

LGBTQ+ People in Japan and the Impact of International Ideas

Chaska Kentish

University of California San Diego

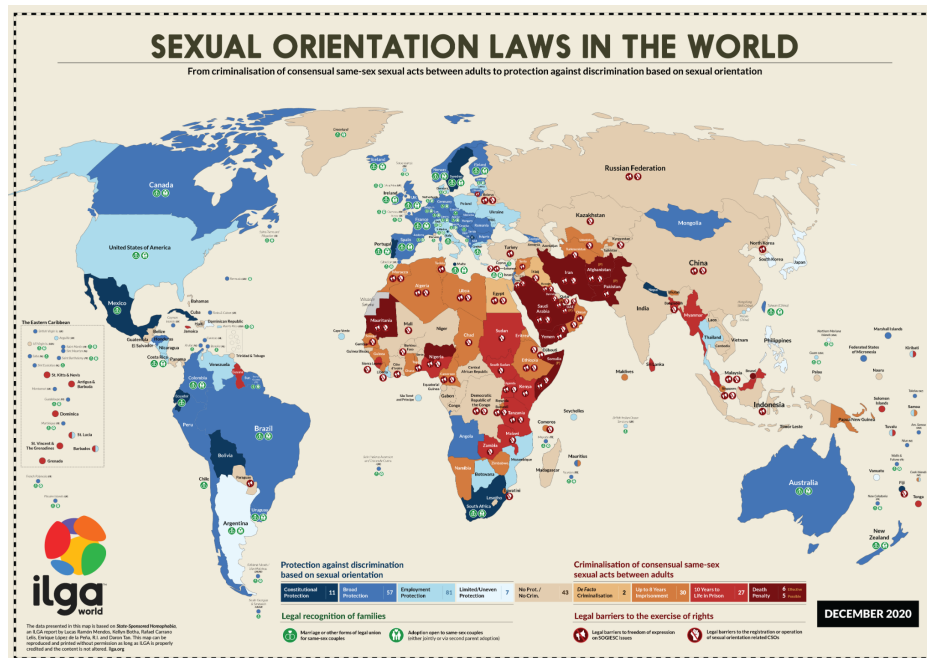
SOCI 176

June 2021

LGBTQ+ People in Japan and the Impact of International Ideas

Figure 1

ILGA World Map of LGBTQ+ Protections as of December 2020



On a global scale, the topic of LGBTQ+ rights and protections have become extremely prevalent. As seen in Figure 1, it has developed into a controversial political and social issue that has resulted in numerous protests and other equally significant conflicts worldwide with limited success (Angelo & Bocci, 2021). Most Western countries have moved to support and/or protect LGBTQ+ members, but this change has mainly faced challenges in Africa (primarily the Middle East) and most of Asia. While Africa and the Middle East's stances come from a religious interpretation of Islam (Simmons)--not too different from Christian interpretations in the West--Asia's resistance has become a byproduct of cultural interaction with the West directly. The growth and pressure of LGBTQ+ acceptance and protection placed by the West has been

interpreted as a form of neo-colonialism that threatens the native cultural beliefs of Asian nations (Laurent, 2008, 167). Even with these forms of resistance, the spread of support for LGBTQ+ protections has been continuing to grow on a national scale. This paper will focus on how this spread of support has been influencing Japan to the current potential of official LGBTQ+ protections being considered on a nationwide scale.

Methodology: Literature Review

This paper solely utilizes existing research, sources of data, relevant popular media such as Japanese-based news sources, and official Japanese legal documents to form an analysis of Japan's perspective and challenges on LGBTQ+ protection. It should be noted that some sources were solely in Japanese so some translations may be slightly off, however they should not lead to any significant differences in results or analysis. A variety of sources from different levels of intent (i.e. professional research versus sources more commonly seen by the public) have been chosen to grasp a better understanding of Japanese stances on sexual and gender identities on a more local scale versus the general stance emphasized by its national government. While looking through different sources, there was a consistent limitation on Japanese-originated research (not accounting for Japanese citizens who have gone abroad), which strengthens the idea that this topic isn't commonplace for many Japanese people. This idea will be used in conjunction with other research found to explain the limiting factors of Japanese society on a shift to total protections of LGBTQ+ individuals in the paper.

Research Problem

This research intends to uncover the aspects of government and society that have led to support or resistance to LGBTQ+ acceptance and protection in Japan. To undertake this, three

aspects of Japan's government and their subsequent social connections will be examined to answer three primary questions posed. Firstly, on a national level why has Japan failed to recognize and protect LGBTQ+ members to their entirety as a result of international identity? How does this differ with regional governments and their ability and/or opinions on these issues as a result of social evolution and their connection with the people? Thirdly, how has Japan's role in the international sphere led to increased pressure on achieving full protections based on sexual and gender identity? These questions will be examined by analyzing the influence of transnational interactions, primarily focusing on that of Western nations such as the United States or France.

Background on Japan's Presence of the LGBTQ+ Community

History of Japan's LGBTQ+ Community

While much of East Asia is in the gray in regards to the support of sexual and gender minorities--with some regions leaning toward opposition--Japan has maintained a relatively progressive stance by global standards in the past, although this is only true to an extent in East Asia today. When examining Japan's past, data on lesbianism in Japan is extremely limited in comparison to male homosexual relationships due to the patriarchal nature of the country; however as of today, both groups still face the same primary issue of nonexistent protection.

Japan's earliest well-known development of same-sex relationships was during the Tokugawa Period (1603-1867), although it could have occurred commonly earlier. The development of Buddhism in Japan led to the commonality of male homosexual relationships by monastic individuals between an older man and adolescent youth until they reached adulthood, and this was widely tolerated and accepted throughout Japan (Koichi, 2015). The cause of this is

unknown, but it is theorized that it was introduced to Japan by Kuukai, a Japanese monk who brought back many Chinese ideas including *nanshoku* (male homosexuality) (Koichi, 2015). Regardless, Japan's relative isolation from continental Asia is the most likely reason for the evolution of Buddhist ideas to disregard male homosexuality as apart of the oath of chastity.

Male homosexual relationships continued to occur throughout the Tokugawa Period, but this practice later spread to samurai during the Meiji period. Unlike the Buddhist monasteries however, samurai were not isolated from society to the same extent. Thus, the *Nanshoku Code* followed by samurai was spread out among a greater area of Japan, following the same practices as the Buddhist monks between an older man and adolescent child--in this case it being samurai and their apprentices. Subsequently, it "was then taken up in the middle and high school student culture" (Makoto & Lockyer, 1994, 100), so much so that dormitories had to be sealed off to prevent any sexual practices between male students, and *shiritsuki* (anal sex) had to be banned (Makoto & Lockyer, 1994). This would later spread throughout general society to the development of male performers and prostitutes to meet the newly popular homosexual desire of Japanese men (Koichi, 2015), and all of this would peak during the Russo-Japanese War.

One of the most popular forms of this was through *kabuki* (dance-drama based theatre) performers, which were composed of only men. In 1629 female performers were banned, and then in 1652, child performers were banned, leading to adult men portraying women known as *onnagata* (Jackson, 1989, 461). Many of these *onnagata* actors were male prostitutes directed toward homosexual practices that stayed commonplace that has remained apart of Japanese society (Makoto & Lockyer, 1994, 107).

Despite the growth of male homosexuality during the Meiji Period, there was only one major policy that temporarily arose against homosexual practices known as the *Keikan Code*, in which *keikan* (Sodomy) was punishable by prison and loss of title (Makoto & Lockyer, 1994, 108). Other than this, there was no major criminalization against LGBTQ+ individuals in Japan.

Lesbian relationships most likely were present in Japan prior to the 20th century, however the first public awareness of this was in 1909, when a same-sex female couple committed suicide out of fear of separation by their families (Makoto & Lockyer, 1994, 114). While male homosexuality was still not idealized, it was more tolerated than homosexual women. Thus, the realization that even women could have these sorts of relationships led to the creation of the *Hentai Seiyoku* (Sexual perversion) *Code* to identify and define all aspects of sex and attraction (Makoto & Lockyer, 1994, 119). It was used as a scientific basis to denounce homosexuality by claiming it to be a mental illness (Makoto & Lockyer, 1994, 119), which helped create a negative outlook on homosexuality that was set apart from Japan's relatively positive past with these practices.

Since the 1980s however, many prefectures across Japan have unofficially recognized various protections and marriages for sexual and gender minorities with more continuing to be open to supporting this (Human Rights Watch, 2021).

Transgender Individuals

There is even less known history or data of transgender individuals in Japan than lesbians because this identity would have been much more complex for complete comprehension and recording prior to the modern day. Today however, Japanese people are able to undergo hormone

therapy and sex reassignment surgery, and the number of people undergoing these processes has been increasing over the years with positive results (Kasai 2017).

Table 1

Brief Timeline of LGBTQ+ Presence in Japan

| Meiji Period | <i>Nanshoku Code</i> (Pederasty, AKA older man + adolescent boy) common |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1873-1881 | <i>Keikan</i> (Sodomy) criminalized with prison sentence and loss of title(s) |
| 1881 | Boissonade (French representative) convinces Japanese government to allow same-sex relationships for men |
| 1895 | <i>Shiritsuki</i> (Anal sex) banned temporarily |
| 1901 | Same-sex female couple suicide raises awareness of lesbianism in Japan and defines <i>doeseiai</i> (homosexuality) |
| Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) | <i>Nanshoku Code</i> spread in popularity throughout Japan becoming more common |
| 1922-1980 | <i>Hentai Seiyoku Code</i> (Sexual perversion) enacted, denouncing homosexuality |
| 1980s-Present | 56 prefectures unofficially recognize same-sex relationships (less with transgender protections) |
| 2017 | Protection against LGBT bullying in schools |
| 2019 | Amended labor laws to prevent workplace harassment on basis of gender identification and sexuality |
| March 17, 2021 | Sapporo Court Case declares it unconstitutional to ban same-sex marriage |

Comparative Analysis with England

Considering Japan's history for the most part embraces homosexuality, it would seem like the nation would have no issue making legal change to support LGBTQ+ protections. However, factors including the prevalence of homosexuality in Japan's history inherent to the state and structure of Japan inhibit this change when comparing it to other countries. England in particular is the ideal comparison because it shares the geographical conditions of a large island-based nation, both of which are run under parliamentary cabinets and bicameral legislatures. The primary difference between the developments of the two lies in sociocultural influences.

One of the most important aspects of change is awareness. England has a history of legal and religious persecution of homosexual couples and later on, great opposition towards transgender individuals which developed into the development of protest-based activism

(Dryden). The negative history between LGBTQ+ individuals and England's religious and political institutions has actually made it easier for people to be aware of the issues this community faced, allowing for greater pressure on the government to actually address the issue.

Japan's lack of criminalization has actually prevented it from achieving total protections in the modern day. Because LGBTQ+ members were never formally persecuted, there isn't as much common knowledge or drive towards activism since there's a lack of awareness. In addition, the Japanese attitude of privacy regarding personal information has made it even more difficult to achieve this awareness, thus creating a stalemate between the people and the government. In order to most effectively create equality and protection for sexual and gender minorities in Japan, the government will have to act upon its own accord, which will be difficult considering the traditional and heteronormative ideas embedded into national Japanese politics.

Japan's Social State

Many of Japan's generalized social standards that will be discussed are still very true today, however there has been a shift away from many traditional ideas that suppress many groups beyond the social level. Examples of this include the rise of divorce and living alone inversely to the decrease of larger households and living with extended generations of family, as seen in Table 2. Japan is heading towards a greater individualistic society with a shift away from many cultural or traditional norms, and while the exact cause of this remains unknown, it's believed to be from changes in education, subsistence, and economic opportunity (Ogihara, 2018), much of which has been influenced by the increased reliance of world economies.

Table 2*Summary of Indicators of Individualism and Change Over Time***Table 1.** Summary of Each Indicator and Their Temporal Changes.

| | Time period | <i>n</i> | Source | Times | $d_{\text{last 3 years} - \text{first 3 years}}$ |
|-------------------|------------------------|----------|--------|-------|--|
| Divorce rate | 1947-2015 | 69 | A | 5.23× | 63.52 |
| Household size | 1953-2015 | 63 | B | 0.59× | -52.60 |
| Living alone | 1953-2015 | 63 | B | 1.87× | 73.29 |
| Three generations | 1967-2015 | 49 | B | 0.36× | -55.47 |
| Nuclear family | 1964-2015 ^a | 51 | B | 1.06× | 19.85 |
| Aggregated score | 1967-2015 | 49 | — | — | 54.49 |

Note. "A" indicates data from the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (2016a) of Japan and "B" indicates data from the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (2016b).

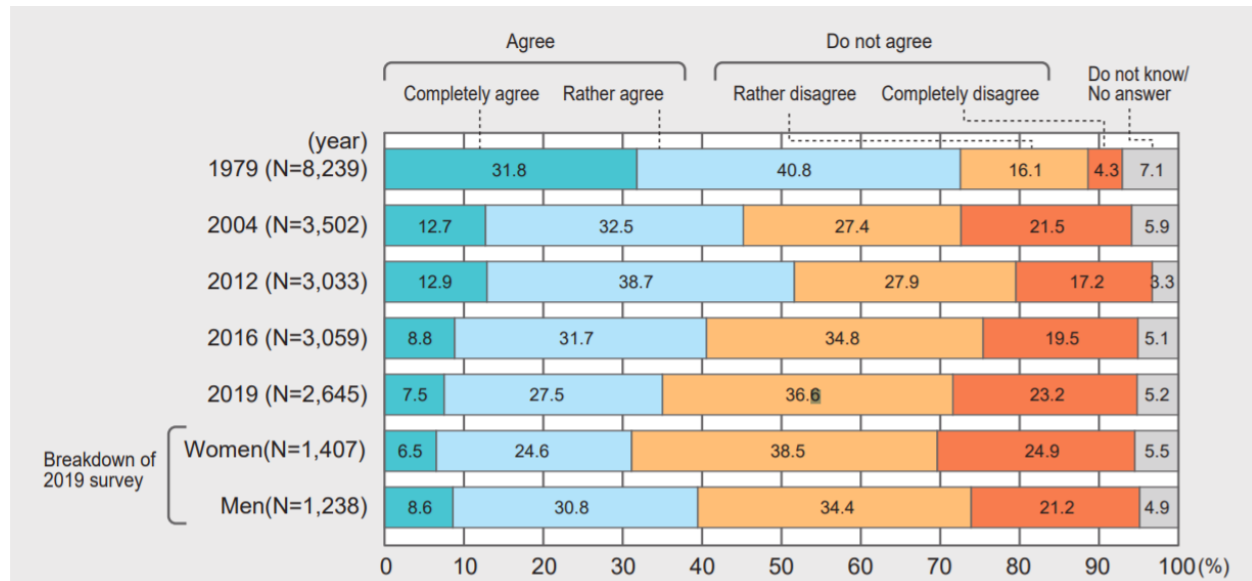
^aData for the year 1966 were missing.

Japan's Heteronormative Structure

Patriarchy and heteronormativity in Japan is not a new concept, however with its development of a constitution in the 1940s, it was essentially written into law. Article 24 of the Japanese Constitution states that "Marriage shall be based only on the mutual consent of both sexes and it shall be maintained through mutual cooperation with the equal rights of husband and wife as a basis" (1947). This complicates the matters of recognizing individuals beyond the traditional conception of people and family consisting of a relationship between a man and a woman. Because it's constitutional, it severely limits the openness to recognize same-sex marriage, individuals who don't identify under the traditional labels of "male" or "female", and even transgender people because granting them total and equal rights and protections would be considered unconstitutional.

Figure 2

Comparative Surveys of Support for “Men being expected to work, and women domestic duties”



The heteronormative structure of Japan is widely accepted--or at the very least followed and assumed to be the normal way of life. As of 2019, there has been a major shift in this perception compared to the past as seen in Figure 2 (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2020), but the importance of public appearance meeting the standards of a well-to-do man taking care of his family is still commonly pushed upon children by their parents. As such, Japan faces huge inequalities in employment-to-population and gender pay gap. By 2014, it was determined that about 80% of men in Japan were employed compared to only 62% of women, with a pay gap of 26% (Gottfried 2017). These economic disparities emphasize not only the resistance to social change, but how gender minorities and especially lesbian couples would be unlikely to financially support themselves. Due to this wage gap and strict system of job and educational opportunities that do seriously consider gender in applications, individuals that aren't in a

heteronormative relationship with a man are inherently doomed to fail by the unequal standards within the heteronormative realm alone.

According to Tamagawa, this public image and ability to do well in life is held to such high standards that many parents will ignore the sexual or gender identities of their children as long as they “lead heteronormative lives by marrying and having children” (2017). This of course continues to silence awareness and identity of Japanese LGBTQ+ members, by pressuring them to only appear in a certain way for their family.

Importance of the Family State in Japan

While individualism has increased in Japan, Table 2 demonstrates an increase in the presence of nuclear families which seems contradictory to the increase of living alone and decrease in household size. However, the continuity of nuclear families in Japan has to do with the cultural implication between Japanese mothers and the outcome of their children. According to Tamagawa, a Japanese education mother is one who does everything to raise and educate their kids--and thus a form of character--which makes it more difficult to come out and defy the tradition of heteronormative family making (2017). It's estimated that 40% of parents would be upset finding out their child was homosexual or a different gender identity, which would increase in likelihood the closer they were with their children (Tamagawa, 2017). To reduce this however, the silence must be broken with individuals choosing to come out and break the cycle of obedience to their parents to reduce the stigma associated with the LGBTQ+ community.

Furthermore, the official recognition of a family has its own benefits in Japan like in many countries, however there is further incentive for heterosexual couples in particular. Beyond the legal recognition and tax benefits that comes with having a documented spouse, Japan

actually has been offering tax breaks and forms of aid that could add up to 600,000 yen (~5476 USD) to have couples get married in efforts to produce children (Kyodo, 2020). This could create a potential challenge to incentivizing equal rights if debate arose over only offering aid to heterosexual couples to form families. If this were to occur, some form of aid potentially for adoption/childcare for non-heterosexual couples could resolve this but it's not possible to predict what could develop from this as of now.

Overall, the challenges of LGBTQ+ members and the standard institution of marriage and family is a demonstration of Japan's reluctance to abandon tradition--at least by older members of the population. This challenge of identity reappears throughout Japan's social and political spheres, as the nation is in a state of absorbing more and more foreign influences while continuing to be run under the strict encouragement of Japanese tradition.

Japanese Government's Efforts to Act

Japan has made efforts in the past to resolve issues of gender and sexual normality and equality, but much of it has been minimal thus far without significant impact. Due to the pre-existing heteronormative inequalities mentioned earlier, it's been more difficult to engage in change. However shifts in perspective and demand has caused sexual and gender minorities to be implemented alongside ongoing changes for women in a heterosexual-male-dominated society (Kazama, 2020). These implementations however are highly differentiated between Japan's national and local governments, due to varying interpretations of Western cultural influence.

A Conservative National Government

Japan's national government is composed of the emperor, judiciary, cabinet, and the Diet. For this paper, only the latter two will be focused on since they are currently the ones overseeing

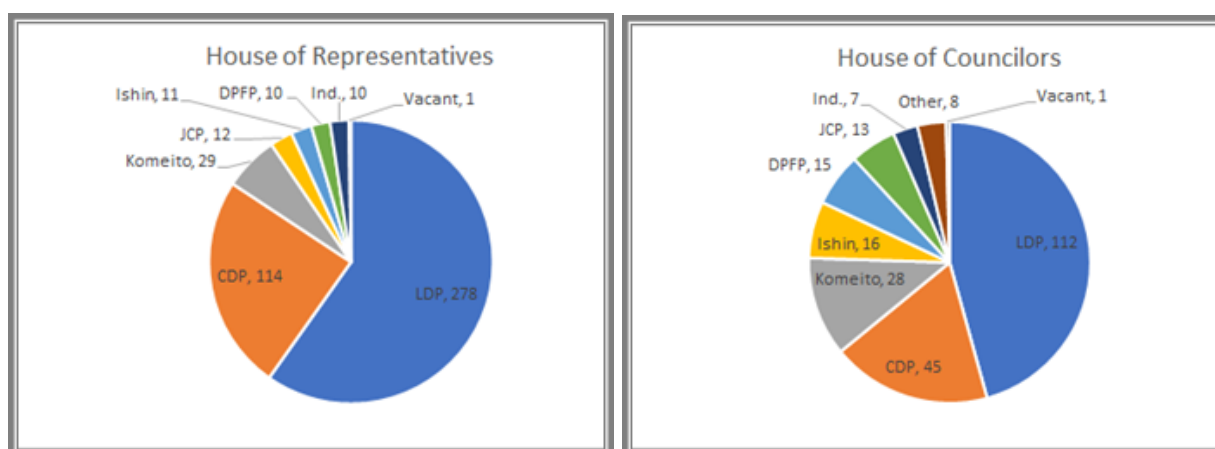
potential LGBTQ+ policy since the emperor has no power in this regard and court cases have not reached the Supreme Court in Japan.

Japan's Cabinet system serves as its executive power. It comprises ministers who handle specialized topics of politics under a prime minister who is in charge of submitting and approving bills passed by the Diet (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration, 2007). The prime minister also serves as the leader for whatever political party they are a part of that actively holds a majority in the Diet, making their personal beliefs very important when considering political and social change.

The Diet is a bicameral legislature with a House of Representatives and a House of Councillors with 480 and 242 seats respectively. They contain the same power in regards to law-making of Japan, with the exception of special cases in which the House of Representatives decision is considered over the House of Councillors (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration, 2007).

Figure 3

Political Distribution of the Diet



As of 2021, the Liberal Democratic Party or LDP holds a majority of the House of Representatives and just under half of the House of Councilors. Thus, they not only have a solid amount of control over law-making but a grasp over policy enactment due to the secured support of the current prime minister--leader of the LDP--Yoshihide Suga.

The Liberal Democratic Party is Japan's most conservative political party intent on increasing the sense of Japanese identity and power worldwide, but particularly within the Asian-Pacific region. It grew out of the years following the end of World War II and has been dominating Japan's political sphere for the last few decades, promoting improved economic and security systems while creating a positive image of Japan in the Pacific (Dolan & Worden 1994).

One of the core aspects of the LDP's mission was to create a wide "anti-American united front" (Liberal Democratic Party Declaration 2021) in response to the occupation of Japan, and while this isn't as central today it still has a lingering effect. The 2010 Code of the LDP mentions how Japan has "gained a lot of internationalization, but [they] are losing [their] own traditions and culture" (Liberal Democratic Party Declaration 2021). Beyond the personal biases of politicians themselves, this platform intends to modernize while maintaining much of the Japanese culture and traditions of the 20th century, which does not include the supportive acceptance of LGBTQ+ individuals. The fear of losing Japanese identity has prevented the national government from acting upon the will of the people due to the support's Western influences.

Prime Minister Yoshihide Suga stated in an interview that "Because [same-sex marriage] is related to the basis of the way Japanese families should be, it is necessary to consider it extremely carefully" (ThinkGender 2021). This is the idea held by most LDP members which

has evolved into a basis to justify forms of discrimination across Japan. They have made remarks on the LGBTQ+ community being “morally unacceptable” (Fujisawa, 2021) in addition to continuing to limit gender neutral education because it would “destroy Japanese culture, tradition and family” and “increase the number of homosexuals” (Kazama, 2020). This doesn’t mean it’s impossible for them to eventually begin changing policy however--this sort of thinking was common in the Western world in regards to especially racial discrimination. Based on the changes in nations, especially the United States, this disconnect between discrimination and the true culture of a nation requires enough pressure by the people in order to begin the chain reaction.

This has happened to a minor extent as of May 2021. After delaying it, the LDP has approved a bill to promote awareness of sexual minorities, including the phrase “discrimination is unacceptable” (Kyodo, 2021). This of course is not to the extent of what the people wanted--a recognition of the community with equal rights such as same sex marriage--but it is the first sign of a crack in the extremely resistant Liberal Democratic Party to consider greater protections in the future.

Increasingly Progressive Local Governments

Considering the conservative-appearance of Japan, an anti-discrimination and awareness bill being passed would seem monumental and this would be true if local governments weren’t already strides ahead of the national system. As of June 2021, about 56 prefectures in Japan unofficially uphold same-sex marriage and greater protections for sexual and gender minorities (Human Rights Watch, 2021) and many of these have pressured the Diet into considering new LGBTQ+ policy for anti-discrimination and further protections.

Furthermore, a monumental court case on March 17, 2021 in the Sapporo District Court determined the ban on same-sex marriage being unconstitutional (*Unnamed Plaintiff v. Sapporo Prefecture*, 2021), which was the first time Japan's judicial system favored sexual minorities in this regard. Beyond the outcome, the court case helped solidify a legal basis in favor of fully accepting LGBTQ+ members. It determined that sexual orientation is something inherent that cannot be changed and because there was a lack of discussion of sexual minorities at the time of writing the Constitution, allowing for same-sex marriage does not defy Article 24's statement of man and woman since that idea only considered the heteronormative standards of the creators (*Unnamed Plaintiff v. Sapporo Prefecture*, 2021). Since to this point the national government hasn't taken action on its own, most of Japan's progressive changes toward total gender and sexual equality has been done within local governments, but this can only do so much since it's neither universal nor accepted to a full legal extent.

While the local government systems may be limited in permanent change, their support and efforts will continue to internally pressure the LDP and national government to finally act for good.

Social Evolution of Interpretation of the LGBTQ+ Community

“Queer Globalization”

The term “Queer Globalization” is taken from the book *Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism* by Arnaldo Cruz-Malavé and Martin F. Manalansan , where the idea of global queerness is generally referred to as the spread of information and/or awareness around the world (2002). It's composed of the efforts of capitalism to appeal to a queer audience which has created both an ideology and various mediums of LGBTQ+

representation that can and has been growing in popularity and presence outside of Western capitalist nations like the United States. Today, the growth of social media and online forms of entertainment has amplified this concept much further. Numerous social media platforms such as Instagram, Youtube, Twitch, and especially TikTok among others have seen larger and larger amounts of content and creators who are or actively support LGBTQ+ individuals. This in addition to traditional forms of services such as Netflix's translation of the show "Queer Eye" (Vanddenberg, 2019) has exposed many more Japanese people to the community and humanize what is otherwise just an inanimate idea.

This can be seen with the evolution of levels of support among the general population. A National Institute of Population and Social Security Research survey was conducted in 2018 among households nationwide and found about 75.1% supported at least some increased security for homosexual couples and individuals (*Unnamed Plaintiff v. Sapporo Prefecture*, 2021). This extremely significant majority support significantly outweighs expected results considering familial pressures, however the increase of individualism is the most likely cause of this in addition to increasing exposure to queer culture since the Japanese institution of family is continuing to evolve. Pressures are still apparent, however many people throughout Japan have begun to look beyond these taught expectations at least somewhat towards humanity as a whole.

2021 Tokyo Olympics

The 2021 Tokyo Olympics is a highly controversial event due to the risk of COVID-19 spiking from athletes and potential spectators, issues of extreme nationalism (with Japan's Rising Sun Flag), and the issues of LGBTQ+ protection as discussed earlier. Considering all these factors, the reasonable decision would seem to be cancelling the event in Tokyo as a whole for

the immediate future to avoid these risks and conflicts. However, the Tokyo Olympics are a crucial step or at the very least an important catalyst to improve the rights of gender and sexual minorities in Japan--especially with an increased international observation for the event. Even if it wasn't in Summer 2021 but at a later time not too far in the future, the Olympics may be the only way same-sex marriage and further, major protections can occur within the next few years.

As of 2014, the Olympic anti-discrimination clause was modified to state “any form of discrimination with regard to a country or a person on grounds of race, religion, politics, gender or otherwise is incompatible with belonging to the Olympic Movement” (Reuters, 2014). This of course was meant to expand the anti-discrimination sentiment to other factors of identity including sexuality, making any lack to prevent discrimination in any capacity a violation against this--at least by the people, if not internationally. This stance is especially influential due to the spread of capitalism and its increasing ties to the presence of queerness as mentioned in the prior section.

While there have been many opportunities to increase awareness or governmental pressure in regards to LGBTQ+ protections in Japan, the Olympics are a special case because they are conducted for the people, meaning there is greater consideration of what they believe should be done for the event to be held. Put simply, the Tokyo Olympics removed the battle for LGBTQ+ awareness in Japan because its anti-discriminatory disposition creates a logical reason for even resistant individuals to support anti-discrimination and/or protection of sexual and gender minorities in Japan.

Where Japan Stands Today

While there are still high levels of stigma surrounding LGBTQ+ members due to the influence of heteronormative and familial norms and expectations, Japan's continuous exposure to Western culture has initiated the evolution of Japanese perspectives. The globalization of queer media and ideas have been becoming integrated with Japanese people--especially with the younger generations. As a result, Japan is seeing the highest levels of activism to ensure anti-discrimination and protection of sexual and gender minorities, which is something that has created a mixed socialization between Japanese culture and Western-perceived ideas of greater equality. While this has been successful on a social level, the limitation and hesitation of legislation is subpar to the evolution of Japanese ideals. Thus, more efforts need to be made in regards to Japan's national government and politicians to have a more open perspective without seeing LGBTQ+ acceptance as a challenge to Japanese identity.

Conclusion

LGBTQ+ acceptance and support has grown worldwide over the past few decades, especially in Western countries that had poor relationships with this community. It has grown to be recognized as inherent to humanity and thus have the rights to be treated equally as one of the most important civil rights topics worldwide. Even while Japan has had a positive history in regards to LGBTQ+ community--ahead of its time historically--it has only made minor changes to recognize and protect the community. Its greatest extent appears to be the bill passed by the Diet May 2021 (Kyodo, 2021), with its intolerance of discrimination of any sort, but it is to be seen how effective this will actually be if completely integrated.

As of now, Japan's primary lack of efforts come from the presence of an extremely traditional, heteronormative pressure on LGBTQ+ individuals that can prevent them from

coming out or speaking on the issue in general. This, in addition to a ruling party that favors the idea of a nuclear family, has made it difficult to bring consideration or awareness upon its national government.

The best way to raise awareness and effort in Japan is international pressure and influence on Japanese people. As seen with the Tokyo Olympics and its magnitude of international perception and significance, a greater number of Japanese people have been actively petitioning the government to act (Taylor, 2021). This is much more effective because in order to maintain positive economic and political ties with nations like the United States, Japan's government will need to meet certain standards including greater tolerance to have continued success.

Further Research

There's enough data and evidence to support the idea that international influence is the greatest cause of Japan's rising levels of support for gender and sexual equality, however information is not as freely available in regards to exactly why there is so much resistance from the government beyond statements made by Liberal Democratic Party members. Japan's existence as one of the greatest mixtures between Western and Eastern culture due to its intense presence of both while it underwent modernization makes it more difficult to pinpoint factors that influence its decisions. Literature review is effective in acquiring information, but it lacks some of the unique and underlying perspectives in regards to the beliefs of Japan's national government, especially since much of the data available comes from cross-cultural studies which can be very limiting.

Thus, to continue knowledge on the exact factors regarding Japan's national government's resistance, a series of interviews and surveys in Japan between politicians of different levels and the general public would be the best way to expand and apply this subject. Little to no research has been done on modern Japan and how its people have become exposed to and affected by socialization in support of equality. It originates from globalization of sources like media, but it's unknown if this is the cause for the majority or if Japan is seeing an evolution in perspectives as a whole over time as Western culture has grown more present. More data is needed on Japanese demographics and personal opinions among these groups, especially in regards to the contrast of the public and government to truly understand the complex relationship of sexual and gender minorities in Japan.

References

Angelo, P. J., & Bocci, D. (2021, January 29). *The Changing Landscape of Global LGBTQ+ Rights*. Council on Foreign Relations.

<https://www.cfr.org/article/changing-landscape-global-lgbtq-rights>.

THE CONSTITUTION OF JAPAN. (n.d.).

https://japan.kantei.go.jp/constitution_and_government_of_japan/constitution_e.html.

Cruz-Malavé, A., & F., M. I. V. M. (2002). *Queer globalizations citizenship and the afterlife of colonialism*. New York University Press.

Dolan, R. E., & Worden, R. L. (1992). *Japan: A Country Study*. Federal Research Division, Library of Congress.

Dryden, S. (2017, November 7). *A Short History of LGBT Rights in the UK*. The British Library.

<https://www.bl.uk/lgbtq-histories/articles/a-short-history-of-lgbt-rights-in-the-uk#>.

EqualityAct Japan. Human Rights Watch. (2020, July 20).

<https://www.hrw.org/EqualityActJapan>.

Fujisawa, M. (2021, May 21). *Discriminatory remarks made at Japan ruling party meeting on LGBT awareness bill*. The Mainichi.

<https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20210521/p2a/00m/0na/032000c>.

Inada, M. (2013). *Same-Sex Marriage in Japan: A Long Way Away?* WSJ.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160616022229/https://blogs.wsj.com/japanrealtime/2013/09/20/same-sex-marriage-in-japan-a-long-way-away/>.

Jackson, E. (1989). Kabuki Narratives of Male Homoerotic Desire in Saikaku and Mishima.

Theatre Journal, 41(4), 459–477. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3208008>

Kazama, T. (2020). Conditional Inclusion: Sexual Minorities, Tolerance, and Nationalism.

International Journal of Japanese Sociology, 29(1), 39–51.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/ijjs.12110>

Koichi. (2015, September 30). *The Gay of the Samurai*. Tofugu.

<https://www.tofugu.com/japan/gay-samurai/>.

Kyodo. (2020, September 25). *Japan newlyweds can receive up to ¥600,000 to start new life*.

The Japan Times.

<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2020/09/20/national/social-issues/japan-newlyweds-a-id/>.

Kyodo. (2021, May 24). *LDP approves LGBT bill after delay sparked by conservative concerns*.

The Japan Times.

<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2021/05/25/national/social-issues/ldp-approves-lgbt-bill/>.

Laurent, E. (2005). Sexuality and Human Rights. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 48(3-4), 163–225.

https://doi.org/10.1300/j082v48n03_09

Leheny, D. R. (2003). *The rules of play: national identity and the shaping of Japanese leisure*.

Cornell University Press.

Liberal Democratic Party. (n.d.). 立党宣言・綱領: 自民党について. 自由民主党.

<https://www.jimin.jp/aboutus/declaration/>.

Makoto, F. (1994). The Changing Nature of Sexuality: The Three Codes Framing Homosexuality in Modern Japan. *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal. English Supplement*, 98–127.

https://doi.org/https://www.jstor.org/stable/42772078?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents

Maps - Sexual orientation laws. ILGA. (2021, May 25).

<https://ilga.org/maps-sexual-orientation-laws>.

McCurry, J. (2018, August 3). *Japanese MP calls LGBT community 'unproductive'*. The Guardian.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/03/japanese-mp-mio-sugita-calls-lgbt-community-unproductive>.

Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. (2007). Fundamental Structure of the Government of Japan.

http://japan.kantei.go.jp/constitution_and_government_of_japan/fundamental_e.html.

Ogihara, Y. (2018). The Rise in Individualism in Japan: Temporal Changes in Family Structure, 1947-2015. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 49(8), 1219–1226.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022118781504>

Peetz, D., Murray, G., & Gottfried, H. (2017). Regulating for Equality: Modalities of Regulation and Gender Gaps. In *Women, Labor Segmentation and Regulation Varieties of Gender Gaps* (pp. 41–60). essay, Palgrave Macmillan US.

Russell, S. T., Horn, S. S., & Kasai, M. (2017). Sexual and Gender Minorities and Bullying in Japan. In *Sexual orientation, gender identity, and schooling: the nexus of research, practice, and policy* (pp. 185–192). essay, Oxford University Press.

Simmons, H. (2011). Dying for Love: Homosexuality in the Middle East. *Human Rights and Human Welfare*, 160–172.

Tamagawa, M. (2017). Coming Out of the Closet in Japan: An Exploratory Sociological Study. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, 14(5), 488–518.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428x.2017.1338172>

Taylor, M. (2021, April 17). *Japan urged to outlaw LGBTQ discrimination before Olympics*. The Japan Times.

<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2021/04/15/national/social-issues/lgbt-tokyo-olympics/>.

Thomson Reuters. (2014, September 25). *Olympics-Discrimination clause part of new Olympic city contracts*. Reuters.

<https://www.reuters.com/article/olympics-discrimination/olympics-discrimination-clause-part-of-new-olympic-city-contracts-idUSL3N0RQ4NR20140925>.

Unnamed Plaintiff v. Sapporo Prefecture

(https://www.courts.go.jp/app/hanrei_jp/detail4?id=90200 March 17, 2021).

Vandenberg, L. (2019, December 3). *Queer Eye's Adaptation to Japanese Audiences*. – The Diplomat.

<https://thediplomat.com/2019/12/queer-eyes-adaptation-to-japanese-audiences/>.

Women and Men in Japan 2020: Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office. Women and Men in Japan 2020 | Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office. (n.d.).

https://www.gender.go.jp/english_contents/pr_act/pub/pamphlet/women-and-men20/index.html.

朝日新聞デジタル. (2021, February 17). 同性婚「根幹に関わる、極めて慎重な検討が必要」菅首相:朝日新聞デジタル. 朝日新聞デジタル.

<https://www.asahi.com/articles/ASP2K52SCP2KUTFK01B.html>.