The Making of a Japanese Schoolgirl

Fashion, Fascination, and Fetishization

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Abstract

The image of the Japanese schoolgirl—dressed in a sailor-style uniform, pleated skirt, and knee-high socks—functions as a potent cultural symbol that embodies a complex interplay of power, identity, and gender norms. Far from a simple archetype of youthful innocence, this figure is produced and regulated through the often invisible yet pervasive mechanisms known as "black school rules" *[burakku kōsoku]*. These formal and informal codes govern not only the appearance but also the behavior and subjectivity of schoolgirls, embedding them within a rigid framework of traditional femininity defined by modesty, obedience, and conformity. Rather than a natural or fixed identity, the schoolgirl emerges as a performative role, continuously enacted through compliance with institutional expectations that shape both self and social recognition.

Applying Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity, this study situates Japanese schools as critical sites where gendered subjectivities are constructed and disciplined. Black school rules serve as instruments of this process, operating as both explicit policies and implicit norms that reinforce culturally specific ideals of femininity. Complementing this perspective, Hofstede's cultural dimensions offer a lens to understand how broader Japanese societal values sustain and legitimize these strict gender norms within educational settings. The school environment thereby becomes a microcosm reflecting and perpetuating the social order, embedding hierarchical and gendered expectations into daily student life.

However, within this regulatory framework, schoolgirls do not simply internalize these norms; they actively negotiate and sometimes resist them. This resistance is most visibly embodied in the *kogyaru* subculture—a group of high school girls who subvert conventional gender norms through bold fashion choices, altered uniforms, and assertive social behaviors. The *kogyaru's* existence challenges the neat binaries of obedience versus rebellion, illustrating the fluidity and multiplicity of gendered identities. Their post-feminist self-expression offers a subtle but significant critique of institutional control, revealing how agency persists even under stringent social constraints.

Methodologically, the research employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to dissect the language and practices embedded in both official school regulations and broader media discourse. Through qualitative analysis of diverse sources—including school policy documents,

news coverage, surveys, and reports—this study traces how normative femininity is constructed, enforced, and occasionally contested. The triangulation of Butler's performativity theory, Hofstede's cultural model, and CDA facilitates a nuanced understanding of how institutional power, cultural ideology, and individual agency intersect within the gendered socialization processes of Japanese schools.

By revealing the ideological undercurrents of black school rules and the complex dynamics of compliance and resistance, this work contributes to a deeper comprehension of how gender identities are produced and challenged within the Japanese educational system. It underscores the tensions between cultural tradition and evolving social realities, positioning the schoolgirl not merely as a disciplinary subject but as an active participant in the ongoing negotiation of femininity and agency in contemporary Japan.

A Japanese schoolgirl in uniform.

Table of Contents

Preface

This thesis is inspired by Ema Yamazaki's 2024 documentary The Making of a Japanese, which follows a school year at a public elementary school in Tokyo. In her powerful conclusion, Yamazaki observes: "Six-year-olds are the same everywhere in the world, but by the time they reach 12 years old, children in Japan have become 'Japanese'" (The Making of a Japanese Official Website, 2024). The film's Japanese title, Elementary School—A Small Society, captures the school as both a product and a reflection of broader societal values.

Yamazaki's documentary invites a critical examination of how educational institutions actively shape cultural identities and social norms. This thesis extends that insight by focusing specifically on the production of gendered subjectivities—how schools not only "make" Japanese individuals but also produce the idealized figure of the Japanese schoolgirl through uniforms, behavioral codes, and disciplinary practices. The research presented here echoes and builds on the documentary's core argument, examining the gendered dimensions of conformity and resistance within the school setting.

1. Introduction

The Japanese schoolgirl—dressed in a sailor-style uniform, pleated skirt, and knee-high socks—occupies a complex space in the national imagination. She is at once a cultural icon, a commercial genre, a consumer, and the consumed. For many Japanese women, the period of being a schoolgirl represents a prime stage of life: unfettered by work, marriage, and children—young and relatively free (Ashcraft and Ueda, 2014). This figure, marked by youthful innocence and aesthetic charm, is paradoxically admired and objectified. In Japanese subcultural media, she is eroticized and commodified—simultaneously the subject of innocent nostalgia and adult male fantasy. In the West, she is filtered through the hypersexualized lens of the "Oriental Lolita," reinforcing racialized and gendered fetishizations of young Asian girls.

What emerges is not merely a cultural symbol, but a paradox: the Japanese schoolgirl is both empowered and constrained, visible and voiceless, real and imaginary. This thesis examines that paradox by focusing on *burakku kōsoku*[1] (from here on referred to as the black school rule)—strict, often exploitative regulations governing student conduct. These rules, both written and unwritten, play a crucial role in shaping the gendered subjectivity of schoolgirls. So much so that students claim school rules to be stricter than law[2]—a sentiment that may not be far from the truth, particularly in Japan, where great pride is held in tradition and unity (Girl Scouts of Japan, 2024).

By approaching this schoolgirl as a cultural construct distinct from the lived experience of actual students, this study positions the school as a key site that practices gender socialization through paternal rules. This analytical distinction allows for a deeper interrogation of how disciplinary practices regulate femininity and reproduce social norms in the context of Japan. Although the iconic schoolgirl is typically associated with adolescence (or junior/high school

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[1] The term *burakku kōsoku* translates as "black school rules"—referring to unwritten or explicit rules in Japanese schools that regulate student behavior harshly, sometimes criticized for violating students' rights (Harada, 2022). "Black" comes from the toxic, exploitative environments of Japanese companies, referred to as "back company" [*burakku kigyo*].

[2] The phrase 'school rules are stricter than law' is a direct quote from a respondent in the 2024 Girl Scouts of Japan survey on school regulations. This statement, while individual, reflects a common perception among students and serves to highlight the pervasive influence and rigidity of school disciplinary practices in Japan.

students where uniforms are strictly enforced), this research compiles a well rounded list that includes rules and voices from elementary level students who are equally situated within the broader discursive framework of girls' positioning in society.

While there is substantial literature on Japanese schoolgirl culture and black school rules individually, few studies explore the dialectical relation of the two. Drawing from gender studies, particularly from works on the hidden curriculum and gender socialization, this thesis examines how school regulations—explicit and implicit—govern not just behavior, but identity. By separating the existing schoolgirl (as lived) from the ideological schoolgirl (as constructed), I argue that black school rules reinforce a toxic gap between the two identities.

In this study, explicit rules refer to officially documented policies; implicit rules fall under the "hidden curriculum"—norms silently upheld and understood by both teachers and students. This study employs a qualitative methodology grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Judith Butler's theories on subjectivity to explore how Japanese schoolgirls are socialized into normative femininity. Through data collected from online databases, news articles, surveys, and reports, I identify black school rules that are gendered to reflect traditional Japanese femininity based on previous literature on schoolgirls. Despite the abundance of sources that cover the harm and toxicity of these black rules, few examine their deeper ideological and cultural implications. To further contextualize this framework, Hofstede's 6-D model of national culture is applied to interpret how cultural values underpin these regulatory practices. These combined tools—Butler's subject theory, Hofstede's cultural analysis, and CDA—help unpack underlying gender and cultural norms in the Japanese context.

I deliberately focus on Japanese schoolgirls, with an equal emphasis on 'Japanese', to investigate how cultural specificity shapes gender ideals camouflaged as school rules. The term 'schoolgirl' itself is not neutral—it is loaded with meanings that stretch across lived reality and fantasy. This research leads to a new finding of the *kogyaru*[3] (or *kogal*), a contrasting subculture to the ideal schoolgirl that is promoted by schools and rules. The term refer to high school girls

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[3]The term *kogyaru* (also rendered as "*kogal*" or "*kokogyaru*") refers to a subcultural category of Japanese high school girls known for their rebellious and hyper-stylized fashion, marked by tanned skin, dyed hair, short skirts, and heavy makeup. Sharon Kinsella describes them as "sexy, rebellious, and very cool" (Kinsella, 2002, p. 26), challenging traditional ideals of schoolgirl modesty.

who rebel against conventional ideas of fashion, language, and attitudes. Though often dismissed as frivolous or scandalous, *kogyaru*—marked by exaggerated makeup, altered uniforms, and an assertive attitude—offer subtle forms of defiance against conformity and the broader expectations of Japanese femininity. The *kogyaru* subculture was viewed as a post-feminist movement by sociologists and producers who supported the cause of resisting institutionalization (Kinsella, 2002). Through dress, demeanor, or silence, schoolgirls do not only internalize gender norms—they also negotiate, reinterpret, and at times subvert them. The *kogyaru* are schoolgirls too—a crucial point in examining how agency can emerge even under strict institutional control. The inclusion of this subgroup within the category of schoolgirls underscores the complex dynamics of agency operating within rigid institutional frameworks. Although this research did not initially foreground *kogyaru*, the analytical process revealed their critical role in shaping both school rules and the evolving identity of the schoolgirl.

The following chapters build on this framework: Chapter 2 reviews existing scholarship on Japanese school rules and their impact on shaping gendered student identities, highlighting how "black school rules" enforce conformity and regulate appearance, while also exploring student resistance through subcultures like sukeban and *kogyaru*. Chapter 3 introduces the theoretical framework, combining Hofstede's cultural dimensions with Judith Butler's theory of the subject, to explain how cultural values and performativity shape gender norms in schools. Chapter 4 details the qualitative methodology, centered on Critical Discourse Analysis, used to examine how school rules produce gendered subjectivity. Chapter 5 presents an in-depth analysis of school rules and student experiences regarding gender, heteronormativity, and sexuality, demonstrating how schools reinforce gender binaries and regulate femininity. Finally, Chapter 6 applies Hofstede's cultural dimensions to interpret the cultural values underlying these strict gender norms and explores the ongoing tension between conformity and schoolgirl resistance.

This study critically engages with key questions at the intersection of gender, culture, and institutional power in Japanese education: How do black school rules regulate and discipline femininity in Japanese schools; in what ways do schoolgirls conform to, resist, or reinterpret these rules; what cultural values sustain these regulations; and how does the figure of the schoolgirl exist between lived realities and cultural fantasies? By addressing these questions, this

thesis aims to illuminate the complex interplay between institutional power, cultural norms, and individual agency in the formation of gendered identities within Japan's educational system.

2. Literature Review

The academic conversation around Japanese school rules has re-emerged in recent years as a critical social issue that deals with human rights, sexual harassment, and diversity. Scholars and journalists have pointed to the ways in which these rules—many originating from the 1980s—continue to regulate students' bodies, behaviors, and identities in ways that often infringe upon their individuality, privacy, and freedom. Despite public outcry and increasing student activism, most schools have been slow to change. Research has shown that higher-ranking academic institutions have relaxed some of their rules while lower ranks tend to retain stricter, more detailed rulebooks, often justified as necessary for maintaining control, yet arguably reinforcing classed and gendered inequalities. Particular attention has been drawn to how these rules disproportionately target girls, including regulations on hair, skirt length, and even underwear color. Yet, little academic study has tied black school rules in understanding the Japanese schoolgirl—a figure that is both real and hyper-symbolic.

2.1 Japanese Education—Tokkatsu, Hidden curriculum, and Black School Rules

Japanese school education aims for a 'total child' through holistic education, and this is particularly seen with *Tokkatsu* (short for *tokubetsu katusudo)*, or special activities, unique to Japan. The Tokkatsu model, adopted in 1951, has sparked conversation in light the Japanese elementary school documentary, The Making of a Japanese (2024) [4] . As highlighted throughout the film, the Japanese educational model, particularly its holistic approach known as *tokkatsu* (special activities), has been praised and even adapted in countries such as Egypt. *Tokkatsu* encompasses non-academic school practices such as classroom duties (e.g., cleaning, lunch service, greeting), school-wide events (sports and cultural festivals), club participation, committee work, and student council activities. Scholars have identified these practices as part of the hidden curriculum, as they play a significant role in shaping students' social behaviors, values, and sense of responsibility beyond fixed curricula.

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[4] The Making of a Japanese (2024): Documentary by Ema Yamazaki that follows a year at a Japanese elementary school. One of the first documentaries to capture the inside of Japanese education, the life of students and teachers.

While tokkatsu is officially framed as a character-building, community-focused practice, it also operates as a gendered mechanism of socialization within the hidden curriculum. From a young age, children are expected to take on classroom roles—such as cleaning, serving lunch, greeting guests, and organizing school events—that are seemingly neutral but often infused with implicit gender expectations. For example, girls are frequently expected to take on nurturing or supportive roles, while boys tend to be assigned leadership or physical tasks. These gendered divisions may not be formally stated but are enforced through peer interaction, teacher guidance, and institutional norms—a clear example of the hidden curriculum shaping the "gendering" process (Henninger, 2017, p. 65).

In school, students cope with the "three facts of life" — "crowds, praise, and power" (Jackson, 1968, 33-34). Phillip Jackson was the first to dub what scholars refer to as the hidden curriculum today. What is regarded as a "hidden curriculum" is not necessarily the same across education literature. Some scholars have interpreted the hidden curriculum as a set of subtle "influences." Others define the hidnessness based on the degree of intentionality. Nonetheless, it is in fact the effort, whether intentional or unintentional, towards the outcome of beliefs, attitudes, values, or norms (Giroux and Purpel, 1983; Kelly, 2009). Table A1 (2009, 23) created by Yoko Ujihara on "Reconsidering the concept of hidden curriculum: from the perspective of gender studies" provides a visual illustration of how that may look—considering all levels of the hidden curriculum and its feasibility. The table presents a model of the hidden curriculum ranging from highly visible practices—such as uniforms and classroom behavior—to more implicit, systemic elements like institutional roles and teaching norms. She categorizes these practices by their visibility and the feasibility of change, emphasizing how both overt and covert school mechanisms shape student identity formation, including gendered expectations. The more hidden, then harder it is to identify and even more, change the circumstances. What the table ultimately brings to question is the ways a hidden curriculum can influence a child, positively and negatively (Ujihara, 2009)

Since the 1980s, research in Japan has examined the socialization of children's gender roles, identifying the issue of sexism in schools and classrooms as a form of hidden curriculum. These rules not only reinforce conformity in general, but also carry implicit gendered expectations about appearance and behavior, contributing to the "internalization of gender role

norms" [性役割規範の内面化]. What initially was studied by scholars as an internalization gradually shifted to "gendering" [ジェンダー化] where children were recognized to be engaging in the process rather than passive beings. This has enabled academics from sociology, pedagogy, and the social sciences to explore children and gender from new perspectives (Henninger, 2015, p. 65). In Henninger's study *How do Children Aged 8 and 9 Learn Gender and React to Gender Stereotypes? Fieldwork in Japanese Elementary Schools* (2015), she presents two key arguments for understanding children's gendering. First, by observing their environment, children come to understand social norms and make decisions based on these standards. In this sense, they do not passively internalize models of masculinity and femininity, but instead actively engage with and adapt these models. Second, since gender is diverse and constantly evolving, children's identities should be understood as fluid—they selectively adopt or reject gender roles and act as agents in their own processes of gendering. School, therefore, functions as a significant arena where children practice "doing gender." This perspective aligns closely with gender studies theory on gender performativity, which views gender as a social construct continuously enacted through behavior. Together, these insights support the view that schools, through their hidden curriculum, are crucial sites where gender norms are both reinforced and contested, playing a central role in children's gender identity formation and socialization.

Schools serve as critical sites where gender norms are both reinforced and negotiated through implicit and explicit rules. Central to this is the phenomenon of *black school rules*—a uniquely Japanese manifestation of excessive and often unreasonable regulations—that reveal how institutional control intersects with students' gendered socialization. Excessive and often unexplained or unreasonable, these rules govern students' appearance, behavior, and even off-campus activities. Strict regulations first emerged in the 1980s through the early 1990s, when a wave of school violence swept across junior high schools nationwide, resulting in what became known as the 'first school rule boom.' This study focuses on the 'second school rule boom,' a term coined by Harada, which refers to the current surge of interest and critique surrounding school regulations in Japan (Harada, 2022, 26). One of the key incidents to strike the second boom was when a female high school student sued the Osaka prefecture for illegally forcing her to dye her natural hair black. Such rules reflect a broader power dynamic, where students are expected to conform to tradition without question. Harada defines black school rules as: (1) Not only written, but also unwritten rules; (2) rules themselves, but also teaching practices; and (3) rules perceived

as unreasonable by students and guardians (27). These issues are not solely the result of decisions made by educational authorities, but are also deeply shaped by broader societal pressures—particularly those related to gender (36). Within this context, the figure of the schoolgirl emerges as a powerful symbol—one that is simultaneously lived, regulated, idealized, and commodified.

2.2 Schoolgirl Fashion, Fascination, and Fetishization

Peeping into a bath scene or flipping a skirt up—these are common tropes of Japan's most beloved children's anime, *Doraemon*. Shizuka, ten years old, is the only girl of the five main characters, and is repeatedly sexualized by the boys and equally, if not more by the audience. Like her, young girls are often pictured for the male gaze. This type of sexualization of minors in any form of media—whether anime or drama—is troubling, especially when it is normalized as 'fan service' or treated as comedic tropes. This example shares a broader cultural phenomenon surrounding the idea of young girls through this gaze, who are often commodified.

This contemporary image is anchored in the *shōjo*[5] [young girl] archetype—a figure traditionally portrayed as gentle, modest, and essentially pre-women. *Shōjo* on one hand is a commercial genre for the female audience, and on the other hand a character type as the "cute adolescent girl" (Berndt, Nagaike, & Ogi, 2019). However, it does not signify an actual 'young girl'; rather, it is best understood as "a crafted concept" (1). This is foundational to the study of schoolgirls, as this research illustrates the ways they too are a creation in ways. As Kinsella (2002) demonstrates, schoolgirls function not only as a significant consumer but also as a consumed symbol—the figure driving both economic markets and cultural fantasies (229).

The schoolgirl is a highly visible and contested icon in media, advertising, and everyday culture. It is not uncommon to see schoolgirl imagery daily, particularly in Japanese media. The framing of girls and women into a series of gendered labels is nothing new: JK (*joshikōsei* / high school girl), JD (*joshidaisei* / university girl), *kogyaru*/*gyaru*, and OL (office lady) each

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[5] *Shōjo* as a genre is amongst the most popular category within manga and anime that aims for a girl's manga, often focusing on relationships and love (Ashcraft and Ueda, 2014).

designate specific aesthetics and behavioral scripts (Ogi, 2009). These roles map gender across the life course, simultaneously constructing and constraining how femininity is performed and perceived. Of these, the schoolgirl is often viewed as being in her "prime time"—situated between childhood and adulthood. She is seen as emotionally immature, yet physically developing—a liminal figure charged with symbolic meaning.

Rebellious schoolgirls

Yet, the real schoolgirl has never represented innocence or conformity alone. She has also served as a figure of disruption. During the 1960s and 70s, sukeban (girl gang leaders) challenged the docile image of the *shōjo*. Their resistance was expressed through uniform modifications—longer skirts, sneakers instead of standard shoes, and a cultivated toughness that defied normative femininity. Ashcraft and Ueda (2014) note that these seemingly minor acts of rebellion subverted the conformity expected of girls, imbuing the schoolgirl with an air of danger (p. 18). This early resistance laid the groundwork for later subcultural styles—particularly the emergence of *kogyaru* fashion in the 1990s, which further destabilized gender norms through exaggerated makeup, bleached hair, and hyper-feminized, sexualized school uniforms.

Notably, these forms of rebellion emerged from within the very systems of control they resisted, rendering the schoolgirl a contradictory figure—simultaneously subjected to and resisting power. Despite, or perhaps because of, her centrality in girl-centered media, she has remained a focal point within male-dominated subcultures. As Kinsella (2013) notes, schoolgirls feature prominently in *technosexual* subcultures such as *otaku*, *lolicon*, and *moe*, where they are fetishized as objects of both innocence and desire (p. 8). In this context, the schoolgirl becomes a paradoxical symbol: infantilized, eroticized, sanitized, and sensationalized—an image that circulates globally as a distinctly Japanese export.

Central to this symbolic economy is the school uniform, for all the types of school girls. Far from being a neutral garment, it functions as a wearable marker of youth, discipline, and desirability. While many schools have moved away from the traditional sailor uniform to more gender-neutral blazers, the symbolic charge of the uniform endures. Ashcraft and Ueda (2014) describe the uniform as something constantly reworked "in the space between school rules and breaking them" (p. 22). Girls may even choose schools based on the perceived *kawaii*-ness

[cuteness] of the uniform, and media competitions ranking uniforms further illustrate their circulation as aesthetic and cultural commodities. The uniform is the key signifier to identify what type of school girl one is.

The emergence of the *kogyaru* in the mid-1990s was especially pivotal in transforming school girl fashion into a mode of both rebellion and self-expression. Merging *kōkōsei* [high school student] and *gyaru*[6], the term defined a new archetype: one that embraced ultra-short skirts, platform shoes, bleached hair, and iconic loose socks. As Kinsella (2002, p. 230) argues, this exaggerated aesthetic signaled "ironic retro materialism"—a knowing mimicry of the uniforms seen in schoolgirl pornography, which in turn highlighted the power of appropriation in resisting objectification. These girls were not just reacting to societal norms; they were crafting new cultural expressions—what some described as a "high school girl movement" [*joshi kōsei undō*]—a grassroots form of post-feminist expression forged on the streets (Kinsella, 2002, p. 233).

Institutional responses were swift and often punitive: school administrations enforced bans, conducted inspections, and even posted teachers near train stations to monitor student dress code (Kinsella, 2002, pp. 21–22). Ironically, such attempts to suppress *kogyaru* fashion only heightened its allure. Loose socks, once an innocuous trend, became a potent symbol of fashionable defiance and sexual provocation (Ashcraft & Ueda, p. 26). As compensated dating [*enjo kōsai*[7]] scandals began to circulate in the media, these fashion choices were increasingly viewed through a moralizing lens—casting rebellious girls as both victims and provocateurs of male desire. This tension sparked public anxiety. Scholars such as Uema (2002) and Kinsella (2002) observed how *kogyaru* were framed as morally suspect—deviants disrupting the social order. Media discourse often conflated their self-stylization with prostitution, obscuring the cultural agency of these girls in favor of pathologizing their sexuality. Despite such

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[6] *Gyaru* (ギャル), derived from the English word gal, refers to a broad Japanese subculture characterized by flashy fashion, heavy makeup, dyed hair, and a rebellious attitude toward traditional norms. While *gyaru* includes various subtypes, *kogyaru* (コギャル)—short for *kōkōsei gyaru* or "high school gal"—specifically refers to schoolgirls who adopt a stylized uniform look, often with shortened skirts, loose socks, and tanned skin (Kinsella, 2002).
[7] *Enjo kōsai* (援助交際), often translated as "compensated dating," refers to a phenomenon that emerged prominently in 1990s Japan, involving junior high or high school girls who engage in social activities—such as dining, karaoke, or just spending time together—with older men in exchange for money or gifts. While not always involving sexual acts, the practice is frequently associated with transactional intimacy and has sparked widespread moral and media concern about youth sexuality and exploitation (Kinsella, 2002).

stigmatization, *kogyaru* style has had a lasting influence, fundamentally altering what was considered fashionable, desirable, or deviant in schoolgirl representation. Today, the figure of the schoolgirl—especially in uniform—continues to carry symbolic weight within and beyond Japan. She embodies enduring tensions: between regulation and rebellion, innocence and eroticism, institutional discipline and self expression.

3. Theory

3.1 Hofstede's 6D Model in a nutshell

Hofstede's 6D model of national culture provides a useful framework for analyzing how cultural values are reflected in institutional practices. In Japan, a country with deeply embedded collectivist values, group harmony [*wa*] is emphasized over individual desires (Hofstede, 2011). This often manifests in the duality of *tatemae* [public façade] and *honne* [true feelings], which helps maintain social cohesion by encouraging individuals to conform outwardly, even when their private sentiments diverge. This dynamic echoes the performative duality of the schoolgirl as suggested in the literature. Within this context, institutions like schools are not just sites of education but also spaces where cultural norms are reproduced and internalized.

Geert Hofstede's 6-D model of national culture—Power Distance, Individualism vs. Collectivism, Masculinity vs. Femininity, Uncertainty Avoidance, Long-Term Orientation, and Indulgence vs. Restraint—offer insights into how broader cultural values shape societal practices (Hofstede, 2011). Based on the model, Japan's cultural profile shows high scores (see Bar Chart A2) in Masculinity (95), Uncertainty Avoidance (92), and Long-Term Orientation (88), which indicate a society characterized by rigid gender roles, a strong preference for order and predictability, and a forward-looking focus on discipline and perseverance.

The high Masculinity score underscores Japan's emphasis on traditional gender roles and success through competition. This cultural trait is evident in schools where expectations around behavior and appearance are often differentiated by gender. Similarly, the elevated Uncertainty Avoidance reflects a cultural discomfort with ambiguity and a preference for clear rules and structured environments—explaining, in part, the strict enforcement of uniform policies and the broader black school rules. These unofficial yet widespread regulations tightly control students' appearances, from hair color to skirt length, ostensibly for the sake of discipline but also as a means of conforming to entrenched tradition.

Moderate scores in Power Distance (54) and Individualism (46) further inform the Japanese school context. While hierarchy is respected—evident in teacher-student dynamics—there is also a strong undercurrent of collectivism. Japan's power distance lies between student- and teacher-centered education, and this balance is reflected in the everyday rituals of school life. Students are expected to follow authority but also participate in group duties such as cleaning and peer discipline. The score of 54 in Power Distance places it close to the middle of the scale, suggesting a society that acknowledges hierarchical order but still expects some degree of approachability and consultation from authority figures. In contrast to high Power Distance cultures like Malaysia (100) or the Philippines (94), Japan's moderate score means teachers are respected but not unquestionable, and students are socialized into following rules while also being expected to take personal responsibility. Similarly, Japan's Individualism score of 46 puts it near the middle, but leaning slightly toward collectivism. Here, and for all, it is critical to address that the 6D model is only meaningful in relation to other countries. When Japan is described as "collectivist," it's relative to countries like the U.S. (91), UK (89), or Australia (90), which are highly individualist. Therefore, these nuances are key to analyzing systems like *black school rules*—rules that reflect collective discipline, enforced within moderately hierarchical structures where social conformity is expected, yet not entirely unchallengeable (see table A3 for Country Comparison using the 6D Model).

Japanese students, through the Tokkatsu model, are socialized early through practices like *shūdan seikatsu* [group living], which encourages prioritizing group goals over individual expression (Peach, 1994). In this context, schools function not only as educational institutions but also as sites of cultural socialization—training grounds for producing ideal citizens who regulate their emotions, behavior, and appearance in alignment with societal expectations. Viewed through Hofstede's cultural dimensions, school rules are not simply arbitrary or disciplinary; they operate as cultural mechanisms that reinforce deeply embedded social norms, particularly those surrounding gender. These regulations help shape students into disciplined, gendered subjects attuned to group harmony, so no one sticks out. This paper uses Hofstede's model as a theoretical framework to analyze *black school rules*—controversial regulations that extend beyond discipline to govern gender expression and bodily presentation. It argues that such

rules reflect a broader cultural logic of conformity and predictability, revealing how institutions manage bodies in the service of national identity and social cohesion.

3.2 'Subject' According to Butler

Since Kant and Hegel, and later Judith Butler, the concept of the "subject" has evolved from that of a rational, autonomous agent to one constituted through discourse and social regulation. Kant envisioned the subject as a morally responsible individual, guided by universal reason. Hegel challenged this by emphasizing the intersubjective and socially embedded nature of self-consciousness. Butler, drawing from Foucault and poststructuralist thought, further reconfigures the subject not as a stable core but as a product of power relations—one who is both acted upon and capable of action. They introduce the concept of subjection to describe this paradoxical process, where power not only constraints but also enables subjectivity. As Butler writes: "Power is not simply what we oppose but also… what we depend on for our existence" (Butler, 1997, 2). This is a powerful statement that stresses the theory that mastery and submission, as they argued, occur simultaneously.

This paradox means that, while schoolgirls are compelled to conform to institutionalized femininity, the very act of mastering these gendered performances also constitutes their subjectivity. Submission and mastery coexist; through repeated performance of gender norms, individuals both comply with and enact the power structures that define intelligible femininity. However, this process is not purely deterministic—gender performance also holds potential for agency, allowing subjects to negotiate, reinterpret, or even resist normative expectations. In other words, schoolgirls may not only internalize dominant femininities but also subtly subvert them, whether through stylized acts, peer interactions, or silent refusals. This is a key component to making visible the norms embedded in such rules, but also to examine how real schoolgirls adapt or challenge them.

What Butler refers to as "the subject" aligns with what other scholars call subject positioning—the process through which individuals are hailed into socially intelligible roles. In this view, gender is not an inner truth but a performative act, one that constitutes the subject

through repetition within normative frameworks. The doing of gender and understanding it as a social construct that is performed is crucial in gender studies. This view is particularly relevant in analyzing education , where schoolgirls are subjected to explicit rule enforcement and hidden curricula that prescribe compliant femininity. These positions are not merely descriptive but prescriptive, shaping which gender performances are recognized as intelligible or marginalized as deviant.

Butler's genealogical method, influenced by Michel Foucault, traces how gender has been constructed and naturalized, challenging the binary system as a patriarchal, heteronormative construct. Their concept of "materialization" explains how bodies are socially produced, blurring the lines between physical bodies and cultural expectations (Reddy & Butler, 2004, p. 118). In the context of education, materialization can be seen in school uniforms, appearance regulations, and embodied conduct, which inscribe femininity onto the schoolgirl's body. Educational institutions, as sites of discourse and power, play a critical role in reproducing these gender norms through both visible rules and subtle socialization processes. Applying Butler's framework allows for a nuanced analysis of how schoolgirls are positioned within, and sometimes negotiate, the regulatory gender norms embedded in educational settings. Their work is central to this study not only for its reconceptualization of gender and subjectivity, but also for its critical lens on how power and norms are enacted through everyday practices—making it highly applicable to the educational settings under analysis.

4. Method

4.1 Research Approach

This research is designed to answer the core question: *How do black school rules shape the gendered subjectivity of Japanese schoolgirls?* The method is guided by the assumption that gender is not an inherent biological trait but a social construct shaped through cultural, institutional, and discursive practices.

The study employs a qualitative research design rooted in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which enables an in-depth exploration of the language and structures embedded in both formal written rules and informal social practices within schools. CDA's focus on language as a site where power relations and social norms are produced and challenged aligns well with the goal of uncovering how school regulations contribute to shaping normative femininity for girls in Japan.

Drawing from Butler's theory of the 'subject'—conceptualized here as 'subject positioning' or 'subjection'—the study assumes that language and institutional texts, such as the school rules, are active forces in creating and sustaining gender norms. This perspective motivates a critical examination of how so-called "black school rules" influence the ways Japanese schoolgirls are positioned as gendered subjects within societal expectations.

The study employs a qualitative research design rooted in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which enables an in-depth exploration of the language and structures embedded in both formal written rules and informal social practices within schools. CDA's focus on language as a site where power relations and social norms are produced and challenged aligns well with the goal of uncovering how school regulations contribute to shaping normative femininity for girls in Japan.

Complementing this, Hofstede's cultural dimensions model serves as an interpretive framework to situate these gendered norms within broader Japanese cultural ethos. Together, these approaches allow for a nuanced, interdisciplinary understanding of how school rules

contribute to the socialization of schoolgirls, bridging micro-level discourse with macro-level cultural patterns.

4.2 Research Design and Theoretical Framework

The core analytical tool is Critical Discourse Analysis, as articulated by Norman Fairclough (2013), which operates on three principles:

- Relational: Emphasizes the complex social relationships involved in discourse, highlighting interactions among individuals, institutions, and power structures.

- Dialectical: Recognizes discourse as dynamic and interconnected with social, political, and cultural forces, influencing and being influenced by them.

- Transdisciplinary: Draws from diverse disciplines and theories to link language with societal power relations and cultural norms.

This framework reveals how discourse around black school rules not only reflect but actively shape gendered expectations and identities, ultimately reinforcing the schoolgirl template. In this study, CDA is applied to analyze how official and unofficial school regulations construct the subjectivity of Japanese schoolgirls, reinforcing or contesting dominant notions of femininity. The final dataset comprises both formal written school rules and unwritten social practices of the hidden curricula, analyzed through the lenses of subject formation and cultural norms (For the full dataset, see Table C1 for written rules, and C2 for unwritten rules). The following section on data collection compiles both written and unwritten rules across various sources. Many of which offer insight for both, therefore the sources are categorized based on the main outtakes that were used in the final dataset I compiled.

Data Collection

1) **Written School Rules**

   The two main sources used to compile the list of black school rules are:

● **School Rules Database (Ueyama, 2024):** This comprehensive database contains official school regulations from 596 schools (249 middle schools and 347 high schools) across Chiba, Tokyo, and Kanagawa prefecture. The database categorizes 163 "black rules" under themes such as Clothing, Accessories, Hair, Makeup, Transportation, Off-campus Activities, and Others. This extensive collection provides direct access to the exact wording of school rules as published by each school, enabling detailed linguistic and thematic analysis.

● **Studyplus—School Rule Awareness Survey (2023):** Conducted by the Study Plus Trend Research Institute, this nationwide survey gathered responses from 5,697 middle and high school students (74% female, 22% male, 4% other) and 209 high school teachers. It not only measured awareness of school rules but also documented emotional responses and perceptions, offering valuable insight into how these rules impact students' lived experiences. The predominance of female respondents makes this particularly relevant for understanding gendered effects of school policies.

   Together, these sources provide a robust foundation for analyzing both the explicit regulatory content and the subjective experiences related to black school rules. While the database offers a formal institutional perspective, the survey captures the voices of those most affected, especially female students.

2) **Unwritten Rules and Hidden Curriculum**

   To capture the informal, unwritten rules implemented through models like Tokkatsu and the hidden curriculum, I collected data from:

- Girl Scouts of Japan Gender Survey Reports: *The 2023 Survey Report on Gender Among Junior and Senior High School Girls* and the *Survey on Gender Among High School Girls 2020—Connecting Voices* provide insights into Japanese schoolgirls' experiences of gender expectations beyond official rules, highlighting hidden curricula and the social pressures they encounter in school (2021 and 2024).
- Black School Rules Database (2018): An online repository documenting controversial school rules across various school levels in Japan, supplemented by testimonies regarding their enforcement and impact. This user-driven platform allows searches by region, school type (elementary, junior high, high school), and category (e.g., uniforms, hairstyles, makeup, relationships).

While these sources provide valuable perspectives on unofficial gender socialization, the data are based on publicly available materials and may not comprehensively represent all school districts or student experiences across Japan. This methodological framework allows for a layered analysis of how written and unwritten school rules shape Japanese schoolgirls' identities, providing a critical lens on the intersection of language, culture, and gender norms within educational settings. It is important to acknowledge that these sources may not fully capture the consistency or variability of rule enforcement across schools in Japan, and that surveys reply on self-reported perceptions, which may differ from actual practices. Regardless, the analytical framework allowed trends and patterns of rules to become evident.

4.3 Analytical Framework—Methods of Data Analysis

The analysis of this study's data was guided by a thematic categorization method aligned with CDA principles, focusing on how language and institutional practices construct gendered subjectivities, specifically how it reflected the schoolgirl idea. Thematic categorization was appropriate because it allows identification of patterns and meanings across diverse data sources, revealing how disciplinary mechanisms embedded in school rules shape femininity.

Step 1: Data Preparation and Translation

All original data—comprising written school rules and testimonies regarding unwritten norms—were in Japanese. To facilitate analysis, I translated these texts into English using a

combination of DeepL Translate, OpenAI's ChatGPT, and my own Japanese language proficiency. This dual method aimed to preserve the original nuance and meaning while ensuring clarity and accessibility for a broader academic audience.

Step 2: Thematic Framework Development

To organize and interpret the data, I developed a thematic framework grounded in Judith Butler's theory of gender and subject formation. For the written rules, the framework draws directly from the categorical structure used in the *Black School Rules Database* (2018), which includes: Clothing, Accessories, Hair, Makeup, Transportation, Off-campus Activities, and Others. These categories served as the foundation for examining how formal regulations contribute to the production of normative femininity and the construction of the schoolgirl archetype. For unwritten rules, I sorted them across two main categories: Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics, Spatial Arrangements & Division, and Aesthetic Expectations & Presentation. Themes were inductively derived from testimonies and survey data, allowing analysis of the hidden curricula and informal disciplinary practices that shape students' gendered experiences in school settings.

Step 3: Categorization

Using the thematic framework, I systematically coded the dataset of the black school rules. The process involved close reading, identifying recurring patterns, and interpreting how these reflect and reinforce broader cultural expectations and disciplinary mechanisms. This led the research to expose the key elements to answer the research question of how schoolgirls are made: by Uniform (traditional femininity), Beauty (naturality), and Desire (binary and heteronormativity).

Thematic categorization combined with CDA principles was well-suited for this study because it facilitates an in-depth exploration of how discourse surrounding school rules operates as a social and cultural practice. The method accommodates both formal institutional texts and informal social practices, allowing a layered understanding of gender norm construction. This approach aligns closely with the study's theoretical assumptions about gender as a social construct and the role of language and institutional practices in subject formation.

5. Analysis

What makes a schoolgirl, a schoolgirl? What is considered appropriate and of age to the eye of the society? This analysis investigates how written and unwritten school rules construct and regulate the idealized figure of the Japanese schoolgirl. Drawing from CDA, I examine how institutional discourses embedded in dress codes, behavior norms, and hidden curricula such as Tokkatsu (特別活動)—reproduce normative femininity. Using Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity, I analyze how repeated regulatory acts contribute to the normalization of gendered expectations. Based on the list of rules I compiled, this section demonstrates how these discourses materialize a specific vision of the schoolgirl, disciplined through routine, visibility, and concealment.

The dataset includes formal school handbooks from databases, surveys, and media reports. From these materials, three dominant themes emerged: uniform, beauty, and desire—each illustrating how the boundaries of acceptable femininity are constructed, reinforced, and policed under the school authority. Across these themes, the figure of the *kogyaru*—a fashion-oriented subculture that emerged in opposition to institutional femininity—serves as a recurring point of tension and implicit contrast. While school rules never mention the *kogyaru* directly, they symbolically oppose it by regulating the very elements that have historically defined the subculture: conspicuous fashion, makeup, dyed hair, and defiant self-presentation. In this way, school rules articulate and uphold an imaginary figure of the ideal schoolgirl, one who is modest, natural, and obedient—defined not only by what she is, but by what she must not become. The following themes reveal, reflect, and reinforce the ideal schoolgirl: Theme 1—Uniform, but Not Kogyaru; Theme 2—Natural Beauty; Theme 3—Desire and Heteronormativity.

5.1 Theme 1: Uniform, but not *Kogyaru*

There is little room for preference when it comes to uniforms. Majority of schools continue to imply girls with skirts and boys with pants, each carrying a list of the proper way they should be coming in and out of school. The language stated in rules books presuppose that girls' bodies inherently require surveillance and concealment to maintain "appropriateness." Skirt length, designated socks, bows/scarfs, tights, leggings, and even designation of undergarment color. Yet these rules rarely offer explanations. Instead, they normalize surveillance, reinforcing a logic where girls must constantly manage their bodies to avoid impropriety.

SKIRTS—Regulations targeting skirt length, skin visibility, and appropriate clothing overwhelmingly target female students. Lexical patterns in school rulebooks and verbal communication by teachers followed closely along the lines of girls "...must/should" "...skin should not be visible," and "skirts should not be too short." This signals a discourse in which the female body must be both visibly feminine and carefully controlled by those in power. Rules often prescribe precise measurements for the skirts to fall "20 cm below the knee" or long enough to "hide the knee," always paired with "caution that it is not too short". Implying that the body is inherently dangerous or disruptive and must be contained—specially short skirts. The black school rules around skirts had the clearest, most detailed explanation of all written rules. Notably, many of them explicitly described the rules as "girl's skirts…" assuming the uniform is worn by female students.

LOOSE SOCKS—unique to the Japanese rule books, you will see that 'loose socks' are on the list in almost all schools. In hand, the socks are expected to be a certain color, designated for its 'neutrality' and style. The typical school accepts white, black, dark blue, and/or grey and clearly states that "loose socks are prohibited". Loose socks are one of the "specifically shaped socks" that are not allowed alongside sneaker socks and ankle socks. Similar to undergarments, no patterns are permitted, and some sock rules also aim at girls only with example statements like "girl's loose socks are not allowed". In recent years, some schools have also started to ban the iconic knee-high socks, and the list continues to grow.

Stockings, tights, and leggings—where permitted—are typically restricted to plain black and often only allowed during the colder seasons. The language surrounding these garments is

also revealing: rules often state that "skin should not be visible through" or that students' "skin should not show/see-through" the clothing, no matter the clothing item. The association of these pieces with female students solidifies the assumption that these materials are girl-specific. Additionally, the tone suggests a visual and behavioral code of modesty and restraint.

UNDERGARMENT—Discipline thus extends beneath the uniform, policing even the parts not visible—like underwear and bras. The emphasis on hiding, containment, and subtlety reinforces a cultural narrative in which girls' bodies are always already at risk of being inappropriate or excessive if not controlled. In extreme yet common cases, schools carry out inspections to check undergarments—a tradition concerned by students and families as violations of bodily autonomy. Rule books state that undergarments should not be "seeping through the shirt" "flashy" "colorful" or "standing out". Most schools give designated colors that are acceptable—white, black, grey, or beige. They are required to be "plain" in color and never to be seen. Undergarments for the female body in Japan can mean both the lingerie and the inner shirt. Nonetheless, students' undergarments are typically covered by a shirt, vest, cardigan, and/or blazer.

"I think specifying the color of private areas not visible to others is sexual harassment and a violation of children's human rights," a parent stated in one article (Yomiuri Shimbun, 2020). It also highlighted how some parents fear that the very existence of such rules creates the potential for invasive inspections and even sexual abuse. In fact, such inspections are widespread: like Fukuoka Prefecture, 80% of public schools have color-specific undergarment rules. Conducting clothing checks is not uncommon—another article reports that students of all genders were lined up in the hallway, their shirts opened to inspect undergarments. Under the law, such actions could be classified as sexual harassment or even criminal offenses—yet within school contexts, they are justified. There are no clear criteria by which schools are instructed to conduct inspections, and these decisions are typically left to the discretion of school nurses, individual teachers, or even principals (Yomiuri Shimbun, 2020).

Due to this, there is a wide spread of schools that conduct inspections—making sure no student violates the undergarment rule. One article gives a glimpse into what this looks like. Students claim they were forced to remove non-compliant underwear at school, lined up in

hallways and made to lift their shirts for inspection, and having underwear colors checked where all the students were present (Yomiuri Shimbun, 2020).

Changing in Classrooms

In many schools, students are expected to change into their PE clothes in the same classroom, regardless of gender. Some girls opt to change in bathrooms or hallways to avoid undressing/dressing around male classmates. Various news articles have repeatedly identified this mixed-gender changing as a black school rule that violates students' bodily rights. Despite the Ministry of Education (or MEXT) addressing this issue as early as 2005 in its Second Basic Plan for Gender Equality, little has changed (Kunizaki, 2023). The report noted "there is a risk that students feel embarrassed or uncomfortable," yet the practice continues. In elementary schools, towels designed to cover the body while changing are common, especially for younger students, but recent reports show concern that middle school students are also being made to change in shared spaces today . The most common excuse by school authority is the lack of available changing rooms, which fails to acknowledge the seriousness of the issue (Tabuchi, 2022).

There is a clear paradox: while school rules insist that undergarments be kept hidden, these same undergarments are routinely exposed during mixed-gender changing sessions and inspections conducted by school staff. Such intrusive health checks and the lack of privacy in changing areas can cause discomfort, violate personal boundaries, and increase students' vulnerability. Many parents and students have expressed ongoing concerns about undergarment regulations. According to MEXT, no legal mandates govern school rules or undergarment inspections; instead, principals and teachers hold the authority to make these decisions.

Kogyaru

A notable finding is that, like the traditional schoolgirl, the uniform also serves as a marker for the *kogyaru* girls. Amongst the rigid black school rules governing uniforms, the real schoolgirls exist in between following and breaking those rules (Ashcraft & Ueda, 22). The

ever-so-detailed list of uniform regulations can be argued to have sparked by the rise of *kogyaru* fashion. The emergence of this subculture in the 1990s symbolizes rebellion—with shortened skirts, loose socks, and a peep of lingerie that marked a refusal to conform to traditional femininity and school/societal expectations (Uema, 2002). The same elements that are prohibited in current school rule books. These modifications directly challenge the school's authority over the body, while still operating within the schoolgirl aesthetic by wearing the same uniform, just altered. *Kogyaru* quickly became the new cool, with "scanty hemlines" that made "parents and teacher gasp" (ashcraft and ueda, 21). Aspiring girls began to be spotted at train stations where they would change from their school-regulated knee-high socks into loose socks to meet friends after school (Ashcraft & Ueda, 28). Many continue to tip-toe the fine line between the *kogyaru* style and traditional femininity expected of the schoolgirl today.

Butler on Uniforms

Drawing from Butler's theory of gender performativity, these uniform rules function to enforce repeated acts that materialize the schoolgirl identity. Since the school mandates these rules, girls have little choice but to comply, making the repetition of these behaviors inevitable. Through this repetition, the uniform—and the rules surrounding it—become inseparable from what it means to be a schoolgirl. Based on their concept of mastery and submission, the schoolgirls are subject to both adapt and challenge such rules, and this can be seen by the *kogyaru's* resistance. Within this framework, appropriate attire becomes about absence—not too much skin, not too much color, not too much individuality. The limited range of acceptable choices erases personal preference: you may choose between three colors of undergarments, but knees must always be covered. You may wear black tights, but only when it is cold enough. The feminine body is rendered visible only on institutional terms. These regulations rarely provide justifications—which further identify them as black school rules—they simply dictate what must be worn, what must be covered, and by whom. This lack of explanation, combined with heavily gendered language, frames the body as a site of institutional control rather than personal expression. Applying the subject according to Butler, the Japanese school girls' are positioned within a network, in this case the school. It is natural for the subject to adapt to the practices followed by the majority. The identifiable markers, such as the uniform, act to not only unify the

student but, as Butler emphasizes, are depended on for their existence (Butler 1997, 2). Therefore, their argument that the power is not only there to press the subject from the outside, but made possible when the subject themselves adapt and preserve them as a form of belonging. Uniforms are a prime and visible example where subjections can be applied as a mutual dependency. The way the school rule books and hidden curriculum position these girls reveal the gender expression and performance expected of them—always modest and appropriate.

The absence of scrutiny toward male students' clothing or bodily presentation further reveals the deeply gendered nature of school uniform regulations. There is no equivalent surveillance of boys' bodies, highlighting an asymmetry in how gender is regulated and disciplined. School policies continue to invoke gendered language when justifying rules—implicitly assuming that girls will wear skirts, tights, and ribbons. These assumptions reinforce normative ideas about gender presentation and roles. Such practices exemplify Butler's concept of power in whole, which does not rely on overt force but operates through normalization, routine, and repetition. By embedding gender expectations into everyday rules, the institution quietly produces and maintains gendered subjects.

5.2 Theme 2: Natural Beauty

School authorities actively produce a particular kind of femininity—one that aligns closely with the shōjo [少女] ideal, or schoolgirl aesthetics. In Japanese media and society, the shōjo is a symbol of pure, innocent, and clean femininity. She is not yet a woman, and her desirability is often constructed through her naturalness and modesty. The second theme discusses the recurring language surrounding natural beauty as enforced by schools.

HAIR—Neutrality is heavily repeated throughout the list of rules that regulate how the hair should look. Students must present themselves as clean [*seiketsu*] and appropriate, as clearly stated in the handbooks. As critics have noted, black school rules are "black" for its rules that are often enforced without clear justification. Hair has its own category, compiling a often extensive list of "proper" and "appropriate for grade level" hair that is assumed to be black and straight. "Natural" black, straight hair is the standard expectation—for both the male and female

students—but what is considered "natural" is judged only through the lens of a traditional idea of Japanese beauty standards. It is safe to say that dyeing, bleaching, and perming of hair is prohibited in nearly all schools. In fact, almost half of Tokyo's high schools request "natural hair certificates" that require proof that the students' hair is real (Montgomery, Vice, 2021), even going as far as asking for childhood photos as evidence. The school works to machine generate the default Japanese student, and fails to be inclusive. It is one thing to regulate hair color, but it is another—or rather unreasonable, and often racist—to claim that a student's natural hair is "wrong." I want to point out the shadow behind these regulations. "No perms" does not mean no altering of the hair—it specifically means no curls or anything but straight. Straight perms are either explicitly permitted in the rules or simply go unquestioned due to the idea that black, straight hair is natural.

STYLE—In terms of hairstyles, there are also regulation examples that require girls to have bangs, rules on ponytail height, and restrictions around braids. On the other hand, we see phrases like boys "are prohibited from having long hair," "...not allowed to tie their hair," and some still continue the tradition that baseball boys shave their heads (Studyplus, 2023). These kinds of language make it clear who is being targeted. For schoolgirls, one of the most recent topics regarding hairstyles was the 'controversial' ponytail. In 2022, a sixteen year old female student questioned her teacher why the school banned ponytails. The teacher responded that "the nape of the neck may sexually arouse boys" (Minami-Nippon Shimbun, 2022). Not only does this language suggest that female students are subject to sexual gaze by the male students, but also that it depends on them and how they present themselves.

MAKEUP— There is a similar language used across the rules for appearance: nothing is allowed "for the purpose of fashion," and this includes makeup or anything that would "alter the face". Some schools just directly state "no makeup" while others list the use of tinted lip balms, eyelid glue (eye putti or glue for creating double eyelids), colored contacts, and so on to break the school rule. Again, neutrality is emphasized and the school decides what is appropriate for the students' age. Similar to the uniform, this paternalistic approach takes away the freedom of expression. The initial aims of these Japanese school rules are argued to avoid competition and maintain all students as equal. While makeup is prohibited up until high school, once a schoolgirl becomes a *shakaijin* [member of society], or a working adult, she is expected to wear makeup as

a manner ("Why is only makeup," 2023). This brings us back to the expectations of girls and women based on age and status.

Butler on Natural Beauty

Once again, there appears to be a pattern that creates an extensive list of what is not allowed for a good student. What brings to question is; for whom should the students be "clean" and "appropriate" for? Like the uniform, the appearance is regulated under the schoolgirl aesthetics that positions the *kogyaru* elements as inappropriate for their age and school setting. Any item or tool that alters the "natural" appearance, is hence "unnecessary". Which is ironic as natural hair is questioned if it is not straight and black. The *kogyaru* makeup is notorious for being bold and often dramatic compared to the Japanese beauty standards that praise the white, no-makeup makeup looks. Colored contacts, fake lashes, a tan, and tamed brows are the staple for the *kogyaru*. Equally important, the *kogyaru* rocks a bleached, voluminous curly hair.

There is nothing natural about beauty when it is so strictly regulated and even changed. The femininity that schools promote is scripted performance, as Butler would say, that fits into the broader narrative of schoolgirls. Authorities do their best to maintain this image of the ideal girl who should not be resembling a rebellious, abnormal *kogyaru*. One of the key problems are the use of phrases like "natural," "appropriate for age," or "not flashy but clean" that end up reinforcing the very expression Japan often lives by: "the nail that sticks out is hammered down" [*deru kui wa utareru*]. Femininity must not draw attention to itself, but rather, blend in with the rest.

Butler's concept of subjectification and performativity brings light on how girls are not born schoolgirls; they become them through repeated performances—which are constantly monitored and corrected. Butler argues that subject formation occurs through regulatory norms that both produce and discipline the body. In the case of Japanese schoolgirls, becoming the *ideal* schoolgirl is a paradox: it requires surrendering bodily autonomy under the guise of *naturalness*. Only when the student conforms to this ideal is she recognized as legitimate, or a good student. The schoolgirl's appearance must signal an untouched innocence and invisibility. In effect, these rules teach girls not just how to behave but how to *be seen*. The refusal to allow deviation—be it

through a tan, a curl, or a bold lip—ensures that students learn to discipline themselves into the image of the compliant *shōjo*, whose femininity is carefully regulated, modestly expressed, and socially sanctioned. By adhering to strict rules, female students are "protected" from being sexualized—a protection rooted in controlling their appearance to prevent expressions like the *kogyaru* style, which is often viewed as provocative

5.3 Theme 3: Desire and Heteronormativity

The Japanese school system operates on the gender binary. Hidden curriculums as reported by students have made clear the trends of splitting genders up when lining up, calling attendance, and even physical education when boys would play soccer and girls jump rope (Black school Rules Database, 2018). Students are reminded of their gender actively in school and are identified by their gender first, before as an individual. The rules regarding uniforms as discussed in theme 1 also appear to project that there are girls' uniforms, then the boys'. Skirts are for girls, pants are for boys. Distinct language that suggests the binary marginalizes those who do not identify with the given. This final theme will unravel the repeated patterns of heteronormativity based on the binary observed throughout the black school rules. Butler's theoretical framework positions the schoolgirl as inherently desirable yet requiring containment, creating a paradoxical environment where femininity must be simultaneously performed and restricted.

School handbooks explicitly enforce binary gender thinking, with some schools prohibiting that "boys and girls must not hold hands," "no romance," or "boys and girls cannot study alone together." These obviously gendered regulations reveal how school institutions assume heteronormativity and understand the student as either a girl or boy. For teachers, using gender to organize a class of students has traditionally been the norm, but it has become evident that students feel they are treated differently because of their gender. Survey data from the Girl Scouts of Japan (2021) further illustrate how these norms are internalized and experienced by students. In their survey on high school girls, 54% of respondents attending coeducational schools reported that they feel teachers treat them differently because they are a girl. Testimonies shared teacher's commentary like "boys, do the heavy lifting" or "you're a girl, so you should go

to a local school". Students also noted that leadership was often presumed to be a male role, as one girl explained: "Leadership roles are expected among boys, [so others are surprised when a] girl takes on the position." Overall, half of the respondents indicated that they had been told their gender as girls was a determining factor—or limitation—in their role in the class (Girl Scouts of Japan, 2021). What constitutes a schoolgirl, then, is not just how she looks, but how she is persistently reminded of what her gender is supposed to mean, and how that meaning positions her in relation to authority, responsibility, and the future.

Girl-boy pairing across various school functions and roles come in the form of the hidden curriculum or Tokkatsu model. Class representatives, daily announcements, and seating arrangements systematically pair a boy with a girl. Such practice suggests an implicit understanding among teachers that the position should be occupied by each gender. This gender balance not only supports the binary, once again, but also excludes those who do not identify with the given genders.

School regulations extend beyond behavior to carefully monitor female appearance. Restrictions on ponytail height, undergarment color, and skirt length reflect an underlying anxiety about female sexuality. These rules implicitly teach girls that their bodies are potentially disruptive, particularly to the male gaze. Some schools even prohibit heart symbols at cultural festivals, trips with friends, or after-school karaoke—measures I suggest are designed to prevent unsupervised emotional or erotic expression. These black school rules are explained so they do not "lead to a variety of problems", essentially to repeat an earlier quote—to avoid "sexually arousing boys" (Minaminihon Shinbun, 2022).

In 2022, a lawsuit in Tokyo was filed by a former female student who was advised to voluntarily withdraw from school for violating the no dating rule. This private school stated that "dating between boys and girls is prohibited in light of the student's duties". The female student hoped to continue to university, but the school gave her no choice but to drop out as the other choice of suspension would take away her chance at university. The district court ordered the school to pay compensation, however, the dating ban was ruled as "rational" to keep students focused on studies as the handbook also wrote. There is no report on how or if the male student, who she dated under the same school, was also punished or not (Kawashima, 2022).

Girls are frequently positioned as subjects whose primary function is to desire and be desired, often framed as potential distractions to boys and men. A striking example of this dynamic—though still underexplored in academic literature—is the Teacher–Student Romance genre in Japanese popular media. A simple internet search on "Teacher–Student Romance in Japan" reveals numerous manga and television dramas centered on romantic relationships between a male teacher and a high school girl. This genre thrives on the "forbidden love" trope, which blends notions of thrill, innocence, and taboo. Its popularity reflects and reinforces the cultural narrative of *shōjo* (少女)—the adolescent female as an object of male desire—whose value lies in her youthful naïveté and her positioning within patriarchal hierarchies.

The *shōjo* genre of manga and anime predominantly features stories revolving around relationships and love, with schoolgirls as main characters and readers, reinforcing ideals of femininity tied to romance and emotional dependence. Within the teacher–student romance trope, the schoolgirl is not only sexualized but also framed as complicit in the relationship—her feelings of desire constructed within a system that already defines her as subordinate (Kinsella, 2002). Girls are thus positioned primarily in relation to the male figures in school and society. Consequently, the rules that claim to protect them are rooted in sexist, gendered assumptions about young girls—shaped by the restrictive and often toxic language of the gender binary—and ultimately serve as a constant reminder that they are seen first and foremost as schoolgirls, rather than as autonomous individuals.

Butler on Heteronormative Rules

Through Butler's subjectification, the schoolgirl becomes a "girl" not by nature, but through repeated acts and rules they are expected to follow. They learn how to be seen, behave, and be read as feminine. In contrast, *kogyaru* culture represents a rebellious reworking of the schoolgirl figure, as we have also observed in the previous themes. Beyond their visible attributes, the expected desires of heteronormativity and the discourse on the gender binary suggest students that they can either be a girl, or boy, and attract each other. That very attraction is prohibited as it disrupts the study that aims for good students. Perhaps that is why there is such a popularity on school dramas that are mostly about romance between students or with a teacher. They give a sense of excitement that would be criticized in real life.

This normalization of heterosexual pairing positions the schoolgirl and schoolboy in relation to each other, not as individuals, but as gendered counterparts. Through Butler's lens, the schoolgirl becomes intelligible only by performing the script of femininity assigned to her: modesty, sexual restraint, emotional containment, and subordination to male authority. These performances are demanded through rules governing appearance (such as ponytail height or skirt length) and conduct (banning heart symbols or dating), all of which signal that femininity must be carefully managed to avoid disruption—particularly to male students. The hidden message: the girl is both desirable and dangerous. She must be regulated not only for her own protection but to prevent her from "arousing" boys, reinforcing the idea that her body exists in relation to male desire. So what emerges here is a new reading of school rules as a form of gender panic—a systemic overcompensation for the impossibility of fully securing gender coherence.

5.4 Cultural Analysis through Hofstede's 6D Model

Hofstede's framework genuinely helps explain *why* certain gendered school rules exist. To deepen the understanding of the patterns revealed in the black school rules, I apply his six cultural dimensions as a theoretical lens to interpret the underlying cultural dynamics that shape these gendered regulations and norms. Hofstede's framework measures cultures on six axes: Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism vs. Collectivism, Masculinity vs. Femininity, Long-Term Orientation, and Indulgence vs. Restraint. Japan's scores on these dimensions provide insight into how cultural values influence school rules and gender norms. See Table A4 for Hofstede's 6D Model Relevance to School Rules and Gender Norms, where each of the dimensions are interpreted in terms of school rules and gender norms.

Theme 1: From Unity to Unruly

Japan's high Uncertainty Avoidance and Collectivism explain the detailed uniform and appearance rules. The strict regulations enforce conformity to group norms, but subcultures like *kogyaru* emerged as forms of resistance to these rigid expectations. *kogyaru* style, characterized by dyed hair, heavy makeup, and loose socks, directly challenges the school's and society's ideal

of natural, modest femininity. This tension reflects a cultural push-pull between collective conformity and individual expression, illustrating how youth negotiate identity within constrains of a collectivist, high-uncertainty-avoidance culture. Schools often respond to *kogyaru* by tightening rules, showing the cultural anxiety about ambiguity and deviance.

Theme 2: Natural by Rule

The extremely high score on Masculinity emphasizes strict gender binaries and behavioral expectations. The *kogyaru* phenomenon can be seen as both a critique and a temporary subversion of these norms, but it is often quickly contained by surveillance and enforcement within schools. The ideal of natural femininity upheld by schools and society is tied to long-term orientation values that prepare girls for traditional adult roles. Surveillance enforces this ideal, punishing deviations like *kogyaru* style, which is perceived as too bold or "unnatural." Thus, the rules reinforce a standardized femininity aimed at social cohesion and future success.

Theme 3: Japanese Desire Defined

Hofstede's high Masculinity, Uncertainty Avoidance, and moderate Power Distance explain the binary regulation of gender and strict control of romantic behaviors. The binary gender roles are culturally idealized and protected through school rules and teacher authority. While *kogyaru* culture sometimes flirted with more sexually explicit or liberated expressions of femininity, schools' prohibitions against romantic contact and appearance deviations show the cultural discomfort with ambiguity and nonconformity, especially concerning gender and sexuality. The school thus acts as a site where cultural norms about desire, gender roles, and authority are maintained.

The tension between cultural values and schoolgirl practices like *Kogyaru* illustrates how Japan's cultural dimensions create both conformity and sites of resistance. Schools enforce norms that reflect broader cultural priorities of order, hierarchy, and gender binaries, yet schoolgirls have pushed back, creating dynamic negotiations around gender and identity. This cycle shows how culture, institutions, and individuals interact in maintaining and sometimes challenging dominant gender norms.

6. Discussion

This study's findings illuminate the intricate and often contradictory relationship between black school rules and the construction of femininity within Japanese schools. Officially justified as protective measures aimed at maintaining order, these rules are fundamentally gendered mechanisms of discipline. They actively produce and regulate what is deemed "appropriate" femininity, reinforcing a narrow, institutional ideal of the Japanese schoolgirl as modest, obedient, and natural. Yet, the presence of the *kogyaru* subculture exposes the fragility and contestability of this ideal, positioning these girls as emblematic of "improper femininity"—loud, excessive, and challenging—traits the black school rules seek to suppress and exclude.

Situating these findings within the literature and theoretical frameworks discussed earlier, this study offers a nuanced understanding of how gender norms are actively produced through institutional practices. While scholars such as Judith Butler have emphasized the performativity of gender, this research contextualizes that performativity within the unique setting of Japanese schooling, where disciplinary rules not only regulate behavior but also produce gendered subjectivities. Unlike perspectives that frame gender policing solely as top-down control, this analysis highlights the complex negotiations as students internalize, resist, or subvert these norms. The *kogyaru* are not merely rule-breakers but active agents whose behaviors reveal contradictions within the disciplinary regime and the broader cultural scripts governing femininity.

Furthermore, this study aligns with and extends Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory by demonstrating how Japanese societal values—particularly collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, and traditional gender roles—are deeply embedded in educational policies and practices. Black school rules act as microcosms of national cultural imperatives, emphasizing conformity, social harmony, and the reproduction of hierarchical gender relations. This reinforces existing scholarship on schools as critical sites for the social reproduction of dominant ideologies, here specifically related to gender.

Importantly, this research problematizes the rhetoric of protection underpinning many disciplinary measures. While school authorities claim black school rules safeguard girls by

controlling their appearance and conduct, evidence suggests these measures instead reinforce vulnerability and social control. For instance, persistent sexual harassment on public transportation—highlighted by the 2024 Cabinet Office survey revealing high rates of assault on school-aged girls—calls into question the effectiveness of regulating girls' bodies as protection. This study aligns with feminist critiques that protective discourses often function to blame victims rather than dismantle systemic risks, shifting responsibility onto girls to manage their own safety through compliance.

The broader cultural obsession with controlling youthful femininity, foundational to enforcing black school rules, resonates with critical theories of social regulation and gender policing. The *kogyaru* subculture's resistance is not merely a fashion statement but a form of cultural critique disrupting the neat legibility demanded by institutional norms. This study advances academic conversations by foregrounding how institutional disciplinary practices simultaneously exclude and produce certain gendered identities, exposing the limits and contradictions of regulatory power.

From a practical standpoint, these findings offer important guidance for educators, policymakers, and advocates. They highlight the need to fundamentally rethink safety and discipline in schools. Rather than focusing on controlling students' appearances or enforcing conformity to traditional gender norms, efforts should address the root causes of harassment and inequality—namely, cultural and structural dynamics that sexualize and marginalize young women. This could involve revising disciplinary codes to be more inclusive and reflective of diverse gender expressions, alongside comprehensive education on consent, gender equity, and bystander intervention.

In sum, this study's analysis of black school rules as active producers of gendered subjectivities contributes a critical lens to literature on gender, schooling, and power. It shows how gender norms are not passively inherited but actively created through everyday institutional practices, while also highlighting the contested and dynamic nature of these norms through subcultural resistance. The findings invite scholars to further explore intersections of gender, culture, and institutional regulation and encourage practitioners to adopt more holistic, emancipatory approaches to gender and discipline in educational settings.

7. Conclusion

This thesis set out to examine how black school rules in Japan operate not merely as institutional regulations but as powerful mechanisms that construct and regulate femininity within the educational context. Through detailed analysis, it has become clear that these rules function as tools of gender discipline, producing a narrow and idealized image of the schoolgirl—marked by modesty, obedience, and conformity to traditional gender roles. Simultaneously, this study shows that disciplinary measures do more than maintain order; they actively shape identity and limit possibilities for alternative, diverse expressions of femininity, such as those embraced by the *kogyaru* subculture.

Returning to the initial problem formulation—the tension between protection and control, tradition and resistance—this research confirms that black school rules reflect broader societal struggles. They represent an effort to manage young women's bodies and behaviors under the guise of safeguarding morality and safety. Yet, this protective rhetoric masks an underlying dynamic of surveillance and control that reinforces cultural norms while marginalizing dissenting voices. The persistence of these rules signals a collective investment in preserving a specific gender order which, although culturally coherent, raises critical questions about equity, agency, and freedom.

By integrating theoretical perspectives on gender performativity with empirical insights into Japanese school practices, this project contributes to ongoing scholarly conversations about the intersections of education, gender, and power. It extends existing literature by demonstrating how institutionalized rules translate abstract cultural values into everyday experiences shaping subjectivities. Moreover, it emphasizes the importance of subcultural resistance not as isolated rebellion but as meaningful negotiation within constrained environments.

The relevance of these findings extends beyond academic debate. For educators, policymakers, and practitioners, this thesis calls for a reevaluation of disciplinary frameworks that prioritize conformity over inclusion. It suggests that genuine protection cannot be achieved by controlling appearances or enforcing rigid gender norms. Instead, educational institutions must foster critical awareness of how such rules impact identity formation and perpetuate

inequalities. Creating spaces where diverse gender expressions are acknowledged and respected is essential for nurturing authentic agency and well-being among students.

Ultimately, this thesis portrays the Japanese schoolgirl as a site where cultural ideals and lived realities collide, producing both coherence and contradiction. It invites reflection on how seemingly mundane regulations participate in broader social processes sustaining gender hierarchies. Simultaneously, it reminds us that identities are not fixed; they are continuously performed, contested, and reimagined. This insight opens avenues for future research and practice to engage with the complexities of gender in education in ways that embrace plurality rather than uniformity.

In closing, the significance of this study lies not only in its detailed exploration of black school rules but also in its broader implication: educational systems are central battlegrounds for negotiating gender and power in contemporary societies. Recognizing this enables envisioning transformative possibilities where schools do not merely reproduce dominant norms but become spaces for critical engagement, empowerment, and meaningful change. The challenge ahead is to translate these insights into policies and practices that honor the diversity of student experiences and foster a more inclusive vision of femininity and youth.

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APPENDIX A

A1. Reconsidering the concept of hidden curriculum: from the perspective of gender studies (Ujihara, 2009, 23)

①**English (translated version):**

Visibility High Feasibility of change ↕	Attendance sheet, lining up, calling students [8], uniforms, etc. Personal belongings Student roles in school School system structure Textbooks and teaching materials	Explicit Hidden Curriculum
Invisibility Low Feasibility of change	Teacher = Learning activities[9]	Implicit Hidden Curriculum

[8]In Japanese, the honorific suffix -kun is usually used for boys, -chan for girls, and -san is a polite, neutral form that is not gendered.

[9]Learning activities: include teacher-student interaction, relationships between children, and teacher attitudes. Original translation is *gakushu katsudo* 学習活動:「教師ー生徒の 相互作用 , 子ども間の 関係, 教師態度」を教授＝学習活動と言い換えた。(Ujihara, 2009, 23)

②隠れた カリキュラム のレベル—**Japanese (original version from Ujihara, 2009, 23)**
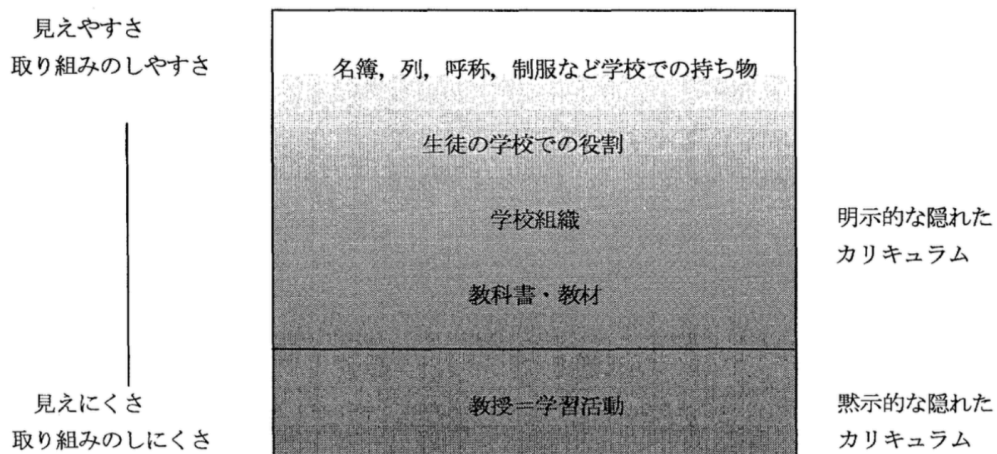
A2. Geert Hofstede's 6-D model of national culture for Japan (Hofstede, 2011)
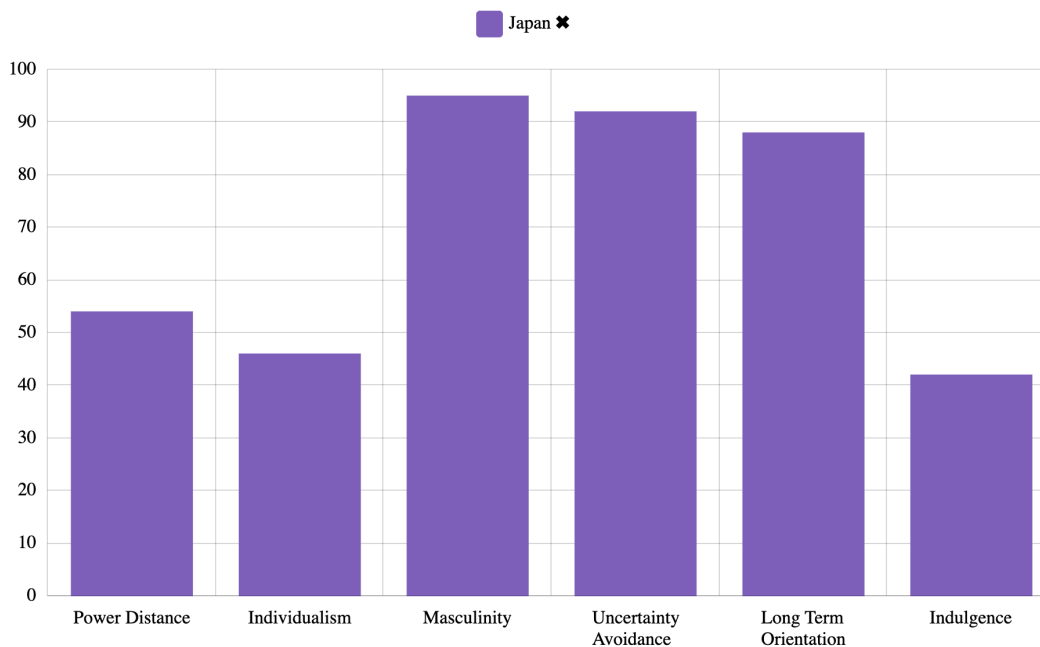
A3. Country Comparison using the 6D Model (Hofstede, 2011)
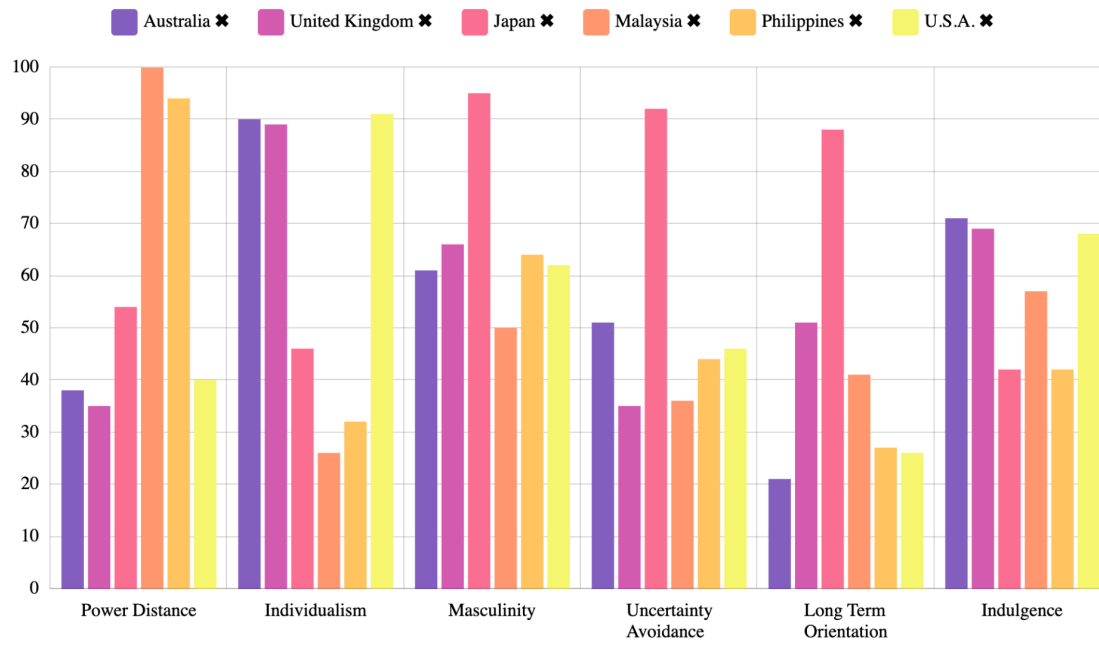
A4. Hofstede's 6D Model Relevance to School Rules and Gender Norms

Dimension	Japan's Score	Interpretation Relevant to School Rules and Gender Norms
Power Distance	54	Moderate acceptance of hierarchical structures and authority, such as teacher-student dynamics, which supports unquestioned enforcement of rules and gender roles.
Individualism	46	Collectivist tendencies emphasize group harmony and conformity over individual expression, encouraging adherence to gender norms for social cohesion.
Masculinity	95	High masculinity underlines clear, traditional gender roles and expectations, reinforcing binary gender distinctions and differential treatment of girls and boys.
Uncertainty Avoidance	92	Strong preference for order, clear rules, and avoidance of ambiguity, which manifests in rigid dress codes and strict behavioral regulations to control gender expression.
Long-Term Orientation	88	Emphasis on future planning and perseverance, reflected in school policies preparing girls for socially accepted adult roles, such as idealized femininity and restrained sexuality.
Indulgence	42	Relatively restrained culture, restricting gratification and emotional expression, visible in prohibitions against displays of affection and romantic relationships in school.

APPENDIX B

Use of Generative AI and Translation Tools

1. **Generative AI**

   - This thesis utilized OpenAI's ChatGPT (GPT-4, May 2025 version) for translation (from English to Japanese) and grammatical corrections. The tool was not used to generate ideas, perform the analysis, or write content.

   - **Accessed via**: https://chat.openai.com

   - **Example prompt**: Translate to English「他人には見えない、プライベートな部分に身にまとう物の色の指定はセクハラだと思いますし、子どもの人権侵害にあたるのではないかと思います。」

   - **Example output**: "I think specifying the color of private areas not visible to others is sexual harassment and a violation of children's human rights"

2. DeepL Translate

   - Date last accessed: May 31, 2025

   - **Accessed via**: https://www.deepl.com/en/translator

   - Purpose: Japanese to English translation assistance

APPENDIX C

C1. Written Black School Rules

Source	Category	RULE (Japanese)	RULE (English)
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	制服あり	Uniform required
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	男女の制服区別	Gender-based uniform distinction
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	着崩し禁止	Untidy uniform wearing prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	制服加工禁止	Uniform alteration prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	スカート丈規制	Skirt length regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	スカートの下のズボン着用禁止	No pants under skirts
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	服装 Clothing	No low-waist wearing
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	授業中の防寒着着用禁止	Outerwear prohibited during class
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	式典中の防寒着着用禁止	Outerwear prohibited during ceremonies
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	夏服・冬服の混合着用禁止	No mixing summer and winter uniforms
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	授業開始・終了時のブレザー着用義務	Blazer must be worn at start and end of class
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定ブレザー・ジャケット	Designated blazer/jacket

Source	Category	RULE (Japanese)	RULE (English)
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定ベスト	Designated vest
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	ベスト規制	Vest regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定シャツ	Designated shirt
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	シャツ規制	Shirt regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定ネクタイ	Designated necktie
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定リボン	Designated ribbon
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定スカーフ	Designated scarf
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	スカーフ規制	Scarf regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定カーディガン	Designated cardigan
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	カーディガン規制	Cardigan regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	カーディガン禁止	Cardigan prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定セーター	Designated sweater
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	セーター禁止	Sweater prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	セーター規制	Sweater regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	ポロシャツ禁止	Polo shirts prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定ポロシャツ	Designated polo shirt

Source	Category	RULE (Japanese)	RULE (English)
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	ポロシャツ規制	Polo shirt regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	ブラウス禁止	Blouse prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	パーカー禁止	Hoodie prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	スウェット禁止	Sweatshirt prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定ジャージ	Designated tracksuit
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	ジャージ禁止	Tracksuit prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	タートルネック禁止	Turtleneck prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	ピステ禁止	Windbreaker prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	マフラー規制	Scarf regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定コート	Designated coat
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	コート規制	Coat regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	レインコート規制	Raincoat regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	屋内での防寒具着用禁止	Outerwear not allowed indoors
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定ズボン	Designated pants
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	ズボン規制	Pants regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定スカート	Designated skirt

Source	Category	RULE (Japanese)	RULE (English)
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	スカート規制	Skirt regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定靴下	Designated socks
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	靴下規制	Sock regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	タイツ・ストッキング規制	Tights/stocking regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	アンクルソックス禁止	Ankle socks prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	ニーハイソックス禁止	Knee-high socks prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	レギンス禁止	Leggings prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	レッグウォーマー禁止	Leg warmers prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	ルーズソックス禁止	Loose socks prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定ベルト	Designated belt
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	ベルト規制	Belt regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	サスペンダー禁止	Suspenders prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	下着規制	Undergarnment regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定体操服	Designated PE uniform
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定体操靴	Designated PE shoes
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定水着	Designated swimsuit

Source	Category	RULE (Japanese)	RULE (English)
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	帽子禁止	Hats prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	帽子規制	Hat regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定鞄	Designated bag
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	鞄規制	Bag regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	鞄の加工禁止	Bag alterations prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	サングラス禁止	Sunglasses prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	手袋規制	Gloves regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	マスク規制	Mask regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	靴規制	Shoe regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定運動靴	Designated sports shoes
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	指定上履き	Designated indoor shoes
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	上履き規制	Indoor shoe regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	ヒール禁止	Heels prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	下駄禁止	Wooden clogs prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	サンダル禁止	Sandals prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	服装 Clothing	靴の加工禁止	Shoe modifications prohibited

Source	Category	RULE (Japanese)	RULE (English)
(Ueyama, 2024)	装飾品	装飾品禁止	Accessories prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	装飾品	装飾品規制	Accessory regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	装飾品	指輪禁止	Rings prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	装飾品	イヤリング禁止	Earrings prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	装飾品	ピアス禁止	Piercings prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	装飾品	ピアス穴禁止	Piercing holes prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	装飾品	ネックレス禁止	Necklaces prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	装飾品	ブレスレット禁止	Bracelets prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	頭髪加工禁止	Hair alteration prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	髪染め禁止	Hair dyeing prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	パーマ禁止	Perms prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	ヘアアイロン禁止	Hair irons prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	編み込み禁止	Braiding prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	剃りこみ禁止	Shaved designs prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	ツーブロック禁止	Two-block haircuts prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	モヒカン禁止	Mohawks prohibited

Source	Category	RULE (Japanese)	RULE (English)
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	髪の長さ規制	Hair length regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	長い髪は結ぶ	Long hair must be tied
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	男性の長髪禁止	Long hair on males prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	ポニーテール禁止	Ponytails prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	奇抜な髪形禁止	Flashy hairstyles prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	一部だけ極端に長さの違う髪型禁止	Hairstyles with extreme length difference prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	エクステンション禁止	Hair extensions prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	かつら禁止	Wigs prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	ヘアアクセサリー禁止	Hair accessories prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	髪留め規制	Hairpins regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	ヘアゴム規制	Hair tie regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	黒染め強要	Forced to dye hair black
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	地毛証明書提出	Must submit proof of natural hair color
(Ueyama, 2024)	頭髪	ひげ禁止	Beards prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	化粧	化粧禁止	Makeup prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	化粧	化粧規制	Makeup regulation

Source	Category	RULE (Japanese)	RULE (English)
(Ueyama, 2024)	化粧	マスカラ禁止	Mascara prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	化粧	眉毛加工禁止	Eyebrow shaping prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	化粧	口紅禁止	Lipstick prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	化粧	色付きリップ禁止	Colored lip balm prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	化粧	リップクリーム規制	Lip balm regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	化粧	カラーコンタクト禁止	Colored contacts prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	化粧	つけまつげ禁止	False eyelashes prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	化粧	つけ爪禁止	Fake nails prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	化粧	マニキュア禁止	Nail polish prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	化粧	マニキュア規制	Nail polish regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	化粧	ペディキュア禁止	Pedicure prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	化粧	タトゥー禁止	Tattoos prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	化粧	アイプチ禁止	Eyelid glue prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	化粧	香水禁止	Perfume prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	乗り物	自転車通学禁止	Biking to school prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	乗り物	バイク通学禁止	Motorbiking to school prohibited

Source	Category	RULE (Japanese)	RULE (English)
(Ueyama, 2024)	乗り物	自動車通学禁止	Driving to school prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	乗り物	運転免許証の取得禁止	Getting a driver's license prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	乗り物	車送迎規制	Restrictions on drop-offs by car
(Ueyama, 2024)	乗り物	スケボー・ローラースケート・キックボード等禁止	Skateboards/roller skates/scooters prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	校外活動	旅行規制	Travel restrictions
(Ueyama, 2024)	校外活動	友人宅の宿泊禁止	Staying over at a friend's house prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	校外活動	校外の集会開催禁止	Off-campus gatherings prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	校外活動	校外の集会開催規制	Off-campus gatherings regulated
(Ueyama, 2024)	校外活動	校外の講習参加禁止	Participation in off-campus lessons prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	校外活動	飲食店への入店規制	Restrictions on entering restaurants
(Ueyama, 2024)	校外活動	登下校時の買い食い禁止	Buying food on the way to/from school prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	校外活動	登下校時の寄り道禁止	Taking detours to/from school prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	校外活動	映画館・劇場への入場規制	Restrictions on entering cinemas/theaters
(Ueyama, 2024)	校外活動	懇親会禁止	Social gatherings prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	校外活動	部活の強制入部	Club activity participation mandatory
(Ueyama, 2024)	校外活動	校外の金品募集規制	Off-campus fundraising regulated

Source	Category	RULE (Japanese)	RULE (English)
(Ueyama, 2024)	校外活動	校外の物品販売規制	Off-campus item sales regulated
(Ueyama, 2024)	校外活動	校外の団体加入規制	Off-campus group membership regulated
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	日焼け止め規制	Sunscreen regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	ハンドクリーム規制	Hand cream regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	制汗剤規制	Deodorant regulation
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	校内エレベーター使用禁止	Elevator use in school prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	校内を歩き回ること禁止	Wandering around school prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	他クラス入室禁止	Entering other classrooms prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	男女交際規制	Romantic relationships regulated
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	飲食規制	Food and drink regulated
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	授業中の飲食禁止	Eating and drinking during class prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	教室内飲食禁止	Eating in classrooms prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	アルバイト禁止	Part-time jobs prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	校内のゲーム禁止	Playing games in school prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	所持品の没収	Possessions confiscated
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	カップ麺禁止	Instant noodles prohibited

Source	Category	RULE (Japanese)	RULE (English)
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	携帯音楽プレーヤー禁止	Music players prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	漫画禁止	Manga prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	雑誌禁止	Magazines prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	空き時間は図書館で学習すること	Free periods must be spent studying in the library
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	家電製品禁止	Electronic appliances prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	コンセント使用禁止	Outlet use prohibited
(Ueyama, 2024)	その他	携帯使用禁止	Mobile phone use prohibited
Studyplus, 2023	頭髪 Hair	地毛証明書の提出	Submission of certificate of natural hair
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	下着の色指定	Designation of underwear color
Studyplus, 2023	化粧 Makeup	メイク禁止	Makeup prohibited
Studyplus, 2023	校外活動 off-campus activities	アルバイト禁止	No part-time job
Studyplus, 2023	装飾品 Accessories	学校指定以外のバック・サブバックのしよう禁止	No bags or sub-bags other than those designated by the school
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	服装指定・身だしなみ（ジャージ登校・スカートの長さ）	"Designated clothing and personal appearance (jerseys to school, skirt length)
Studyplus, 2023	その他 other	スマホ禁止	Prohibition of using a cell phone
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	持ち物の色指定（くつした・カーディガン・セーター）	Designation of colors for personal belongings (socks, cardigans, sweaters)
Studyplus, 2023	頭髪 Hair	特定の髪型（ツーブロック・パーマなど）の禁止	Prohibition of certain hairstyles (two-block, perm, etc.)

Source	Category	RULE (Japanese)	RULE (English)
Studyplus, 2023	頭髪 Hair	髪の長さ(両肩より上)	Hair length (above both shoulders)
Studyplus, 2023	頭髪 Hair	流行を追った髪型の禁止	Prohibition of hairstyles that follow fashion trends
Studyplus, 2023	頭髪 Hair	髪が長すぎると原則三つ編み	Braids as a rule if hair is too long
Studyplus, 2023	頭髪 Hair	編み込み禁止	Braids prohibited
Studyplus, 2023	化粧 Makeup	日焼け止め禁止	Prohibition of sunscreen
Studyplus, 2023	化粧 Makeup	爪磨き禁止	No nail polish
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	腕まくり禁止	No rolling up the arms
Studyplus, 2023	装飾品 Accessories	マフラーは原則白黒等のみ	Scarves must be black and white
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	白のスニーカーのみ	White sneakers only
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	猛暑日でも制服	Uniforms are required even on extremely hot days
Studyplus, 2023	装飾品 Accessories	日傘は許可制	Parasols are permitted
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	長靴禁止	No boots
Studyplus, 2023	装飾品 Accessories	キーホルダー一個まで	No more than one key chain
Studyplus, 2023	校外活動 off-campus activities	文化祭でハート禁止	No hearts at cultural festivals
Studyplus, 2023	校外活動 off-campus activities	カラオケ・映画館禁止	Karaoke and movie theaters prohibited

Source	Category	RULE (Japanese)	RULE (English)
Studyplus, 2023	校外活動 off-campus activities	男女二人きりで勉強してはいけない	No studying alone with a man and a woman
Studyplus, 2023	校外活動 off-campus activities	男女が手を繋ぐこと	Men and women must hold hands
Studyplus, 2023	装飾品 Accessories	シュシュ禁止	Scrunchi prohibited
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	女子だけ靴下指定	Only girls are allowed to wear socks
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	女子のスラックスはOK、男子スカートNG	Girls' slacks OK, boys' skirts NG
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	女性ネクタイOK	Women's ties are allowed
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	女子だけ靴下指定	only women's socks are allowed
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	男子は靴下の色が黒白OK、女は白だけ	Black and white socks are allowed for boys, white only for girls
Studyplus, 2023	装飾品 Accessories	女子は授業中にカーディガン等防寒具を着ていいのに、男子禁止	Women are allowed to wear cardigans and other warm clothing during class, but not for boys
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	男子のマフラー禁止	Scarves prohibited for boys
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	男子登下校のカーディガン着用禁止	No cardigans for boys going to and from school
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	男子はタイツやヒートテック着用禁止	No tights or HEATTECH for boys
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	男子白色の下着禁止	No white underwear for boys
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	女子は膝下までの長い靴下、男子は白ソックス	Long socks to the knee for girls, white socks for boys
Studyplus, 2023	装飾品 Accessories	男子ネックウォーマーOK、女子NG	Neck warmers OK for boys, NG for girls

Source	Category	RULE (Japanese)	RULE (English)
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	女子はタイツの薄さが指定されているのに、男子はされていない	Girls are required to wear thin tights, but boys are not
Studyplus, 2023	頭髪 Hair	男子が髪の毛縛るの禁止	Boys are not allowed to tie their hair up
Studyplus, 2023	頭髪 Hair	女子お団子禁止	Girls are not allowed to wear buns
Studyplus, 2023	装飾品 Accessories	ヘアピンをつけていいのは女子だけ	only girls are allowed to wear hairpins
Studyplus, 2023	頭髪 Hair	男子は髪を伸ばしてはいけない	Boys are not allowed to grow their hair long
Studyplus, 2023	頭髪 Hair	女子生徒は前髪を必ず作らなくてはならない	Girls must always have bangs
Studyplus, 2023	校外活動 off-campus activities	男子のみ、女子のみの部活が多い	Many clubs are for boys only or girls only
Studyplus, 2023	校外活動 off-campus activities	恋愛禁止	No romance
Studyplus, 2023	頭髪 Hair	髪をそめるの禁止	No shaving hair
Studyplus, 2023	装飾品 Accessories	ゴムの色の指定	Designation of elastic color
Studyplus, 2023	頭髪 Hair	結び位置や結び方指定	Designation of knotting position and style
Studyplus, 2023	頭髪 Hair	前髪長さの指定	Designation of bangs length
Studyplus, 2023	頭髪 Hair	ツーブロック禁止	No two-block hairstyle
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	靴下色指定、長さ指定	Designation of sock color and length
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	スカート長さ	Skirt length

Source	Category	RULE (Japanese)	RULE (English)
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	靴の色や種類の指定	Designation of shoe color and type
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	セーターやカーディガンなどの色や種類の指定	Designation of color and type of sweaters and cardigans
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	下着の柄指定	Designation of underwear patterns
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	体操着の下に肌着を着てはいけない	Underwear must not be worn under gym clothes
Studyplus, 2023	服装 Clothing	スカートの下にジャージ、ハーフパンツ類は絶対に着用しないこと	No jerseys, half pants, etc. under skirts

C2. Unwritten Black School Rules

Theme Category	Rule Description (Japanese)	ENGLISH Translation	Source
Spatial Arrangements & Division:	着替えの部屋が一緒(性別問わず)	Shared changing room (regardless of gender)	Black School Rules Database, 2018
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	生徒を指す時	Calling on students	Black School Rules Database, 2018
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	名簿	Attendance list	Black School Rules Database, 2018
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	呼称	Titles / Ways of addressing	Black School Rules Database, 2018
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	もちもの	Belongings	Black School Rules Database, 2018
Spatial Arrangements & Division:	列	Lines / Rows	Black School Rules Database,

			2018
Spatial Arrangements & Division:	席順	Seating order	Black School Rules Database, 2018
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	係	Duties / Roles	Black School Rules Database, 2018
Spatial Arrangements & Division:	作業をするときに男女別にグループになる	Split into gendered groups for activities	Black School Rules Database, 2018
Spatial Arrangements & Division:	体育男女別	Separate physical education activities by gender	Black School Rules Database, 2018
Spatial Arrangements & Division:	掃除の役割	Cleaning groups	Black School Rules Database, 2018
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	教員の性別構成	Gender composition of teachers	Black School Rules Database, 2018
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	理数系の教員は男性ばかりという学校環境	School environment where STEM teachers are mostly male	Black School Rules Database, 2018
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	力仕事は男子、誰も発言しない時男子当てる	Boys do heavy lifting; boys are called on when no one answers	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2024
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	役割の面で少し大変なことがあると、先生が男子に協力を求める学校の風潮	Teachers ask boys for help with difficult roles – a common school norm	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2024
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	女子には文系よりの話をする先生がいる	Some teachers talk about humanities-oriented topics to girls	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2024
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	女の子には器用さを求めているように感じる	Girls are expected to be skillful/dexterous	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2024
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	学校の上の立場の人たちが男の先生ばかり（女性）	People in high positions at school are mostly male teachers (from a female perspective)	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2024

Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	男子だからと、教材を職員室から教室まで運ぶよう言われた（男性）	Told to carry materials from staff room to classroom "because you're a boy" (from a male student)	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2024
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	役割が男女でわかれる	Roles are split between boys and girls (one each)	Black School Rules Database, 2018
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	そろえる	Uniformity / To match	Black School Rules Database, 2018
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	めだたない	To not stand out	Black School Rules Database, 2018
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	男女放送委員	Male and female broadcast committee members	Black School Rules Database, 2018
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	先生のジェンダーによって生徒への対応が違う	Attitude towards students differ based on the gender of the teachers	Black School Rules Database, 2018
Aesthetic Expectations & Presentation	華美	Showy	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2024
Aesthetic Expectations & Presentation	派手	Flashy	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2024
Aesthetic Expectations & Presentation	落ち着いた色	Subdued colors	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2024
Aesthetic Expectations & Presentation	学生としてふさわしいもの	Appropriate as a student	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2024
Aesthetic Expectations & Presentation	原色等華美	Primary colors or showy appearance	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2024
Aesthetic Expectations & Presentation	地肌が透けない	No visible bare skin	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2024
Aesthetic Expectations & Presentation	清潔	Cleanliness	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2024
Aesthetic Expectations & Presentation	らしい	Proper or "like" (e.g., boy-like, girl-like)	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2024
Aesthetic Expectations & Presentation	自然	Natural	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2024

Aesthetic Expectations & Presentation	女の子だから	Because you're a girl	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2021
Spatial Arrangements & Division:	家事を期待される	household chores are expected of girls	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2021
Spatial Arrangements & Division:	荷物運びはしなくて良い	You don't have to carry heavy things	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2021
Aesthetic Expectations & Presentation	足を開いて座らないこと	Don't sit with your legs apart	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2021
Aesthetic Expectations & Presentation	行儀良くする	Behave properly	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2021
Aesthetic Expectations & Presentation	料理	Cooking	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2021
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	調理実習で、女子は男子より料理が得意という男子の偏見で仕事のほとんどを女子がやらされた	In home economics class, girls ended up doing most of the work because of the boys' prejudice that "girls are better at cooking"	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2021
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	生物の授業で「男子ならわかると思うけど」「女子にはわからないか」と言われた	In biology class, the teacher said things like, "The boys will understand this," or "Maybe the girls won't get it"	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2021
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	女子だから行儀良くしなさい、手伝いなさい	Because you're a girl, be polite, and help out	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2021
Aesthetic Expectations & Presentation	女子はくしやハンカチを持っていて当たり前	Girls are expected to carry a comb and handkerchief	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2021
Aesthetic Expectations & Presentation	女の子だから、音楽得意	Because you're a girl, you must be good at music	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2021
Classroom Interaction & Social Dynamics	女子は仕切らない	Girls shouldn't take the lead or be in charge	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2021
Spatial Arrangements & Division:	椅子運びは男子がする	Boys are expected to carry chairs	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2021
Spatial Arrangements & Division:	ネームプレート男女色違い	Name tags are color-coded by gender	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2021
Spatial Arrangements & Division:	スリッパの色が男女で違う	Slippers are different colors for boys and girls	Girl Scouts of Japan, 2021