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Through the Lens of Koreans:
The Influence of Media on Perceptions of Feminism

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APS 650: Capstone Project

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Abstract

Regardless of country and culture, the media has the power to influence the opinions and perceptions of its viewers. This project evaluates specific Korean movies—and the reactions of South Koreans to gender representations in films that are considered “feminist”—along with the variety show genre, which also tends to reinforce gender stereotypes and imbalances. With these media representations as a framework, this research explores the impact of the internet in forwarding feminist views along with unearthing the reactions of Koreans. Given the anonymity of the internet and social media, these platforms allow for honest expression and counterpoints to sexist views and promote feminist films and thinking. This project employs a mixed-methods approach. For one, I have conducted an online survey of 67 Koreans to investigate their opinions on films, social media and feminism. In addition, there is use of primary sources—namely films, variety shows and social media—in order to analyze key themes and illustrate real-life examples of the issues at hand. Moreover, newspaper articles about the reactions of Koreans offer further support for various claims. By probing into these matters and cultural values considered important to Koreans, this paper critically explores the potentially negative perceptions perpetuated by the media and the implications of feminism in Korea. Feminists utilize the internet to encourage progressive thoughts of gender equality. At the same time, their views are contradicted by others and the negative reactions to feminism further complicate how Koreans view the media and larger issues of sexism and feminism in their culture.

Keywords: *gender, feminism, South Korea, internet, mass media*

Prologue

There is a lot of extreme emotion in Korean film. It's because there are a lot of extremes in Korean society.

— *Bong Joon-Ho, Director of Oscar-winning film Parasite*¹

As Bong Joon-Ho said, we are living in an era of extremes. There are feminists who fiercely promote women's rights, while we also have misogynistic men who express extreme backlash towards these feminists. It is an era of intense intolerance.

South Korea is one of the few developed Asian countries, and yet it faces unique social and cultural challenges. Its rapid industrialization outpaces the slow changes of its society, which is not to say that Korean society is completely backward—but it is still considered quite conservative compared to other developed societies. With this in mind, it is important to examine the power and impact of visual media in influencing cultural views, which continues to be underestimated by some and is seemingly invisible to others. TV shows, movies, and even music videos convey powerful and, at times, problematic messages. The way women perceive one another and themselves is possibly affected by what is shown through popular forms of media culture. This research sheds light on the internet and social media as platforms for audiences to express their reactions to popular media and for women to voice their opinions and reflections as members of an oppressed group.

¹ Solvej Schou, "Top South Korean Directors on Hitting Hollywood - EXCLUSIVE," *Entertainment Weekly*, October 29, 2012, <https://ew.com/article/2012/10/29/south-korea-top-directors-park-chan-wook-kim-jee-woon-bong-joon-ho/>.

Feminism in South Korea has been associated with extreme man-hating behavior since the movement began gaining traction with the rise of feminist groups like Womad and Megalia that are labelled as anti-men.² The perception that feminists believe women should be treated better than men is extremely strong among Koreans, especially the male population who are mandated to enlist in the army for service. A study done by the Korean Women's Development Institute in 2019 elaborated that in their sample of 3000 men, the participants showed a generally high interest in gender inequality issues.³ In this case, on the contrary, the number of men who agree that "discrimination against women is severe" is low. The gender inequality is perceived as being faced by the men themselves. Most of the men in their 20s had the lowest percentage of agreement with regard to the severity of misogyny in Korea, with older men being more aware of gender discrimination and violence against women. In the same study, it was revealed that 50% of the men in their 20s showed highly anti-feminist behavior.⁴ Furthermore, many consider the term "feminism" a Western concept that is being forcibly applied to an Asian society. While there are Korean men who agree that women are discriminated upon, and that they deserve equal

² Yeji Jessi Lee, "Megalia: South Korea's Radical Feminist Community," *Medium*, May 17, 2017, <https://medium.com/@yeji.lee413/megalia-south-koreas-radical-feminist-community-e0d2b855add>.

³ Kyoung Hee Ma et al., "Study on Gender Inequality and Men's Quality of Life," Seoul: Korean Women's Development Institute, 2019, 28, <https://eng.kwdi.re.kr/publications/reportView.do?s=searchAll&w=Gender+Inequality&p=1&idx=102449>.

⁴ The behavior of this group was described as showing "antipathy for women rejecting gender norms," and viewing status of women as "sufficiently improved or even higher than that of men." Ma, "Study on gender Inequality," 10.

rights, they do not necessarily believe the feminist movement is the answer to this problem.⁵ Thus, to these men, supporting feminism does not usually equate to supporting women's rights.

Along with these views, South Korea faces the critical issue of gender inequality in a number of areas and contexts. According to the Global Gender Gap Index by the World Economic Forum, South Korea ranks 108 out of 153 countries, among the few advanced nations with such a low rank.⁶ It also has a low score under categories like “Economic participation and opportunity” and “Political empowerment.” Sexism is still a pressing issue in various aspects of South Korean life, and the media promotes certain restrictive conventional roles for Korean women. Certain movies and other types of representations fuel misguided assumptions that women must choose family over a career, which is detrimental to their professional and personal growth.⁷

While gender stereotyping by the media is seen all over the globe, this paper focuses on South Korea because of its unique conditions as a developed Asian country with a dynamic, evolving society. My research not only demonstrates the effects on individuals but also shows how even subtly sexist media representations likely contribute to the overall problem of gender inequality in the Asia Pacific region, where values and intolerance towards women by the family and others are rooted in similar sexist paradigms. The Korean media—especially movies, music

⁵ Kyoung Hee Ma et al., “지배적 남성성의 균열과 변화하는 남성의 삶: 남성들 내부의 차이를 중심으로” [*Hegemonic Masculinity and Changing Lives of Men*], Seoul: Korean Women's Development Institute, 2017, 231, <https://www.kwdi.re.kr/publications/reportView.do?s=searchAll&w=%ED%8E%98%EB%AF%B8%EB%8B%88%EC%A6%98&p=1&idx=115010>.

⁶ “Global Gender Gap Report 2020,” *World Economic Forum*, December 16, 2019: 209, http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2020.pdf.

⁷ The K-drama *Misty*'s lead female character has an estranged relationship with her husband because she chooses her career over having a child. Although the couple love each other and reunite in the end, the negative tension between them exists throughout most of the show.

videos and social media like Instagram—perpetuates gender stereotypes which, in turn, impacts Korean women, including the relatively highly educated, middle-class, young Korean women who contest these representations. Korean netizens (net citizens) also affect perceptions of gender-biased discrimination against women, both supporting as well as rejecting feminism in Korea.

Opening Act: Scholarship on Media and Gender in Korea

When it comes to Korean culture and media, most scholarships available in the English language for Western readers focus on Hallyu, or the Korean Wave. Today, BTS, one of the most popular Korean boy groups in the world, has garnered widespread global attention thanks to their rapid rise to success, attracting research on K-pop and its impression on youth worldwide. Dal Yong Jin discusses how the K-pop industry utilizes social media to expand exponentially, contributing to the political economy of Korean popular culture.⁸ K-pop as a cultural economy has been further examined in texts like Youjeong Oh's book, which asserts that this genre serves as a vehicle to promote tourism in specific cities in South Korea.⁹ Another book evaluates the effect of Korean cultural products in different parts of the world, though mostly the West.¹⁰ Kyung Hyun Kim's volume on the "Korean Wave" also inspects K-pop by considering Korea's history and political developments over time.¹¹

⁸ Dal Yong Jin, *New Korean Wave: Transnational Cultural Power in the Age of Social Media* (Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2016).

⁹ Youjeong Oh, *Pop City: Korean Popular Culture and the Selling of Place* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018).

¹⁰ Valentina Marinescu, ed., *The Global Impact of South Korean Popular Culture: Hallyu Unbound* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2014).

¹¹ Kyung Hyun Kim, and Youngmin Choe, *The Korean Popular Culture Reader* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2014).

Along with the prevalent discourse on K-pop, certain scholars have written about Korean movies that have gained international popularity, examining the impact that these particular visual mediums have on identity and their larger social implications. These articles, however, tend to only look at specific genres as Steve Choe does in his book that examines violence in Korean movies.¹² In another book, various scholars contribute to how Korean cinema relates to the formation of cultural, and national identities.¹³ Youna Kim's book *The Korean Wave* considers the cultural, social and political implications of this global phenomenon of Korean popular culture.¹⁴ Now with *Parasite*'s multiple wins at the Oscars in 2020, there is no doubt academics will continue to appreciate and critique more recent Korean media—both television and film.

Although scholarship on women and gender has relatively less visibility as of now, it is gaining more interest, with Korean women becoming more aware of their rights and the discrimination they face in Korean society.¹⁵ That said, I have yet to find any work that focuses on the portrayal of women in recent Korean movies. This project provides a useful analysis of Korean gender representation in three contemporary Korean films, integrating news articles and a survey into the discussion. My own research up until now has looked at the representation of women and relationships in K-dramas, as well as its ability to affect perceptions of Indian fans,¹⁶ but I have yet to delve into how Korean women themselves react to how they are portrayed in the

¹² Steve Choe, *Sovereign Violence: Ethics and South Korean Cinema in the New Millennium* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam: University Press, 2016).

¹³ Frances Gateward, ed., *Seoul Searching: Culture and Identity in Contemporary Korean Cinema* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007).

¹⁴ Youna Kim, *The Korean Wave Korean Media Go Global* (London: Routledge, 2013).

¹⁵ The novel *Kim Ji-Young, Born 1982*, especially, has stirred Korean society.

¹⁶ Neha Cariappa, "The Reality Behind the Fantasy of K-dramas: An Analysis of Indian Fans," (Asia Pacific Studies Course 636, University of San Francisco, December 2019).

media. Since my previous studies looked at Korean dramas, I want to widen the scope and explore various forms of media that reach more demographics and diverse groups.

This paper fills in research gaps by looking at how Koreans today perceive the way women are expected to behave in society and how the media influences their views. Moreover, diverse opinions on feminism, gender equality and women's rights will be investigated. The role of the internet in encouraging stereotypes, as well as in fighting them, needs further examination, especially in a Korean context, with the world now exhibiting more interest in the Korean entertainment industry.

This project employs a mixed-methods approach. Along with scholarly discourse, I analyze various forms of media including movies, variety shows and social media—specifically Instagram and Twitter. In addition, through circulation of an online survey among Koreans through Google Forms, I have collected empirical data about how media representation of gender has affected the perceptions of women & feminism as well as the views of both Korean men and women regarding issues such as outer appearance, careers, family, and relationships. There are a total of 67 respondents, 39 identifying as male and 28 identifying as female. 67% of the participants are in their 20s, 30% in their 30s, and the remaining are 40 years old and above.¹⁷ The fact that more males have responded to this survey about sexism in Korea conducted by an outside researcher of a different cultural origin demonstrates that at least some men are motivated to contribute their own voice and views towards the Korean discourse on feminism today.

The limitations of this survey are that some respondents gave general answers, or answers that may not be what they really think. Furthermore, supporting feminism and supporting gender

¹⁷ See Appendix 1 for the survey questions.

equality may not be considered as congruent for some people, and hence will sometimes be referred to in this paper as separate concepts. This paper is not intended to simply criticize Korean society but meant to recognize and explore in depth the complex issues pertaining to certain forms of media that portray women through a sexist and misogynistic lens.

The First Run: Reactions of Korean Viewers

Usually when you see females in movies, they feel like they have these metallic structures around them, they are caged by male energy. — Björk¹⁸

No matter how women are portrayed in the media, they seem to be put into cages. If a film is categorized as feminist, then it is usually not considered a good film by Koreans thanks to their negative conception of the term “feminism.” In order to examine how sexism operates in Korean media, of particular relevance to this paper are these Korean movies of 2019: *Extreme Job* (극한 직업),¹⁹ the second highest grossing film in Korea;²⁰ *Miss & Mrs. Cops* (걸캅스)²¹ ;

¹⁸ Liz Hoggard, “‘Maybe I’ll be a feminist in my old age,’” *The Guardian*, March 12, 2005, <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2005/mar/13/popandrock>.

¹⁹ *Extreme Job* (극한 직업), directed by Lee Byeong-heon (2019; South Korea: About Film, 2019), Amazon Prime.

²⁰ “‘Extreme Job’ Breaks Record For Highest Ticket Sales Of Any Korean Comedy Film In History,” *Soompi*, February 10, 2019, <https://www.soompi.com/article/1302753wpp/extreme-job-breaks-record-for-highest-ticket-sales-of-any-korean-comedy-film-in-history>.

²¹ *Miss & Mrs. Cops* (걸캅스), directed by Jung Da-Won (2019; South Korea: Film Momentum, 2019), Amazon Prime.

and *Kim Ji-Young, Born 1982* (82년생 김지영),²² a film based on a novel with the same name that is considered to be a significant feminist work in South Korea. According to the survey I conducted, almost 81% of the participants had watched *Extreme Job*, only 30% watched *Miss & Mrs. Cops*, and almost 40% watched *Kim Ji-Young, Born 1982*.

In order to effectively analyze the plots as well as the reaction of Korean audiences to the plots of these movies, factors to be considered include the demographic makeup of viewers as well as their opinions regarding feminism and gender equality. It is essential to understand that not every woman has experienced the same situations, and that there are also women who may not even realize the subtle sexism that exists around them. This affects the way they perceive female roles in films, and also may lead them to disregard other women's support of these feminist characters.

Some movies are more accepted in terms of progressive gender roles, such as *Extreme Job*. What caught my eye while watching *Extreme Job* was the character portrayal of the only woman on the police team. She was as qualified—and as wild—as her fellow male teammates. I use the word “wild” not in comparison to qualities of a male or a female, but in comparison to the expected behavior of police officers. She does not behave in a “lady-like” fashion and in a way that could be considered as “one of the boys,” as she is shown expressing her emotions and actions in a manner similar to the stereotypical male—for example, holding one of her team members in a playful chokehold, which is associated with male bonding. Her role is definitely distinct from the typical “traditional” role of a woman as a typical housewife. While the first criticism that comes to mind is the fact that she was the only woman on the team, the actual

²² *Kim Ji-Young, Born 1982* (82년생 김지영), directed by Kim Do-young, (2019; South Korea: Lotte Entertainment), Theater.

number of women in the Korean police force confirms this reality. As of December 31, 2018, of a total of around 120,448 personnel in the Korean National Police Force, there were only around 13,582 female personnel.²³ This is not very surprising, considering that in 2017, representation of women in the police force globally accounts for only about 15%.²⁴

Nevertheless, the female team member, played by actress Honey Lee, is not overshadowed by the male members in terms of her sleuthing skills. As a comedy film, the team members often make silly mistakes, but when it comes to physical confrontations, Honey Lee's character, being a champion in Taekwondo, causes as much damage to the criminals as her male counterparts on the team. In the final showdown, even though outnumbered, the members are able to overpower the bad guys, and the scenes contain the perfect blend of action and humor. In fact, Lee's character even gets an extra fight scene, against the female bodyguard of the evil boss, where the women battle it out with Lee ending the fight in victory. Apart from Lee's character, the fact that the evil boss has a female assassin protecting him can also be perceived as a portrayal of gender equality, since bodyguards of a mafia boss are generally male. In addition, the film received more positive attention thanks to the director, Lee Byeong-heon, who is known for his other films—*Twenty* and *Sunny*, to name a few. Some of the participants in my survey also stated this as a reason for watching the film: "I watched the film because I was a fan of the director."

While *Extreme Job* received a largely positive response from audiences, perhaps due to its humor, another comedy-crime film released in 2019, *Miss. & Mrs. Cops*—in which two

²³ "Gender-wise based on skill and Rank," *Korean National Police Agency*, last modified December 2018, <https://www.police.go.kr/eng/statistics/statisticsSm/statistics10.jsp>.

²⁴ "Data Brief: Toward Gender Parity in Police Forces: June 2017 Data Brief," *The Women in Public Service Project*, May 31, 2017, <http://www.50x50movement.org/article/data-brief-toward-gender-parity-police-forces>.

female police officers, who are sisters in law, solve a crime involving a network of digital sexual assault of women—received a less positive one. The two women cops break up a crime ring using their wits in a good combination of humor and action scenes. They work off duty to follow clues, and encounter both opposing senior level and violent thugs, before managing to capture the villainous mastermind. While there is no statement made about the film taking a feminist stand, the Korean audience seemed to receive it that way. In a one-on-one interview with a Korean male, he claimed to find the movie lacking in quality action scenes while also expressing his dislike for the film as it was “trying to portray a specific message about women.”²⁵ On the other hand, *Extreme Job*'s inclusion of a fight between the two strong female characters didn't seem to get this same reaction from viewers. It was so popular at the time of its release that it was viewed by the public, that there was no reason to see it as anything other than a comedy/action film.

Certain movies which are even more direct in their advocacy of gender equality and feminism, generally receive even more negative responses among Korean audiences. *Kim Ji-Young, Born 1982*, referred to as KJY hereafter, is about a woman in her mid-30s who recollects all the confrontations with sexism she has experienced throughout her life. In one scene, the main character Kim Ji-Young recalls an incident of molestation on the bus home from cram school late at night. She barely manages to get away from her attacker, and calls her dad to pick her up from the bus station near her house. While walking back, her father starts blaming her for attracting attention with a “short” school uniform skirt, and scolding her about smiling at random people. Ji-young is clearly taken aback and says she never smiled at anyone but her father

²⁵ According to a separate interview with a 26-year-old Korean male in 2019.

doesn't let it go. In fact, he presses more about how she should be careful, and she should be avoiding such situations: "If you can't avoid it, it's your fault."²⁶

This film has seen particularly huge backlash from Korean males—specifically targeted towards young women who showed their support for this movie and claimed to relate to it, when they were “not even born in 1982.”²⁷ The assumption behind such statements is that since these young women were not born in 1982, they haven't faced any similar situations of gender discrimination in their lives. Along with these problematic views, feminism is still considered a taboo subject in Korea today, where women find it uncomfortable, and sometimes unsafe, to call themselves feminists in public.²⁸ Actress Bae Suzy, who has previously spoken about women's rights, showed her support for the film on Instagram with the caption, “Our story,”²⁹ which led to Korean netizens commenting both against and in support of Suzy's “feminist” stance. In order to defend her, people claimed that Suzy was simply showing her support towards the two lead actors who are both actors in the same label as her.³⁰ Fans defended her by saying that she wasn't making a feminist statement at all. Other netizens attacked Suzy saying, “Having debuted at the

²⁶ *Kim Ji-Young, Born 1982 (82년생 김지영)*, directed by Kim Do-young.

²⁷ According to my interview with a 24-year-old Korean female in 2019.

²⁸ Ann Babe, “Seoul's Doing Cafe Creates Community Around Feminism, Still a Taboo in South Korea,” *PRI*, February 20, 2018, <https://www.pri.org/stories/2018-02-20/seouls-doing-cafe-creates-community-around-feminism-still-taboo-south-korea>.

²⁹ Original caption: “우리 모두의 이야기”. Suzy Bae (skuukzky), “우리 모두의 이야기,” Instagram, October 21, 2019, https://www.instagram.com/p/B36Udg_Bh1u/?utm_source=ig_embed.

³⁰ Original: “공유랑 정유미가 소속사 선배라 홍보해준게 잘못인가.” Many comments in support of Suzy expressed similar opinions. Ji-sun Lee 이지선, “수지, 영화 '82년생 김지영' 향한 응원 "우리 모두의 이야기"” [Suzy Shows Support for Film ‘Kim Ji-Young, Born 1982’, “Our Story”], *Nate 뉴스*, October 22, 2019, <https://news.nate.com/view/20191022n29996?mid=n1008>.

age of 17, what have men done to her that she thinks the story is about us all??”³¹ Suzy isn’t the first female celebrity to be criticized by Korean netizens about her views on gender equality.

Choi Sooyoung, a member of the legendary K-pop girl group Girls’ Generation (소녀시대), and Irene, leader of girl group Red Velvet, received backlash for having read the book *Kim Ji-Young, Born 1982*.

The difference in how the films portray gender clearly results in the opposite reactions from the general public. Since *Extreme Job* isn’t a “feminist” film, the “badass” female character is cool and funny. But in the context of a serious “feminist” film like *KJY*, Koreans question the supposed authenticity of certain aspects of the film. Simply put, the film with a clear “feminist” representation gets more backlash from netizens. At the same time, in *Extreme Job*, comedy acts as a buffer which makes people less resistant to the strong female character who is as strong as her male team members. Through the use of humor, the thought that “this female can’t be stronger than a man” doesn’t occur as easily, since the whole situation itself is made to seem outrageous and hilarious. The subtle impression of equal strength is perceived as more acceptable than the portrayal of outright gender inequality as shown in *KJY*. The same cannot be said for *Miss. & Mrs. Cops*, which is caught in a bind by being called a feminist film. In this case, the humor isn’t enough to mask the supposed “message” of women being equally capable.

Among the participants of my survey, 31.3% had wanted to watch *KJY*, with 19.5% wanting to watch because it was feminist. Almost 15% didn’t want to watch it because it *was* feminist, and 34% didn’t watch it because they thought it would be boring. With *Miss. & Mrs.*

³¹ Original comment: “애는 17 살에 데뷔해서 남자들한테 피해 입은게 뭐가 있다고 우리들 모두의 이야기래??” Ibid.

Cops, 19.4% wanted to watch it, with only 6% wanting to watch because it was feminist. 10.5% didn't want to watch it because it *was* feminist, while 61% didn't watch it because they thought it would be boring. Since the majority of the respondents were male, these results are not surprising. It is possible that Korean males thought the movies were targeting women since one movie has female protagonists (*Miss. & Mrs. Cops*) and the other movie is based on a feminist novel (*KJY*). Assuming that the film would be boring may also have to do with the Korean men not finding a film about women worth watching at all. In Korea, watching movies is considered as a type of hobby,³² similar to watching sports and other performances. Accordingly, if Koreans don't empathize or sympathize with feminism, it is a reasonable inference that movies that are feminist or labelled as feminist will be perceived as boring.

There is no clear gender bias in the negative comments; even some Korean women haven't shown support for this film, claiming in comments online that they have allegedly never experienced any gender-based discrimination in their daily life. Since each person's encounter in the world, and in this case of Korean society, is unique to themselves, it can't be absolutely refuted. The diverse experience with gender discrimination as well a person's understanding of gender discrimination affects the way they interact with the concept of feminism.

Histrionic Acts: Korean Variety Shows

³² “직장인 73.3%, 즐겨하는 취미생활은? 영화 공연 스포츠관람이 1 위로 나타나” [73.3% of Office Workers, What is Your Hobby? Watching Movies and Sports ranks No.1], *데일리문화 People and Cultural News*, September 19, 2019, <http://www.dailymunwha.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=779>.

*What the mass media offers is not popular art, but entertainment which is intended to be consumed like food, forgotten, and replaced by a new dish. — W. H. Auden*³³

Indeed, as Auden states, with popular media, things are quickly consumed before we move on to the next new thing. We live in a culture inundated with new television shows and movies. As a result, there is a lot that goes into making a TV show stand out and to be successful. In a world where we tire so easily of one thing, or lack sustained patience or time to focus on things for the long haul, it takes creativity and intelligence to keep a show going for years. In South Korea, variety shows are one of the most watched television shows, and is considered an important genre of Korean television.³⁴ These entertainment shows don't stick to just one theme like "talk show" or "game show," but incorporate these elements into one complete show. *Running Man*, a Korean variety show that has fans worldwide, has 8 permanent members; they interview guests for 5 minutes each before playing games in teams to avoid the final punishment. Since variety shows are extremely popular in Korea today, you find many upcoming programs with different themes—including a classroom setting, a large-scale escape room setting, and camping settings, among many others.

In the majority of Korean variety shows, gender imbalance among the cast members is not an unusual occurrence. Despite the fact that the Korean female population just barely

³³ *Forbes Quotes*, <https://www.forbes.com/quotes/9553/>.

³⁴ Sang-ki Shin 신상기, “텔레비전 예능의 대중문화적 함의 : 한국 지상파 텔레비전 리얼 버라이어티 쇼를 중심으로” [*Impact of TV Entertainment Programs : Focusing on Real Variety Show Programs*], Seoul: Dongguk University, 2015, 73, http://www.riss.kr/search/detail/DetailView.do?p_mat_type=be54d9b8bc7cdb09&control_no=fc9f5898e2e66990ffe0bdc3ef48d419.

outnumbers the male population,³⁵ several popular variety shows either have an all-male cast or have a majority of men as permanent members of the shows. *2 Days 1 Night*, a show that won the KBS Viewers' Choice Best Program award³⁶ for 4 years in a row from 2015 to 2018, has an all-male cast. Even variety show series like *New Journey to the West* and *Youth Over Flowers*, that are popular travel variety shows only have male cast members.

Most of the permanent cast members of variety shows tend to be comedians. When there is no shortage of female comedians and celebrities, why is it that they are not given as much opportunity as male comedians and celebrities are? While some producers claim that since the majority of the Korean audience is female they have no choice but to cast male celebrities, a large number of female viewers have been found to enjoy and support programs with “wild, strong women.”³⁷ This may refer to women who don't stick to the stereotype of being *soft* and *meek*, but instead are more outspoken and willing to act outside restrictive gender norms for the sake of comedy. But these shows are still not a trend in the Korean entertainment industry. Other than a few top female hosts of variety shows—such as Park Narae, Lee Young Ja and Jang Do Yeon—it is hard to find a gender-balanced variety program. Furthermore, the all-female cast variety program *Sister's Slam Dunk* (*언니들의 슬램덩크*), was unable to receive good ratings in

³⁵ Yon-se Kim, “Women Increasingly Outnumber Men in Korea,” *The Korea Herald*, November 19, 2019, <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20191119000682>.

³⁶ KBS stands for Korean Broadcasting Service, one of the top broadcasting companies in South Korea.

³⁷ Sonia Kil, “Korean TV's Gender Imbalance No Laughing Matter,” *Variety*, April 3, 2017, <https://variety.com/2017/tv/asia/korean-tv-gender-imbalance-1202019919/>.

Korea, despite having 2 seasons and doing considerably well with the international audience.³⁸ The women often showed quirky, and assertive sides, which may have put off Korean viewers.

Another facet of variety shows is the reactions that cast members and guests provide. The show *Knowing Brothers*, another all-male cast show, often shows an exaggerated amount of excitement when female K-pop idol groups visit the show as guests. In 2016, the show received many complaints that members were using language that was offensive to women and that certain actions of theirs were considered sexual harassment.³⁹ Although they seem to have avoided getting into any controversies recently, their “enthusiasm” at seeing beautiful and famous female celebrities remains consistent. Korean variety shows emphasize the need for dramatized responses to seem funny or to draw attention, and so these excited greetings could be seen as a result of that. But there is an unmistakable contrast in the cast member’s reactions to female celebrities who are not conventionally pretty, or are female comedians—there is little or no enthusiastic cheering as expressed when beautiful female guests come on the show. They also have a fixed question that they tend to ask attractive female celebrities on the show, “Out of all of us [cast members], if you ignore current circumstances like wealth & marriage, who would you say is your ideal type of man?” When put on the spot like that, the women have no choice but to give an answer, and usually resort to choosing the already married male members—Kang

³⁸ Season 2 episodes of *Sister’s Slam Dunk* uploaded onto YouTube have more than a million views for each episode, and based on the comments, this show was popular among international fans.

³⁹ Ye-bin Jo 조예빈, ““너 게이야?” JTBC ‘아는형님’ 중징계 결정” [“Are you gay?” JTBC ‘Knowing Brothers’ Severe Penalty Decided], *Naver News 뉴스*, December 22, 2016, <https://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LSD&mid=sec&sid1=102&oid=006&aid=0000084444>.

Hodong and Lee Sugeun in *Knowing Brothers*—saying that they remind them of their dad, or that they really like that member’s humor.

Apart from coercing answers to such questions, other shows almost always try to find a “love line”. The term “love line” (literally in Korean 러브라인), refers to creating a potential couple based on certain actions or reactions; for example, when a male cast member starts “blushing” while interacting with a female celebrity guest, the other cast members will tease the two together endlessly. In the case of a forced “love line,” which is a typical situation, the female guests are expected to play along at least for that episode. Of course, the same situation may be forced on to an attractive male celebrity being teased with a female cast member by the male cast members. This is seen in some recent episodes of *Running Man*, with female cast member Jeon Somin being teased with good-looking male guests in various episodes. The role of a cast member “desperate for love” has been an ongoing theme on the show, where cast member Lee Gwang-soo used to portray himself as someone who falls in love easily. Since he was revealed to be dating a fellow actress, this role was taken over by Jeon.

Although female celebrities are starting to gain more attention from both male and female audiences, the entertainment industry is still harsher on them. While women have more spots as permanent cast members and MCs, there is a lack of new faces receiving such offers. Once these shows discover someone is entertaining, other production teams tend to invite the same people on their respective shows. Thus, while variety shows are the most popular category of television program, variety shows are often considered problematic for the issues addressed in this section.

A Dynamic Stage: Voices on the Internet

*The people will believe what the media tells them they believe. — George Orwell*⁴⁰

While movies and variety shows have a considerable impact and offer a valuable tool to gauge audience reactions to female character representations, the internet is a dynamic platform that both perpetuates and reshapes various stereotypes. In many ways, it is a buffer against Orwell's statement, holding the media accountable and in check. On this platform, there are various avenues for us to express our joy, sadness, frustration and anger about events in our lives, or even in those of the lives of others. Many of these avenues even allow us to remain anonymous while making posts or commenting on them. Social media today plays a huge role in providing us with ways to express our views and to be able to connect with others who have similar interests. Hence, the internet is a useful platform to examine the multiple and, at times, unpredictable opinions of Koreans.

This section analyzes specific posts by Koreans on social media with regard to feminism, the films discussed in the previous section and how Korean feminists have used these platforms to promote gender equality and take a stand against sexism. Social media is also used by Korean feminists to bring attention to the misogyny that they have observed in the Korean media—newspaper articles, variety shows, and other television programs. In this section, the focus will center on the movies addressed earlier, as well as celebrities and non-celebrities with regard to feminism and sexism, since these seem to be the most prevalent subjects discussed on these platforms.

⁴⁰ George Packer, "Doublethink Is Stronger Than Orwell Imagined: What *1984* Means Today," *The Atlantic*, July 2019, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2019/07/1984-george-orwell/590638/>.

I chose Instagram for its visual focus and medium, and Twitter because it has many followers from the Korean LGBTQ+ community. Since South Korea is still conservative when it comes to open, transparent discussions surrounding sexuality and gender, Twitter's large following underscores the platform's socially non-restrictive functions. Twitter will also be examined in relation to how the feminist philosophy is propagated through explicit feminist representation, and the accompanying anti-feminist responses. Further, tweets with reactions to women at various events or in their daily lives will be observed. These questions are fascinating and important: How does the Korean internet perpetuate certain views on gender equality, and garner support or encourage discontent towards feminist films and celebrities? And how aware are Koreans themselves of this phenomenon? Looking at these issues and answering these questions will shed some light on the way those in a particular society interpret portrayals of gender, feminism and gender equality.

Although everything that is published on the internet stays on it forever, one can take solace in the fact that viewers of their posts or comments often don't know the identity of the person behind the screen. This supposed "anonymity" on the internet invites entries with content that people may often be hesitant to say out loud in person. And while this may apply to various blogs and forums, it also applies to social media forums, where people make several accounts for different purposes—to follow celebrities, or simply to post really personal things about oneself. The results of my survey, however, didn't portray this trend. Since this section focuses on the use of Twitter by Korean feminists, these results are not disappointing. Almost 31% of the respondents claimed that they didn't use Twitter anonymously, while 12% said they did use it anonymously and 3% had more than one Twitter account. With more male respondents of the survey, it makes sense that they don't find Twitter an appealing social media platform. Among

reasons for maintaining anonymous accounts, some of the responses included not wanting their real names to pop up in a Google search, and wanting to tweet without worrying about being traced back to their real identities.

In 2015, the hashtag #IAmAFeminist was used by Korean women as a way of fighting back against gender discrimination by Korean men. According to an article by the *Huffington Post*, this encouraged women to utilize social networking sites and start social movements both online and on the streets.⁴¹ Apparently, when Twitter CEO Jack Dorsey visited Korea in 2019, he stated, “The image of Korean women sharing their experiences on Twitter and bringing about change is impressive.”⁴²

Korean feminist tweeters show a lot of support towards movies about women, and female celebrities who endorse gender equality and feminism. In one such tweet, a user posted about a popular female singer Lee Hyori discussing her encounter with sexual harassment during an advertisement shoot. The tweet has 8.9K retweets:

A while back on TV, just like Kiko,⁴³ Lee Hyori condemned her experience at a commercial shoot where the client exerted their authority and verbally sexually

⁴¹ Sung-hee Yang, “Young Women In South Korea Are Driving An Era Of Change,” *Huffington Post*, April 18, 2019, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/south-korea-me-too-abortion_n_5cb88498e4b09dc528ced991?guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xlLmNvbS8&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAAJK-eJDkX6hwdpVmW-Z0HpGm3twaaNjaNzZ07v6esIqaltdMJrXR_sgrTI6o4HpAEAVaWYm33hxq8l0z0xGov-cZQWw4kjLBxAwkkXv6vxoQYXdusS2jsmyuypTW9xzxKUpvmtEA3F9JFywkrK3E5MBKu1h3a5XuZ4z95AkuVgMR.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Kiko Mizuhara is a Japanese Korean who faced backlash when she spoke out against the sexual abuse she faced during a photoshoot. “Mizuhara Kiko Reveals She Was Sexually Harassed, Speaks Up For The #MeToo Movement,” *Koreaboo*, April 10, 2018, <https://www.koreaboo.com/news/mizuhara-kiko-reveals-sexually-harassed-speaks-metoo-movement/>.

*harassed her. She regrets not having been able to fight back against the advertiser at that time.*⁴⁴

This particular tweet is written out of respect for Lee Hyori, who spoke out on TV about her experience of sexual harassment. No matter the gender, people find it difficult to publicly discuss such personal issues. And in a patriarchal and conservative society like Korea, a female celebrity contributing to the conversation makes a huge impact. The person who tweeted this added more tweets to the same Twitter thread, with one expressing that there are definitely more celebrities who would have gone through similar experiences, which shows a lack of respect for women.⁴⁵

In early May 2020, news articles were released praising Korean actor Jo Jung-suk. As an actor who usually receives around one million won per episode, he had agreed to work for a much lower pay in the recent K-drama series titled *Hospital Playlist*—with one headline even calling him a “loyal actor”.⁴⁶ A few days later, news articles wrote about Korean actress Kim Hee-ae making 12 billion won for her role in K-drama series *The World of the Married*—which has recently received the highest drama ratings on Korean cable TV. Many tweets address the gap between the pay of an actor and an actress and problematic descriptions by the media. One such tweet received 23.5k retweets, discussing how “ridiculous” it is that the news about the

⁴⁴ 브리라순자 (@not_unot_u), “예전에 이효리도 키코처럼 광고촬영장에서 “권위의식에 꼭 찬 무례한” 광고주에게 성희롱성 발언 들었던 걸 방송에서 성토했던 적이 있었다. 그 자리에서 그 광고주에게 바로 따지지 못했던 게 한이 되었다고..” Twitter, March 21, 2020, https://twitter.com/not_unot_u/status/1241287326317154305?s=20.

⁴⁵ 브리라순자 (@not_unot_u), “저런 일 당한 게 두 사람 뿐이겠나. 저 남자들은 다른 여성도 존중하지 않고 무례하게 굴면서 살았겠지. 그게 실례인 줄도 모르고. 뒤에서 욕먹는 줄도 모르고..” Twitter, March 21, 2020, https://twitter.com/not_unot_u/status/1241289590700265473?s=20.

⁴⁶ Jimin Jang, “조정석 ‘슬의생’ 출연료 자진삭감... “의리 있는 배우”” [Jo Jung-suk’s Voluntary Pay Cut in *Hospital Playlist*... “A Loyal Actor”], *Hankyung.com*, May 5, 2020, <https://www.hankyung.com/entertainment/article/2020050559167>.

male actor describes him using positive adjectives for taking lesser pay per episode, but when discussing the female actor's *total* pay for the whole show the headlines are more sarcastic and exaggerated.⁴⁷ This shows that Koreans recognize the bias that the media presents when discussing people of different genders, and how important it is to acknowledge it so that one is not easily manipulated by them.

Along with discussing celebrities, Twitter is also used to bring attention to feminist films. Many Koreans showed support for KJY by promoting it on Twitter, and encouraging people to go watch the movie. One such tweet with the movie poster and information about the release date received 18.3K retweets.⁴⁸ Further, Korean feminists engage in an interesting social phenomenon related to films. Those who want to watch a movie and show their support for it, but are too busy to watch it in the theatre, participate in something called “sending their soul” (“영혼보내기”), similar to when one claims to “be there in spirit.”⁴⁹ It refers to buying a movie ticket online but not being able to actually go watch the movie. Buying the ticket adds to the

⁴⁷ (@_amoodo), “조정석 원래 편당 1 억받는데 주인공 다섯명인 슬의 출연료 낮춰 들어온 건 훈훈한 미담이라고 한창 기사 뜨더니, 김희애 혼자 끌고 가는 뷁의세계 출연료 편당 7 천인건 16 부작 합쳐서 12 억이라고 ‘억 소리 나네’같은 제목 붙여서 기사 내네...조정석 1 억인데 김희애 7 천 받는게 애초에 말이 된다고?” Twitter, May 11, 2020, https://twitter.com/_amoodo/status/1259405571314208768?s=12.

⁴⁸ J (@itayloryou), “첫 공식 포스터가 공개된 당신과 나의 이야기 영화 <82 년생 김지영> 2019 년 10 월 대개봉,” Twitter, September 20, 2019, <https://twitter.com/itayloryou/status/1175181998630920193?s=20>.

⁴⁹ Lala Owen and In-kyung Yoon 라라 오웬 & 윤인경, “영혼 보내기: 여성 중심 영화 지지자들의 새로운 관람 문화” [Sending the Soul: A New Culture Among Supporters of Female Protagonist Films], *BCC Korea*, June 17, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/korean/news-48636838>.

overall sales of the movie, and by doing so Koreans are showing support for movies by preventing low sales for the film.

Further, Korean feminists ridiculed Korean netizens who showed distaste for the film online. A tweet had a screenshot of *KJY*'s ratings by people who watched the movie giving it an average of 9 and netizens giving the movie a 4, often without even watching the film.⁵⁰ This emphasizes the extent to which non-feminists—both men and women—go to show their dislike towards a feminist movie in these anonymous reviews. Another tweet about *KJY* showed screenshots of an Instagram post by a journalist in support of the movie that had been reported as hate speech by users and was removed by Instagram not long after it was uploaded stating that the post was “against community guidelines.” This tweet has 19.5K retweets:

*Journalist Wi Geun-woo posted a review of the movie Kim Ji-Young, Born 1982, and not long after it was uploaded we heard that the post was taken down because it was reported to be hate speech.*⁵¹

Wi Geun-woo is a journalist who writes about gender-related topics with regard to movies, songs and dramas. He stated in an interview that when he saw how the plea for gender equality was not well-received in society, asserting that “this is the difference between surviving and existing,”⁵² implying that women are trying to survive in society as opposed to the men whose struggles do

⁵⁰ 브리라순자 (@not_unot_u), “82 년생 김지영 평점 봐 관람객 9.6 네티즌 4.49 ㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋ,” Twitter, October 22, 2019, https://twitter.com/not_unot_u/status/1186895223915335680?s=20.

⁵¹ Jin (@dogwho), “위근우 기자가 82 년생 김지영 후기를 포스팅했고 올라온 지 얼마 되지 않아 혐오발언으로 신고당했다는 소식,” Twitter, October 24, 2019, <https://twitter.com/dogwh0/status/1187379347725979649?s=20>.

⁵² Sowon Shin 신소원, “‘뜨거운 사이다’ 男페미니스트 위근우 “생존·실존의 문제”” [‘Hot & Refreshing’ Male Feminist Wi Geun-woo “Problem of Survival and Existence”], *Naver TV 연예 News*, September 7, 2017, <https://entertain.naver.com/read?oid=117&aid=0002954501>.

not compare to those of women. Having learned about feminism from his wife, Wi's advice to fellow men who know nothing about feminism was, "Ask your wife or your romantic partner as much as you can about feminism. Only if you're ready to listen attentively."⁵³

To elaborate more on how feminism is perceived in Korea, this section will explore movie reviews and ratings of the feminist films addressed in this paper, which are available on the popular Korean search engine, Naver. There seemed to erupt a strange reaction by netizens when *KJY* came out. On Naver's page of the film,⁵⁴ netizens gave extremely bad reviews with an average of 6.69/10 [Appendix 2, Figure 1]. The site also gives a demographic of the people rating the films, and among the netizens who rated the film, the male netizens rated it an average of 2.97 while female netizens rated it an average of 9.48. On the other hand, those who watched the movie in the theater rated it an average of 9.13, with the men rating the film an average of 8.67 and the women rating it an average of 9.31. It must be acknowledged that there could be discrepancies in the numbers as the netizen ratings could also include those who watched it in the theater, and it could include some who haven't watched the movie at all. The bad reviews affect the movie's ratings overall, but the intention is likely to give a bad name to feminism and feminists. Nevertheless, there are people who sympathize and empathize with this film. Journalist Wi compared the success of the book in his instagram review of the film *KJY* saying, "Personally, as the novel *Kim Ji-Young, Born 1982* sold millions of copies, it had a demonizing

⁵³ "페미니즘에 대해 잘 모르겠다는 남성들은 아내나 연인에게 최대한 많이 물어보면 될 것 같다. 경청할 준비만 돼있다면." Ibid.

⁵⁴ "걸캅스" [Miss & Mrs. Cops], *Naver 영화*, accessed April 12, 2020, <https://movie.naver.com/movie/bi/mi/point.nhn?code=174065#tab>.

effect on the men; but the fact that it was so successful in the market also mocked the same men. I hope the film does the same.”⁵⁵



Figure 1. Reviews for *Kim Ji-Young, Born 1982* on Naver.

The same trend is visible in the Naver page for *Miss. & Mrs. Cops* [Appendix 2, Figure 2], with netizens rating it an average of 5.69 (male avg: 2.02; female avg: 9.28) and moviegoers rating it an average of 9.01 (male avg: 8.05; female avg: 9.31). This was a phenomenon not restricted to just Korean films. *Captain Marvel*, released in 2019, also saw a similar inclination on its Naver page. Netizens rated it an avg of 6.75, with men rating it an average of 4.36 and women rating it an average of 9.06.⁵⁶ While feminists are trying to create more awareness about sexism in Korean society, the anti-feminists try to take away the attention by creating negative

⁵⁵ Taken from image in tweet. Jin (@dogwho), “위근우 기자가 82년생 김지영 후기를 포스팅했고 올라온 지 얼마 되지 않아 혐오발언으로 신고당했다는 소식,” Twitter, October 24, 2019, <https://twitter.com/dogwh0/status/1187379347725979649/photo/1>.

⁵⁶ “캡틴 마블” [*Captain Marvel*], Naver 영화, accessed April 13, 2020, <https://movie.naver.com/movie/bi/mi/point.nhn?code=132623#tab>.

reviews of the films. But while the low ratings may give a bad name to the films, feminists continue to stand proud by showing their support online.



Figure 2. Reviews for *Miss. & Mrs. Cops* on Naver

Apart from exhibiting support for feminist films, Twitter is used to express feelings and emotions about daily life events people go through. Certain tweets discuss women’s frustrations with regard to sexist and misogynistic experiences. The Korean workplace rigorously employs the hierarchy of employees according to their seniority, but also subtly according to their gender. When referring to someone, usually you would use their surname and add the suffix of their titles at work—Manager, Team Leader, etc. One particular tweet with 19.5k retweets brought attention to how male colleagues or seniors would call out to women. The tweet quoted a screenshot of a male asking why women don’t like to be addressed as “Miss.” (미스) or “young lady” (아가씨). The person tweeting said sarcastically, “Calling a person using their name and job title just doesn’t come to mind.”⁵⁷

⁵⁷ 해머딘 (@lv99hammerdin), “이름과 직책을 부른다는 개념은 떠올리지 못함.” Twitter, March 14 2020, <https://twitter.com/lv99hammerdin/status/1238725645733187584?s=21>.

Social media is also a great way to inform others of what is happening around them, and the impact of certain events. In a tweet in May 2020, a particular protest in Seoul was brought to attention. This tweet had 8k retweets:

*I'm eating at a restaurant near Gangnam station and there's some protest happening down. Turns out they're protesting that feminism is a mental illness; this [South Korea] really isn't a place worth living in.*⁵⁸

The person tweeting is clearly distressed and disappointed by what they are seeing. While they are unsettled by the scene, the direct tone in the tweet reflects a sense of exhaustion regarding the unreasonable behavior of the protesters.

While there may be other anti-feminists or non-feminists on social media, Twitter acts as a functional platform to connect with fellow feminists, and to encourage the social movement of feminism. Similarly, members of sexual minorities also find a space on Twitter to advocate their cause and gather support, but since feminism is yet to gain a positive image, it also gains more attention from the general public. Among the tweets quoted earlier, some of the users have the rainbow flag on their Twitter account bio indicating their support of the LGBTQ+ community.⁵⁹ However, since this paper focuses on feminism in Korea, it does not specifically address the participation of sexual minorities in the feminist movement. All in all, the internet and social media serve as a platform for feminists to assert their views and speak out against others who make sexist and misogynist comments. Among other forms of promoting feminism, Twitter shows promise towards building this progressive social movement in Korea.

⁵⁸ 공주 2 (@princess_suman2), “강남역 식당에서 밥먹고 있는데 밑에서 무슨 시위해서 보니까 페미니즘 정신병 이러면서 시위하고 있음 진짜 여기는 살 곳이 아니구나,” Twitter, May 9, 2020, https://twitter.com/princess_suman2/status/1259363003343892481.

⁵⁹ For instance, the account of 브리라순자 (@not_unot_u), https://twitter.com/not_unot_u.

Denouement: Is There Hope for Feminism in Korea?

Whoever controls the media, the images, controls the culture. — Allen Ginsberg⁶⁰

Even today, most countries continue to face the problem of sexism. Since the media is utilized to control perceptions of the general public, it is inevitable that the group with the most social power will have the most control. It is imperative that we see the complex power of social media platforms, which allow some to dispel gender stereotypes even as others reinforce them. In developed countries in Asia, there is a lot more to consider that does not—and cannot—apply to most Western societies due to differences in historical and cultural paradigms. It is essential for us to understand the cultural and social context that shape the plots and representations illustrated in films and other forms of Korean media, such as variety shows.

The reactions of Koreans to feminist films as seen in the news and on the internet is evidence enough to prove the negative reaction of Korean males to the term “feminism” or “feminist.” At the same time, one cannot deny that times are changing, and the internet has exposed people to a broader perspective on critical issues. According to my survey, around 50% of the male respondents claimed that they “support women’s rights but not feminism” with 33% claiming to “support feminism.” On the other hand, 31% of the female respondents claimed to “support women’s rights but not feminism” with 55% claiming to “support feminism.” The female respondents are more supportive of the feminist movement since most men tend to

⁶⁰ “A Muse Unplugged,” *The New York Times*, October 8, 2007, <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/08/opinion/08mon4.html>.

associate feminism as a “man-hating movement”. Similarly, in another 2019 survey by Korean Women’s Development Institute with 1500 people (both men and women), there were some interesting results.⁶¹ With regard to opinions about politics, almost 70% agreed that in the case that all other circumstances are the same, they would vote for a woman politician over a male politician. In addition, the researchers found that around 81% said they would not vote for a politician who has previously demeaned women or expressed hatred towards them.

Thus, there is definitely a change taking place in the consciousness of Koreans, but it is slow. With better understanding of the term feminism, and extinction of the stigma attached to the term, there may be better synthesis between feminists and supporters of women’s rights. By listening to the voices of feminists and other women, we can critically uncover how the visual media—in explicit and subtle ways—both perpetuates and contests gender inequality and discrimination against women in South Korea. By embracing more progressive representations of women, and supporting them, we can keep shifting the needle slowly—towards a more equal and just culture for women.

⁶¹ Yoojin Choi, et al., “2019 년 양성평등추진전략사업: 성평등의제 발굴 및 확산” [2019 Strategy for (Promotion of) Gender Equality: Discovery and Spread of Gender Equality Agenda], Seoul: Korean Women’s Development Institute, December 2019, <https://www.kwdi.re.kr/publications/reportView.do?s=searchTitle&w=%EC%84%B1%ED%8F%89%EB%93%B1&p=1&idx=125235>.

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APPENDIX 1: List of Survey Questions

- Q1. What age are you?
- Q2. What gender do you identify as?
- Q3. Have you watched the movie '*Extreme Job*'?
- Q4. Why or why haven't you watched '*Extreme Job*'?
- Q5. Have you watched the movie '*Miss & Mrs. Cops*'?
- Q6. Why or why haven't you watched '*Miss & Mrs. Cops*'?
- Q7. Have you watched the movie '*Kim Ji-Young, Born 1982*'?
- Q8. Why or why haven't you watched '*Kim Ji-Young, Born 1982*'?
- Q9. Do you use any social media?
- Q10. Do you have anonymous accounts on Twitter?
- Q11. Why do you use anonymous accounts on Twitter?
- Q12. Do you ever discuss gender equality or gender discrimination with your friends?
- Q13. Do you ever feel pressured to upload only "pretty" pictures on Instagram?
- Q14. Out of these options, what do you consider as the most important values/goals in your life?
- Q15. Is there anything you have done, or felt you should do, due to societal pressures?
- Q16. What is your opinion of the feminist movement in Korea?
- Q17. If you have any further comments on feminism or women's rights in general or in Korea, please feel free to comment.