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Ambivalent Sexism and sexual harassment in South Korean
Dramas: a content analysis of two romantic k-dramas

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Department of Psychology

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Resumo

Nos últimos anos, os dramas sul-coreanos ganharam popularidade entre os telespectadores de todo o mundo. As principais razões para esse sucesso podem ser rastreadas até a fotografia, o cenário, mas principalmente a maneira como a trama romântica é desenvolvida e os relacionamentos românticos retratados. Com o crescimento econômico e industrial das últimas décadas, a Coreia do Sul confucionista também enfrentou mudanças sociais, que giraram em torno da evolução do papel das mulheres sul-coreanas na sociedade. No entanto, com o recente aumento dos movimentos anti-feminismo, o sexismo e o assédio sexual ainda representam um problema na Coreia do Sul contemporânea. Para verificar a presença desses problemas sociais nos dramas coreanos, foi conduzida uma análise de conteúdo de dois dos mais famosos k-dramas (*Boys Over Flowers*, representando os anos 2000, e *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?* os 2010s) utilizando o referencial Sexismo Ambivalente e o Sexual Experience Questionnaire (SEQ-DoD). Os resultados mostraram que ambos os k-dramas apresentaram cenas relacionadas ao sexismo e ao assédio sexual, sendo o primeiro mais retratado no k-drama mais recente e o segundo no mais antigo. As correlações e associações entre as subcategorias de cada framework e os comportamentos violentos apresentados pelo protagonista masculino foram exploradas em relação aos enredos. Além disso, foram analisadas as diferenças e semelhanças entre as duas linhas de tempo e os personagens dos dramas em termos de crenças sexistas e comportamentos de assédio sexual.

Palavras chave: análise de conteúdo; k-drama; sexismo ambivalente; assédio sexual; estereótipos de gênero.

Classificação nas categorias definidas pela American Psychological Association

(PsycINFO Classification Categories and Codes):

2900 Social Processes & Social Issues

      2910 Social Structure & Organization

      2970 Sex Roles & Women's Issues

Abstract

In the past few years South Korean Dramas gained popularity among TV-Show viewers all over the world. The main reasons for this success can be traced back to the photography, the setting, but mostly the way the romantic plot is developed and romantic relationships are portrayed. With the economical and industrial growth of the last decades, Confucianist South Korea also faced societal change, which revolved around the evolution of South Korean women's role in society. Nonetheless, with the recent rise of anti-feminism movements, sexism and sexual harassment still represent an issue in contemporary South Korea. In order to verify the presence of these societal problems in Korean dramas, a content analysis of two of the most famous k-dramas (*Boys Over Flowers*, representing the 2000s, and *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?* for the 2010s) was conducted using the Ambivalent Sexism framework and the Sexual Experience Questionnaire (SEQ-DoD). Results showed that both k-dramas displayed scenes related to sexism and sexual harassment, with the former more depicted in the most recent k-drama and the latter in the older one. Correlations and associations between the subcategories of each framework and violent behaviors shown by the male protagonist were explored in relation to the plots, while differences and similarities between the two timelines and the dramas' characters in terms of sexist beliefs and sexual harassment behaviors were analyzed.

Key words: content analysis; k-drama; ambivalent sexism; sexual harassment; gender stereotypes.

Classification as defined by American Psychological Association
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2900 Social Processes & Social Issues
　　　2910 Social Structure & Organization
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Introduction

Starting from the 1980s, the global popularity of South Korea's cultural economy increased significantly thanks to the exportation of the Korean pop culture, entertainment, music, TV dramas and movies, a phenomenon usually denominated *Korean Wave* (literally from the chinese 韩流, *Hallyu*). In the last few years something that really contributed to the Korean Wave were Korean pop music (k-pop) and Korean TV Shows (k-dramas). While k-pop has recently found new overseas fans through music streaming platforms and social media, specifically Twitter and Instagram, Korean Dramas became available on globally used streaming platforms (Netflix, Prime Video, Hulu and others), especially since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, when k-drama viewers started to increase exponentially (Korean Culture and Information Service, 2022). The reasons of this growing popularity among the Western audience are trackable in the different format of these TV-Shows, the visually pleasing aesthetics of the photography, the different pace of the story's development, compared to the Western produced TV-Shows, and lastly, the way romantic relationships are developed and portrayed (Lee, 2018).

Confucianist philosophy is one of the main influences when it comes to South Korean values, especially regarding gender roles and consequently romantic relationships' dynamics (Lee, 2019). These principles affect South Korean women daily, in both their family lives and the workplace (Lin & Rudolf, 2017; Lin & Tong, 2008).

In the past few decades South Korea faced many changes in different aspects, also involving the role of women in society (Yun-Shik & Lee, 2003), which is consequently evolving in k-dramas, following society's evolution (Lin & Tong, 2007).

Together with gender stereotypes, sexism also represents a problem in the South Korean society, as demonstrated by several studies (Lee, 2016; Shim & Endo, 2013) but also by the most recent anti-feminism movements (Lee & Zhang, 2020) of the past few years. Gender harassment in the workplace (Lee, 2018) and in romantic relationships (Kim, 2017) appears to be a societal issue as well.

If on the one hand media does not offer an accurate representation of reality (Croteau & Hoynes, 2014) on the other it has a great influence on people and society (Perse & Lambe, 2017).

Therefore, since k-dramas portray a romanticized version of South Korean society and a prototype of romance (Lee, 2020), it is possible to track gender stereotypes as they are experienced in real life (Kim, 2019). Taking inspiration from the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and through the use of the Sexual Experience Questionnaire (SEQ-DoD), this study

aims to find the presence of sexism and eventual abusive behavior in the interactions and dynamics, romantic or not, between the characters in romantic k-dramas.

1.   Literature Review

1.1 K-Dramas

Since 2017 numerous streaming platforms started adding a large number of Korean Dramas: only a few years ago in the US only more than 18 million users streamed regularly these dramas (KOCCA, 2014), Netflix started collaborating with Korean production and broadcasting, and other websites as Rakuten Viki offered more and more fan-made subtitles for dramas that were not yet officially released in other countries (Ju, 2020; Lee, 2020). Among the reasons for romantic k-dramas' popularity, the aesthetic, the duration, and the feelings that they convey seem to be some of the most important. The sophisticated cinematographic design, the presence of impressive shots of a contemporary urban setting, and the beautiful sceneries of a cosmopolitan city visually attract the audience, together with the fashion of the costumes, the colors of the photography and the suggestive music (Lin & Tong, 2008). The episodes usually last between 40 and 70 minutes with no commercial break, for a total of 16-20 episodes, with a definitive conclusion and an extremely low probability of a second season, contrarily to Western TV-Shows. The duration of the dramas is considered optimal in order to develop a very detailed plot and deep relationships between the characters (Lee, 2018). The Western viewers also seem to enjoy Korean dramas because they can dive into a *different world*, get absorbed by the romantic innocent story of this *fairytale* and forget temporarily about their real life (Baldacchino & Park, 2020).

In addition, romantic Korean dramas are often described as full of love clichés and famous tropes, features that are unexpectedly loved by their audience because of their creative and interesting ways of rearranging recurring situations (Lee, 2018). Romantic relationships in K-Dramas have typically a slow development, and are represented in a more innocent, reserved and pure way, compared to the explicit content the Western audience is exposed to, making this content more appealing to their eyes due to its unusualness (Lee, 2018; Lin & Tong, 2008). Even if there are some differences, according to Innocenti and Pescatore (2014) in TV shows the concept of romance transcends cultural boundaries, and after all the obstacles the main couple has faced the happy ending is always present, almost reassuring for the viewers. Still, this constant presence of the happy ending reveals the underlying traditional values background of Korean society, with a positive finale referring to marriage, symbol of the traditional ideal of relationship between men and women (Lin & Tong, 2008). Despite a great change happening regarding gender roles, traditional ideals and values make their appearance also in terms of character portrayal. In old Korean dramas it

was frequent to find representation of the traditional patriarchal family, with women assuming a supporting role towards the male authority within the family (Lee, 2019). As years and decades passed by, their role in dramas changed significantly. As real life women, they are now suffering from the same conflictual duality: defined as *two-sided perfect woman*, the female protagonist refuses the patriarchal culture and achieves both romance and professional career. This frequently portrayed character is often described as workaholic, but ends up having major responsibility in doing domestic tasks (Lin & Tong, 2007). Besides this, female protagonists, seen as beautiful and *both tough-and-weak*, are a source of identification for the k-dramas' female audience. Men are typically represented as *good men*, they are caring, nurturing and loyal in love, *born to be rich* most of the time, which allows them to take care of their partner. These characteristics are appreciated by both the female audience, and the male one, who finds these unrealistic traits comforting, since the character does not have to face some hardships, such as money and social status, typical of ordinary life (Lin & Tong, 2007, 2008). The male audience has also reacted positively to the portrayal of the *crying man*, because they are reminded of the social pressure on the repression of men's emotions. The Korean man represented in dramas expresses his emotions, something that goes against the societal expectation that pretends men to be always strong, but despite that, there is still a noticeable *male dominance* in k-dramas, both in the workplace and in love relations (Lin & Tong, 2008).

Even though the setting is always South Korean society, some aspects such as cultural practices or interpersonal dynamics portrayed in k-dramas are not necessarily accurate, and can lead Hallyu fans to assume false ideas about the real society (Kim, 2019). Some interviews conducted by Lee (2020) among Hallyu fans, revealed that numerous women from all over the world decided to visit South Korea in order to experience the intimacy they could not find in their lives, but that they started desiring watching romantic k-dramas. The author concluded that thanks to the overly ideal prototype of relationship Korean men did not always live up to the participants' expectations.

Because of everything that was mentioned above, the main reasons behind the popularity of these dramas appear to be the protagonists' representation and the portrayal of their romantic relationship and dynamic, but to better understand it, it is necessary to first have a background on South Korea's gender roles and sexism history.

1.2 Gender roles, Sexism and Gender Harassment in South Korean society

South Korea has been known as one of the countries most influenced by Confucian philosophy (Yun-Shik & Lee, 2003), which promotes "a rigid hierarchical order of human relationships based on age, sex, and inherited social status" (Hovland, McMahan, Lee, Hwang & Kim, 2005). Concerning gender roles, Confucianism supports a binary system of social order, in which men and women are supposed to behave assuming strictly separate roles and following the traditional division of labor, similar to the dichotomy typical of Western societies. Starting from a young age, women are taught to behave submissively and to be obedient, to be good daughters, then good wives, daughters-in-law, and finally mothers, since their primary duty is taking care of the house and the family. Thus, the Korean ideal woman should be quiet, chaste and passive.

Together with the big and rapid economic growth of the second half of the past century, South Korea also faced a rapid change in society. Despite being a collectivistic country (Hofstede Insights, 2020), the Western individualistic values have been gradually accepted and integrated in the Korean labor market, challenging also the nature of its gender roles. A large number of women started to get a higher level of education, and therefore to be even more present in workplaces (Yun-Shik & Lee, 2003). Although facing these social changes, often husbands keep calling and considering their wives *house persons* (집사람, *Chib Saram*), demonstration of the fact that women are still expected to fulfill the role they have been assigned by the old Korean society.

Hence, highly educated married Korean women are currently experiencing a conflict between traditional roles and Westernized roles due to a fast social change in society. If before, marriage at a young age was almost mandatory, now people tend to marry later in life and the practice is not seen anymore (at least by women) as something necessary for a complete and satisfying existence (Yun-Shik & Lee, 2003).

With the rapid change in society and the slow adoption of Westernized values, it may be unusual to find tracks of old-fashioned sexism, the blatant and explicit form of this type of discrimination. Nonetheless, it is still possible to talk about sexism or a similar form of it. Regardless of the entrance of women in the working world, according to Kim (2011) there is still a big difference in wages, with Korean women paid less than men (of about 38%). In the National Assembly the politically involved women participants are only 14,7%, and only the 4% of high-ranking women officials can make political decisions. Even in education, where a dominant female presence can be noted, with 70% of elementary school teachers being women at the start of the new century (compared to only 29% in the 1970s), women are still

victims of discrimination, since men are still considerate more appropriate for being in control, and are always preferred for occupying positions of power in the field (Jambor, 2009). More recently, the World Economic Forum reported South Korea being 99th on the Global Gender Gap Index (World Economic Forum, 2022). Regarding once again the field of education, studies on Ambivalent Sexism conducted with high school students (Lee, 2016) found out that both male and female students tend to disapprove of hostile sexism, the blatant expression of negative evaluations of women, but to approve benevolent sexism, manifestation of prosocial behaviors towards women and their stereotypical view in terms of restricted roles (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Even showing these results explicitly, male students implicitly tended towards hostile sexism and females towards the benevolent one. Comparing South Korea to other countries, higher levels of both hostile sexism and benevolent sexism were found in samples of nursing students (Tekkas, Beser & Park, 2020), while among the general population, men score higher on both of the scales compared to women (Lee, 2016; Shim & Endo, 2013). Another manifestation of patriarchal values in South Korea might be the mandatory military service for men (age 18-30). Shim and Endo (2013) found that positive attitudes towards military service were positively correlated with the belief that women should be protected, since they are weaker. The authors also found that younger people showed lower hostile sexism compared to the other groups, proving that hostile sexism is slowly eroding with the new generations and societal changes.

As previously mentioned, sexual violence and gender harassment is considered an issue in South Korean society. A study by Lee (2018), who found out that 6 women out of 10 had experienced sexual harassment in the prosecutor's offices, and 85% of women prosecutors struggled with promotions and tasks, being put down because of their gender. However, it is not only about work. In 2017 the Korean Institute of Criminology revealed that approximately 80% of the men interviewed used violence of different nature on their girlfriends. Together with controlling and restraining behaviors, it was reported that "another 37.9% [...] said the dating abuse involved sexual harassment, followed by psychological abuse (36.6%), physical violence (22.4%), sexual abuse (17.5%) and inflicting injuries (8.7%)" (Kim, 2017). With the societal change this topic was faced by the South Korean feminist movement, especially between the years 2013-2017, when Park Geun-Hye was the head of the government (Kim, 2018). With the *#MeToo* movement, several women had the chance to report the violence that they suffered, from harassment at work to the sharing of nude pictures, shot by hidden cameras in changing rooms, to illegal pornography recorded

whithout them knowing, revealing how common this phenomenon is (Hasanuma & Shin, 2019).

In response to the rising of the feminist movement, which lead South Korea to the proposal, review, and approval of several laws on gender harassment and sexual violence (Hasanuma & Shin, 2019), there is a counter-movement gaining popularity in the most recent years (Lee & Zhang, 2020) which peaked during the South Korean Presidential Elections of 2022, resulting with Yoon Suk-yeol, member of the conservative People Power Party, winning. According to Kim and Lee (2022), gender equality was the dividing topic for the young voters. The mandatory military service for young men and the belief that the employment market is giving women a preferential treatment were identified as the main reasons for the rise of this anti-feminism movement.

After analyzing South Korea's situation regarding gender roles, sexism, and sexual harassment there is one question left: if the role of women in k-dramas changed together with their role in society, will all of these social phenomena find representation in other types Korean Media too?

1.3 Sexism and Gender Stereotypes in South Korean Media

A study by Nam, Lee and Kwang (2010), focusing on gender stereotypes portrayed in South Korean teenage magazines, found that while Western women were portrayed as more sexually provocative but independent at the same time, Korean women were represented as child-like, playful, submissive, dependent and passive compared to any other group, reflecting once again South Korea's traditional gender roles. Their clothing appeared to be more modest compared to Western women, which, according to the authors, confirms that revealing clothes are not appreciated in South Korean society, and that cuteness is an important component of ideal femininity. Discussing the result of this teenage magazines' analysis, the authors add that "no Korean woman could be impervious to this barrage of stereotypical gender displays" (Nam, Lee & Kwang, 2010, p. 234). Similar results were found by Prieler (2012) in an analysis of South Korean television advertisements, where women were represented as small and submissive, advertising objects stereotypically associated with the female population.

An interesting analysis was conducted by Hwang et al. (2019) about the sexualization and stereotyping of Korean Voice Assistant, suggesting the bodily display, subordinate attitude and sexualization were the main characteristics attributed to female voice assistant, representing a "victimized women who willingly embrace insults and sexual harassments"

(Hwang, Lee, Oh, Lee, 2019, p.5), leading to the the proposition of a power dynamic similar to the gender hierarchy from the real world.

Despite some elements challenging traditional gender roles being present in Korean Dramas, one example being the one of the *crying man*, a study conducted by Lin and Rudolf (2017) across 100 countries found a connection between traditional gender attitudes and gender stereotypes in Korean media, specifically the industry of K-pop. If on the one hand K-pop became popular worldwide for challenging gender stereotypes, specifically about appearance, this study revealed that this industry, highly promoted by the Korean government as a mean to spread knowledge about Korean culture, might still represent an obstacle for the pursuit of gender equality because of some elements that could potentially reinforce gender stereotypes and sexist culture.

Going back to k-dramas, a survey recently administered to a sample of Chinese TV-shows viewers, found that the consumption of Korean dramas can strengthen ambivalent sexism beliefs compared to the consumption of Western TV shows, which show more independent women among their cast (Zhang & Su, 2021). Similar results were found about the reinforcement of gender stereotypes, with k-dramas supporting gender roles associated with the portrayal of the breadwinner man protecting his homemaker wife.

As already mentioned in one of the previous paragraphs, Korean Dramas are known for being a romanticized version of reality (Kim, 2019), but this romanticization is not only limited to prosocial or chivalrous behaviors. With the societal change and the increasing viewership of K-Dramas, many users are realizing how much abusive and violent behavior is not only normalized but also romanticized in these dramas. Through an analysis of the K-Drama *The Heirs's (2013)* narrative, Kenasri and Sadasri (2021) confirmed the presence of romanticized partner intimate violence, with male protagonists not being able to accept rejection and the female ones being unable to express their lack of consent. These representations of violence end up being idealized and interiorized as forms of love, leading people not to be able to recognize abusive relationships and avoid them (Béres, 1999).

All of these previous analyses of Korean Media suggest it is possible to actually find display of sexism and gender based harassment in K-Dramas plots, scenes and characters' dynamics.

1.4 Ambivalent Sexism and Sexual Harassment

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory was developed by Glick & Fiske (1996) and identifies two different types of Sexism: benevolent and hostile. Benevolent Sexism is generally, but not

always, perceived by individuals having a positive connotation, despite containing several beliefs based on gender stereotypes that lead to a discriminatory treatment of women, often interpreted as kindness, chivalry and overall prosocial behavior. On the other hand, Hostile Sexism is blatant and refers to antipathy and negative opinions and consideration of women, always based on gender stereotyped beliefs that, for instance, portray them not being as capable as men. Benevolent and Hostile Sexism share three different component: Paternalism, Gender Differentiation and Heterosexuality, but with different connotations. Following Benevolent Sexism, Paternalism is Protective and it is based on the idea of women needing to be protected, provided for, seen as beings to love and cherish. Gender Differentiation is Complementary: women and men are different, women have several positive traits that men do not have, and form a dyad with men as romantic objects, wife, mothers, and so on. Heterosexual Intimacy is the last component of Benevolent Sexism, and foster the notion that men need women to be complete, since they are "fullfillers of psychological and sexual intimacy" (Berscheid, Snydet & Omoto, 1989; Derlega, Winstead, Wong, & Hunter, 1985). Continuing with Hostile Sexism, Paternalism is Dominative: women are not fully competent adults, and have to depend on their male superordinate figure, who wields authority over her, therefore justifying patriarchy. Gender Differentiation is Competitive, considering that men and women are different and the last ones are incompetent, they do not possess the ability to manage important situations. The last component is Heterosexual Hostility, based on the belief that women exercise their sexual power over men, seducing them in order to proceed with their agenda.

Sexual Harassment has always been a difficult concept to define, especially from a psychological point of view. According to Penix Sbraga and O'Donohue (2000), sexual harassment appears to be a problem of both sexual and violent nature, and it includes a vast range of behaviors that can go from sexist jokes to sexual assault. It is not easy to categorize what behaviors fall under it, some of them are more motivated by sexual drives, such unwanted advances for instance, some involve aggressivity fueled by power and gender roles endorsement, in case of behaviors such as cat-calling. The presence of sexism, power difference, a specific location and other factors is what makes it hard to agree on a definition (O'Donohue, Downs, & Yeater, 1998).

Several attempts have been made to categorize this phenomenon during the past three decades. One of the first was from Till, who identified five dimensions of sexual harassment in 1980: sexist remarks or behavior, inappropriate and offensive but sanction-free sexual advances, solicitation of sexual activity by promise of rewards, coercion of sexual

activity by threat of punishment and sexual crimes and misdemeanors. A more exhaustive categorization was made by Gruber (1992), who gathered specific types of harassment under the following categories: verbal requests, verbal remarks and non-verbal displays.

During these years, Fitzgerald and colleagues (1988) started developing a tool, The Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ), aiming to measure sexual harassment and its relevance at the workplace. The SEQ investigates three dimensions of sexual harassment: Gender Harassment, a set of behaviors communicating hostility and insulting attitudes towards women; Unwanted Sexual Attention, a range of unreciprocated and undesired verbal and non-verbal behaviors; and Sexual Coercion, defined as behaviors finalized to the "the extortion of sexual cooperation in return for job-related considerations" (Fitzgerald et al., 1995, p. 431). One of the revisions of the SEQ, the SEQ-DoD, reports two different connotation to gender harassment, which contribute to further distinguish between behaviors that slightly differ from each other: Sexist Harassment, linked to discriminatory behaviors based on one's gender, and Sexual Harassment, more explicit behaviors in terms of sexual nature.

As already mentioned above, sexist beliefs can be included in the range of behaviors concerning sexual harassment. There are several studies that explored the connection between Ambivalent Sexism and sexual harassment. According to Glick et al. (2002), Hostile Sexism seems to encourage domestic abuse of women, while other studies conducted in the US confirmed that Hostile Sexism acts as predictor for the plausibility of men to harass women sexually (Begany & Milburn, 2002) and increases the tolerance of both men and women to sexual harassment (Russel & Trigg, 2004). Similar results for Hostile Sexism were supported later on by Sakallı-Uğurlu,, Salman, & Turgut, (2010), while Benevolent Sexism appeared not to have any effect on sexual harassment.

1.5 The present study

This study aims to examine the presence of sexist beliefs and behaviors in two k-dramas from two different decades, the 2000s and the 2010s.

In order to do so, the Ambivalent Sexism framework was chosen, because its components refer to intimate and/or romantic relationships between men and women, which corresponds well with the type of relationship to analyze in this kind of k-dramas.

The main expectation is to find both Benevolent and Hostile Sexism, with a prevalence of Benevolent Sexism, in both k-dramas. Additionally, higher levels of both Benevolent and Hostile Sexism are expected to be found in the older drama, while less

Hostile Sexism is expected to be found in the most recent drama compared to the older one. Moreover, similar results are anticipated in terms of time exposure: Benevolent and Hostile Sexism will have more screen time in the older drama compared to the newer one, in which Hostile Sexism will be shown less on screen.

Regarding the characters, in the oldest k-drama the male protagonist is expected to show similar levels of Benevolent and Hostile Sexism, while in the newest one he is expected to show more Benevolent than Hostile Sexism. Both of the male protagonists will be the characters most associated with Protective Paternalism and/or Dominative Paternalism, while the female protagonists will be rarely, if not at all, associated with Hostile Sexism. The main characters are always portrayed to be *the good ones*, therefore less likely to show behaviors that are perceived to have negative consequences, including more direct forms of sexism. Secondary or background characters will be the ones showing more blatant attitudes and behaviors compared to the main cast, with the difference being of male characters showing more Hostile Sexism and female ones more Benevolent Sexism.

After a first analysis of the k-dramas, the Ambivalent Sexism framework turned out not being enough to grasp many of the behaviors shown in the clips, for which another theoretical approach, the SeQ-DoD, was adopted a posteriori. This framework was chosen because of the inclusion of a vast set of behaviors and because of its target population, since romantic k-dramas tend to have everyday life settings revolving around the work place of the protagonists. With this addition to the study, a few findings concerning gender-based harassment were expected post-hoc. More Sexual Harassment is expected to be found in the least recent k-drama compared to the new one, in terms of both frequency and time exposure, and a correlation between Unwanted Sexual Attention and Sexual Coercion is expected as well, because they both concern the issue of consent.

Once the male protagonist's violent behavior was also reported, a correlation with the two types of paternalism was anticipated due to violent and controlling behaviors being common in relationship dynamics in South Korea, as mentioned in one of the previous sections, while a little to no correlation between this behavior and Sexual Coercion was expected. Despite being two subcategories related to violence, the male protagonist, his attitudes and his actions are always perceived to be positive, therefore the probability of this character enacting behaviors related to Sexual Coercion is extremely low. The only instance in which a similar association could be expected is the male protagonist physically intervening to stop an episode of abusive sexual behavior.

2.   Method

2.1 K-Dramas Selection

Using specific exclusion and inclusion criteria, two Korean dramas, one from the 2000s and the other from the 2010s, have been selected for this content analysis. MyDramaList and Rakuten Viki, two of the most used platforms when it comes to Korean dramas, were used in order to search for the dramas and a cross-check between the results was conducted afterwards to determine the most popular dramas among the k-drama audience.

MyDramaList is a website on which users can rank and review the dramas they have watched. The website's research feature has different filter options regarding type of content (dramas, movies, etc.), country, genres, themes/tags, network, services, release date, rating, number of episodes, and status. The selection criterias to identify the most popular dramas on MyDramaList were: (1) Type: Dramas; (2) Country: South Korea; (3) Genres: Romance, while Documentary, Fantasy, Historical, Martial Arts, Military, Sci-fi, Supernatural, Vampire and Zombie had to be excluded; (4) Release date: 2000-2010; (5) Ratings: 7-10 stars; (6) Status: completed; (7) Sorted by: Most Popular.

The first results at the time of the research (November 2021) were *Boys Over Flowers* (2009), *You Are Beautiful* (2009); *Coffee Prince* (2007); *Playful Kiss* (2010). With the same settings, but (4) Release date: 2010-2020: *Descendant of the Sun* (2016); *Weightlifting Fairy Kim Bok-Joo* (2016); *The Heirs* (2013); *What's wrong with secretary Kim* (2018).

Rakuten Viki is one of the most popular legal streaming websites for movies, TVShows and Dramas from the East. The platform offers a subscription to access some currently airing shows, however it is possible to watch most of the dramas for free, not even requiring a registration, but having to watch some advertisements. The filters for content search on the website are: format, watch party, genre, country/region, subtitles, schedule, access. Unfortunately it is not possible to select a period of time to research among dramas, to overcome this issue another selection a posteriori was done. The selection criterias to identify the dramas on Rakuten Viki were: (1) Format: TV; (2) Genre: romantic comedy/korean drama; (3) Country/region: South Korea; (4) Schedule: all; (5) Access: all; (6) sort by: all time popular.

Results at the time of the research (November 2021) were: *Boys Over Flowers* (2009); *Strong Woman Do Bong-Soo* (2017); *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim* (2018); *Suspicious Partner* (2017); *Descendants of the Sun* (2016).

Strong Woman Do Bong-Soo (2017) and *Descendant of the Sun* (2016) were excluded because of their genres: the former belongs to the supernatural genre and the second to the military one. Only two k-dramas that were sorted by both the websites: *Boys over Flowers* (2009) and *What's Wrong with Secretary Kim?* (2018). Hence, these are the two k-dramas chosen for this content analysis.

2.1.1 Selected k-dramas

Boys Over Flowers follows the story of Geum Jan-di, a high school student from a relatively poor family that helps with her parents' dry cleaning business in her free time. While delivering a uniform to a student in an expensive private school, Jan-di saves one of the students from taking his life. Because of her good deed, Jan-di receives a scholarship and starts attending the new school. Soon enough she meets the F4, a group of four boys that happen to be heirs of the most important companies in South Korea and that run the school. Lee Jun-pyo, one of the F4, starts disliking her right away. At the beginning the relationship between the two is very tense, but with time they fall in love with each other and start a romantic relationship, which will be hindered by many events, people and their different social statuses.

In *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?,* Kim Mi-so has been working since a young age as the personal secretary of Lee Yeong-jun, Vice Chairman of a major corporation in South Korea, in order to pay her father's debts and her sisters' education. After nine years, when she finishes paying off the debts, Mi-so announces she wants to leave her job to find her true self, understand what she really wants to do in her life and start dating. This announcement deeply disrupts Yeong-jun, who does not understand her reasons and tries everything he can in order to make Mi-so stay. Despite all of this, Yeong-jun accepts Mi-so's will and asks her to help him find a replacement secretary. During this process the two will find out their pasts are linked together and realize they may have been in love for the entire time.

2.2 Coding system and coding procedure

Sexism. The first set of codes was created prior to the coding based on the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and it aims to categorize dialogues and behaviors based on sexist beliefs. This set of codes follows the original structure of the framework: two main categories, Benevolent Sexism and Hostile Sexism, both containing their three subcategories: Protective Paternalism (i.e. male character declares, promises, or imposes protection over the female

character when the female character has already the resources to face the situation), Complementary Gender Differentiation (i.e. character makes a statement on female character/women in general as romantic objects) and Heterosexual Intimacy (i.e. character makes a comment based on gender stereotypes: "Women are [...] fulfillers of psychological and sexual intimacy") in Benevolent Sexism and Dominative Paternalism (i.e. male character communicates the idea that females should be subordinated to the male role), Competitive Gender Differentiation (i.e. character comments on the incompetence of female character based on her gender) and Heterosexual Hostility (i.e. character implies that a female character seduced a male character because of ulterior motives) in Hostile Sexism (Annex A). For many of these subcategories the authors associated many gender stereotypes, which are reported in a tab and used as backup references for some of the statements (Annex B).

Sexual Harassment. The second set of coding was elaborated a posteriori. Once the coding was finished the coders realized there were some behaviors, especially some that meant to harm, that did not meet the requirements for them to be coded with the Ambivalent Sexism Framework. To overcome this issue, an additional set of codes was added from the items of the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ-DoD) by Fitzgerald and colleagues (1995). As the instrument itself, this set of codes is divided in 4 categories: Gender Harassment - Sexist Harassment (i.e. character puts female character down or is condescending to because of her gender), Gender Harassment - Sexual Harassment (i.e. character makes offensive remarks about female character's appearance, body, or sexual activities), Unwanted Sexual Attention (i.e. character continues to ask female character for dates, drinks, dinner, etc., even though she said "No") and Sexual Coercion (i.e. made female character feel threatened with some sort of retaliation for not being sexually cooperative). (Annex C).

Male Protagonist Violent Behavior. An additional code for violent behavior was created post hoc in order to keep track of the amount of violent actions committed by the main male protagonist regardless of the presence of sexist behaviors/lines/attitudes. This code includes: shouting with no reason, shouting at someone, ruining/throwing/punching/kicking objects, throwing objects at people, punching/kicking people, starting fights.

Exposure Time. The duration of each coded behavior/attitude above was reported in seconds.

Characters. For each code it was reported the gender (1= Male; 2= Female; 3= Mixed, meaning more than one character; 4= Not specified; 0= Absent) and the importance (1= Main character; 2= Secondary character; 3= Background character; 4= Mixed, meaning

more than one character with different levels of relevance to the story; 0= Absent) of the character showing the attitude/belief/behavior.

       Inter-coder reliability. All of the selected clips were analyzed by two different coders. At the end of the coding a meeting was conducted in order to discuss specific cases of disagreement. The clips that were coded with sub-categories from the same category were considered as agreements, while the ones coded with sub-categories from different categories, although both the coders recognized the presence of sexist behaviors, counted as disagreements. The inter-coder reliability was calculated using Cohen's Kappa, whose value was .67, indicating substantial agreement (McHugh, 2012).

2.3 Selection of clips

The 20% of each show was calculated for the analysis: 5 hours for *Boys Over Flowers*, which consists of 25 episodes of one hour, and 3.2 hours for *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?*, counting 16 episodes of the same length. As already mentioned, a k-drama episode typically lasts around 60 minutes, and 3 minutes for each clip was decided as a unit of analysis since it is the amount of time a single scene usually lasts in modern TV (Bordwell, 2006). Considering this unit of analysis it is possible to identify 20 clips per episode. The function *RANDBETWEEN* was used on excel in order to randomly select four numbers from 1 to 20 for each episode, representing the number of the clip to analyze (Annex D, Annex E).

3.   Results

The results suggest the presence of both Benevolent and Hostile Sexism, as well as Sexual Harassment in both k-dramas. *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?* reported overall higher levels of Ambivalent Sexism, while more Sexual Harassment was coded in *Boys Over Flowers*, the only drama reporting Male Protagonist Violence Behavior cases. The two timelines were analyzed based on the coding, and through Multiple Correspondence Analysis the associations between Ambivalent Sexism, Sexual Harassment and Male Protagonist Violent Behavior were explored for each k-drama.

3.1 Boys Over Flowers

The Timeline. The timeline graph (Figure 3.4) shows how the coded behaviors were distributed in the story in a chronological order, from which it is possible to see the moments of the plot where harassment behaviors and sexist beliefs showed up as well as moments in which there were none. Following there will be a brief analysis of the plot associated with the coding.

1A-2D: The first two episodes introduce the audience to the main cast and the setting, and tell the series of events that lead the protagonists to meet, marking the beginning of the story. Jan-di, the female protagonist, saves a rich student from suicide, because of this she is given a scholarship for an elite high school and is introduced to the rich world run by the heirs of the most powerful companies, one of them is Jun-pyo, the male protagonist.

3A-11C: Together with the evolution of Jan-di and Jun-pyo's relationship, several sexist beliefs and harassment behaviors show up. The audience starts to get to know the characters better, and now has an insight of their stories and their thoughts. Some highlights from this long section: Ji-hu (Jun-Pyo's best friend) has a hard time letting his first love go, believing she has power on him since she is a woman and he is a man; the F4 (the boys' group) decides to bring Jan-di and her friend, Ga-eul, on a trip without their consent; Jun-pyo autonomously decides Jan-di and him are dating; some pictures of Jan-di being in a hotel with another guy while unconscious are published and no one believes her version of the story; Jan-di is harassed by two men when a new male character, Ha-je, saves her and they start becoming friends.

11D-13D: During this arc many events occur, where not many sexist beliefs or harassment behaviors were found. The main protagonists are physically attacked by Ha-je, who turns out to be an antagonist. In the meantime Jan-di's family is facing economic hardships, and after a trip to the mountains, Jun-pyo's father gets in a coma and is

hospitalized in Macau, China, where Jun-pyo will travel to. Trying to join him in Macau, Jan-di is almost abducted by some locals. At the end of this section the main protagonists are separated.

14A-15A: The peak in this arc is only due to Jun-pyo's violent behavior towards the people around him, concerning the fact he is forced to start a relationship with the heir of another company for the future of his family's company. The two protagonists are still separated, Jan-di spends a time with Ji-hu, mourning their relationship when she finds out Jun-pyo is engaged to someone else.
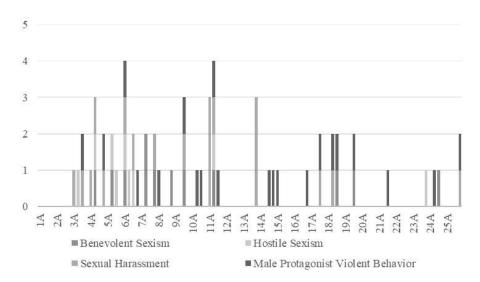
15B-16C: Everyone is back in town. Jan-di does not want to talk to Jun-pyo, while his new fiancè wants to be her friend and tries to involve her in many activities.

16D-19C: The second couple of the story, formed by one of Jun-pyo's friends, Yi-jung, and Jan-di's best friend, Ga-eul, have more screen time, during which Yi-jung shows gender stereotyped beliefs many times. Jun-pyo keeps showing violent behavior and putting down his fiancèe, Jae-kyung, mistreating her, while proclaiming himself Jan-di's protector.

19D-23C: This arc of the story focuses more on Jan-di and Jae-kyung's friendship and Ji-hu's problems with his family. Jae-kyung confronts Jan-di about her feelings for Jun-pyo, saying she will not give up, but ending up refusing to marry him during their wedding, when realizing he will never love her. Ji-hu struggles repairing his relationship with his grandfather, who refused to take care of him when his parents died many years prior. Due to his grandfather's health issues and with Jan-di's help, Ji-hu starts to get closer to him and recover their bond.

23D-25D: Jan-di visits her family, who moved out of the city because of economic problems. Jun-pyo tries to stop his mother from taking Jan-di's scholarship back, because she never approved their relationship. Jan-di comes back to the city but Jun-pyo has lost his memory and does not remember her anymore. After recovering his memory Jun-pyo, Jan-di and their friends graduate from school. They are finally free to live their relationship, the story ends with Jun-pyo deciding they are going to marry, even when Jan-di does not seem to agree.
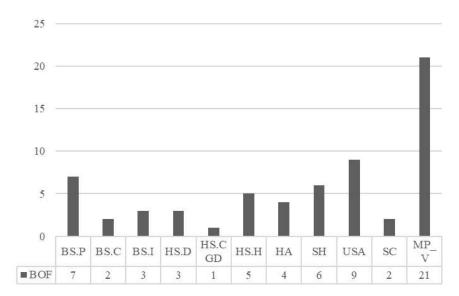
Figure 3.1

Frequencies timeline of Boys Over Flowers

Note. This timeline refers to the amount of times every subcategory was coded for each clip in a chronological order.

Frequencies. Out of 100 selected clips, 75 were not coded for either sexism or harassment. In terms of Ambivalent Sexism, Protective Paternalism was the most coded subcategory (seven times) of Benevolent Sexism, while Heterosexual Hostility (five times) was the most coded for Hostile Sexism. For Sexual Harassment the most coded was Unwanted Sexual Harassment (nine times) followed by Sexual Hostility (six times). Independently of the other codes, Violent Behavior by the male protagonist was coded 21 times (Figure 3.2).
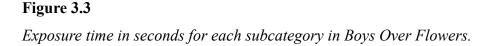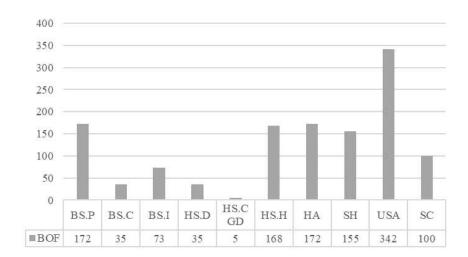
Figure 3.2

Frequency of the sexism, sexual harassment and violent behavior subcategories in Boys Over Flowers

Figure showing bar chart with the following values:

	BS.P	BS.C	BS.I	HS.D	HS.CGD	HS.H	HA	SH	USA	SC	MP_V
■ BOF	7	2	3	3	1	5	4	6	9	2	21

Note. BS.P: Protective Paternalism (Benevolent Sexism); BS.C: Complementary Gender Differentiation (Benevolent Sexism); BS.I: Heterosexual Intimacy (Benevolent Sexism); HS.D: Dominative Paternalism (Hostile Sexism); HS.CGD: Competitive Gender Differentiation (Hostile Sexism); HS.H: Heterosexual Hostility (Hostile Sexism); HA: Sexist Hostility (Sexual Harassment); SH; Sexual Hostility (Sexual Harassment); USA: Unwanted Sexual Attention (Sexual Harassment); SC: Sexual Coercion (Sexual Harassment); MP_V: Male Protagonist Violent Behavior.

Exposure Time. For each code was reported the length of the exposition to the attitude/behavior/belief in seconds (Figure 3.3). With 342 seconds (5,7 minutes) Unwanted Sexual Attention was the most shown on screen, while with only five seconds, Competitive Gender Differentiation from Hostile Sexism has the least amount of screentime. Overall, Sexual Harassment had the biggest amount of screentime in *Boys Over Flowers*, with 769 seconds (12,8 minutes).

Figure 3.3

Exposure time in seconds for each subcategory in Boys Over Flowers.

	BS.P	BS.C	BS.I	HS.D	HS.C GD	HS.H	HA	SH	USA	SC
■BOF	172	35	73	35	5	168	172	155	342	100

Gender of the characters. Male characters tended to be the ones showing more sexist behaviors and attitudes compared to female characters, especially when it came to harassment behaviors, exclusively shown by male characters.

Importance of the characters. When it came to Ambivalent Sexism main and secondary characters showed codable behaviors and attitudes in a similar way, while main characters were more coded with the appearance of Sexual Harassment.

Benevolent Sexism, Gender and Importance. Male characters, especially the main character (coded four times), were the most coded for Protective Paternalism, while female characters were coded for Complementary Gender Differentiation and Heterosexual Intimacy as male secondary character. The female protagonist was never coded for Benevolent Sexism. Overall, male characters, regardless of being the main, secondary or a background tended to show more Benevolent Sexism compared to female characters.

Hostile Sexism, Gender and Importance. Male characters were the most coded for all the subcategories in Hostile Sexism, especially Heterosexual Hostility. The main characters showed mainly Dominative Paternalism (Male=2; Female=1), while the secondary ones showed more Heterosexual Hostility. Overall, main and secondary male characters showed more Hostile Sexism than female characters.

Sexual Harassment, Gender and Importance. As already mentioned above, there were no female characters coded for Sexual Harassment. Unwanted Sexual Attention was the most coded among the other codes. The male protagonist was the most coded for all the

sub-categories except Sexual Coercion, for which background male characters were the most coded.

Multiple Correspondence Analysis. A Multiple Correspondence Analysis was run in order to explore and identify associations between the ambivalent sexism categories, meaning their co-occurrence within the coded clips. Since the second set of codes was added a posteriori, the sub-categories for Sexual Harassment and the code for Male Protagonist Violent Behavior were treated as supplementary variables in the analysis, while the sub-categories of Benevolent and Hostile Sexism were treated as active ones.

The first two dimensions explained the 25,8% and the 22,5% of the variance (Table 3.1). Dimension 1 of the graph (Figure 3.4) contrasts more subtle beliefs on the positive side of the horizontal axis with more blatant and evident attitudes that often translate into behaviors. Dimension 2 contrasts attitudes and behaviors that are better perceived on its positive vertical axis with less accepted ones on its negative part of the axis. From Table 3.2 it is possible to see the subcategories that relevant to the discrimination of Dimensions 1 and 2.

Table 3.1

Inertia and Variance of Dimensions 1 and 2 in Boys Over Flowers

Model Summary

Dimension	Cronbach's Alpha	Variance Accounted For		
		Total (Eigenvalue)	Inertia	% of Variance
1	,425	1,548	,258	25,803
2	,311	1,350	,225	22,494
Total		2,898	,483	
Mean	,372[a]	1,449	,241	24,149

a. Mean Cronbach's Alpha is based on the mean Eigenvalue.

Table 3.2

Discrimination measures for Dimensions 1 and 2 in Boys Over Flowers

Discrimination Measures

	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Mean
BS.P	**,603**	,159	,381
BS.C	,178	**,515**	,346
BS.I	,190	**,503**	,346
HS.D	**,062**	,004	,033
HS.CGD	,003	**,016**	,009
HS.H	**,513**	,154	,333
HA[a]	,001	,004	,003
SH[a]	,038	,001	,020
USA[a]	,060	,002	,031
SC[a]	,001	,002	,001
MP_V[a]	,016	,007	,012
Active Total	1,548	1,350	1,449
% of Variance	25,803	22,494	24,149

a. Supplementary variable.

The geometrical proximity of Complementary Gender Differentiation and Heterosexual Intimacy, suggests they are both socially accepted beliefs expressed in a subtle but also very clear way at the same time during everyday conversations, with no major difference in gender or importance of the characters.

Another group is formed by Heterosexual Hostility, Protective Paternalism, and Dominative Paternalism. Similarly to Heterosexual Intimacy and Competitive Gender Differentiation, this group falls into the generally well perceived attitudes through the words and the behaviors of the characters, but they are more explicit in nature and result more often in non-verbal action. Heterosexual Hostility and Protective Paternalism appear to be closer and were coded together several times but for different characters and segments inside of a single clip.

Competitive Gender Differentiation is the only subcategory located in the fourth quadrant, indicating that it is less accepted socially, probably due to the negative meaning, but more subtle in its manifestation compared to the other subcategories of Hostile Sexism.

Overall this subcategory did not have particular weight on the determination of the two dimensions and it is barely reported inside the analyzed clips.

One example of the relationship between Complementary Gender Differentiation and Heterosexual Intimacy can be found in clip 7B (coded for both BS.C and BS.I), when the male protagonist's sister thanks the female protagonists for making her brother realize many things that his other male friends were not able to, and later states: "If friendship is mandatory, love is a necessity". While an example of association between the two types of paternalism can be observed in clip 6A, coded for Protective Paternalism, Dominative Paternalism, Male Protagonist Violence and Unwanted Sexual Attention (in another segment of the same clip). The male protagonist gets angry and starts screaming towards the female protagonist because he did not know where she was, states he was worried and prohibits her from going around alone from that moment on.

The subcategories for Sexual Harassment and the category for Male Protagonist Violent behavior were treated as supplementary but still appear to be correlated to the main framework and between each other. There is a positive correlation between Sexual Hostility and both Protective Paternalism ($r=.261$; $p<.01$) and Competitive Gender Differentiation ($r=.398$; $p<.001$). The correlation between Sexual Hostility and Protective Paternalism could be tracked back to several events such as in clip 11B, where a background male character drags away the female protagonist "saving" her from her classmates, who were only expressing their jealousy towards her. In the same clip the male protagonist expresses his jealousy as well, making unpleasant comments on the female protagonist's appearance.

Moreover, a positive correlation was also found between Unwanted Sexual Attention and Protective Paternalism ($r=.325$; $p=.001$) and also Competitive Gender Differentiation ($r=320$; $p<001$). The correlation between Protective Paternalism and Unwanted Sexual Attention is reflected by the several occasions in which female characters looked uneasy at the prospect of a physical touch or an effectively occurred bodily contact initiated by a male character, with the intention of unrequested and unnecessary protection (i.e. clip 7D). A specific event in clip 6C can explain the correlation between Competitive Gender Differentiation, Sexual Hostility and Unwanted Sexual Attention: a male secondary character keeps following a secondary female character despite her being uncomfortable and telling him to stop, for then proceeding making negative remarks on her body and her competence.

Violent behavior from the male protagonist was positively correlated to Protective Paternalism ($r=.243$; $p<.05$) and Sexist Hostility ($r=.396$; $p<.001$). This correlation is due to the many instances in which the male protagonist screamed at and insulted the female
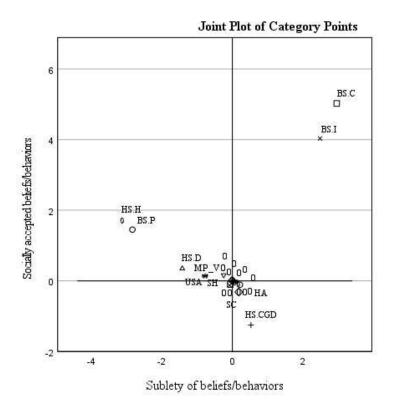
protagonist (i.e. clip 3C) and mistreated the girl who was supposed to be his fiancè (clips 17B and 18C).

Regarding the internal correlations for Sexual Harassment, positive correlation between Sexual Hostility and Unwanted Sexual Attention was found (r=.362; p<.001) as well as Sexual Coercion (r=.565; p<.001), and Unwanted Sexual Attention was positively correlated to Sexual Coercion (r=.454; p<.001). The correlation between Sexual Hostility, Unwanted Sexual Attention and Sexual Coercion can be explained by a couple of events mentioned in the timeline in which the female protagonist was molested and almost abducted. Clip 11A shows two male background characters ogling her and trying to coerce her into undressing herself, while in clip 13D several male background characters are trying to physically get a hold of her while coercing her into collaboration while they try to kidnap her to sell her for either human trafficking or prostitution.

Figure 3.4

Multiple Correspondence Analysis of Ambivalent Sexism, Sexual Harassment and Male Protagonist Violent Behavior in Boys Over Flowers.

Note. Each point corresponds to a subcategory and its position in dimensions 1 and 2. The value "0" refers to the case of each subcategory when it was not coded.

3.1.2 What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?

The Timeline. As it is possible to see from Figure 3.5, observing the frequencies there are several peaks along the timeline, which means that the clips were coded for sexism and/or harassment in almost all points of the plot, regardless of its development, with very short exceptions for the episode 8, part of episode 9, 10, 11 and 13. In here as well a brief description of the plot shown in the analyzed clips will follow with some highlights related to Ambivalent Sexism and Sexual Harassment.

1A-4A: The first few episodes introduce the audience to the main characters, their pre-existing relationship dynamic and their workplace. Mi-so has been working as Yeong-jun's personal secretary for over nine years. At the beginning of the first episode she announces her resignation explaining her reasons, but Yeong-jun does not understand and rejects her resignation. For the next episodes many characters keep allouring to the protagonists' possible romantic relationship, even when they state there do not have one (i.e. Yeong-jun's family showing Heterosexual Intimacy in clip 1A). While Mi-so starts training a new secretary, Ji-a, Yeong-jun keeps wondering about the reasons why Mi-so wants to leave her job regardless of how many times she explains her motives, and starts thinking Mi-so is secretly in love with him, to the point in which he interrupts her date with another man.
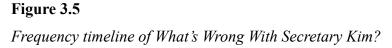
4B-7B: From this point on Mi-so starts looking into a kidnapping case, of which she was one of the victims many years prior. In the meantime Yeong-jun realizes his feelings for Mi-so, and keeps asking advice to Yoo-shik, who always refers to gender stereotypes (i.e. in clip 5A he states "Girls hate when guys take too long to confess"). Mi-so meets her favorite writer, Sung-yeon, who turns out to be Yeong-jun's older brother with whom he has some arguments, driven by Yeong-jun's jealousy and possessiveness towards Mi-so. For the first time in many years Mi-so decides to take a day off work, and Yeong-jun decides to do so as well and visits her asking to spend time together. She rejects his idea several times but ends up accepting when he keeps insisting. During this set of clips Mi-so is often referred to as an object, some examples are in clip 7A, where Yoo-shik encourages Yeong-jun to "be a man" and "take her", or in clip 5C, where Sung-yeon insinuates Yeong-jun is scared he is going to "take her away" from him.
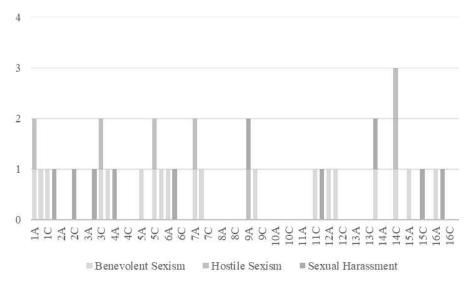
7C-11A: A romantic subplot starts between the new secretary, Ji-a, and another co-worker, Gwi-nam. After a work trip, Yeong-jun and Mi-so have a date at his house, and start dating shortly after. They discuss their relationship and their boundaries, since Mi-so is now Yeong-jun's girlfriend and not secretary, so he wants her to stop taking so much care of him, which encounters resistance from Mi-so (clip 9B, coded for Complementary Gender

Differentiation on Mi-so's side). Yeong-jun finally meets Mi-so's sisters and, with a flashback, more light is thrown on the kidnapping case that involved Mi-so and Yeong-jun. During this set of clips not many attitudes/beliefs/behaviors were reported, except for when the audience is shown the main protagonists' new dynamic. If on one hand Yeong-jun challenges their old boss-secretary habits, on the other hand declares he wants to proceed at his pace with their relationship.

11B-13C: This set of clips shows an initial peak, due mainly to the male protagonist's protective behavior. Examples can be found in clip 11C, where, after Mi-so blacks out, while at the hospitals Yeong-jun states: "From now on you must slow down because you're my woman", and and in clip 12A, where, after a scary event that is not shown in the clip, Yeong-jun wants to sleep in the same bed as Mi-so so he can keep an eye on her. In the next scenes the relationship between the protagonists evolves and becomes deeper and more intimate. Some more details on the kidnapping case are shared through different conversations between different characters.

13D-16D: Some rumors start circling around at the workplace about Yeong-jun having a girlfriend. Ji-a and a co-worker get into a fight with some female co-workers from another department, because they wanted to defend Mi-so's reputation. In the meantime Yeong-jun meets Mi-so's feather and promises he wants her even if she does not have anything (in terms of dowry) and that will take care of her. The audience is shown a montage of all the times Yeong-jun kept proposing to Mi-so while she kept rejecting him (clip 15C: coded for Unwanted Sexual Attention). The protagonists have a fight because Yeong-jun keeps asking about Mi-so's past relationships, and the last scene shown in the selected clips is about the preparations for Mi-so and Yeong-jun's wedding.
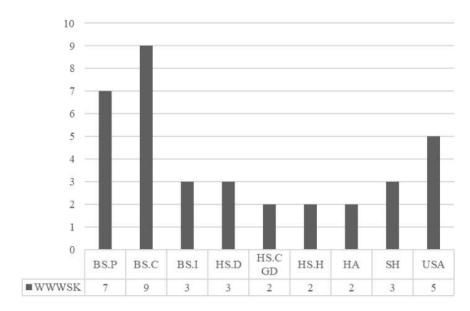
Figure 3.5

Frequency timeline of What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?

Note. This timeline refers to the amount of times every subcategory was coded for each clip in a chronological order.

    Frequencies. Out of 64 selected clips, 36 were not coded for any of the categories. Among the Benevolent Sexism categories, the most coded was Complementary Gender Differentiation (nine times), while for Hostile Sexism, Dominative Paternalism was the most coded (three times). For Sexual Harassment the most coded was Unwanted Sexual Attention (five times) while Sexual Coercion was not coded in any clip, as well as Violent Behavior by the male protagonist, hence both were excluded from the analyses that followed regarding this k-drama.
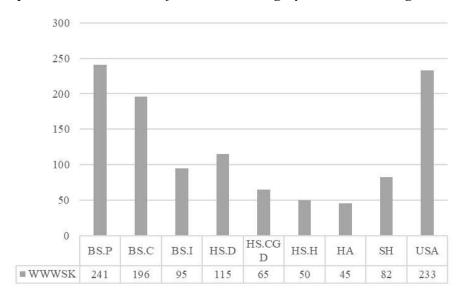
Figure 3.6

Frequency of the subcategories in What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?

	BS.P	BS.C	BS.I	HS.D	HS.CGD	HS.H	HA	SH	USA
■ WWWSK	7	9	3	3	2	2	2	3	5

      Exposure time. Regarding the exposure time, Protective Paternalism and Unwanted Sexual Attention were the categories with the most screentime, respectively 241 (4 minutes) and 233 (3,88 minutes) seconds, while Sexist Harassment and Competitive Gender Differentiation were the ones with the least screentime, 45 seconds (0,75 minutes) for the former and 65 seconds (1,08 minutes) for the latter. With a total of 532 seconds (8,9 minutes) Benevolent Sexism had the most amount of time on screen in *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?*.

Figure 3.7

Exposure time in seconds for each subcategory in What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?

	BS.P	BS.C	BS.I	HS.D	HS.CGD	HS.H	HA	SH	USA
■ WWWSK	241	196	95	115	65	50	45	82	233

Gender. Similarly to *Boys Over Flowers*, male characters were more likely to show sexist behavior than female ones for all of the categories. Male characters were coded double the times for Benevolent Sexism compared to female characters, and there was only one instance that involved characters of different gender showing Benevolent Sexism at the same time.

Importance. The majority of beliefs/attitudes/behaviors related to Benevolent Sexism was expressed by the main characters, while there was only a slight difference with blatant sexism, and a more noticeable one with Sexual Harassment, for which the main characters were coded more times compared to the others.

Benevolent Sexism, gender and importance. Overall, the male protagonist was the most coded for for Benevolent Sexism (eight times), especially for Protective Paternalism (five times), while the female protagonist was coded three (two times for Complementary Gender Differentiation and one time for Heterosexual Intimacy). Complementary Gender Differentiation was coded for several characters of different relevance in the show, and no much difference in coding was reported for Heterosexual Intimacy. Male characters, especially the protagonist and the secondary ones, were the most associated with Benevolent Sexism.

Hostile Sexism, gender and importance. Dominative Paternalism was the most coded subcategory from Hostile Sexism, and was mostly associated with secondary male characters, while the male protagonist was coded for Hostile Sexism once for every subcategory. The female protagonist was never coded for Hostile Sexism, the only female characters showing Hostile Sexism were background characters.

Sexual Harassment, gender and importance. No cases of Sexual Coercion were reported, while the most coded subcategory from Sexual Harassment was Unwanted Sexual Attention, always associated with the male protagonist. Sexual Hostility was only coded for male characters, mainly the protagonist, while, surprisingly, Sexist Hostility was only coded for secondary female characters.

Multiple Correspondence Analysis. A Multiple Correspondence Analysis was run with the data from *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?* as well, with only one difference. Two variables, Sexual Coercion and Male Protagonist Violence, were taken out from the analysis because they were not coded in any of this k-drama's clips.

The first two dimensions explained the 27% and the 24,4% of the variance (Table 3.3). Dimension 1 of the Multiple Correspondence Analysis contrasts negative perception of

attitudes/behaviors on the positive side of the horizontal axis with better accepted ones on the negative side. Dimension 2 contrasts the belief of women's dependence on men on the positive side of the vertical axis with the appearance of it on its negative side (Figure 3.8). From Table 3.4 it is possible to see the subcategories that relevant to the discrimination of Dimensions 1 and 2.

Table 3.3

Inertia and Variance of Dimensions 1 and 2 in What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?

Model Summary

| Dimension | Cronbach's Alpha | Variance Accounted For | | |
		Total (Eigenvalue)	Inertia	% of Variance
1	,459	1,620	,270	26,994
2	,382	1,466	,244	24,437
Total		3,086	,514	
Mean	,422[a]	1,543	,257	25,715

a. Mean Cronbach's Alpha is based on the mean Eigenvalue.

Table 3.4

Discrimination measures for Dimensions 1 and 2 in What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?

Discrimination Measures

| | Dimension | | Mean |
	1	2	
BS.P_n	,009	**,220**	,114
BS.C_n	**,290**	,255	,272
BS.I_n	,020	**,282**	,151
HS.D_n	,011	**,656**	,334
HS.CDG_n	**,664**	,047	,356
HS.H_n	**,625**	,006	,315
HA_n[a]	,002	,016	,009
SH_n[a]	,005	,002	,004
USA_n[a]	,005	,006	,005
Active Total	1,620	1,466	1,543
% of Variance	26,994	24,437	25,715

a. Supplementary variable.

Dominative Paternalism, Heterosexual Intimacy and Complementary Gender Differentiation represent the first close group of subcategories. Dominative Paternalism and

Complementary Gender Differentiation's location indicated that both of these variables appear to be negatively perceived overall, while Heterosexual Intimacy is well accepted. This group's location on the top part of the graph suggests the three subcategories support the idea of women being actually dependable on men.

The position of the group formed by Heterosexual Hostility and Competitive Gender Differentiation suggests behaviors and attitudes correlated with these subcategories are perceived as negative and are not strictly based on the belief women depend on men.

Protective Paternalism is not part of any geometric group, and its position indicates that it is not positively perceived but neither too negatively, while it does not actually suggest that women rely on men.

An example of the association between Heterosexual Intimacy and Dominative Paternalism can be found in clip 3C: the female protagonist goes on a blind gate with a man she does not know, nonetheless she insists on adjust the man's tie, their entire interaction seems to be based on classic gender stereotypes. Once finding out about the this event the male protagonist shows up at the date, masking his controlling behavior with an accusation of incompetence.
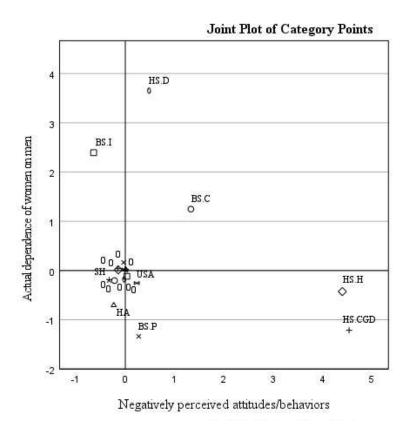
The association of Competitive Gender Differentiation and Heterosexual Hostility is visible in clip 14C, where two of the female secondary characters fight with some female background characters who harshly comment on the female protagonist's competence and on the fact that she is leaving her job after seducing the head of the company (male protagonist) to get married to him.

Despite the meaning of Protective Paternalism and its location in the graph, in this k-drama many clips were coded for Protective Paternalism when the situations suggested there was no need for the female characters to receive a similar treatment, resulting in the female protagonist often laughing at the protection proposal or rejecting this type of treatment (i.e. clips 12B and 16A).

Not many significant correlations were found between Ambivalent Sexism and Sexual Harassment, except for Unwanted Sexual Attention and Heterosexual Hostility ($r=.282$; $p<0.5$). The reason for this correlation can be traced back to a very significant scene, meant to be romantic, between the protagonists. In clip 9A the male protagonist makes the female one sit on him, and when she looks uncomfortable he asks: "If you have awoken my desires that lay dormant, shouldn't you expect to deal with at least this much?" alluding to the fact that she has to take responsibility for seducing him.

Figure 3.8

Multiple Correspondence Analysis of the subcategories coded for What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?

Note. Each point corresponds to a subcategory and its position in dimensions 1 and 2. The value "0" refers to the case of the subcategory when it was not coded.
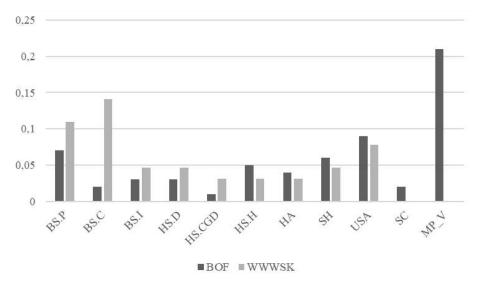
3.3 Comparison between *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?* and *Boys Over Flowers*

Frequencies. Since the length of the two k-dramas is different, adjusted scores based on the number of clips selected for each drama will be used to make a comparison. The two dramas presented similar amounts of both Ambivalent Sexism and Sexual Harassment, with a few exceptions. Benevolent Sexism's Complementary Gender Differentiation was visibly reported more frequently in *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?* compared to *Boys Over Flowers* (Figure 3.9). Another noticeable difference is with Hostile Sexism's Heterosexual Hostility, coded more times in *Boys Over Flowers* compared to *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?*. Overall the most recent k-drama reported higher levels of Ambivalent Sexism, while Sexual Harassment was definitely more prevalent in *Boys Over Flowers* in every

subcategory, together with Violent Behavior by the male protagonist, coded only in this k-drama.
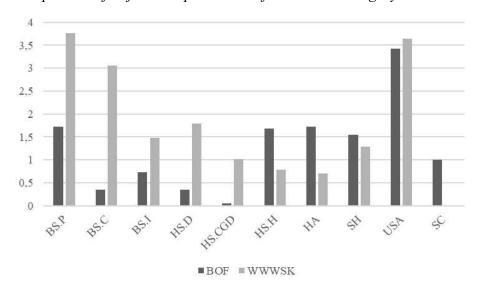
Figure 3.9

Comparison of adjusted frequencies between the two k-dramas

Exposure Time. As in the previous paragraph, for this comparison the exposure time values were also adjusted in proportion to the number of clips analyzed. The most exposure to Ambivalent Sexism was reported in *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim*, with the only exception of Hostile Sexism's Heterosexual Hostility (2,8 minutes in *Boys Over Flowers* and 0,84 minutes in *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?*). Contrarily, the vision of *Boys Over Flowers* would lead to a more exposure to Sexual Harassment compared to the other k-drama's vision, even when the exposure time to Unwanted Sexual Attention is slightly higher in *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?*.

Figure 3.10

Comparison of adjusted exposure time for each subcategory in the two k-dramas

Timeline. The two timelines appear very different visually. In *Boys Over Flowers* the frequency of the reported beliefs/attitudes/behaviors seems to be higher at the beginning of the show, to later have a couple of impasse moments around halfway through and three quarters in, and finally get a little higher again, even if not as high as the beginning. In *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?* the timeline shows several similar peaks since the start, and the only observable stall moment is three quarters into the show, while the highest frequency recorded is at the end. *Boys Over Flowers* is longer (25 episodes, over the standard number of k-drama episodes), it starts more on a dramatic note, it has several distinctive arcs where the focus moves from the main protagonists' romance (that never really disappears) to other topics, and it involves more characters who are introduced at every stage of the show. In *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?* the beginning is meant to be funny and it relies right away on many jokes that allude to the main protagonists being a couple since the very first analyzed scene. The plot is more linear and it is not divided into many arcs, and all of the characters are verbally, and most of the time visually, introduced at the very beginning of the story, contrarily to *Boys Over Flowers,* so there were not many background characters.

Characters. Another prominent difference is in the male protagonists. The female protagonists are portrayed as successful hard workers who faced and won against many difficulties: Jan-di has always helped with her family's business, maintains her scholarship in an elite school by putting effort into swimming and starts working many jobs to afford living in the city alone when her family moves to the countryside, while Mi-so has worked hard in

order to pay for her sisters' studies and her father's debt, neglecting herself and giving up on her dreams. Contrarily, the male protagonists present several differences despite being similar at the same time: both are born rich, self-centered and vain, but while Jun-pyo constantly manifests violent behaviors, reacts angrily to rejection and treats people poorly, Yeong-jun treats people with nonchalant but non rude superiority, and is always shown struggling accepting other people's will when it does not align to his because too caught up in self-adoration. One noticeable thing regarding the behaviors of the characters from both k-dramas was the way some negative adjectives were attributed to the female characters. In many occasions male characters referred either directly or indirectly for other female characters adding "woman" at the end when the gender remark was not needed (i.e. "ugly woman", "cruel woman", etc.).

4.   Discussion

The aim of this study was to find the presence of sexist beliefs and gender-based harassment behaviors in two Korean dramas from two different decades. Two k-dramas from the 2000s and the 2010s were selected based on their online popularity and were subsequently analyzed through two sets of codes based on the Ambivalent Sexism framework and the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ-DoD) and an additional code for violent behavior displayed by the main male character. The findings confirm the presence of both sexist beliefs and sexual harassment in both the shows, while aggressive behavior from the male main character was reported only in the first drama. This research was the first one analyzing k-dramas through the lenses of sexism and sexual harassment, filling a gap in the literature regarding this popular media and its representation of sexist beliefs and gender-based harassment, often underestimated in this type of content: presented as innocent and fairytale-like love stories that could, however, lead to the romanticization of these concepts.

Supported by studies confirming the presence of gender stereotypes (Prieler, 2012) and sexism (Lin & Rudolf, 2017) in Korean media, and the fact that sexism represents a societal issue in South Korea (Lee, 2016; Shim & Endo, 2013), the main expectation was to find more benevolent, but still sexist, attitudes shown in romantic k-dramas compared to blatant and negatively perceived ones. Moreover, *Boys Over Flowers*, the least recent k-drama, was expected to show more Ambivalent Sexism than the newer one, *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?*. The reason behind this expectation is connected with the evolution of women's role in society due to societal change, which consequently affected portrayal in k-dramas (Lin & Tong, 2007). The first part of the expectation was confirmed, with both k-dramas reporting higher levels of Benevolent Sexism compared to Hostile Sexism. Surprisingly, the second part was not confirmed, slightly higher levels for Ambivalent Sexism in general were reported instead. A possible reason why this expectation was not met could be the difference in the plot and in the number of episodes. As mentioned in the comparison of the timelines, *Boys Over Flowers* presents several more events compared to *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?*, therefore the variety in the plot and the elevated number of episodes could have "diluted" the amount of sexist representation, especially when put in comparison with the second drama, much more focused on the protagonists' romantic relationship than on other events. These findings also indicate that the scenes involving these beliefs and types of behaviors were longer in the new drama compared to the old one.

Other expectations concerned these k-dramas' characters. The main male characters were anticipated to be the ones most associated with the two types of paternalism while no or

very little association was expected between the female protagonists and Hostile Sexism, and these expectations were both met. Both of the male protagonists were associated with paternalistic behaviors, the one from the least recent k-drama showed similar levels of both Benevolent and Hostile Sexism, while the protagonist of the most recent one showed more behaviors and attitudes connected with Benevolent Sexism. The female protagonists were hardly reported for any categories, but overall they were more associated with Benevolent Sexism. These results align with previous research: studies by Lee (2016), and Tekkas et al. (2020) had previously reported acceptance of benevolent attitudes and rejection of hostile sexism among the South Korean population, with male individuals implicitly leaning towards hostile sexism, while female ones leaning more on the benevolent one.

Additionally, the secondary and background characters, specifically more male than female, were anticipated to be the most associated with Hostile Sexism. In both k-dramas, main and secondary male characters showed similar levels of Hostile Sexism, which was not expected. A possible explanation could be the amount of screen time: main characters appear more frequently and for longer periods of time on the screen, thus, with the randomization of the clips, it was more likely to encounter scenes with the protagonists and not characters of other importance. Hence, the coding could have missed several cases of secondary and background characters expressing Hostile Sexism. More male than female characters were coded for Benevolent Sexism in *Boys Over Flowers* regardless of their importance in the plot, while a similar number of Benevolent Sexism cases was coded for male and female secondary and background characters in *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?*. These results align once again with the literature about Ambivalent Sexism in the South Korean population, reporting male individuals scoring higher in both Benevolent and Hostile Sexism compared to female ones (Lee, 2016; Tekkas, Beser & Park, 2020). This missing difference in male and female characters from *What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?* could be explained by the main focus of the plot, romantic relationships, leading to higher chances for every character to express Benevolent Sexism related to romantic themes.

Regarding the additional categories on sexual harassment and violent behavior from the male protagonist, correlations between Unwanted Sexual Attention and Sexual Coercion, as well as between Male Protagonist Violent Behavior and the two kinds of paternalism were expected. Moreover, an absence of correlation between Sexual Coercion and Male Protagonist Violent Behavior was anticipated. These expectations were confirmed in the least recent drama, which, counting the cases in which Sexual Harassment and Male Protagonist Violent Behavior were coded, is more blatant in its representation of sexism and gender based

harassment. The reason why Unwanted Sexual Attention and Sexual Coercion were associated was probably due to both subcategories involving the issue of consent from the female counterpart. The correlation between Male Protagonist Violent Behavior and the two types of paternalism was found, but it was only significant with Protective Paternalism. Aggressive behavior was indeed shown by the male main character to show protection towards the female protagonist. The absence of association between Male Protagonist Violent Behavior and Sexual Coercion was confirmed and aligns with the expectation that a sexually coercive behavior is not associated to the male protagonist, who is always portrayed as good, in spite of his personality. A textual analysis of masculinity in *Boys Over Flowers* conducted by Miyose and Engstrom (2015) found that the protagonist of this k-drama almost reflects the description of the *new man,* a man who is in touch with his emotional side, explicitly values friendships and refuses to recur to violence. The authors recognize that the last characteristic does not apply to this character, but point out that whenever he behaved violently towards the female protagonist it was mainly with the intent to protect her, unrelated to gender-based harassment.

Many of the Ambivalent Sexism subcategories were found to be associated despite being part of Benevolent or Hostile Sexism. This is not surprising since the authors of the Ambivalent Sexism framework found this correlation and described the two components to be coexisting and not excluding of each other (Glick & Fiske, 2001), also confirmed by other studies involving Ambivalent Sexism (Masser & Abrams, 1999; Mastari, Spruyt & Siongers, 2019). Another confirmation comes from a study by de Oliveira Laux and colleagues (2015), in which the authors developed an Implicit Association Test (IAT) to measure implicit Benevolent and Hostile Sexist beliefs, finding that the two components were still correlated in the new tool. Additionally, the results of a study conducted by Bohner et al. (2010), in which female participants had to rank four male profiles based on Ambivalent Sexist traits (non sexist, benevolent sexist, hostile sexist and ambivalent sexist), showed that the participants found the ambivalent profile (showing both hostile and benevolent sexism) as very common among the male population, and, together with the benevolent one, ranked it more likable than the non sexist profile.

However, the Ambivalent Sexism framework ended up not being enough to explain many of the behaviors that appeared in the drama, especially the most blatant and violent ones, because it was conceptualized focusing on beliefs (Glick & Fiske, 1996) rather than behaviors. After the first analysis of the k-dramas and the realization that many behaviors had escaped the coding, the additional set of coding from the SEQ-DoD was chosen to

compensate for this lack. Thanks to the specific nature of this tool's subcategories and items, it was possible to report several situations that were somehow linked to sexist beliefs and behaviors that come from them, but that were not codable and reportable only based on the Ambivalent Sexism framework.

The present study also confirms what the literature has previously stated about the stereotypical nature of k-dramas and their characters (Lee, 2018). During the analysis many references to traditional gender roles were found, as they were found in other types of Korean media (Nam, Lee & Hwang, 2010), and even the main characters of the k-dramas here analyzed followed the prototypical models for protagonists in k-dramas (Lin & Tong, 2007). The female protagonists were both portrayed as workaholics, *tough-and-weak* women that manage to put all of their effort in work and still manage to be part of a couple dynamic where they take the role of the princess that has to be protected (Kim, 2013). Both of the main male characters were *born to be rich*, able to provide for their loved ones, and always perceived as positive protective figures, *good men*, even when engaging in violent behaviors (i.e. the protagonist from the old drama) or when expressing blatant sexist beliefs. Male characters expressed a vast range of emotions, anger, jealousy, confidence, and, in contrast to what gender stereotypes usually endorse but supported by the literature about k-dramas, male characters were portrayed showing emotions that are usually associated with women, such as sadness, insecurity and embarrassment (Plant, Hyde, Keltner & Devine, 2000). Despite these similarities, as previously analyzed in the results section, one of the most noticeable differences is right in the male protagonists. While the new k-drama's male main character is shown getting jealous and expressing sexist beliefs never recurring to violence, the old drama's male protagonist shows high levels of violent behavior, which goes along with the nature of the show, more blatant than the other. This finding leaves one to wonder if this difference could have roots in the societal change South Korea faced in the past decades and is currently facing (Kim, 2011; Yun-Shik & Lee, 2003). Because sexism and gender-based harassment are connected after all (Franke, 1996), and while there is more awareness about partner abusive behaviors (Kim, 2017), both of these issues are still present in society (Kim, 2011; Lee, 2016; Lee, 2018). A study conducted in South Korea by Shim and Endo (2013) revealed that hostile attitudes towards women are more common in the older generations compared to the new ones, showing how the most blatant forms of sexism are slowly disappearing from society. The scores in benevolent sexism were still high, confirming sexism being present in society overall.

4.1 Limitations of the study

The main limitation of the study was not taking into consideration other complementary frameworks tackling some types of behaviors that were not foreseen by the Ambivalent Sexism theory from the beginning. Because of that, after realizing the main framework was not enough to cover the vast set of beliefs and behaviors shown, the content had to be coded another time with an additional set of codes chosen a posteriori.

Nationality and gender of the two coders were the same and their overall background similar, therefore this could have influenced the coding process. Culture has a remarkable impact on the way people think, behave and see the world (Al-Saleh & Romano, 2021), and therefore there are certain behaviors more accepted by some cultures than others (Matsumoto, 2007). Coming from a similar background provided an acceptable level of agreement that aligned with the method adopted for the study's purposes, however, conducting similar research involving individuals from different cultural backgrounds could have offered more insights on the perception of certain behaviors. It could be fruitful for this type of research if this study was replicated with coders of different genders and backgrounds, to better explore the reliability of this coding system and analyze the eventual difference in coding. Many gender stereotypes transcend culture after all (Cuddy et al., 2015), but gender and personal background can influence one's experience of life in society and consequently their view on certain interactions. As mentioned by Kenasri and Sadasri (2021) there are some violent and abusive behaviors that are considered "romantic" when it comes to the couples portrayed in k-dramas, a fact that is also supported by the amount of abusive behaviors performed by Korean men towards their girlfriends reported by the Korean Institute of Criminology (Kim, 2017). Therefore, a coder familiar with South Korean culture and language could offer a deeper insight in some scenes, which could benefit the analysis and the overall discussion.

Since the analysis only covered a part (the randomly selected clips) and not the entirety of both of the shows, many scenes that showed sexist attitudes and harassment behavior were probably and inevitably missed. For the same reason, it was not possible to have two complete timelines with every event that happened inside the shows, which could have potentially lead to a lack of context for some scenes' interpretation and to also miss some moments of the show that could have been coded for Ambivalent Sexism and Sexual Harassment. Replicating the study analyzing every moment of the dramas could help contextualize many events, conversations and behaviors, therefore benefit the research to have a more complete comprehension of the timeline and the characters.

The length of several episodes ended up exceeding the 60 minutes format for k-dramas (i.e. many episodes in *Boys Over Flowers* were around 64 minutes), hence a few minutes could have been missed in the randomization of the clips. This issue was not considered as crucial, since all of these k-drama's episodes ended with some screenshots from the episodes, the sponsors' logo and a short preview of the next episode, but there are still chances a couple of scenes could have been missed.

Lastly, the selected k-dramas themselves could be considered a limitation. Despite being among the most popular Korean dramas of all time and sharing all of the clichès typically associated with the genre, this study's findings refer specifically to these two shows, therefore it is impossible to exclude that there could be other k-dramas in which there is no representation of sexism and gender harassment, or there is a very different one.

4.2 Suggestions for future research

Several other topics that could have a relevant role to the explanation and the analysis of this content, especially women's objectification, partner jealousy and lack of consent, since there were several clips in both of the shows where these three concepts were strongly linked to the behaviors expressed. One example can be the first k-drama's protagonist: his extreme jealousy towards the female protagonist was often associated with his violent behavior, as well as Hostile Sexism beliefs such as Dominative Paternalism. The male protagonist of the second drama did not show violent behavior, but his jealousy towards the female protagonist was always verbalized even at the beginning, when she rejected him several times. In their analysis of romantic jealousy, Guerrero and Andersen (1996) explore its connections with other factors, concluding that jealousy is a complex emotion and that partner violent behavior is cross-culturally universal and one of the most negative outcomes. Overall, in both dramas the female protagonists are always referred to as something the male protagonists "have" or not, regardless of their will. A study conducted by Rollero (2013) on women objectification in media and Ambivalent Sexism found that the endorsement of sexist beliefs, especially Hostile Sexism, was influenced by the exposure to objectifying media. Galdi, Maas and Cadinu (2014) confirmed that the same exposure increased their participants' likelihood to perform sexual harassment. Lack or dubious consent was also recurrent in these k-dramas, a topic that, according to Groszhans (2018) represents an issue in contemporary television, since in many romantic comedies women's needs or will are never taken into consideration, and they are always seen as never expressing their true sexual desire. The author also states that scenes that involve lack of consent are often interpreted differently depending on who is

the viewer: someone could see it as sexual assault, someone else could see it as romanticism. These studies confirm that objectification, partner jealousy and lack of consent are present in media and have an effect on the audience, hence, expanding the analysis of k-dramas including these topics could be important for a more understanding of the main characters' dynamics, to further explain the nature of their interactions and investigate the consequences of the exposure to this content.

The original idea for this research included a second study with a survey that followed the content analysis. The survey was meant to be administered to western k-drama viewers and people that do not usually consume this type of content, to show them some clips or screenshots from the dramas and measure their levels of Ambivalent Sexism. For reasons of time and copyright it was not possible to proceed with the second study, nonetheless administering this type of survey to a western audience could give out more information about the type of influence that the vision of this content has on its public, similarly to the study from Zhang and Su (2021) conducted on a Chinese audience.

4.3 Implications for policy and practice

It is not surprising that the exposition of certain kinds of behaviors and attitudes can have an influence on the audience. Taking romance as example, numerous studies confirmed that the consumption of romantic TV-Shows was correlated with a stronger endorsement of romantic beliefs, especially concerning the idealization of love (Lippman, Ward & Seabrook, 2014), and at the same time predicted a lower satisfaction with one's own romantic relationship and the inclination to engage in arguments with the partner (Reizer & Hetsroni, 2014).

In the case of violent behaviors, previous research has confirmed that media depicting violent behavior can have both short-term and long-term effects on its young viewers's aggressivity levels, especially when it is fiction (Huesmann & Taylor, 2006). Regarding sexist attitudes, a study by Stermer and Burkley (2015) found a connection between the exposure to sexist video games and sexist attitudes, concluding that the exposure to this type of video games endorsed sexist beliefs, more specifically predicting Benevolent Sexism.

So what happens when sexist beliefs and gender-based violence are depicted as desirable? In 1981 Malamuth and Check conducted a study on the effect that mass media that portrayed sexual violence having positive consequences had on the tolerance towards violence against women. The results showed that this exposure led to an increasing acceptance of gender-based violence from male individuals. Since the present study

confirmed the presence in k-dramas of a vast range of sexist beliefs and sexual harassment behaviors, romanticized and positively perceived from the audience, a similar implication could be applied to this case.

There are a few measures that could be successful in tackling this issue and that are applicable on different types of media depicting sexism and sexual harassment. Firstly, the presence of sexist beliefs and violent abusive behaviors, even if romanticized, should be acknowledged in the classification of the content, so that the viewer is aware of what would appear on the screen and consequently able to recognize these behaviors. In order to do so, another pivotal measure is educating individuals about sexism, gender-based harassment, their depiction in the media and their consequences, starting from a young age. After all, being aware and sensitized on these topics could help individuals realize when facing sexism and gender harassment not only in media, but also in real life contexts.

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Appendices

Annex A - Ambivalent Sexism codes

Type of sexism	Descriptions of sub-categories	Descriptors
Benevolent Sexism (BS)	Protective paternalism (BS.P) *Women are to be loved, cherished, and protected (their "weaknesses" require that men fulfill the protector and-provider role)* (Glicke & Fiske, 1996, p. 493)	- Character makes a clear statement referring to gender stereotyped beliefs*. - Male character declares, promises, or imposes protection over the female character when there is no need, because she already has the resources to face the situation.
	Complementary gender differentiation (BS.C) *The dyadic dependency of men on women (as romantic objects, as wives and mothers) fosters notions that women have many positive traits that complement those of men* (Glicke & Fiske, 1996, p. 493)	- Character makes a statement on female character (or women in general) as a romantic object. - Character makes a statement about women and men having different qualities from each other. - Character complimenting female character based on gender stereotyped beliefs*.
	Heterosexual intimacy (BS.I) *The belief that men need women to be complete.* (Glicke & Fiske, 1996, p. 493)	- Character makes a statement referring to gender stereotypes*.
Hostile Sexism (HS)	Dominative paternalism (HS.D) *Justify patriarchy by viewing women as not fully competent adults, legitimizing the need for a superordinate male figure.* (Glicke & Fiske, 1996, p. 493)	- Character makes a clear statement based on gender stereotyped beliefs*. - Character communicates the idea that females should be subordinated to the male role. - Referring to the previous code, male character comments on the incompetence of female character.
	Competitive gender differentiation (HS.CGD) *Only men are perceived as having the traits necessary to govern important social institutions.* (Glicke & Fiske, 1996, p. 493)	- Character critiques female character based on gender stereotyped beliefs*. - Character comments on the incompetence of female character based on her gender.
	Heterosexual hostility (HS.H) *The belief that women use their sexual allure to gain dominance over men.* (Glicke & Fiske, 1996, p. 494)	- Character implies that a female character seduced a male character because of ulterior motives. - Character makes a statement referring to gender stereotypes*.

Annex B - Gender stereotypes list from the Ambivalent Sexism Framework

Type of Sexism	subcategory	Referring gender stereotypes
Benevolent Sexism (BS)	Protective Paternalism (BS.P)	- Women are weak(er than men) (Pratto, Sidanius, & Stallworth, 1993) - The man has the role of provider and protector of the home (Peplau, 1983; Tavris & Wade, 1984).
	Complementary Gender Differentiation (BS.C)	- Gender-based role division: women are caregivers and do domestic tasks while men are the breadwinners (Stockard & Johnson, 1992) - Women are more understanding and emphatic (Berscheid, Snydet & Omoto, 1989; Derlega, Winstead, Wong, & Hunter, 1985) - The favorable traits ascribed to women compensate for what men stereotypically lack (e.g., sensitivity to others' feelings). (Glicke & Fiske, 1996)
	Heterosexual Intimacy (BS.I)	- Women are [...] fulfillers of psychological and sexual intimacy. (Berscheid, Snydet & Omoto, 1989; Derlega, Winstead, Wong, & Hunter, 1985) - *"Both men and women are more likely to seek intimacy with female than with male strangers"* (Riess & Salzer, 1981: Major, Schmidlin & Williams, 1990; Cozby, 1973; Morton,1978)
Hostile Sexism (HS)	Dominative Paternalism (HS.P)	- The wife is dependent on the husband to maintain her economic and social status (Peplau, 1983; Tavris & Wade, 1984). - "In the traditional marriage both partners agree that the husband should wield greater authority, to which the wife should defer" (see Peplau, 1983)
	Competitive gender Differentiation (HS.CGD)	- Women are "[nice but] incompetent at many important tasks" (Glicke & Fiske, 1996) - "women's incompetence at agentic tasks characterize women as unfit to wield power over economic, legal, and political institutions" (Glicke & Fiske, 1996)
	Heterosexual Hostility (HS.H)	- Women are [...] fulfillers of (psychological) and sexual intimacy. (Berscheid, Snydet & Omoto, 1989; Derlega, Winstead, Wong, & Hunter, 1985) - Sexual reproduction lends women "dyadic power" (power that stems from dependencies in 2-person relationships) in that it compels men to rely on women as bearers of children and, generally, for the satisfaction of sexual needs. (Guttentag and Secord, 1983)

Annex C - Sexual Harassment codes

Sexual Harassment Subcategories	Descriptors
GH, sexist hostility (HA)	- Treated a character "differently" based on her gender (for example, a character gets mistreated, slighted, or ignored). - Displayed, used or distributed sexist or suggestive materials (for example, pictures, stories, pornograpy which were found offensive). - Made offensive sexist remarks (for example, suggesting that people of the character's gender are not suited for the kind of work they do). - Put a female character down or was condescending because of her gender.
GH, sexual hostility (SH)	- Repeatedly told sexual stories or jokes that were offensive to female character. - Whistled, called or hooted at female character in a sexual way. - Made unwelcome attempts to draw female character into a discussion of sexual matters (for example, attempted to discuss or comment on female character's sex life). - Made crude and offensive sexual remarks, either publicly (for example, in your workplace) or to female character privately. - Made offensive remarks about female character's appearance, body, or sexual activities. - Made gestures or used body language of a sexual nature which embarassed or offended female character. - Stared, led or ogled a female character in a way that made her feel uncomfortable. - Exposed themselves physically (for example "mooned" a female character) in a way that embarrassed her or made her feel uncomfortable.
Unwanted sexual attention (USA)	- Displayed, used, or distributed sexist or suggestive materials (for example, pictures, stories, or pornography) which female character found offensive. - Made unwanted attempts to establish a romantic sexual relationship with female character despite her efforts to discourage it. - Continued to ask the female character for dates, drinks, dinner, etc., even though she said "No". - Touched a female character in a way that made her feel uncomfortable. - Made unwanted attempts to stroke, fondle, or kiss a female character. - Attempted to have sex with female character without her consent or against her will, but was unsuccessful. - Had sex with female character without her consent or against her will.
Sexual coercion (SC)	- Made female character feel like she was being bribed with some sort of reward or special treatment to engage in sexual behavior. - Made female character feel threatened with some sort of retaliation for not being sexually cooperative (for example, by mentioning an upcoming review). - Treated female character badly for refusing to have sex. - Implied faster promotions or better treatment if female character was sexually cooperative. - Made female character afraid she would be treated poorly if she didn't cooperate sexually.

Annex D - Randomly selected clips from Boys Over Flowers

Boys Over Flowers				
Episode 1	20	4	10	2
Episode 2	13	8	17	14
Episode 3	12	9	17	8
Episode 4	20	3	14	10
Episode 5	11	5	14	18
Episode 6	16	12	9	8
Episode 7	2	12	16	4
Episode 8	20	14	10	18
Episode 9	1	17	14	12
Episode 10	4	14	2	8
Episode 11	10	2	11	18
Episode 12	20	18	3	6
Episode 13	19	8	15	2
Episode 14	12	13	7	8
Episode 15	14	20	6	7
Episode 16	5	14	6	19
Episode 17	6	2	10	12
Episode 18	5	18	11	9
Episode 19	7	5	17	12
Episode 20	17	12	19	5
Episode 21	3	8	9	20
Episode 22	17	18	9	3
Episode 23	19	4	11	12
Episode 24	1	4	8	6
Episode 25	15	11	5	3

Annex E - Randomly selected clips from What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?

What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?				
Episode 1	13	11	9	20
Episode 2	7	20	15	10
Episode 3	1	15	12	13
Episode 4	1	2	7	8
Episode 5	9	18	10	16
Episode 6	4	7	13	10
Episode 7	13	14	9	10
Episode 8	16	8	4	6
Episode 9	5	8	18	10
Episode 10	9	10	12	17
Episode 11	3	2	20	15
Episode 12	8	17	6	9
Episode 13	5	1	10	2
Episode 14	2	6	15	17
Episode 15	9	6	18	3
Episode 16	17	10	4	12

Annex F - Gender of the characters in Boys Over Flowers

Gender and Benevolent Sexism

		N	%
Male		9	0,9%
Female		3	0,3%
Total		100	10,0%
Missing	System	899	90,0%
Total		999	100%

Gender and Hostile Sexism

		N	%
Male		6	0,6%
Female		3	0,3%
Total		100	10,0%
Missing	System	899	90,0%
Total		999	100%

Gender and Sexual Harassment

		N	%
Male		15	1,5%
Total		100	10,0%
Missing	System	899	90,0%
Total		999	100%

Annex G - Importance of the Characters in Boys Over Flowers

Importance of the characters and Benevolent Sexism

	N	%
Main	4	0,4%
Secondary	6	0,6%
Background	2	0,2%
Total	100	10,0%
Missing System	899	90,0%
Total	999	100%

Importance of the characters and Hostile Sexism

	N	%
Main	4	0,4%
Secondary	4	0,4%
Background	1	0,1%
Total	100	10,0%
Missing System	899	90,0%
Total	999	100%

Importance of the characters and Sexual Harassment

	N	%
Main	8	0,8%
Secondary	3	0,3%
Background	4	0,4%
Total	100	10,0%
Missing System	899	90,0%
Total	999	100%

Annex H - Correspondence Tables of Gender and Importance of the characters regarding Ambivalent Sexism and Sexual Harassment in Boys Over Flowers

Correspondence Table

| Gender | Benevolent Sexism | | | | |
	BS.P	BS.C	BS.I	Absent	Active Margin
Male	7	1	1	0	9
Female	0	1	2	0	3
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0
Undefined	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	89	89
Active Margin	7	2	3	89	100

Correspondence Table

| Importance | Benevolent Sexism | | | | |
	BS.P	BS.C	BS.I	Absent	Active Margin
Main	4	0	0	0	4
Secondary	1	2	3	0	6
Background	2	0	0	0	2
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	89	89
Active Margin	7	2	3	89	100

Correspondence Table of Gender and Importance of the character and Benevolent

Sexism

| Importance | Gender | | | | | |
	Male	Female	Mixed	Undefined	Absent	Active Margin
Main	4	0	0	0	0	4
Secondary	3	3	0	0	0	6
Background	2	0	0	0	0	2
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	0	89	89
Active Margin	9	3	0	0	89	100

Correspondence Table

| Gender | Hostile Sexism | | | | |
	HS.D	HS.CGD	HS.H	Absent	Active Margin
Male	2	1	3	0	6
Female	1	0	2	0	3
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0
Undefined	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	91	91
Active Margin	3	1	5	91	100

Correspondence Table

| Importance | Hostile Sexism | | | | |
	HS.D	HS.CGD	HS.H	Absent	Active Margin
Main	3	0	1	0	4
Secondary	0	1	3	0	4
Background	0	0	1	0	1
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	91	91
Active Margin	3	1	5	91	100

Correspondence Table of Gender and Importance of the Characters and Hostile Sexism

| Importance | Gender | | | | | |
	Male	Female	Mixed	Undefined	Absent	Active Margin
Main	3	1	0	0	0	4
Secondary	3	1	0	0	0	4
Background	0	1	0	0	0	1
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	0	91	91
Active Margin	6	3	0	0	91	100

Correspondence Table

	Sexual Harassment					
Gender	HA	SH	USA	SC	Absent	Active Margin
Male	4	6	9	2	0	21
Female	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0	0
Undefined	0	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	0	85	85
Active Margin	4	6	9	2	85	100

Correspondence Table

	Sexual Harassment					
Importance	HA	SH	USA	SC	Absent	Active Margin
Main	3	2	3	0	0	8
Secondary	0	1	3	0	0	4
Background	2	2	2	0	0	6
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	0	85	85
Active Margin	3	3	5	0	85	100

Correspondence Table of Gender and Importance of the characters and Sexual Harassment

	Gender					
Importance	Male	Female	Mixed	Undefined	Absent	Active Margin
Main	8	0	0	0	0	8
Secondary	3	0	0	0	0	3
Background	4	0	0	0	0	4
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	0	85	85
Active Margin	15	0	0	0	85	100

Annex I - Gender of the characters in What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?

Gender and Benevolent Sexism

	N	%
Male	12	18,8%
Female	6	9,4%
Mixed	1	1,6%
Absent	45	70,3%

Gender and Hostile Sexism

	N	%
Male	5	7,8%
Female	1	1,6%
Absent	58	90,6%

Gender and Sexual Harassment

	N	%
Male	8	12,5%
Female	2	3,1%
Absent	54	84,4%

Annex J - Importance of the characters in What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?

Importance of characters and
Benevolent Sexism

	N	%
Main	11	17,2%
Secondary	6	9,4%
Background	2	3,1%
Absent	45	70,3%

Importance of the characters and
Hostile Sexism

	N	%
Main	3	4,7%
Secondary	2	3,1%
Background	1	1,6%
Absent	58	90,6%

Importance of characters and
Sexual Harassment

	N	%
Main	7	10,9%
Secondary	3	4,7%
Absent	54	84,4%

Annex K - Correspondence Tables of Gender and Importance of the characters regarding Ambivalent Sexism and Sexual Harassment in What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?

Correspondence Table

Gender	BS.P	BS.C	BS.I	Absent	Active Margin
		Benevolent Sexism			
Male	6	5	1	0	12
Female	1	4	1	0	6
Mixed	0	0	1	0	1
Undefined	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	45	45
Active Margin	7	9	3	45	64

Correspondence Table

Importance	BS.P	BS.C	BS.I	Absent	Active Margin
		Benevolent Sexism			
Main	5	4	2	0	11
Secondary	2	4	0	0	6
Background	0	1	1	0	2
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	45	45
Active Margin	7	9	3	45	64

Correspondence Table for Gender and Importance of the characters and Benevolent Sexism

Importance	Male	Female	Mixed	Undefined	Absent	Active Margin
			Gender			
Main	8	3	0	0	0	11
Secondary	4	2	0	0	0	6
Background	0	1	1	0	0	2
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	0	45	45
Active Margin	12	6	1	0	45	64

Correspondence Table

	Hostile Sexism				
Gender	HS.D	HS.CGD	HS.H	Absent	Active Margin
Male	3	1	1	0	5
Female	0	1	1	0	2
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0
Undefined	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	57	57
Active Margin	3	2	2	57	66

Correspondence Table

	Hostile Sexism					
Importance	HS.D	HS.CGD	HS.H	HS. CGD*HS.H	Absent	Active Margin
Main	1	1	1	0	0	3
Secondary	2	0	0	0	0	2
Background	0	1	1	0	0	2
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	0	57	57
Active Margin	3	2	2	1	57	66

Correspondence Table of Gender and Importance of the characters and Hostile Sexism

	Gender					
Importance	Male	Female	Mixed	Undefined	Absent	Active Margin
Main	3	0	0	0	0	3
Secondary	2	0	0	0	0	2
Background	0	2	0	0	0	2
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	0	58	58
Active Margin	5	2	0	0	58	66

Correspondence Table

| Gender | Sexual Harassment | | | | | |
	HA	SH	USA	SC	Absent	Active Margin
Male	0	3	5	0	0	8
Female	2	0	0	0	0	2
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0	0
Undefined	0	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	0	54	54
Active Margin	2	3	5	0	54	64

Correspondence Table

| Importance | Sexual Harassment | | | | | |
	HA	SH	USA	SC	Absent	Active Margin
Main	0	2	5	0	0	7
Secondary	2	1	0	0	0	3
Background	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	0	54	54
Active Margin	2	3	5	0	54	64

Correspondence Table for Gender and Importance in Sexual Harassment

| Importance | Gender | | | | | |
	Male	Female	Mixed	Undefined	Absent	Active Margin
Main	7	0	0	0	0	7
Secondary	1	2	0	0	0	3
Background	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0	0
Absent	0	0	0	0	54	54
Active Margin	8	2	0	0	54	64

Annex L - Correlation Table between the subcategories in Boys Over Flowers

Correlations

		BS.P	BS.C	BS.I	HS.D	HS.CGD	HS.H	HA	SH	USA	SC	MP_V
BS.P	Pearson Correlation	1	-,039	-,048	,182	-,028	,477**	-,056	,261**	,325**	-,039	,243*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,699	,634	,071	,785	,000	,580	,009	,001	,699	,015
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
BS.C	Pearson Correlation	-,039	1	,394**	-,025	-,014	-,033	-,029	-,036	-,045	-,020	,102
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,699		,000	,804	,887	,746	,773	,721	,657	,840	,314
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
BS.I	Pearson Correlation	-,048	,394**	1	-,031	-,018	-,040	-,036	-,044	-,055	-,025	-,091
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,634	,000		,760	,861	,690	,723	,661	,585	,804	,370
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
HS.D	Pearson Correlation	,182	-,025	-,031	1	-,018	-,040	-,036	-,044	,150	-,025	,053
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,071	,804	,760		,861	,690	,723	,661	,138	,804	,599
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
HS.CGD	Pearson Correlation	-,028	-,014	-,018	-,018	1	-,023	-,021	,398**	,320**	-,014	-,052
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,785	,887	,861	,861		,820	,839	,000	,001	,887	,609
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
HS.H	Pearson Correlation	,477**	-,033	-,040	-,040	-,023	1	-,047	,135	,088	-,033	-,006
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,746	,690	,690	,820		,644	,180	,383	,746	,956
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
HA	Pearson Correlation	-,056	-,029	-,036	-,036	-,021	-,047	1	-,052	,114	-,029	,396**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,580	,773	,723	,723	,839	,644		,610	,258	,773	,000
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
SH	Pearson Correlation	,261**	-,036	-,044	-,044	,398**	,135	-,052	1	,362**	,565**	,077
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,009	,721	,661	,661	,000	,180	,610		,000	,000	,449
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
USA	Pearson Correlation	,325**	-,045	-,055	,150	,320**	,088	,114	,362**	1	,454**	,095
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,001	,657	,585	,138	,001	,383	,258	,000		,000	,346
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
SC	Pearson Correlation	-,039	-,020	-,025	-,025	-,014	-,033	-,029	,565**	,454**	1	-,074
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,699	,840	,804	,804	,887	,746	,773	,000	,000		,466
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
MP_V	Pearson Correlation	,243*	,102	-,091	,053	-,052	-,006	,396**	,077	,095	-,074	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,015	,314	,370	,599	,609	,956	,000	,449	,346	,466	
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Annex M - Correlation Table between the subcategories in What's Wrong With Secretary Kim?

Correlations

		BS.P	BS.C	BS.I	HS.D	HS.CGD	HS.H	HA	SH	USA
BS.P	Pearson Correlation	1	-,142	-,078	-,078	,225	-,063	,225	-,078	-,102
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,264	,542	,542	,074	,621	,074	,542	,422
	N	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64
BS.C	Pearson Correlation	-,142	1	-,090	,336**	,186	,186	-,073	-,090	-,118
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,264		,481	,007	,142	,142	,568	,481	,354
	N	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64
BS.I	Pearson Correlation	-,078	-,090	1	,301*	-,040	-,040	-,040	-,049	-,065
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,542	,481		,016	,755	,755	,755	,700	,612
	N	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64
HS.D	Pearson Correlation	-,078	,336**	,301*	1	-,040	-,040	-,040	-,049	-,065
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,542	,007	,016		,755	,755	,755	,700	,612
	N	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64
HS.CGD	Pearson Correlation	,225	,186	-,040	-,040	1	,484**	-,032	-,040	-,052
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,074	,142	,755	,755		,000	,800	,755	,682
	N	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64
HS.H	Pearson Correlation	-,063	,186	-,040	-,040	,484**	1	-,032	-,040	,282*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,621	,142	,755	,755	,000		,800	,755	,024
	N	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64
HA	Pearson Correlation	,225	-,073	-,040	-,040	-,032	-,032	1	-,040	-,052
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,074	,568	,755	,755	,800	,800		,755	,682
	N	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64
SH	Pearson Correlation	-,078	-,090	-,049	-,049	-,040	-,040	-,040	1	-,065
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,542	,481	,700	,700	,755	,755	,755		,612
	N	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64
USA	Pearson Correlation	-,102	-,118	-,065	-,065	-,052	,282*	-,052	-,065	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,422	,354	,612	,612	,682	,024	,682	,612	
	N	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).