demanding that their daughters accommodate the needs of certain men. FeLynn's parents allowed her to wear her older brother's clothes and they encouraged her to compete with boys; this upbringing does not reflect preparation to dress for the male gaze or to behave with deference to men. However, only FeLynn's dad explicitly said she should maintain her body to attract a future husband. While Elaine's parents did not expect she find a husband, they afforded her brother more freedom and opportunities at the expense of her own education. Filipino/Filipino American parents who provided SNC Pinays some flexibility in exercising their femininity did not fully divest from a patriarchal gender system.

A few parents also resisted emphasized femininity by not enforcing expectations related to complying, nurturing, or other forms of preparation for marriage to a man. A couple of SNC Pinays who described their parents as “Americanized” or “not traditional Filipino parents” felt

little restriction to pursue athletics or competition with boys. They experienced minimal critique incorporating masculine clothing in their gender display. These women also expressed their freedom from obligations to their male relatives and freedom to not be partnered with a man. This reflects SNC Pinays' perceived dichotomy between the term "American" and "Filipino." "American" is associated with more flexible gendered expectations for SNC Pinays, and contrasts with "Filipino," which is tied to strict beliefs about femininity.

SNC Pinays in this study resisted their family's expectations of accomplishing emphasized femininity during adulthood by disclosing their sexuality. Their romantic attraction to women disrupted expectations that SNC Pinays be sexually available for men. All of the women in this study have explicitly or indirectly disclosed their sexuality to most members of their immediate family. For the five SNC Pinays whose family members needed time to acknowledge their sexuality, they identified their mother's fear of facing relatives and their family's Catholic beliefs as barriers to acceptance.

I find that SNC Pinays, while resisting emphasized femininity, perform emotion work (Hochschild 1979) in their attempt to manage their parents' feelings. Manifestations of this work occur when these women do not communicate aspects of their romantic life to their parents. CJ Ramirez would use textbook definitions to describe her bisexuality, but never used the label to identify herself to her parents until coming out to her mom as an adult. She expressed concern for her dad's feelings as a reason for her continued silence on her sexuality:

[S]o we're just not going to tell my dad because we don't want him to freak out. Because, especially when you put a label on it, it's like weirder. It gets more solid. Like it's a fact. Whereas when I keep dancing around it, it's a suspicion. And I don't think he needs that solidified. Because he's probably going to sit there and think it's his fault. But it's no one's fault. It's just a sexuality.

Trinity acknowledged the importance of the Filipino tradition for children to move out upon marriage. After Trinity's mom had come around to recognizing her same-sex relationship, Trinity told her parents that she, her sister, and her girlfriend were moving in to a three-bedroom house. Even though the third room was actually for guests, Trinity recalled that her mom assumed her girlfriend slept separately. "I was just like, 'Sure. Yeah, sure. One room for each.'" By not correcting her mom, Trinity showed consideration to parental expectations in light of moving out while unmarried and in a relationship with a woman.

After her parents' negative reaction to disclosing her sexuality, Maldita Ramos received from her mother a coin blessed by a Catholic priest. Maldita later recognized the coin was related to the exorcism of demons:

Interviewer: How did you respond once you made that realization about the coin?

Respondent: I didn't tell her. I just didn't – it was still at that time where I just didn't know how to communicate that to my parents. I already knew that they were upset. I already knew that it was going to be tough to handle, so I wasn't going to try to expend all the energy to try to have that conversation with her again. So it was just too early on. It was too soon to do it....So I definitely didn't keep the coin. I just dropped it in one of my drawers. I literally had a drawer where all my church stuff went, all the Bibles that I had, all the books I had. They just fell right in the drawer, and I pushed it and never opened it again. So that's where it lived.

By avoiding confrontation, these women gave parents time to feel less discomfort with their sexuality. These negotiations demonstrate SNC Pinay's unseen emotion work (Hochschild 1979) to maintain ties with their family of origin.

In my study, one SNC Pinay resisted family expectations of emphasized femininity by attempting to reeducate her family regarding raced and gendered expectations. Access to Philippine pre-colonial, critical, and transnational Filipina-centered epistemologies provided this participant with tools to help their family divest from White, patriarchal gender hegemony.

When CJ's dad got upset at her for considering a name change - from her dad's last name to her mom's maiden name - she questioned why he was proud of possibly sharing the lineage of a Spanish colonizer. CJ shared music, by Filipina American rapper Ruby Ibarra, with her mom to explain how she felt about raced and gendered expectations of Pinays. While unable to 'talk back' as a middle school student tasked with caring for her youngest brother, CJ - now an adult in college - gently suggests to her parents ways for her younger brothers to take part in household chores. However, when explaining concepts like Orientalism and feminism to her sibling, CJ expressed frustration with her parents who felt this information was "too serious" for them: "How am I going to decolonize their mentalities if you keep interrupting?" As an adult, CJ's direct resistance to expectations associated with emphasized femininity has shifted her mom's and first brother's perspective on sexuality, gender, and race.

5.2 SNC Pinays doing gender with families and potential partners

Mothers and aunties⁴ held most SNC Pinays (6 of 10) accountable for maintaining proper gender expression through their dress, etiquette, and hair. Most participants received messages from older Filipino women on how they must present themselves outside the home, usually in the context of social events. Similar to Acosta's (2013) findings on LBQ Latinas, I argue that women who convey these messages to SNC Pinays are motivated by the desire to be recognized as successful mothers and as dutiful aunties. In the Philippines, Trinity reluctantly participated in the Santacruzian parade and high school prom wearing gowns created by her mom, a dressmaker. "Neighbors and aunts" in the Philippines, who suggested Tibayan join a pageant after her begrudging participation in a Santacruzian parade, sanctioned her protests:

⁴ Auntie is a term of respect used by younger Filipino/Filipino Americans to address an older woman of Filipino descent, not exclusively blood-related.

I probably said I didn't want to and I'd get mad about it, so I was always told as a kid that I was "suplada." [Interviewer: Can you break it down?] "Suplada," is – "bitchy" is what it comes down to. But I was always mad because I didn't want to do what they wanted me to do! No!

While growing up in the Filipino/Filipino American community, Elaine noticed her aunties' approval when she shifted from playing outdoors with male cousins to participating in Filipino community pageants. For another SNC Pinay with a mother close to the Filipino/Filipino American social network, doing gender properly was a source of conflict in adulthood. Maldita's mom constantly warned, "nakakahiya⁵," to steer her daughter away from situations that could draw unwanted attention or stigma. However, when Maldita came out to her parents, her mom's reaction was "What did I do wrong?" Her mom associates a successful mother with raising a heterosexual daughter. Later, Maldita's mom received her daughter's close-cropped hair with surprise and dismay; her mom was adamant that Maldita needed to look feminine. When Maldita requested a men's barong⁶ from the Philippines, the pictures her mom sent included one women's barong among the options. Maldita's mom struggled to keep some semblance of having raised a proper daughter after Maldita and her partner stopped attending Catholic mass:

[T]hat was another thing that my mom had to explain, "You know, you guys should at least go to church," and that I chose to have a conversation with. I said, "Why go to a church where they don't accept us? Or they don't love us?" She was like, "Well, you know, you don't have to worry about that. They don't know. Just go to church because it's the right thing to do on Sundays. At the very least, go on holidays. *Just give me that* [italics added]."

In contrast to Villa's (2015) findings, Maldita is one of two SNC Pinays in my study who present masculinity through her hair and fashion. Her mother's reactions to each gender transgression reflects how she associated failed motherhood with her daughter's unfeminine

⁵ Tagalog term to describe something embarrassing or shameful.

⁶ Traditional formal dress top in the Philippines made of translucent, lightweight material, like jusi or silk.

gender display. Moms and aunties discipline SNC Pinays to avoid the stigma associated with failing to do gender as older Filipino women.

Play and recreation were another social interaction through which a few family members tried to hold SNC Pinays accountable to being a proper girl. Families were less strict with their daughters' toys and forms of play, but placed more emphasis on their daughters' attire because SNC Pinays' clothes communicate their femininity to the public. This reflected their mothers' ability to raise proper daughters. Play could occur within or close to home and is not always visible to society at-large. Half of the women described an active childhood outdoors, often times with boys in their family or neighborhood. Among the other five women, two recalled their parents' explicit attempts to provide them with only Barbie dolls. Vicky joyfully recalled one Barbie toy that satisfied her true interest in building things:

[S]o I snuck into his [Vicky's dad's] toolbox, and I brought it all into my bedroom, and I put this thing in my closet, and I built it overnight. And so he said, "Would you like me to put together your Dream Boat?" And I was like, "No worries!" and so he was surprised and my mom was surprised. And that was the only good thing about this stupid Barbie kick was the stupid Dream Boat. I never played with the rest of it.

Vicky's dad later realized none of his sons were interested or able to fix things. When he told her that she was "really the only son to him," Vicky expressed pride in his comment. Barbie dolls prompted a different reaction from CJ's parents. While CJ was too young to understand sexual reproduction or her parents' stigma associated with homosexuality, her parents immediately bought her a Ken doll when she had partnered two Barbies as parents with a baby. She also secretly played with her younger brothers' Legos until her parents realized it was CJ, not her brother, who enjoyed assembling the toys. Although not many parents regulated their daughters' feminine behavior through toys and play, I find it notable that SNC Pinays proximity to male siblings allowed them to subvert doing gender through play.

Another way parents of SNC Pinays expected them to accomplish femininity is through romantic relationships with boys. Co-constructed hierarchies of race and gender shaped how parents restrict SNC Pinay interactions with male partners in their youth. White standards of beauty established and reinforced by Spanish and U.S. colonization of indigenous people in the Philippines manifests in the colonial mentality of present-day Filipino/Filipino Americans (David 2013). Filipino/Filipino American immigrant parents, raising SNC daughters in a White and masculine hegemonic country, reproduced White desire and respectability by associating Black masculinity with violence. In their attempt to elevate family stature and protect their daughters, parents of SNC Pinays reinforced anti-Black racist discourse. Four women recalled their parents' explicit and subtle restrictions on dating Black boys. Parents demonstrated less resistance to their relationships with White, Hispanic, or Filipino boyfriends. One of these women criticized her parent's request that she if she dated, she must "only date Filipino boys." This SNC Pinay pushed back, stating that Filipino boys could be "just as bad" as the White and Black boys that her older sister was dating. These experiences shed light on how race and gender, as systems of power, shape SNC Pinays' access to desirable partners in their childhood.

5.3 Racialized and gendered experiences of SNC Pinays

White, western standards of assimilation and respectability shaped how society at-large perceived SCN Pinays in their youth. A majority of these women (6 of 10) in their childhood recalled confrontations with peers about their race or ethnicity. These confrontations included mockery of their physical features (e.g., eye shape) or assumed foreignness (e.g., exaggerated accents). The authenticity politics, rooted in the model minority myth (Chou and Feagin 2015), influenced intraracial and intraethnic interactions for one SNC Pinay who was "always questioning." CJ said her East Asian peers perceived her as a "dumb Asian" because she was not

concerned about earning high grades. She also said they perceived her as “too fast or too sexual” because of her curiosity about sexual orientation and reproductive health. Her Filipino peers accused her of lacking ethnic pride when she did not participate in traditional Filipino dances. In response, CJ questioned her peers’ understanding of the dance origins and the White gaze of the audience at their performances. A few women expressed deep frustration with racialized experiences in their childhood. As youth, they were unable to intervene when strangers questioned or belittled their parents’ presence in public places. Elaine expressed how she felt after witnessing a White stranger question her father while waiting to enter a theme park, “[T]hat was kind of my first moment of realizing that people saw us differently. And that that was a question that was going to get asked of me. I wouldn't have turned to a White person and been like, ‘So what are you?’” For some SNC Pinays, these experiences fostered a critical awareness of White racial hegemony.

Ethnosexual boundaries shaped SNC Pinays’ interactions with potential partners as they transitioned into adulthood. The interlocking systems of race and gender position Asian/Asian American girls and women as exotic; they are perceived as passive and sexually available for white men (Chou 2012; Nagel 2003). However, certain displays of masculinity can challenge potential romantic relationships for young SNC Pinays. Tibayan, an award-winning martial artist at the time, recalled a conversation with a male peer:

I wasn't interested in dating 'cause most of the boys I knew were idiots. They were. And no one showed interest in me anyways. Come to find out later, 'cause I intimidated them. I learned that in high school senior year. My friend Mike, said “We like you, the long black hair, but you scare us.” [Laughing] Why? “Because we know you can beat us up!”

Tibayan’s physical skill disrupts boys’ notions of a compliant or submissive Asian girl. Thus, high school boys did not initiate romantic relationships with her.

Participants identified distinct forms of exotification by men and exotification by women who romantically engage with adult SNC Pinays. CJ, a self-identified femme, recalled being fetishized by White boyfriends. CJ's fear of dating women, especially Filipino women, was rooted in the emotional trauma from these experiences because she was afraid of "hurting one of my own" who may have already been sexualized or Orientalized by society at-large. Her experience supports Lee's (1996) findings that White, heterosexist perceptions of Asian/Asian Americans erases the sexuality of lesbian and bisexual femmes. In addition, CJ's experience provides insight on how toxic relationships informed by Orientalist discourse undermined and limited SNC Pinay's ability to initiate romantic relationships with other Pinays.

In contrast, Florence is a self-identified stemme -- a combination of stud and femme. She is neither "super girly" nor "super butch." She described her reaction to White women at Pride celebrations in the South:

I'd meet single girls out, and they're like, "Damn, you're hot for an Asian," and I'm like, "So I can't just be hot?"...looking back, I'm like, "Hot for an Asian? Why can't I just be hot?" I took what I could get because I was young....

I've had women that I've been with. They're like, "I never thought that I could be attracted to an Asian, but you're hot."... [B]ecause I'm being flattered, it's hard to be like – if a hot girl's telling you, "Oh, you're hot for an Asian," you're not going to be jumping down her throat because you're like, "Well, she's hot, so should I feel it out?" So, you know, it was more of like an, "Okay, I'll take it because you're literally tooting my horn." But, I think *it happened so often* [italics added], that I just went with it.

Florence, who has only dated White women, also disclosed that she finds Asian women attractive. However, she did not have romantic relationships with them because it would feel like "dating my family member." Florence's interactions with White women are shaped by the intersection of race, gender, and sexuality. Orientalist discourse constructs Asian/Asian American women as sexually available partners for White men, but not White women. White

beauty standards also reinforce a hierarchy of desirability among lesbian, bisexual and queer women. White LBQ women benefitted from this social construct and devalued SNC Pinays' attractiveness based on their race. Two factors shaped Florence's perspective towards Asian women. First is the skewed visibility of Asian/Asian American women. The prevalence of Orientalist discourse reinforced Florence's perception of these women as passive and accommodating. In other parts of our interview, Florence expressed frustration with Asian women or men who are "so passive" that they fail to address anti-Asian racism. The second factor is the dearth of Asian/Asian American visibility in U.S. popular media, and institutional education (David 2016; Suh et al. 2015). White hegemony limits Filipina/Filipina American representation to one's blood relations while it also makes Whiteness visible and viable for romantic relations. Unlike Florence, White LBQ women do not have to feel like they are dating their own relative because their likeness exists outside of their family network.

Systems of sexuality, class, and race marginalize SNC Pinays in social networks. Most participants (8 of 10) expressed disillusion with Filipino/Filipino American groups, which were predominantly heterosexual social spaces, often affiliated with the Catholic community. The materialistic displays of wealth and activities limited to in-group socializing were also mentioned as barriers to SNC Pinays inclusion. While SNC Pinays experienced the interaction of sexuality and class in Filipino/Filipino American social groups, race was salient in their experiences with queer social groups. Hegemonic whiteness shaped SNC Pinays' socializing and social activism with queer networks. A couple of women, who lived in queer-friendly cities in the South, enjoyed predominantly White gay bars and lesbian bars with mostly White and Hispanic patrons. Social networks with SNC Asian American or Filipino Americans were less accessible to them or required more effort to find and maintain. For SNC Pinays who engaged in social or political

activism with predominantly White queer networks, they described the stress of a self-imposed responsibility to represent gay Filipinos and to advocate for outreach towards Brown people. After one SNC Pinay in the South recognized there was no organization for queer Asian Americans near her, she had to overcome guilt and selfishness for wanting to establish a group. For another SNC Pinay in the South, seeking a position in her local LGBTQ organization raised the ire of a “very cis, gay, White man oriented” leadership. She described board members’ response to her demand for transparency on recent Pride month festivities:

I said, “Please explain to me how that decision got made. How the decision to allow [a Pride festival booth for] Gays for Trump got made because I don’t understand how you can have Black queer people, Muslim queer people, other queer people of color coming to you telling you that they feel unsafe and threatened and for you to still make that decision the way that you did.” I got tore apart. There were people yelling at me and people telling me that I wasn’t American.

Given the barriers reinforced by systems of sexuality, class, and race, SNC Pinays in my study struggled to find all parts of their identities represented and embraced in social groups. As a result, they labored to find women who share their intersecting identities; they also managed feelings of duty and obligation. SNC Pinays expend energy to challenge White hegemonic queer space and to create separate spaces where their race, ethnicity, and sexualities are affirmed.

6 CONCLUSION

6.1 Implications of Research

This study was a co-creation of knowledge with SNC Pinays to explore the material effects of gender and race in our relationships with parents, partners, and community. In an effort to center SNC Pinays’ gendered and racialized interactions with families of origin and

choice, I utilized West and Zimmerman's (1987) "doing gender" paradigm, Connell's (1987) theory of emphasized femininity, and Collins's (2000) approach to intersectionality.

I found that SNC Pinays accommodate family expectations of emphasized femininity during their childhood and adulthood because it was the path of least resistance in a patriarchal gender order. SNC Pinays and their parents complicated emphasized femininity in distinct ways. I found that some SNC Pinays utilized certain elements from the Catholic institution to strengthen their identities; this particular finding adds nuance to prior research where LBQ Pinays identified religion as source of interpersonal conflict (Nadal and Corpus 2013). Parents determined that specific men in SNC Pinays' present or future were important and demanded their daughters accommodate the needs of these men. Resistance to emphasized femininity also occurred in SNC Pinay's families. When parents of SNC Pinays did not enforce these gendered expectations on their daughters, I found that participants perceived them as "Americanized" in contrast to "Filipino" parents, who were associated with gender conformity. As a result of resisting emphasized femininity, SNC Pinays do physical and emotion work (Hochschild 1979) to minimize conflict with family of origin when navigating their gender display, disclosing their sexuality, and helping family unlearn raced and gendered expectations.

While exploring how gender is accomplished in SNC Pinay's families of origin, I found that older Filipina/Filipina American women placed more emphasis on regulating SNC Pinays hair and couture because it reflected their success in motherhood. I also found that interlocking systems of race and gender shaped how parents allowed SNC Pinays' access to eligible partners. Most interestingly, these same systems of power construct distinct romantic interactions between SNC Pinays and potential partners who are men and those who are women. Lastly, ethnosexual boundaries marginalized SNC Pinays when socializing among co-ethnic and queer populations.

This study is a critical and overdue intervention to address the invisibility of SNC Pinay experiences in empirical research. Most importantly, this study allows SNC Pinays to see how other women like them make sense of their world. When I asked participants “what it means to be a Filipino woman who is attracted to women,” they said it meant being themselves, that it was a source of pride and strength, and a privilege. SNC Pinays also said it meant a long, ongoing struggle to find affirmation and create safe spaces for personal and community growth. “It’s awesome!” was the initial response from a couple of women, including one who also called out the hypocrisy of Filipinos who enjoy the company of gay friends while shaming their own gay family members:

I feel like us being together and me loving a woman who is also Filipino - the first thing that came to mind was “Fuck you guys. This is us. This is still the greatest thing....This is what love is.”

SNC Pinays’ resilience in negotiating relationships within and outside of their family expands sociological understanding of complexities at the intersection of gender, race, and sexuality.

My findings provide supporting evidence for some previous studies on gay and lesbian Filipino/Filipino American populations. Since Nadal and Corpus’s (2013) study, religion and cultural values, which both incorporate the expectations of emphasized femininity, continue to be a source of conflict between SNC Pinays and their families of origin. My findings imply that mainstream efforts to promote acceptance of sexual minorities fall short and fail to serve SNC Pinays and their families. Some findings from my study support and complicate previous research on the racialization of Filipinos as separate and distinct from Asians in the U.S. (Ocampo 2016). My findings suggests that the context of SNC Pinay social interactions, whether at school or at LGBTQ Pride, inform how they are racialized. Given the similarities between Philippine and Latin American colonial history (Ocampo 2016), my research suggest

that SNC Pinays and SNC Latinas (Acosta 2013) encounter similar family dynamics and conflicts; it implies that both groups of women may use similar tools to navigate family relations and manipulate (in)visibility to protect their well-being.

6.2 Limitations

I recognize some limitations with my study. While semi-structured interviews allow participants to discuss past experiences, I did not observe SNC Pinays' interactions with their families of origin or choice. Observing these women interact with the people who are close to them might have provided additional evidence to support or possibly complicate the participants' verbal responses. Of the interviews I completed, six were conducted on-line. There were a few short breaks with Internet and audio connectivity, thus disrupting the interview flow and the participants' train of thought. Field observations and only conducting in-person interviews could address these issues.

Another limitation of my study is that most participants were between the ages 26-45 and were born in the U.S. None of the participants were 18-20 years old or over 50 years in age. It would be interesting to see how different generations of SNC Pinays, such as women who grew up with the Internet during their youth in the Philippines, experienced and responded to expectations from their families regarding their gender, race, and sexuality.

Lastly, none of my study participants self-identified racially or ethnically as Black, Latina, Native American, or White. The experiences of multiracial SNC Pinays might have provided insight on how these women navigate passing or not passing as a member of one racial or ethnic group while encountering messages of what it means to be "feminine."

6.3 Future Research

Research in the future can continue to expand upon sociological findings on this study by including SNC Pinay experiences in other geographic locations where racial dynamics and colonial histories vary. Studies that draw participants from a Northwest U.S. metropolis or suburb in the United Kingdom may provide nuances on how race, class, gender, and sexuality impact SNC Pinays experiences of acceptance or social support. Research that includes disabled queers, transgender women, and non binary people of Filipinx descent has potential for expanding conceptualizations of doing gender and achieving femininity beyond an abelist, ciscentric, and binary perspective. Given the impact of Catholic beliefs on SNC Pinays' family interactions and identity, future studies could also explore how SNC Pinays of other faith traditions navigate family relationships and sexuality.

As a SNC Pinay and academic, I embrace the responsibility to center the voices of participants as we create knowledge, document their various experiences, and redress our invisibility in the literature. This research is a call to action for mental health service providers, religious leaders, Filipino-centered organizations, LGBTQ-centered organizations, and educators to be culturally responsive and inclusive when interacting with Filipino families and SNC Pinays. In addition to this study's potential contributions to social work, counseling, and psychology, it is also sociologically relevant. This research expands sociological understanding of a marginalized population by exploring how SNC Pinays experience and resist racial and gendered social structures. Lastly, it contributes to the field of intersectional research on Filipina/Filipina Americans and expands the theorization of emphasized and subordinate femininities.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Recruitment Scripts

Appendix A.1: Script for asking immediate contacts for their participation:

Hi (name),

I hope you're doing well. Since the last time we met up in/at (insert event here) I've been working on my grad school program in Sociology. I'm exploring the experiences of Filipino/Filipino American women who are attracted to women.

Now that my research project is supervised by Dr. Rosalind Chou of Georgia State and approved by my university's Institutional Review Board, I'm ready to start interviewing.

I'm curious to know how these women express themselves through fashion, work, and recreation. I'd also like to know about their relationships with family members they grew up with. Since there is very little research on women like us, I figured it's time to change that. Would you like to participate in my interviews?

Appendix A.2: Script for speaking to people referred to me by my initial contacts:

Hi (name),

Thanks for contacting me. I am in my grad school program in Sociology to focus on the experiences of Filipino/Filipino American women who are attracted to women.

Now that my research project is supervised by Dr. Rosalind Chou of Georgia State and approved by my university's Institutional Review Board, I'm ready to start interviewing.

I'm curious to know how these women express themselves through fashion, work, and recreation. I'd also like to know about their relationships with family members they grew up with. Since there is very little research on women like us, I figured it's time to change that. Would you like to participate in my interviews?

Appendix B: Recruitment Flyer

Are you Pinay and attracted to women?

Your story is important!



**Researcher: Veronica Salcedo
Institution: Georgia State University**

**To participate in this study, you must be at least
18 years old and available for an interview
(45 minutes to 2.5 hours) about your experience as a
woman of partial or full Filipino descent.**

Contact vsalcedo1@gsu.edu

**to schedule an interview
in-person, on the phone, or on-line.**

Appendix C: Informed Consent

Georgia State University
Department of Sociology
Informed Consent

Title: Sexually Nonconforming Filipino/Filipino American Women Doing Gender

Principal Investigator: Rosalind Chou

Student Principal Investigator: Veronica Salcedo

I. Purpose:

You are invited to be in a research study. The purpose of the study is to learn how Filipino/Filipino American women, who are attracted to women, express themselves. This study also wants to learn how these women have a bond with their families. Participation in this study may require up to 2.5 hours of your time.

You are invited to be in the study because you identify having full or partial Filipino descent. You identify as a girl since birth. You also identify as a woman who is attracted to women. A total of 10 people will be in this study.

II. Procedures:

If you decide to join the study, you and the researcher (Veronica Salcedo) will decide on an interview style. Interviews are done in-person, on the phone, or using Skype or Google Hangout. You and the researcher pick a day and time between 9:00 a.m. to 7 p.m., EST, for the interview. The interview is in English and will be audio recorded. An in-person interview is done at a place with few distractions. This could be the library, coffee shop, or your home. At the start of an interview, the researcher answers questions you have about the study. Then she takes your signed Informed Consent form and provides an unsigned copy for your records. A demographic mini-survey on paper will be provided at the end of the interview. For interviews not done in person, you can express your consent verbally and submit the mini-survey electronically. The interview will last 45 minutes to 2 hours. There might be a 30-minute follow-up interview. The total time of the interviews could take 1¼ to 2 ½ hours.

III. Risks:

In this study, you will not have any more risks than you would in a normal day of life.

IV. Benefits:

There is no personal benefit to you. However, your participation in this study will expand the limited scientific research on sexually nonconforming Filipino/Filipino American women.

V. Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal:

You can choose whether or not to be in this study. It is strictly voluntary. If you decide to be in the study and change your mind, you can to drop out at any time. You may skip questions or stop

participating at any time. Whatever you decide, you will not lose or gain any benefits than you would in a normal day of life.

VII. Confidentiality:

We keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. Rosalind Chou, Ph.D., and Veronica Salcedo have access to the information you provide. Information may also be shared with those who make sure the study is done correctly (GSU Institutional Review Board, the Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP)). We use a fictional name on study records, unless you explicitly state that you want your real name used. The information you provide is stored on a flash drive and backed up on an external hard drive. All devices are password protected and locked in the researcher's home. The code sheet used to assign your fictional name is locked separately from the storage devices at the researcher's home. All data is destroyed five years after the end of the study. Unless you explicitly state that you want your real information used, anything that may identify you will not appear when we present or publish any results. In addition, the findings will be summarized and reported in group form. You will not be identified personally.

VIII. Contact Persons:

Contact the Primary Investigator, Rosalind Chou at 404-413-6523 or rchou@gsu.edu and the researcher, Veronica Salcedo at 757-776-9592 or vsalcedo1@gsu.edu if you have questions, concerns, or complaints about this study. You can also call if you think you have been harmed by the study. Call Susan Vogtner in the Georgia State University Office of Research Integrity at 404-413-3513 or svogtner1@gsu.edu if you want to talk to someone who is not part of the study team. You can talk about questions, concerns, offer input, obtain information, or suggestions about the study. You can also call Susan Vogtner if you have questions or concerns about your rights in this study.

IX. Copy of Consent Form to Participant:

We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep.

If you are willing to volunteer for this research and be audio recorded, please sign below.

Printed Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

Principal Investigator or Researcher Obtaining Consent

Date

Appendix D: Survey for Sexually Nonconforming Filipino/Filipino American Women

Doing Gender

Directions: Please answer seven questions. Feel free to ask the researcher for clarification. Remember that the researcher will keep your personal information confidential.

1. What is your age? Circle your age range:

18-20 21-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41-45
 46-50 51-55 56-60 61-65 66-70 Over 70

2. How do you identify your race and/or ethnicity? Circle all that apply:

American Asian Asian American Black Filipina
 Filipina American Hispanic Indigenous American Latina
 Mexipina Mestiza Native American Pacific Islander Pilipina
 Pilipina American Pinay White Other: _____

3. How do you identify your sexuality? Circle all that apply:

Asexual Bisexual Dyke Fluid Gay Lesbian
 Mars Pars Pansexual Queer Straight Tomboy
 Woman-loving woman Other: _____

4. What is the highest level of education you completed? _____

5. Circle your estimated yearly income at the time of this survey:

Less than \$10,000 \$10-\$19,999 \$20-\$29,999 \$30-\$39,999
 \$40-\$49,999 \$50-\$64,999 \$65-\$79,999 \$80-\$99,999
 \$100,000 or more

6. What is your relationship status at the time of this survey? Circle all that apply:

Divorced Married Monogamous partnership Polyamorous partnerships
 Separated Single Widowed Other: _____

7. Name of the state where you currently reside: _____

Appendix E: Interview Guide for Sexually Nonconforming Filipino/Filipino American Women Doing Gender

Date: _____ Start Time: _____ End time: _____

Probes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Silent nod • Uh-huh's/o.k.'s • "Echo" + What do you mean by that? or + How did you feel/react? 	Avoid: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rushing • Talking over • 'why,' 'remember'
---	--

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed for this study. I would like to ask you some questions about your experiences with gender, race, and sexuality beginning with your childhood to the present. Your involvement in this interview is totally voluntary. You can decline to answer a question or even end the interview at any time. Please know that I will make every effort to keep your identity confidential. I am interested in learning about the experiences of women of Filipino descent who are also romantically attracted to other women. I appreciate the time and energy you are spending with me to talk about your experiences.

First, would you be comfortable if I start with some questions about your childhood?

1. Tell me about where you grew up.
2. Tell me more about your:
 - a. parents/parental figures
 - b. sibling(s)
 - c. chosen family (e.g. close friends)
 - d. extended relatives
3. What place(s) do you consider 'home'? Describe what makes it 'home'?

Now, I would like to ask you questions about your gender and race while growing up.

Gender and race:

4. Think of a time when your family talked about expectations of you as a 'girl' or what it was to be 'feminine.' Describe these expectations on your behavior, restrictions, or privileges.
 - a. Who reinforced these expectations?
(probe: within the family? Community members? School? Media?)
 - b. How was this reinforced?
 - d. How did you respond?
 - e. How was your race/ethnicity a part of these expectations?
5. Tell me a story about your gender expression as a girl.

6. Describe an early racialized experience as a girl.
(if asked to clarify: a moment when other people's perception of your race shaped the experience)
7. As you were growing up, describe the role models you looked up to.
(probe: did you find RM among family? Community? School? Media?)
- What motivated you to model yourself after these people?
 - How did your role models change as you grew older?
8. Tell me about how your family expressed their expectations of you as a woman.
- Who reinforced these expectations?
(probe: within the family, community members, school, media)
 - How was this reinforced?
 - How did you respond?
 - How was your race/ethnicity a part of these expectations?
9. Tell me a story about your gender expression as a woman.
10. Describe a racialized experience as an adult.

Gender expression and race:

11. How would you describe your 'look' or sense of style now?
12. Talk to me about:
- your hairstyle and body hair.
 - you and make-up.
 - what is in your wardrobe.
 - your shoes.
 - your accessories.
13. How did your style change during your life? What motivated this?
14. Think about what you currently do at home. Tell me about the kind of:
- work or chores you do.
 - activities you enjoy.
(probe: what makes this enjoyable for you?)
(probe: if group activity- describe your role in the group.)
 - How did these types of activities change during your life?
 - What motivated this?
15. Now, think about what you do outside the home. Tell me about the kind of:
- work you do.
 - activities you enjoy.
(probe: what makes this enjoyable for you?)
(probe: if group activity- describe your role in the group.)

- c. How did these types of activities change during your life?
 - d. What motivated this?
16. How would you describe the way you:
- a. walk.
 - b. sit.
 - c. talk.
 - d. express your emotions.
 - e. How do these behaviors change based on your setting?
 - f. What motivates this change?
17. Do you have a preferred label for your gender expression?
(If yes): What is the label(s)?
- a. How did you come to this answer?
 - b. Has this preferred label for your gender expression changed during your life?
 - c. What motivated this?
- (if no): What influences you to not have a preferred label?
18. How do you self identify racially/ethnically now?
- a. Has this changed over time? How so? What motivated this?
19. As an adult, how does your gender expression and race/ethnicity
- a. shape your relationship with your family?
 - b. play a part in attracting potential romantic partners?
20. What kind of person are you interested in attracting?

Now, I'd like to ask you about your sexuality and race.

21. Reconstruct the earliest moments when you recognized your romantic attraction to girls.
22. What was it like for you to be around your parent(s)/parental figure(s) with these feeling of attraction?
- a. What was it like being around your sibling(s) with these feeling of attraction?
 - b. What was it like being around your extended relatives with these feeling of attraction?
23. Describe a time when your family conveyed their expectations of you regarding sex, dating, courtship, partner selection, or marriage?
- a. How often did you receive these messages?
(e.g. a few times in middle school, throughout college and during your career)
 - b. How was race/ethnicity included in these expectations?
 - c. How did you respond?
24. Tell me about your early dating experiences.

25. Reconstruct your experience when you disclosed your sexual orientation to your family.
(probe: parent(s), siblings, extended relatives)
26. How do you describe your sexuality?
a. How do you self identify now?
b. Has this changed over time? How so? What motivated this?
27. Tell me about your dating experiences as an adult.
28. What are your partners like?
(probe: gender expression, race/ethnicity, age, education level, work/recreation interests, temperament)
a. How does gender expression shape the relationship?
b. How does race/ethnicity shape the relationship?
29. How supportive was your family during a romantic relationship?
a. Who expressed this?
b. How did they express this?
b. How did you respond?
30. What was it like for you to be with your romantic partner while keeping a relationship with your parents?
a. How did you modify your demeanor or persona?
b. What motivated you to do this?
31. What was it like for you to be with your romantic partner while keeping a relationship with your sibling(s)?
a. How did you modify your demeanor or persona?
b. What motivated you to do this?
32. What was it like for you to be with your romantic partner while keeping a relationship with your extended relatives?
a. How did you modify your demeanor or persona?
b. What motivated you to do this?
33. Do you try to socialize with other lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and queer people?
(If yes): What motivates you to seek these connections?
a. How do you connect with them?
b. How does race/ethnicity affect this?
c. How does your gender expression affect this?
- (If no): What influences you to not seek these connections?
a. How does race/ethnicity affect this?
b. How does your gender expression affect this?

34. Do you try to socialize with other people of partial or full Filipino descent?

(If yes): What motivates you to seek these connections?

- a. How do you connect with them?
- b. How does your gender expression affect this?
- c. How does your sexual orientation affect this?

(If no): What influences you to not seek these connections?

- a. How does your gender affect this?
- b. How does your sexual orientation affect this?

35. Tell me about a time when you felt like all parts of your identity were embraced or recognized.

(probe: what about a time when you felt like most parts of your identity were embraced or recognized?)

36. What does it mean to be a Filipino woman who is attracted to women?

37. Are there significant experiences you'd like to discuss that we haven't addressed yet?