

**Analyzing the perception of young Koreans towards radical
feminism and their anti-feminist sentiments**

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Abstract

This study attempted to investigate the effect of radical feminism on anti-feminist sentiments among young Koreans. For this purpose, the attitudes and perceptions of men and women aged 20 to 29 about gender equality, feminism, and radical feminism were investigated through an online survey. The typology of postfeminism and backlash was used to determine whether such perspectives fit into these discourse criteria. This survey findings show that male respondents in their twenties hold both postfeminist and backlash attitudes. They believe that gender equality exists in Korea and that feminism is no longer necessary, hence fit into the postfeminist discourse. Similarly, these men feel that radical feminism has been bad for men and marginalized them in society, therefore can be associated with anti-feminist backlashes. This study suggests that young males in Korea have a negative perception of radical feminism which results in the development of postfeminist beliefs and anti-feminist backlash. On the other hand, female respondents in the survey showed rather diverse and often contradictory viewpoints as compared to male respondents. Hence, further detailed study from the viewpoint of young Korean women is needed to understand and analyze how radical feminism is affecting anti-feminist sentiments among them.

Keyword: gender equality, feminism, radical feminism, anti-feminism, postfeminism, backlash

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1. Introduction

The recently released movie *Barbie* in 2023 was a global success, however, this movie about female empowerment struggled to make its impact in South Korea garnering only a few audiences as most males responded negatively and expressed their dissatisfaction with the movie's hidden feminist agenda (S. Park, 2023). The movie collected \$1.4 billion worldwide at the box office but became a flop in South Korea, one of the biggest markets, with a collection of only \$4 million¹ (*Barbie*, n.d.). In this context, Haerin Shim, a women's rights activist, says that moviegoers may have been displeased by the movie's content because *Barbie*, in her opinion, undeniably draws attention to the reality that a female-centric comedy film is still considered an inappropriate issue (Rashid, 2023). This indeed portrays the ongoing gender divide in the country (Ma et al., 2019; S. Park, 2023). Likewise, the latest news article "Korea's Anti-Feminist Angry Young Men" published by 'the Globalist' in 2022, mentioned that 76% of men in their twenties and 66% in their thirties oppose feminism (Y.-I. Lee, 2022). According to the exit poll conducted by KBS, SBS, and MBC² revealed that this same age group was also one of the majority groups (58.7% of males under 20 and 52.8% in their 30s) that voted for and led to the win of the anti-feminist candidate from the People's Party (국민의힘), Yoon Suk-Yeol, in the recent 20th presidential election in South Korea on March 9, 2022 (KBS News, 2022). This win demonstrates Yoon benefitted from his anti-feminist strategies and sentiments which garnered huge support from young male voters (H. Kang, 2022). Moreover, Yoon's presidential campaign has exacerbated the existing pervasive misogynistic culture in Korean society, which is already plagued with hatred toward women, particularly feminists (Manek, 2023).

Given how well-educated³ Korean youth are and how much we anticipate young people to be open-minded in the modern age, it is surprising to see why the majority of them are antipathetic to feminism and what factors influence their attitudes. Indeed, since the late 19th and early 20th

¹ 'Oppenheimer' movie which was released at the same time the 'Barbie' movie collected \$53 million in Korea.

² The exit poll was titled "제 20 대 대통령선거 방송 3 사 공동 출구조사" and jointly conducted by SBS, KBS and MBC which are the three largest national television networks. The results were broadcasted in KBS news and can be found at <https://www.youtube.com/live/kSH24jT2w5Q?feature=shared>. See 2:59: 08 for exact given information.

³ Korea has the highest percentage of population with tertiary education (69.3%) between 25-34 years old among OECD countries. OECD (2023), Population with tertiary education (indicator). doi: 10.1787/0b8f90e9-en

centuries, anti-feminism has grown in popularity alongside feminist movements around the globe. The anti-feminist movement such as the anti-suffrage movement in the UK and Australia argued that these rights threatened the traditional family and religious values and violated gender norms (Ging & Siapera, 2019). This was also common among ILBE members, an online anti-feminist group, who called for “male solidarity” to restore the modern-day “crisis of masculinity” (H. M. Kim, 2021a, p. 254).

On the other side, since the popularization of feminism in the digital age, young Korean women are embracing a more radical form of feminism to combat gender inequality (J. Kim, 2021; Y. Kim, 2021; J. Lee & Jeong, 2021). Radical feminism first emerged in 1968 in the US arguing that patriarchy is the main source of women’s oppression and aimed to abolish it. (Mackay, 2015; Naples, 2020; Thompson, 2001). Radical feminist movements focused on changing the social structure of male supremacy and traditional gender roles. However, it has often been the subject of criticism as it is accused of promoting man-hating and encouraging separatism (Mackay, 2015; Naples, 2020). It is considered more aggressive in its approach compared to other forms of feminism. Particularly in the context of Korea, radical feminists have headed to such an extent as to reject ethics and societal norms in favor of a movement that was exclusively for women rather than for everyone (H.-J. Lee, 2020). For instance, an online community group, Womad, pursued separatism i.e., women-only politics aiming for female supremacy (J. Kim, 2021). Therefore, because of the extremism of radical feminists, feminism has been seen negatively and men now have a misperception that feminism is misandrist (Hines & Song, 2021). The fact that radical feminists want to destroy patriarchal hegemony and antifeminists want to uphold male domination, it is important to understand how this disagreement will intensify gender conflict in Korea.

Hence, this thesis research will center on the issue of increasing anti-feminism in young Korean men between the age group of 20-29 concerning radical feminism and the research questions that it particularly wants to investigate. The first question is, what are the young Korean’s perspectives towards radical feminism, The second would be, how does it affect their anti-feminist sentiments? Globally, there are many schools of feminism such as liberal feminism, social feminism, and revolutionary feminism which have their own goals and priorities. For example: socialist feminism is focused on how capitalism oppresses women and every other individual; revolutionary feminism

emphasizes the value of “separatism and political lesbianism”; and liberal feminism is advocating for reform through pressuring the government, observing equal pay, and advancing maternity rights (Mackay, 2015b, p. 58). However, the research will focus only on radical feminism which emerged in 1968 in the US to protest against women’s oppression. In Korea, radical feminism is mainly based on identity politics-which places a strong focus on biological women and women-first (women-only) policies (H.-J. Lee, 2020). Through this women-exclusive stance, young Korean radical feminists are challenging patriarchy in society and fighting against sexual violence against women (J. Lee & Jeong, 2021). For instance, they opposed patriarchal practices and relationships through the 4B movement, challenged the beauty standard placed by society through the Tal-Corset movement (J. Lee & Jeong, 2021), exposed sexual harassment and violence against women through the MeToo movement (J. Kim, 2021), and excluded other minority group such as trans-gender through trans-exclusive radical feminist practices (H.-J. Lee, 2020).

The research begins with a thorough examination of works of literature on two contradictory notions, radical feminism and anti-feminism, and an assessment of how radical feminism differs from other schools of feminism. It then conducts literature research on current radical feminist movements in Korea to better understand the key aspects of such movements and to examine how they demonstrate radical activism. The research mainly uses the book “The Korean Women’s Movement and the State | Bargaining for Change |” by (Kim., S & Kim. K, 2014) to discuss the history of feminism in South Korea. For the radical feminism discussion, it refers to the literature by (Mackay, 2015; Naples, 2020; Rowland & Klein, 1996), and for the same discussion in the context of Korea, literature by H. M. Kim (2021), J. Kim (2021), Y. Kim (2021), H.-J. Lee (2020) and J. Lee & Jeong (2021) are used to focus on radical activism in Korea, such as 4B (4 Nos: no dating, no sexual relation, no marriage, no child-rearing with men), MeToo (movement protesting sexual abuse faced by women), and Tal-corset movements (movement encouraging women to abandon beauty practices and free themselves from feminine expectations) and as well as to better understand key aspects of such movements. Likewise, it reviews the literature by Choo (2020); Hines & Song (2021), and Ma et al. (2019) which includes an analysis of gender inequality issues in Korea and provides an overview of anti-feminism in Korea. Particularly, literature based on Korea has been included to gain a deeper insight into Korean society and the different dimensions

of it that affect both feminism and anti-feminism. All these fields of literature and data provide a solid foundation of knowledge in the subject area.

Currently, most of the publications primarily focus on feminism, and only a little research has been done on radical feminism and anti-feminism in the context of Korea. After reading these academic works, it could be understood that the word “Feminism” itself has negative attitudes among young men in Korea. Therefore, it is intriguing to know how radical feminism, which is more aggressive and combative than other forms of feminism, affects their viewpoint. Furthermore, few studies assume that these two conceptions affect each other. There is still a lack of in-depth research to connect them and create a link between these two contradicting concepts. It is also necessary to research young men’s perspectives on radical feminism to analyze how they understand the concept and use it to construct their sentiments. With the ongoing gender conflict and the ruling government of a conservative President in South Korea, this research is timely and conceivable with the comprehensive study of present phenomena.

2. Literature review

Radical feminism is a form of feminism which primarily argues that patriarchy is the primary cause of women's subjugation (Beauvoir, 1997; Daly, 1995; Firestone, 2003; Mackay, 2015b; Millett, 2000; Thompson, 2001). In this context, American feminist writer Kate Millet in her book “*Sexual Politics*” states that the history of patriarchy is filled with violence and barbarism. She additionally argues that patriarchy, which is firmly ingrained in all spheres of society and politics, also shapes the perception of women as being in tune to meet the needs of males (Millett, 2000). Simon De Beauvoir, a French feminist activist, also acknowledges that the world has always been dominated by males, and its norms are still prevalent to a significant degree in contemporary society (Beauvoir, 1997). This is why, scholars such as American radical feminist philosopher Mary Daly (1995) writes patriarchy tends to exist "everywhere" and our society being anti-female, constantly victimizes women (p.1). As a result, radical feminism has been called the greatest revolutionary movement in history which was more than just a political movement for social equality (Firestone, 2003). In this context, radical feminist activist Shulamith Firestone writes:

“Its [radical feminism] aim: overthrow of the oldest, most rigid class/caste system in existence, the class system based on sex - a system consolidated over thousands of years, lending the archetypal male and female roles an undeserved legitimacy and seeming permanence.”(p. 23)

In her book *Radical Feminism: feminist activism in movement*, Finn Mackay (2015) differentiates radical feminism from other forms of feminism through four main characteristics. To begin, radical feminism acknowledges the “existence of patriarchy” and aims to abolish it (p.60-61) Second, it prioritizes “women-only spaces and women-only political organizing” (ibid). Third, it regards gender violence on women as a major source of women's subjugation. Fourth, it broadens the perspective of male aggression against women by investigating pornographic and prostitution systems. The author also addresses the stereotypes regarding radical feminism which have led it to become the subject of viciousness. For example, the demonization of radical feminism has been done as a man-hating school of feminism. Mackay adds radical feminism has been accused of being essentialist which regards all men as evils while all women as virtuous. For instance, radical feminists view all men as perpetrators of male violence who want to dominate, oppress, and exploit women, hence, suggesting women practice separatism (Mackay, 2015).

Rowland & Klein (1996) also emphasize radical feminism as the “only theory by and for women” (p.10). However, there are two shortcomings to this claim. The first shortcoming is that women do not comprise a “homogenous” group, which emphasizes the importance of considering “intersectionality” regarding aspects such as race and sexuality (Hee Kang, p.180). This means women in different cultures may not necessarily have the same experiences (Mackay, 2015b). The second problematic aspect is that “feminism is not a theory only for women, [but also] for other marginalized groups” (J. I. Kang, 2014, p. 180). These other marginalized groups generally include the LGBTQT community who are often excluded by Trans-exclusionary Radical feminists known as TERFs⁴. For instance, such radical feminists do not consider transgender women to be women since they believe a person's sex is biologically established and cannot be changed (Hotine, 2021).

J. Kim (2021) also in the context of Korea, presents a similar view to show some shortcomings of radical feminist movements in Korea. Kim explains how the concept of feminism has been the “use of biological sex as the basis for identity within feminist movements and the female-first

⁴ TERFs who are often associated with the group of second-wave feminism. They are the feminists who excludes the rights of transgender women from their women’s right movement.

politics” for radical feminists (p.85). Whether it is demanding the release of Park Geun-Hye⁵ claiming she has been wrongly accused just because she was a woman or pursuing essentialism and separatism in the political agenda for women, self-identified radical feminists in a way stigmatized feminism in Korea. Because of their aggressive approaches compared to established feminism, these women are characterized as bad feminists and extremists who only despise men (J. Kim, 2021). Likewise, Hines & Song (2021) further state—that some incidents, such as the mirroring of Megalia and Womad's posts, are worsening the situation by cultivating an "extreme culture of misandry."(p.1-2). They point out that many young people identify feminism with man-hating speech, therefore, now have a misperception that feminism is misandrist (ibid). Hence, radical feminism's retaliation to end male hegemony has directly or indirectly inflamed the situation between two opposing groups of feminists and anti-feminists.

Such a statement of gender conflict in Korea is supported by a research paper by the Korean Women's Development Institute titled "Study on Gender Inequality and Men's Quality of Life," which discovered that in addition to feminism's growing popularity among young women, anti-feminist backlash among young men—particularly those in their twenties—has increased rapidly due to hostility toward feminist groups (Ma et al., 2019). Jung and Moon (2024) also add that in a digital era, the increase in antifeminist backlash in online spaces is a result of the growing feminist movement's online presence. Backlash, in feminist terms, can be described as a strong opposition to an ideology in which contradictory views are repeatedly expressed (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2017). Susan Faludi (1991), an American feminist, contends that over a few decades ago, there have been backlashes against the gains made by the feminist movement notably against women's rights. She adds, therefore, that backlash typically results when they try to advance in society as men perceive these attempts as a challenge to their masculinity and status. Backlashes thrive on roots of animosity towards feminism and its accomplishment. That is to say, backlash is dependent on feminism, which only arises when feminism is growing instead of waning (Faludi, 1991). Therefore, with the growing popularity and intensity of the radical feminist movement in Korea, it is necessary to analyze whether such a rise in activism could lead to a further increase in anti-feminist backlash.

⁵ Park Geun Hye is a former female South Korean president who was impeached and indicted on charges of bribery, extortion, and power abuse.

According to the same research study by Ma et al. (2019), both hostile sexism (hatred for those who do not conform to established female gender norms and challenge male dominancy) and anti-feminism (antipathy for feminist movements developed by women to confront gender inequity) were both asserted to be prevalent in Korean society. One of the causes of hostile sexism in modern society may be the rejection of patrilineal orientation and the male-hegemonic culture by Korean women in contemporary society (B. J. Park, 2001). Korean society, as explained by B. J. Park (2001), is patriarchal and demands women conform to traditional gender roles. Therefore, men are resisting such change because they do not want to lose the authority that male-oriented ideology provides (ibid). Likewise, the reason for anti-feminism may be that the younger generation of males does not perceive women as people who need to be protected, but rather as a man-hating group that demands absurd demands despite having the same similar status as males (Ma et al., 2019). Such statements correspond with post-feminism, which Jordan (2016) described as a discourse that argues that feminism is no longer acceptable or relevant because the goal or purpose of feminism, namely gender equality, has already been attained in contemporary society. In the words of McRobbie (2008), an expert in feminist cultural theory, post-feminism is "a new kind of antifeminist sentiment." (p.1). She makes the case that, using a variety of theoretical frameworks, postfeminism constructively draws on and evokes feminism as a notion that can be considered, to show that equality has been attained, and to present a comprehensive collection of new implications that highlight the fact that it is no longer necessary and has become an aggressive tool (McRobbie, 2004).

Postfeminism particularly developed and became prominent because of neoliberalism as it resulted in the disappearance of middle-class and economic polarization in society domestically (Korea) and globally. Therefore, anti-feminist activism such as the Men's Rights Movement gained momentum in Western nations as it targeted underprivileged men impacted by neoliberalism (Johanssen, 2021). On the other hand, in the Korean context, Kim (2021) argues that neoliberalism disadvantaged women more than men since women now face a larger gender wage gap, discriminatory job practices, and marginalization. This contrasts with men's perceptions, which suggest that they suffer greater career restrictions and receive less preferential treatment than women. As a result, it could be understood that men and women see the same situation differently and this is why Kim (2021) underlines the need for additional research to properly comprehend the repercussions of emerging new anti-feminist backlash measures.

Numerous works of literature based on Korea (Lee & Jeong, 2021; H.M. Kim, 2021; Ma et al, 2019; Jordan, 2016) also identify neoliberalism as one of the factors that led to the rise in the anti-feminist sentiments present in Korea. For instance, Choo (2020) underlines that neoliberalism creates an illusion of an egalitarian society where men and women are treated equally and without bias. Therefore, men express discontent with gender equality programs that prioritize the well-being of women. The financial autonomy of women was unintentionally and intentionally viewed as an open challenge to male supremacy and traditional gender roles (Huang, 2023). Such perception of gender equality and threat to masculinity can be associated with postfeminist and backlash discourse. Lee (2020) also adds that backlash in the Korean context emerged amid instances where men and women were on the verge of reaching equality. During the highly competitive neoliberal period, men were up against competitive women who challenged their position in society. As a result, such men resorted to objectifying and demeaning women as a way to vent their rage (H.-J. Lee, 2020). According to Manek (2023), Korea, being a patriarchal society, was already sexist, and with the interaction between history and contemporary society, misogynistic culture has grown to become ingrained in South Korea's identity. As a result, modern women who defied traditional patriarchal values were labeled as repulsive and criticized for being motivated by narcissism by abandoning the feminine ideals of South Korea (ibid). Hence, in the context of Korea, neoliberalism also strengthened misogynistic culture in Korean society, particularly among young people (Moon et al., 2022; H. M. Kim, 2021b; Y. Kim, 2021).

Such anti-feminist sentiments have also been examined through the threat and defense theory, which is widely employed in psychology research. According to Jonas et al. (2014), any experience that contradicts predominate beliefs or motives raises anxiety and promotes attempts to lessen the impact through reactionary ideas and actions. Reiss et al. (2021) also suggest that encountering psychological dangers like unpredictability or insecurity can induce adverse views against other groups, bias among groups, and the upholding of traditional ideologies. Therefore, anti-feminist backlashes and male victimhood ideologies are merely responses to a threat posed by feminism, perpetrated by social groups (in this case male) who feel threatened by the successes of women's movements and wish to restore their status that existed before feminism's ascendancy (Faludi, 1991; H. W. Jung, 2023; Perini, 2021).

Through the previous literature based on radical feminism, it is understood that this form of feminism is more militant in its approaches and has often become a subject of criticism. In the context of Korea, it is even more aggressive and gained more power among young feminists in a short duration of time. On the other hand, numerous studies show that most young men are growing hostile towards such feminism because it promotes misandry and threatens gender norms. So, it could be understood that with an increase in radical feminism activism, anti-feminism among young men is also increasing. However, it is less researched how particularly radical feminism is influencing anti-feminist attitudes among these men. Moreover, it is important to observe if the new government led by misogynist President, Yoon-Suk Yeol, will bring any changes. Yoon gained the majority of votes from young men using his anti-feminist rhetoric, therefore, such changes in the political system could further exacerbate the gender conflict situation in Korea.

Likewise, although anti-feminism in Korea has been studied through the theoretical framework of threat and defense theory, theory of masculinity, and theory of sexism, it has rarely been investigated through the theory of postfeminism and backlash. Postfeminism and backlash discourse, which are often associated with anti-feminism (discussed in p. 17-18) gained strength during the neoliberal period. Considering the immense impact of neoliberalism in Korea such as youth unemployment and economic polarization it is important to study how such a situation affected men's perception of (anti)feminism in contemporary times. Therefore, this research study aims to fill such a research gap by analyzing the perception of young Koreans towards radical feminism and how such viewpoints affect their anti-feminist sentiments through the use of postfeminism and backlash theory.

3. Theoretical Framework

This chapter will introduce these theories and define the related key concepts. In the feminist methodology book, Ramazanoglu (2002) emphasizes that any researcher aiming to understand gender relations and their impact on the lives of people needs to reflect on "how social reality can be understood, why conceptions of sexuality and gender have some meanings rather than others; how people make sense of their experiences; and how power inhabits knowledge production" (p.9). Therefore, this study leans toward social constructionism, and the issue of anti-feminism will be

explored using theories that have evolved in response to previously dominant realism perspectives in social science. The social world, according to constructionists, is a "reality that is constructed through people's perceptions and reinforced by their interactions with other people" (Denscombe, 2009, p. 119). By this definition, social reality is a dynamic concept that individuals constantly build and remodel through their words, thoughts, and daily practices. Additionally, they recognize the likelihood that various cultures and communities may have their distinct social worlds (Denscombe, 2009). Therefore, this theoretical framework stems from the notion that society as a concept is fluid and ambiguous and invites a non-essentialist approach.

For the theoretical models for the study of anti-feminism, post-feminism, and backlash theory models are used since there has been little research from such standpoint in sociology particularly in the context of Korea. By understanding the attitudes, beliefs, and values that young Koreans possess towards gender equality, (anti)feminism, and radical feminism, researchers can gain a deeper understanding of the underlying drivers of anti-feminism.

3.1 Central concepts

3.1.1 Feminism

The term "Feminism" which first appeared at the end of the nineteenth century, "can be seen as a movement to put an end to sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression and to achieve full gender equality in law" ("Themes Related to Gender and Gender-Based Violence," 2020, para. 4). Women as described by Naples (2020) have historically been the most oppressed class in history and continue to be the most oppressed one in today's world, irrespective of their socioeconomic and political structure background. This means that women as a group in different cultures and societies have been facing oppression or subjugation from the past to till date. Therefore, feminism emerged from such experiences, dissatisfaction, and outrage of women who were deceived to remain submissive and deprived of their rights and liberties (Thompson, 2001). It is a "political movement for the liberation of women and society based on equality for all people" (Mackay, 2015b, p. 8) and demands that women be allowed to define who they are, rather than having males and their culture constantly define it for them (Faludi, 1991). In this context, Debbie Ging & Eugenia Siapera (2019) describe feminism as a "dynamic movement" that is driven by changes in women's past encounters as well as their personal discourses (p. 7). This movement's goal shifts

according to the various circumstances of women in society (ibid). Therefore, when feminism first emerged during the suffragette campaign, the women's movement primarily focused on women's voting rights. As a result, during this first wave of feminism, women obtained the ability to vote in the majority of European countries and North America, as well as equal political rights in the majority of European countries ("Themes Related to Gender and Gender-Based Violence," 2020). Then, in the 1970s feminism saw a resurgence in its second wave, mostly focusing on women's liberation in Western Europe and the USA during its second wave. Throughout this period, various schools of feminism were active, including liberal feminism, radical feminism, and social feminism. Meanwhile, following an upsurge in backlash and systemic forms of attacks on women's rights, the third wave of feminism began in the 1990s, with women raising concerns about topics such as sexual harassment, violence against women, the gender pay gap, and reproductive rights. Contemporary feminism which marks the fourth wave of feminism is mostly centered on the internet and is mobilizing people against sexism, misogyny, and gender-based violence ("Themes Related to Gender and Gender-Based Violence," 2020).

To provide women the opportunity to live autonomous lives, feminism in the Western context developed from the liberalism of contemporary political philosophy ((J. I. Kang, 2014). However, as opposed to Western feminism, Korean feminism lacks a liberal history because it did not have the experience of a first-wave movement i.e., the suffrage movement (ibid). History and sociopolitical conditions in Korea, including colonial rule by Japan, the Korean War, modernization, and political upheaval, had a significant impact on the women's movement (Seo & Choi, 2020). Up until the mid-1980s, the Korean women's movement—which had its start in the late 19th century while fighting for national liberation from Japanese colonial rule—maintained its focus on nationalism and democratization (K. Jung, 2013; Manek, 2023). A gender-specific paradigm did not begin to become formalized in the women's movement until the 1990s (Jung, 2013). Likewise, still, the feminist discussion addressing women's diversity in Korea has not progressed considerably to confront the issues of how women's diversity has become apparent (H.-K. Kim, 2009). In other words, the Korean feminist study does not go so far as to incorporate the topic of gender "intersectionality" into its discussions (p.182). Korean women differ from their Western and Eastern counterparts in terms of ideologies, religious practices, and cultural norms (Heisook, 2009). Therefore, recently, women married to Koreans, North Korean defectors, and

immigrants have raised new issues for feminist scholars about Korean women's subjective nature, the nature of family, and the relationship between feminism and diverse culture (ibid).

Likewise, one of the distinctive features of Korean feminism is that it emerged inside the framework of Confucianism, an integral aspect of Korean culture. The ideals and concepts of gender equality advocated by Western feminism clash with “Confucian-gendered society and sex-oppressive” regulations and systems (J. I. Kang, 2014, p. 184). Confucianism is an ideology that prioritizes family values, individual morale, and fidelity. Feminism accuses Confucianism of enforcing antiquated sexual morals, whereas Confucianism subtly condemns feminism for encouraging women to protest against the family and distorting the sexual hierarchy (Shim, 2001). These two ideologies often contradict each other. Consequently, even if Western feminism had considerable influence on Korean feminism discourse, certain aspects of it were specific to the Korean setting.

3.1.2 Radical feminism

Radical feminism first began to emerge in the late 1960s, led by second-wave feminists in America who called themselves “radical women”, and then soon expanded to other nations such as the United Kingdom, Australia, and Eastern Europe (Naples, 2020, p. 53). This form of feminism established “an original political and social theory of women’s oppression and strategies for ending that oppression which comes from women’s lived experiences”(Rowland & Klein, 1996, p. 9). Therefore, radical feminism was the most significant revolutionary movement in history with the aim to eliminate the sex-based class system—a system that has been established for years giving the traditional roles of men and women an unjustified authority (Firestone, 2003, p. 23).

According to radical feminists, patriarchy is the root cause of women’s oppression (Mackay, 2015; Madsen, 2000; Pilcher & Whelehan, 2017) and gender inequality and sexism are the most basic forms of such oppression (Naples, 2020). They argue that women in patriarchal societies are often marginalized citizens as such, their situation is similar to that of other minorities in society (Millett, 2000). In this context, American radical feminist philosopher Mary (Daly, 1995) also writes:

“The fact is that we live in a profoundly anti-female society, a misogynistic “civilization” in which men collectively victimize women, attacking us personifications of their own

paranoid fears, as The Enemy. Within this society it is men who rape, who sap women's energy, who deny women economics and political power.”(p.29)

Radical feminism is regarded to be more militant than other forms of feminism, therefore, it has often been the target of misconceptions and cruelty (Mackay, 2015). For instance, radical feminism is criticized for being misandrist (ibid., p. 69). There are also concerns over radical feminists' portrayals of men as evils and dominating groups while all women as virtuous and oppressed ones (Mackay, 2015; Naples, 2020).

In the context of Korea, since the 1960s, feminist academics have taken on and followed the second wave of Western feminism in the lack of a first-wave movement (J. I. Kang, 2014). Therefore, the reason that radical feminism has always been a feature of Korean feminism is that some radical feminism academics, like Sheila Jeffreys in the West, were essential in laying the groundwork for Korean feminist studies (ibid). Sheila is a radical feminist activist, also a TERF (Trans-exclusionary radical feminist) who wrote many books on feminism and its history. This could explain why the present-day young feminists stress identity politics centered on biological women while neglecting transgender individuals and other biological male minorities (Choo, 2020; J. Kim, 2021; H.-J. Lee, 2020). These women adopted the basic attitude of radical feminism, which pushed for “women only and women first”, meaning that women's issues should always take precedence in political discussions and that solely biological women, who are the most marginalized group of people, have the right to identify as (H.-J. Lee, 2020, p. 429). This exclusionary approach of radical feminism was uncommon in Korean society before the 2000s, and it is evident that nowhere else has transgender-exclusive radical feminists achieved such influence in as little time in Korea (ibid).

3.1.3 Anti-feminism

Anti-feminism refers to the countermovement of feminism. Alongside the worldwide popularity of feminist movements, anti-feminism has been on the rise since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Historically, women's movements have always faced some sort of opposition (Ging & Siapera, 2019). One example of such resistance is the anti-suffrage movement, a political movement opposed to granting women the right to vote in legislative elections in nations like the UK and Australia (ibid). This movement, which included both men and women, asserted that these rights threatened traditional family and religious values and violated gender-specific family roles

(ibid). Such anti-feminist factions within the men's movement asserted that feminism had organizationally undermined the rights of males. and contended that the judicial and institutional system had shifted to benefit women. Therefore, anti-feminism as defined by (Faludi, 1991) “is a view that regards the liberation of women from patriarchal oppression as a threat to established gender roles and traditional social structures, and seeks to preserve these by resisting feminist demands for change (p.15). It is a substantial extent of negative attitudes and prejudices about feminism that persistently complicate gender discrimination demanding equal treatment, and are most likely to oppose initiatives that would help women gain equality (Ma et al., 2019). Hence, these days, anti-feminism includes those who do not identify with the feminist movement's ideals and believe it is detrimental and superfluous since women are entitled to have everything (Perini, 2021).

Huang (2023), bringing the context of China, points out that anti-feminists accuse feminists of violating the established gender order and, therefore, attack feminist content. She further adds that people's focus is being drawn away from persistent gender inequality and toward conflicts between feminists and anti-feminists which limits the conversation about collaboratively oppressions that have an impact on women's lives.

Likewise, antifeminists have popularized the myth of masculine victimhood, which holds that feminism victimizes all males (Köttig et al., 2016). Victimhood which refers to “a kind of moral status based on suffering and neediness” calls for attention and rejects any manner of inconvenience and hardship, even if they are not regarded as offenses (Campbell & Manning, 2018, p. 22). People with such a mindset publicize or amplify their weaknesses and inequality to seek third parties’ support in the conflict.

In the context of Korea, historical and sociocultural context, in particular its rapid industrialization under neoliberalism and military conscription, has played an important role in developing the perceptions of victimhood. Particularly misogynistic males hold such a victimhood mentality considering themselves as very weak targets and focusing on trying to be recognized by criticizing or insulting others (H.-J. Lee, 2020). Therefore, most younger men in their 20s consider gender equality efforts as preferential treatment to women. (Rich et al., 2022) and a group such as ‘Men’s Solidarity’ in 2013 even argued that men need to be identified as a minority (H.-J. Lee, 2020). In

the digital era, online platforms like ILBE have become space for people to voice their experiences of victimization and pass the blame onto others (Capelos et al., 2023).

3.1.4 Postfeminism

Postfeminism first appeared in the late 20th century. But ever since Susan Faludi's book "*Backlash: An Undeclared War Against American Women*" was published, it gained popularity and sparked a lot of debate and study in the academic community. In this regard, Brabon & Genz (2007) underline the diversity of viewpoints, importance, and ambiguity surrounding postfeminism. According to certain academics, the term "post" itself denotes transcending; so, it can be seen as an affirmation that equality for all people exists and that feminism has accomplished its primary objectives (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2017). Therefore, Ging & Siapera (2019) define postfeminism as a "periodizing concept-that comes after feminism" (p.21). This conclusion indicates that equality has been attained, hence feminism is no longer required (Jordan, 2016; Negra et al., 2007). In its harshest iterations, post-feminism misinterprets and categorizes feminism as an outdated useless movement that has no bearing on modern women's lives (Perini, 2021). Therefore, Negra et al. (2007) contend that post-feminism constructively references and builds upon feminism as something that can be considered, implying that equality is attained to establish a whole new vocabulary of interpretations that highlight how it is a wasted drive and no longer necessary. Postfeminism, in this sense, is predicated on a basic paradox: feminism is both accepted and despised.

Regarding postfeminism, Hall & Rodriguez (2003) point out four claims regarding general support and a decrease in such support. The following are the four assertions made by the postfeminist argument: (1) From 1980 to 1990, there had been a decline in support for the women's movement. (2) Among some young women, colored women, and female homemakers, antifeminism has grown. (3) Because feminism has lost relevance, it is no longer as popular. For older feminist women, gender equality was not achieved; for younger feminist women in contemporary times, the movement's success indicates that it is no longer necessary. (4) Women who are hesitant to identify themselves as feminists using the feminist label, but they support and in fact, want "equal pay, economic independence, sexual freedom, and reproductive choice" are part of the feminist movement (as mentioned in Ouellette 1992, p.119).

3.1.5 Backlash

The mid-1980s saw a backlash against feminism along with the emergence of the New Right in the UK and the United States voicing its advocacy for conventional gender norms. It is based on the notion that men endure disadvantages in society more so than women (Jordan, 2016). In her book about backlash, Faludi (1991) characterizes backlash as an agile counterattack against women's rights. Backlash is, according to her, "an attempt to retract the handful of small and hard-won victories that the feminist movement did manage to win for women" (p.10). She adds backlashes occur when contemporary women attempt to advance in society; nevertheless, men interpret these endeavors as a challenge to their status as men and their masculinity (Faludi, 1991). While feminists viewed backlashes as men's retaliation for their precarious position within society, men, on the contrary, saw feminism as the root of men's oppression and tactics to exploit men (Perini, 2021). In that sense, feminists were regarded as a man-hating group that attempted to secure women's privileges at the expense of men (Faludi, 1991). Köttig et al. (2016) also emphasize how anti-feminists promote the notion of masculine victimhood claiming that all men are victims. He explains that the idea of masculine victimhood operates on multiple assumptions. First of all, the societal challenges that certain categories of men currently face are often excessively overstated and twisted beyond reality. Second, the concept of masculine victimhood relies on downplaying challenges that other demographic groups—especially women—face. Thirdly, it necessitates portraying feminism as an all-powerful foe to avoid the victimization of men being seen as a sign of personal inferiority. Fourthly, as part of the recommended remedy, it upholds gender standards that are conventional and essentialist (Köttig et al., 2016). Therefore, backlashes are often associated with anti-feminist backlashes.

Anti-feminist backlash is often linked with countermovement. The study of countermovement emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, implying that coordinated oppositional action (collective action) to pre-existing social movements was itself a movement (Corredor, 2019). The term countermovement, as mentioned by social theorists, refers to a movement that responds to a preceding movement and is more inclined to form on a problem where the social movement it opposes has achieved progress (Blais & Dupuis-Déri, 2012a). Using this approach, anti-feminism is a reactionary and oppositional movement that aims to reject or retreat from the achievements made by the feminist movement.

In his journal article, Corredor (2019) outlines the following four main reasons or situations that lead to countermovement activity: 1) the existence of a social movement that aims to subvert established power structures; 2) the perception by a privileged group that its interests are endangered by the ideologies, activities, and intentions of the prevailing social movement; 3) the existence of a social movement that has achieved legal achievement; 4) the perception that the movement has attained or is predicted to achieve its social change goals; and 5) the presence of political coalitions and resources to mobilize its countermovement. This indicates that a countermovement is more inclined to mobilize within an agenda where the social movement it opposed has achieved advancement (Blais & Dupuis-Déri, 2012a). Anti-feminism explicitly opposes feminism, and it represents a dominating group rebelling against alleged threats and defending a traditional societal agenda that has been disrupted by the feminist movement (ibid). Therefore, since these two political groups are in opposition to one another, the theory of countermovement is better able to explain this relationship and eventually show how anti-feminism can sometimes have unexpected repercussions on feminists or vice versa (Blais & Dupuis-Déri, 2012a; Corredor, 2019).

In Korea, when feminism gained popularity in the 2010s, antifeminist sentiment manifested as a form of widespread daily backlash where “manosphere⁶” discourse is embraced and accepted in online as well as offline spaces through reputable websites (G. Jung & Moon, 2024, p. 222). With time, antifeminist backlash has evolved from being mainly focused on male-driven manosphere and happening mostly online to frequently occurring in offline relations along with on major online spaces and networks (ibid).

⁶ Manosphere can be both online and offline communities that are actively promoting anti-feminist beliefs, misogyny and hatred towards women and other groups such as LGBTQ community. In the context of Korea, an online group, ILBE is one of the examples of digital manosphere which provides platform for anti-feminist Korean men to pour out their frustrations by objectifying and harassing women.

4. Methodology and research objectives

4.1 Methodology

This chapter presents the research design built upon the theoretical background introduced in the previous chapter. It details the methodology used in my research i.e., the quantitative approach for analysis, as well as the justification and methodology for employing a survey to collect data. It will also briefly describe other components of the research process.

This research thesis is based on quantitative research. Quantitative research refers to social research that aims to understand phenomena through the collection and analysis of numerical/empirical data by applying mathematical techniques (Sukamolson, 2007). This research approach is particularly effective in measuring beliefs, attitudes, and actions as well as determining the general public's sentiment on a certain topic (ibid). Moreover, with quantitative research, there is an advantage of employing small samples to draw conclusions from a larger population. Therefore, for this research study, survey research of quantitative approach is used to achieve the overall objectives of in-depth understanding and validation. Using this methodology, a researcher asks several questions to participants and then uses percentages, along with other methods of statistical analysis to present their responses (Mohajan, 2021). However, it should be noted that the sample for the survey is not representative and, therefore, cannot be generalized.

Online Survey: Online survey acts as a primary source of data and choosing to conduct surveys through an online platform comes from the lack of financial resources for conducting them in South Korea as well as the time constraints. For the research study, an online survey is distributed, via the anti-feminist online community group, New Men's Solidarity, through the assistance of a representative of the respective group. The New Men's Solidarity movement, which contends that feminism promotes man-hating and endangers men's rights, is fighting against feminists. It is led by YouTuber Bae In Gyu, whose account had around 366,000 subscribers and a huge number of views on each video before it was taken down in response to widespread criticism (Chaigne, 2021). Therefore, initially, this research thesis tended to employ a purposive random sampling method and identified members of the New Men Solidarity as its sampling frame. Purposive sampling is a nonrandom sampling method that is commonly used when the researcher is aware of specific characteristics of the population of interest and then selects particular people who fit the profile to

be included in the sample (Hibberts et al., 2012). The decision to use a purposive method was based on the assumption that, given the goals and objectives of the study, a particular group of people may have distinctive and important viewpoints regarding the concepts and challenges under consideration, necessitating the inclusion of the sample of those people (Campbell et al., 2020; Robinson, 2014). However, considering the risks and difficulty of reaching the targeted sample, the snowball sampling method, which researchers sometimes may adopt in case of inability to find suitable and adequate participants for the research study especially when the research deals with controversial matters, has been employed (Gideon, 2012). The snowball sampling method is a sampling method in which the researcher initially contacts a few people who are willing to participate and asks these participants to find or recommend other people who might also be willing to take part in the research (Gideon, 2012; Hua, 2016). The decision to use this sampling method is based on the researcher's access to only a few respondents due to the cross-cultural nature of the research.

Before finalizing and distributing online, development and testing of the electronic survey are done with a small group of young Korean men from acquaintances. The survey's questions move in the direction of eliciting about what radical feminism is from the standpoint of the cohort but use standardized and non-leading questions to help guide the young males to describe their understanding and perception. These questionnaires consist of a combination of demographic information, a Likert scale, and open-ended questions. The Likert scale includes questions relating to personal beliefs and as well as viewpoints on current feminist/anti-feminist movements.

4.2 Research questions

Although there have been some studies on feminist movements and gender relations in Korea, it is not commonly understood how radical feminist views specifically influenced the emergence and growth of anti-feminist organizations in Korea. The significance of this particular school of feminism and the nature of the interconnectedness has received less attention in the existing study on feminism and its countermovement in Korea than mainstream feminism. Therefore, this research study aims to investigate how the popularization of radical feminist ideologies has impacted anti-feminist movements in Korea. The research is projected to provide answers to the following research questions: 1) what are the young Korean men's perspectives towards radical

feminism, and 2) how does it affect their anti-feminist sentiments? Researching the attitudes and beliefs of the male youths between the 20-29 age group will provide an understanding of gender relations and feminist ideology among youths of this generation and provide further comprehension of how such understanding affects their anti-feminist sentiments. Hence, by addressing this research gap, the study can offer insightful analysis into a field of anti-feminism research that has received little attention and contributes to a more thorough knowledge of gender dynamics in Korean society.

5. Research Methods

This thesis is based on survey research, which is common in the social sciences, specifically in sociology. It can be considered an effective tool for sociologists to explore the field and gather data related to the topic of study (Moser, 1971). The survey research approach measures demographic characteristics statistically precisely by using sampling and well-addressed questionnaires (Sukamolson, 2007). Regarding the survey questionnaire, the Feminism Survey by The Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation⁷ (KFF) was selected as the primary source of guidelines. The original questionnaire which consisted of 44 items was prepared with the purpose of assessing the meaning of feminism in contemporary America, offering a comprehensive examination of the varied perspectives held by both genders on the term and the social movement that carries it (Hamel et al., 2016). Permission to use the content was granted by KFF on 12th October 2023 through an e-mail. Likewise, the literature review of the thesis served as a secondary source for questionnaire design. Particularly, questions on radical feminism and anti-feminism were based on the discussion previously mentioned by H. M. Kim (2021); J. Kim (2021), Y. Kim (2021), H.-J. Lee (2020), J. Lee & Jeong (2021) and Ma et al. (2019). The questionnaires mostly use the Likert scale to measure attitudes and perceptions. This rating scale which particularly fits with the research study seeking to study attitudes on certain issues (Rea & Parker, 2014), involves asking participants to show their degree of agreement with the given statements in the agree-

⁷ Feminism Survey was created in 2016 with the joint effort of Kaiser Family Foundation (KFF) and The Washington Post. It can be accessed through the official website of KFF (www.kff.org) or through the link <https://files.kff.org/attachment/topline-methodology-washington-post-kaiser-family-foundation-feminism-survey>.

disagree scale range (Taherdoost, 2019). The Likert scaling method is usually easy to understand and takes less time to complete from the viewpoint of respondents (Taherdoost, 2019).

This survey questionnaire, as indicated by Rea & Parker (2014), is designed to obtain three sorts of information: descriptive, behavioral, and attitudinal. Description information includes general information about respondents such as age, education, residency, marital status, and political orientation. By examining these demographic factors, the authors emphasize that the researcher can gain valuable insights into the overall population that the sample represents. Likewise, through behavioral information, respondents' behavior such as past activities, personal conduct, participation, or involvement can be assessed from sample surveys. Lastly, attitudinal information, which is the main focus of the survey research examines views and perceptions regarding certain events and conditions (Rea & Parker, 2014). Therefore, the survey addresses my research questions in the following areas: attitudes towards gender equality and feminism, perception of Korean men towards radical feminism, and opinions or sentiments on anti-feminism.

Since the target sample is young Koreans, whose native language is not English, the survey questionnaires were translated into Korean language. The translation of the survey ensures the quality of data collection by reducing the chances of misinterpretations or omission of necessary data (Tuncer, 2023). Likewise, it improves respondents' understanding of survey questionnaires, hence, producing better data accuracy and improving respondents' experience (*Survey Translation in Market Research*, 2022). Likewise, when conducting research in different cultural contexts, exceptional considerations have to be made to address "issues of validity related to the translation of questionnaires, and to a bias towards socially desirable responses" (Hua, 2016, p. 168). Therefore, the survey questionnaire was submitted to a professional native-language speaker for review and expert validation. In this process, specific considerations were made to avoid possible mistranslation and to adapt to the given sociocultural setting. For example, the direct translation of the words feminism and radical feminism in Korean are 페미니즘 (*feminism*) and 라디칼 페미니즘 (*radical feminism*) respectively, however, these terms are rather a complex concept with varied meaning and as well may not be commonly used in given socio-cultural context. As a result, the words 여성주의 (*yeoseong-juui*) and 극단적인 페미니즘 (*gukdanjakgin feminism*) were used in the questionnaires to make translation more reliable and understandable.

For the data collection process, Webropol through the UTU (University of Turku) intranet was used as a tool for the survey. This platform allows its users to create a web-based survey and help in analyzing responses in real time. The estimated time for the completion of the survey was around 10-15 minutes. Likewise, a consent form or information sheet was attached before the survey to inform respondents about the research thesis process, possible risks and benefits, storage of data, and use of data. Before advancing to actual survey distribution to a larger group of respondents, a pilot test is conducted among 3-4 people known within friends' circle. The pilot test is done to identify problems, minimize errors, evaluate the quality of the survey, and measure the validity of the research process. This same group of respondents will later be asked to recommend the survey to other potential respondents within their contacts.

5.1 Research Process

Initially, the research thesis intended to employ mixed methods of data collection i.e., online surveys and semi-structured interviews for the research. However, due to time, money, and resource constraints, only an online survey was conducted as a primary source of data. Likewise, there have been changes in the sampling frame and sampling method. Considering the difficulty and as well as risk to the researcher and research participants who are involved in including the anti-feminist group in a survey, the sampling frame has been modified with the inclusion of general young Korean males and females who meet the age criteria of 20-29 years old. The decision to survey young Koreans was based on findings from earlier surveys and claims by several academia stating the majority of Korean men in their 20s oppose feminism. Therefore, an analysis of this age group offers a more accurate representation of the rise of anti-feminism in Korea. Similarly, given that most of young feminists identify as radical feminists, having female respondents in the sample allows us to examine the same subject from women's perspectives. This shift may also help broaden the scope of research by examining and analyzing the perspectives of ordinary young men and women as compared to focusing just on the viewpoints of anti-feminist men who already hold negative ideas about feminism.

For the initial stage of data collection, numerous potential representatives or respondents such as Nubi Ajou (a volunteer group of Korean students at Ajou University providing support to

international students), Asian Boss (a YouTube channel that covers issues relating to Asia), and journalist from Segye-Ilbo (세계일보) who writes an article about radical feminism in Korea were contacted and pre-notified about the survey through e-mail for their assistance and co-operation in the survey distribution. However, no reply was received by e-mail. Nevertheless, once the survey questionnaires had been finalized, despite having no response survey invitations and follow-up reminders were sent to these potential respondents.

The second week of December (4th December 2023) marked the beginning of the data collection procedure, which lasted until the end of February (29th February 2023). Several friends in Finland, as well as my former coworkers in Korea, were contacted and requested to take part in the survey and circulate it. Although originally the survey process was planned to last only one month, only six responses were received by the middle of January. Therefore, Asian Masculinity, a Reddit community group, was approached to ask if the survey could be posted on their page. Following the submission of an official statement from the supervisor and dean, they decided to put off it as a weekly discussion. Nevertheless, no survey outcomes were obtained using this approach. As a result, the survey period was extended by one month to allow for additional responses. Later, my former employer in Korea came for assistance, and with her tremendous cooperation, the survey got 35 survey responses within 2 weeks. She contacted her daughter living in Seoul to take part in the survey as well as requested her to distribute the survey to her friends and work colleagues. With her immense support, the survey was successful in getting adequate respondents.

5.2 Data Analysis

The data analysis will be based on the typology of postfeminism and backlash presented by Jordan (2016). This conceptual framework differentiates backlash, postfeminism, and feminism based on various empirical assertions and value assessments that are applicable to each viewpoint. It relies on the arguments of prominent feminist scholars through a detailed examination of the academic works of Susan Faludi, Ann Braithwaite, Stephanie Genz, and Angela McRobbie. This framework aims to shed light on the subtle differences between the diverse feminist viewpoints among men's movements. The framework was applied in a case study of the UK father's rights organization,

(Real) Fathers 4 Justice, to demonstrate the relationship between men's movements and feminism as well as to comprehend the dynamics of men's movements and the range of reactions -whether favorable, neutral, or adverse-that men have towards feminism. The paper presents both normative (Value-judgement based) and empirical (fact-based) perspectives on the concept of feminism and gender (in)equality (Jordan, 2016). However, this research thesis employs empirical assertions exclusively.

	Feminist	Postfeminist	Backlash
Empirical claims on the nature of gender (in)equality in society and feminism	<p>(1) Significant gender inequalities exist in society—women are generally disadvantaged compared to men</p> <p>(2) Feminism (ideas and activism) is necessary to bring about gender equality</p>	<p>(1) Gender inequalities are non-existent or minimal—women and men are equal</p> <p>(2) Feminism is no longer necessary—any remaining minor inequalities will disappear naturally over time</p>	<p>(1) Significant gender inequalities exist in society—men are generally disadvantaged compared to women <i>or</i> women's equality has led to a damaged society (depending on the normative position, see below)</p> <p>(2) Feminism has been bad for men and women—anti-feminist action is necessary to bring about gender equality <i>or</i> an unequal but better society</p>

Figure 1: Feminism, postfeminism, and backlash typology

Source: (p. 33) Jordan, A. (2016). Conceptualizing Backlash: (UK) Men's Rights Groups, Anti-Feminism, and Postfeminism. *Canadian Journal of Women & the Law*, 28(1), 18–44. Retrieved from: <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=eue&AN=114780116&site=ehost-live>

According to Jordan (2016), post-feminism is an equivocal discourse that contends that feminism is no longer relevant or legitimate because the aim or purpose of feminism, namely gender equality, has already been achieved in contemporary society. Postfeminism, therefore, claims that women are acting like victims because of an irrational mindset. Likewise, Jordan (2016) associates backlash with a discourse that is explicitly antagonistic to feminism. He describes backlash as rhetoric that asserts that considerable gender inequities exist in society, with men being

disproportionately affected and discriminated against. Backlashes, being antipathetic to feminism, respond or react to the achievements made by feminism. This means that when feminist movements make (or tend to make) headway, the backlash intensifies. These two conceptions contradict feminism's theory, which acknowledges the existence of gender inequalities and argues that women are more socially disadvantaged than males.

In the article, Jordan (2016) points out that perceptions of feminism are influenced by beliefs on traditional gender positions, how feminism has impacted men's standing, and how it is understood. Therefore, in this research, the study was conducted on how young men and women perceive gender equality, feminism, and radical feminism, as well as how these perspectives impact their sentiments and attitudes toward anti-feminism. Then, it categorizes and assesses their attitudes, beliefs, and opinions regarding these notions to determine whether they meet the postfeminism and backlash criteria mentioned in Figure 1, this research study addresses questions of gender equality and how it is comprehended by young Koreans. In this section, survey participants were asked if they think gender equality exists or not in Korea and their views on if women are a minority group. Equality refers to "the state or condition of being the same," particularly concerning one's societal position or constitutional or political rights (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2017, p. 41). Throughout history, men have consistently held superior positions than women and have enjoyed greater authority and privilege in many regions of the world (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2017). Therefore, gender equality, which has become the primary objective of feminism, has grown in importance on a global scale since the late nineteenth century. South Korea is no different since gender (in)equality has been a major social concern in the country. Based on the gender gap index, South Korea had the largest gender wage disparity amongst OECD countries in 2023, ranking 105th out of 146 countries in the gender gap index (So, 2023). Thus, even though the nation has advanced significantly over the last several decades, a large number of Korean women continue to hold the view that gender inequality persists in numerous spheres of society (J. Kim et al., 2016). Additionally, the survey by Rich et al. (2023) revealed that approximately half of Korean men and women thought that gender discrimination was pervasive in their country. Therefore, this study examines the disparities in respondents' agreement between males and females regarding gender equality and the groups that are subject to discrimination based on gender. This assists in determining whether the respondents' beliefs tend to be feminist, postfeminist, or backlash.

Secondly, the study analyzes how Korean men and women view feminism. Given that many people, especially young males, have negative opinions of feminism, it is especially crucial to examine if these sentiments against feminism affect their opinions of radical feminism which is considered more militant. Historically, feminism has been defined as activism aimed at advancing the rights and empowerment of women. However, among Korean men, the term "feminism" (여성주의) is already associated with prejudice and is frequently regarded as inappropriate. Young men's opinion of feminism has been stigmatized due to what critics refer to as the "demonization of feminist discourse and ideology" (Hines & Song, 2021, p. 1). Therefore, in the survey, respondents were asked to share their opinions on what feminism means to them, and what impression and reputation they have about it. Taking such viewpoints on the relevance and consequences of feminism into consideration helps in analyzing postfeminism and backlash.

Third, by asking questions on radical feminist groups (Megalia and Womad) and movements such as 4B, MeToo, and Talcorsset, (Escape the Corset) this study examines the respondents' opinions, and general views on radical feminism. Questions about radical feminist organizations like Womad and Megalia, their values, movements, and shortcomings were used to assess attitudes and perceptions of radical feminism. Megalia which was the first radical feminist group founded in 2015 emerged when the popularity of social media had fueled gender war and online hatred, resulting in sexism and misogyny. Misogynistic men degraded women by calling them "kimchi girls" (김치녀) or "denjang-nyeo," (된장녀) which refers to women who behave extravagantly despite possibly having modest circumstances (H.-J. Lee, 2020). In response, young women employed mirroring strategies such as Kkongchi-nam (콩치남), Kimchi-nam(김치남), Ssipchi-nam (SSIP치남) and Han-nam Chung(한남충) to call back men. This was a medium through which online feminist groups retaliated against men by mocking and using the same hate speech and sexist phrases directed toward women (Moon et al., 2022). This was a provocative approach that enraged many Korean men.

Some of the examples of mirroring strategy used by Megalia are presented in the below table.

Words for Misogyny	Meaning	Mirroring Misogyny	Meaning
<i>toenchangnyö</i> 된장녀	Bean paste girl, Material girl, relying on or expecting men's financial support for luxury goods, typically a college girl who would eat cheap meals (beanpaste stew and rice) but have Starbucks coffee.	<i>kkongch'inam</i> 공치남	Mackerel pike man: free-rider who likes to go Dutch (uncommon in Korean society).
<i>kimch'inyö</i> (woman) 김치녀	Korean woman judging men by their economic ability	<i>kimch'i-nam</i> (man) 김치남 <i>ssipch'inam</i> 씹치남	Korean man judging women by their appearances; Men with 10-cm (i.e., small) genitals
<i>kaenyömnnyö</i> 개념녀	Wise women who are not like <i>kimch'inyö</i>	<i>kaenyömnom</i> 개념놈	Wise men who are not like <i>kimch'inam</i>
<i>mam-ch'ung</i> 맘충	Mummy-insect, incompetent at raising children and only good at spending money; or mother with baby-stroller and Starbucks coffee.	<i>aebi ch'ung</i> 애비충 <i>hösü aebi</i> 허수애비, <i>t'umyöng aebi</i> 투명애비	Daddy-insect, Scarecrow daddy, Invisible daddy. Man who does not do any housework.
<i>posül ach'i</i> 보슬아치	Taking advantage through sexuality	<i>chasül ach'i</i> 자슬아치	Taking advantage sexually
Dutch pay	Dutch pay	Loser pay, <i>ssipch'i</i> pay 씹치페이	Loser pay, 10-cm pay
<i>nakt'aenyö</i> 낙태녀	Woman who has had an abortion	<i>ssach'wit'ung</i> 싸취통	Man who ran away after a woman gave birth to their child
<i>sönggoe</i> 성괴	Plastic surgery monster	<i>sönggoe</i> 성괴	Sex buyer
Girlsplain	Girls trying to explain things to men and pretending they know everything	Mansplain	Men trying to explain things to women and pretending they know everything

Table 1: Mirroring strategy used by Megalia and ILBE

Source: (pp. 11–12) Kim, Y. (2021). Mirroring Misogyny in Hell Choson: Megalia, Womad, and Korea's Feminism in the Age of Digital Populism. *European Journal of Korean Studies*, 101–133. Retrieved from: <https://www.ejks.org.uk/mirroring-misogyny-in-hell-choso%cb%98-n-megalia-womad-and-koreas-feminism-in-the-age-of-digital-populism-page-101-133/>

Additionally, Megalia released a following controversial logo, provoking discontent among young Koreans. This sign allegedly insulted Korean guys by making fun of their body parts, thus, resulting in a rapid spread of anti-feminism among the younger generation.



Figure 2: Logo of Megalia

Source: Global, K. E. D. (2021). *Misandry controversy rattles Korean retailers; CEO of No.1 fashion app steps down*. KED Global. Retrieved from: <https://www.kedglobal.com/the-deep-dive/newsView/ked202106040004>

Likewise, in the next question, the participants were asked what they thought of the following advertisement.



Figure 3: Tal-corset ad by Incheon Line

Source: Park, H. (2020). Throwing Off the Corset: A Contemporary History of the Beauty Resistance Movement in South Korea. *Dignity: A Journal on Sexual Exploitation and Violence*, 5.

This ad campaign (figure 3) was made by the Incheon women's line for their tal-corset camp. The ad depicts the picture of women taking off their make-up, cutting their hair short, and dressing up the way they like. The main goal of the tal-corset movement to defy the beauty standard set by society on women and become more liberated. Although this movement received a positive response from young women, particularly from radical feminists, most men were against it.

Moreover, survey participants were asked about their opinions on the 4B movement. Through the 4B movement, feminists quickly added heterosexual romance and sex to their checklist of things they could not accept since they link women's lives to men's and the patriarchal system. Therefore, this movement spurred a debate among digital feminists about refusing to get married and have children as a means of politics to oppose and destroy patriarchy. As a result, considering the implications of radical feminism on young Koreans and current gender conflicts, it is necessary to investigate whether men are directly or indirectly affected by feminist movements to determine whether they hold victimization ideology.

Lastly, based on figure 4 (characteristics of anti-feminism), the study aimed to assess the anti-feminist attitudes of young men through their opposition to feminism, radical feminism, and hostility towards gender equality policies. For this, respondents were asked to show their level of support for initiatives promoting gender equality as well as express their views on men's rights. In doing so, the study seeks to illustrate whether or not these respondents are against feminism, as well as to examine their relation to postfeminist and backlash ideology. Considering that postfeminism and backlashes are frequently linked with anti-feminist sentiments, this offers insights into the influence of radical feminism on anti-feminism among young Korean men. In the context of Korea, there is an overall antipathy for feminist movements led by women who aim to alleviate gender inequity. For example, Ma et al. (2019) reveal that men who are anti-feminists agree the least with the severity of gender discrimination against women, and as a result, their support for movements against gender injustice is considerably low.

5.3 Research Participants Profile

Table 1: Research Participants Profile

Parameter	Category	Number
Gender	Male	12
	Female	23
Age	20 years	2
	21 years	2
	22 years	0
	23 years	1
	24 years	5
	25 years	4
	26 years	2
	27 years	2
	28 years	2
	29 years	11
Education	Middle school	1
	High school	24
	Undergraduate	10
	Graduate	0
Marital Status	Single	22
	Single but living with a partner	10
	Married	3
Completion status of military service	Completed	8
	Currently performing	1
	Not completed (including 23 females)	24
	Others	2
Total number of participants = 35		

There are a total of 35 respondents to the survey, consisting of 12 men (34.3%) and 23 women (65.7%). The participants' average age is 23.02, with most of them falling into the 29-year-old age range. Likewise, an undergraduate degree is the highest educational level. Of the 35, 10 have an undergraduate degree, 24 have a high school degree, and only one has a middle school degree. The majority of participants (62.9%) are single, with the remaining participants being either married (8.6%) or single yet living together with their partner (28.6%). Except for 23 female recruits, all male participants are required by law to undergo mandatory military confinement. Of these, eight

have already served their full military service; two have not participated due to other reasons; one is on active duty at the moment; and one hasn't completed his military service yet. Being on active duty in the military has relatively few exceptions such as grade 6 is the only group that is excluded from recruitment. This group consists of up of people who are judged unfit to carry out military duty due to illness, or psychological, or physiological shortcomings (Matsuo, 2023).

5.5 Limitation:

This thesis is based on survey research, which is commonly used in the social sciences. Through survey research, a researcher can make generalizations only by analyzing certain segments of the population (Rea & Parker, 2014). However, most often such research fails to produce data that provides an in-depth analysis of the research topic (Kelley et al., 2003). Moreover, with snowball sampling, a non-random sampling method, this survey research lacks representativeness too. This means that not all members of the population have an equal opportunity/possibility to participate in the research. As a result, the research may not accurately represent the entire population considering a small sample size. On the other hand, while conducting cross/intercultural research⁸, several issues can arise. For instance, a researcher as a cultural outsider in a research study may have the advantage of avoiding insider biases and may be able to analyze relationships and issues that insiders may not notice, however, there arise some limitations when it comes to understanding “reality of your informants from their perspective” (Hua, 2016, p. 107). As a researcher, one should be able to capture respondents’ perspectives as well as experiences and understand being in their position rather than taking everything at face value.

Likewise, since survey questionnaires mostly use the Likert scaling method, this may lead to issues of validity, duplicability, social desirability, and central tendency bias (Taherdoost, 2019). These constraints arise from respondents’ tendency to avoid certain categorical questions and give more socially acceptable responses rather than truthful answers (ibid). Particularly, in the context of a

⁸ In the book by Hua (2016) cross cultural research has been described as research making comparisons between different cultures that interact with others while inter-cultural research has been defined as research studying behavioral patterns when various cultures make interactions. It should be noted that this research thesis is not cross-cultural/inter-cultural research, nevertheless, certain circumstances such as location and method of data collection fits the context of above-mentioned research.

research thesis relating to sensitive matters, respondents are likely to respond in a way that puts them in a favorable position.

5.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethics refers to the set of moral standards that an individual uses to determine whether their behaviors are acceptable or not (Denscombe, 2009). Any research project requires researchers to have appropriate professional integrity as well as an awareness of the cultural and ethical environment in which it is being done (ibid). Therefore, while conducting surveys everyone involved in it has an ethical responsibility to accomplish this, by approaching survey respondents with integrity and presenting research findings in a way that most accurately reflects the primary objectives of a study (Gideon, 2012). Likewise, researchers need to make sure that the research study does not breach any ethical values by maintaining the privacy, confidentiality, and rights of the research participants. It is also important to be mindful of how the data are collected, accessed, processed, and stored in the database. Considering these facts, this research study was entirely voluntary and only proceeded with the survey process after participants agreed to the informed consent form. Likewise, refusal, suspension, and withdrawal from participating in the study had no adverse effect on the person. Moreover, the survey was anonymous which means that no personal information such as name, e-mail address, contact number, or location was requested and collected from participants. Therefore, there was no risk involved.

Throughout the research study, the University of Turku's data security regulations were adhered to in the storage of all survey data and research materials. All survey data were electronically stored in the university's database i.e., Seafile and only the researcher with her own personal usernames and passwords has access to the online drive given by the University of Turku. The data will be used only for this research study purpose and no other party will receive any personal information from the survey.

6. Understanding feminism, radical feminism and anti-feminism in Korea

6.1 History of Feminism in South Korea

Women's movements in Korea have been driven by the country's political upheavals and the distinct challenges faced by women in each socio-political context (J. I. Kang, 2014; Seo & Choi, 2020). For instance, during Japanese colonization (1910-1945) when women had limited rights, they raised their voices for women's liberation and it was in 1948 that the Republic of Korea's constitution provided women equal rights with males, including the right to vote and run for office. Similarly, during the authoritarian government (1961-1987) women's movement opposed the exploitative regime and called for gender equality and women's liberation through social transformation, with significant agendas such as establishing democracy and empowering marginalized women.

Following the democratization of Korea, Korea's Women Association Union (KWAU), Korea's prominent feminist group was founded in 1987. Then, from 1988 through 1992, the women's movement pursued the same goals and fought for securing rights for women, as well as campaigned on combating sexual violence against women (Kim S & Kim K, 2014, p. 32). Later in 1993-1997, their goals evolved towards women's movement autonomy, with key agendas such as increasing women's political involvement, addressing the comfort women issues, and strengthening women's rights (p. 33). The Korean women's movement then began to institutionalize in 1995 to increase its social power in institutional affairs through gender mainstreaming⁹. Gender mainstreaming was exceptionally prominent during the governments of progressive and pro-women presidents Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun (1998-2007), due to active participation and coordination with the government and women's organizations (p.11-12). Kim's (1998-2002) administration promoted women's rights and gender equality through state feminism and also established the Ministry of Gender Equality. Similarly, during Roh Moo Hyun's (2003-2007) administration, various legislations were passed to combat gender discrimination, including the Anti-Sexual Traffic Act and the abolition of the family-head system. However, when

⁹ Gender mainstreaming refers to "the promotion of gender equality through its systematic integration into all systems and structures, into all policies, processes, and procedures, into the organization and its culture, into many ways of seeing and doing.", Kim, S., & Kim, K. 2014, p.10

Lee Myung Bak became president in 2008, KWAU struggled both financially and politically as a result of the non-cooperative government (Seung-kyung & Kyonghee, 2013).

During the Mid-2000s South Korea's feminism reached a pivotal moment with young women in their 20s and early 30s fighting against misogyny and gender inequality (Moon et al., 2022). In this digital era, these women are participating in feminist activism both online and offline. This resurgence and popularization of modern feminism since 2015 are also referred to as a "feminism reboot" (J. Kim, 2021). With the rise of feminist groups such as Megalia in digital platforms, gender conflict has been further aggravated in Korea (J. Lee & Jeong, 2021). Moreover, numerous incidents such as the Gangnam tragedy (the murder of a female in a public restroom by a misogynistic male), Molka (the unlawful filming of a woman with a spy camera), and #MeToo (sexual harassment against women) have further strengthened feminist activism in Korea.

6.2 Background to Korean society

South Korean society is rooted in patriarchy and demands women conform to traditional gender roles (B. J. Park, 2001; Y. Kim, 2021; Seo & Choi, 2020). Through this system of patriarchy which is embedded within the institution, society, and religion, a male who is higher in the hierarchy, rules, subjugates and takes advantage of women through his power and privilege (Park, 2001; Rowland & Klein (1996). And men will always attempt to maintain this patriarchal system to maintain the existing power imbalance (Rowland & Klein, 1996). In this context, Beauvoir (1997) writes:

“History has shown that men have always held all the concrete powers: from patriarchy's earliest times they have deemed it useful to keep woman in a state of dependence; their codes were set up against her; she was thus concretely established as the other. This condition served males' economic interest; but it also suited their ontological and moral ambitions” (159)

However, as mentioned by Park (2001) in contemporary society, Korean women are no longer accepting such patriarchal values and challenging male-hegemonic culture. On the contrary, she adds men are resisting such change because they do not want to lose the authority that male-

oriented ideology provides. As a result, this has resulted in increasing conflicts within the family and eventually society too.

Moreover, there are also generational differences in perceptions of gender relations (Ma et al., 2019). According to the research paper by the Korean Women's Development Institute, unlike men in their 40s and 50s, more than half of men in their 20s experience hostile sexism, and their opinion of women as "subjects of protection and consideration" falls as they get younger (ibid, p. 9). They explain that although men in their 40s and 50s experienced a fast economic expansion in their youth throughout the 1980s and 1990s, men in their 20s had the contrary experience of youth in a neoliberal society of intense competition, fewer privileges, and declining hegemony over women. Whereas, young women of today's generation grew up in a socially changing environment and hold different views of gender roles than those that women have historically had in Korean society (Y. Kim, 2021). They were raised to be competitive and driven to succeed in the neoliberal era (H. M. Kim, 2021b). Moreover, because of the changing political outlook developed by modernization and neoliberalism, there is a significant difference in how success is created between young South Koreans and those who are older than them (Capelos et al., 2023). As a result, following neoliberal reforms, there has been an "intra-generational divide" among Koreans (Y. Kim, 2021, p. 16).

6.3 Neoliberalism and the rise of misogyny

Neoliberalism is a political theory that gained popularity in the 1980s as a response to preceding decades' economic stagnation. This form of governance emphasizes on privatization of public assets, deregulation of finance and trade, globalization through international competition, and lower spending for social and welfare programs under neoliberal governance (Cahill & Konings, 2017). Throughout the neoliberal period, class inequality increased even further as it exacerbated hardship and anguish by making employment more difficult, increasing joblessness, and reducing welfare services (Andrea Cornwall et al., 2016; Ging & Siapera, 2019).

Neoliberalism has also changed the way men perceive traditional gender norms and their masculinities (Choo, 2020). It has weakened traditional ideologies by making inequality appear natural, increasing gender-based distinctions, and widening the socioeconomic gap between the rich and common people (Andrea Cornwall et al., 2016). Therefore, neoliberalism has resulted in

the development of more anti-feminist attitudes among men (H. M. Kim, 2021; H.-J. Lee, 2020; Ma et al., 2019). As neoliberal doctrine sees men and women as equal market participants, it establishes a false sense of nondiscrimination and hence develops hostile opinions towards any welfare policies meant for minorities such as women (Choo, 2020 as referred to in Hubbard 2004).

South Korea was no exception to this. When the government enacted neoliberal economic policies after the Asian Financial crisis in 1997 under the IMF's assistance, it allowed enterprises to have massive layoffs and recruit temporary workers. This restructuring program placed young people in a vulnerable position because they were only employed for temporary jobs, with the majority of them facing the risk of unemployment. This recession deprived the younger generation of better opportunities, notably fresh college graduates, leading to discontent and resentment. As a result, amid low economic growth and high unemployment in neoliberalism economic polarization further worsened the inequalities in Korean society (Y. Kim, 2021).

On the other hand, when President Kim Dae Sung was elected as president during the crisis period and later succeeded by Roh Moo Hyun, they both pushed for pro-women political governance. During their presidency, feminist movements and other movements for women's rights achieved notable accomplishments such as the abolition of additional points in the civil exam in 2000, the establishment of the Ministry of Gender Equality in 2001, and the abolition of the family registry system in 2005 (Kim. S & Kim. K, 2014). When feminist organizations successfully secured legislative changes, they encountered backlash and witnessed the emergence of anti-feminism among some groups of young males (Y. Kim, 2021). Such legal reforms made young males feel discriminated against and also increased frustration over their decreased economic status and power (H. M. Kim, 2021). Whether it was a hypercompetitive education system at a young age or a tough job market as an adult, a majority of young men viewed women as main competitors and resented them for their difficult lives (Y. Kim, 2021). As a result, this sparked public outrage among young men, with many of these people criticizing women publicly and using disrespectful rhetoric toward women to assert their supremacy (H. M. Kim, 2021; Y. Kim, 2021).

It was during this chaos notorious online community, ILBE (ant-feminist group in Korea), was also formed in 2010 calling for male solidarity and practicing misogyny. Such group relieved their “neoliberal anxiety” by exploiting and objectifying women (H.-J. Lee, 2020, p. 436). These men took hold of the internet to spread misogyny and their anti-feminist sentiments went deeper than

jokes to encompass violence and rape (Ging & Siapera, 2019). Many women were victims of online hate, domestic violence, date rape, and illegal filming. According to the Statistics Korea survey, in 2018 the average rate of sexual crimes in South Korea was 3.4 per hour and 80.4 per day (E. Jung, 2018). The number of cases increased from 14,000 in 2007 to 31,000 in 2015 indicating rapid growth in incidents and reporting of sexual crimes. (ibid). Misogyny, for men, became a driving force behind widespread abuse against women, fueled by thoughts of discontent, vengeance, and an impression of being powerless and usurped (Ging & Siapera, 2019). Hence, in the context of Korea, neoliberalism fostered misogynistic attitudes among youths who were directly affected by its repercussions (Moon et al., 2022; H. M. Kim, 2021b; Y. Kim, 2021). Moreover, post-feminism entrenched the Korean society during the neoliberal era (Moon et al., 2022) and it was also during this period when men and women were on the verge of achieving equality, the backlash started to emerge (H.-J. Lee, 2020).

On the other hand, Kim presents neo-liberalism from the women's viewpoint. According to him neo-liberalism disadvantaged women more than men because women experience the gender wage gap, discriminatory employment practices, and marginalization more than before. J. Lee & Jeong (2021) providing the example of the MeToo movement shows that the matter of gender inequality has been overlooked in Korean society. This contrasts with the men's perspective which implies that they face more employment barriers and less preferential treatment than women. Hence, the concept of neoliberalism assists in understanding how feminists and anti-feminists interpret the same circumstance differently and helps in finding interconnections through such differences.

6.4 Radical Feminism in Korea

With the reboot of feminism in the mid-2010s, young feminists in South Korea are leaning towards radical feminism, which was a part of second-wave feminism in Western countries. These young people in their twenties have been subjected to sexism and misogyny (Ma et al., 2019) and often become the subject of objectification in the modern digital era (H.-J. Lee, 2020). Hence, in 2015 women formed an online community site, Megalia, to oppose the misogynistic culture of Korean society. This forum which consisted of young feminists mostly born in the 1980s (Y. Kim, 2021), became a hub for exceedingly radical feminist sentiments that were unprecedented for mainstream feminists (Seo & Choi, 2020). Megalia users widely used the mirroring strategy with the intent to

expose misogynistic culture and promote solidarity through both offline and online women's activism. Mirroring refers to a gender-swapping mimicking of discriminatory or sexist phrases to reverse the position of abuse and abuser (J. Kim, 2021). This approach of Megalians challenged the patriarchal establishment and exposed pervasive misogyny in Korean society (Y. Kim, 2021). For young feminists, mirroring was the medium to expose widespread misogyny and bring gender issues that had previously been taboo in Korean society to the limelight (Moon et al., 2022).

Later after the disagreement regarding the LGBTQ community within Megalia, another online community group was launched in 2016 called Womad, which is known for being more militant and misandrist than others (Seo & Choi, 2020). In contrast to mainstream feminism, which aims for the "dismantlement of the heteropatriarchy social order," Womad envisioned a future in which women usurped men's position in the social hierarchy (ibid, p. 385). Moreover, Womad's radical contents and approaches targeted any type of masculine personality whether it was a famous figure, an animal, or even a child (Seo & Choi, 2020). Therefore, Megalia was shut down in 2017 owing to members' severe vulgarity and violent conduct, and Womad activists were even detained for their threatening postings (Y. Kim, 2021). Because of their aggressive approaches compared to established feminism, women are characterized as bad feminists and extremists who only despise men. For instance, outraged SisaIn (시사 In), a weekly news magazine, subscribers and protesters at the Justice Party incident in 2016 all largely agreed that they respected feminism and feminists but rejected Megalian feminism because it is misandrist¹⁰ (Seo & Choi, 2020). The survey by the Korean Women's Development Institute also demonstrates that young males have less support for feminist movements, particularly in the context of Megalia, which has exacerbated antifeminist attitudes among the young generation (Ma et al., 2019).

Apart from this, young feminists in Korea are also involved in raising their voices against women's violence and sexual harassment through movements like MeToo. Through this movement which started in March 2018, Korean women from different fields started to openly expose, criticize, and file against sexual violence and misogyny faced by them (Seo & Choi, 2020). It is important to note that the #MeToo movement is not only about sexual violence but also the matter of gender inequality which has been overlooked in the workplace and society (H. M. Kim, 2021). Additionally, contemporary feminist groups like Megalia have directed their attention toward the

¹⁰ See Seo & Choi, 2020, p. 388 for more details about Justice Party incident

problem of sexual violence on online platforms, such as Molka, which unlawfully records and distributes nonconsensual pictures and recordings on the internet (J. Kim, 2021). As a result, the biggest pornographic website in Korea, SoraNet, was forced to shut down because of the widespread protests against such practices (ibid). This website with millions of viewers featured illegally filmed videos of women without their permission (*South Korea Porn*, 2019).

Likewise, in 2018 many young women also organized the Tal-Corset (Escape The Corset) Movement that encouraged young women to reject beauty standards and be liberated from restraints while criticizing society's unfair treatment of women (J. Kim, 2021). These women were seen cutting their hair short and destroying their cosmetic products on social media platforms. Likewise, young feminists adopted another form of activism in 2019 known as the 4B movement which garnered around 50,000 followers. 4B is a movement that publicly denounced having "patriarchal relationships" (no dating, no sex, no marriage, and no childbirth) as well as condemned oppression, exploitation, and dominance over women (J. Lee & Jeong, 2021, p. 633). These young realized that women had to combat more than one person and their misogyny because they witnessed that Korean society along with the patriarchal authority simply wanted to exploit women and their bodies (J. Lee & Jeong, 2021), hence, detaching "physically, sexually and emotionally" from males became a strategy for radical feminists to dismantle the patriarchy (Naples, 2020, p. 60). 4B movement directly opposes the reproductive future of the patriarchal society (J. Lee & Jeong, 2021).

Korean radical feminists also founded a "women's agenda-only" political party called Women's Party in 2020 with over 6,000 members in its first week (Seo & Choi, 2020, p. 390). It was launched with the aim of focusing on "identity politics" concerning women (H.-J. Lee, 2020). Regarding identity politics, H.-J. Lee (2020) argues that present radical feminism in Korea is centered on the concept of 'biological women'. She explains that young-young feminists, who are primarily between the ages of 15 and 39, support a "women-only and women-first" policy, according to which "in any political situation, women's problems should not be considered secondary, and only biological women, the most disadvantaged of all people, are be entitled to be feminists." (p. 429). She states that, unlike young radical feminists, Korean feminism in the 1980s and 1990s "did not officially exclude biological men, immigrants, or transgender people because of their biological sex"(p. 427). However, today's young radical feminists do not share these

viewpoints and instead emphasize the female body's identity. As a result, they are recognized as transgender-exclusive radical feminists (TERFs) (Choo, 2020; H.-J. Lee, 2020). There have been numerous incidents of harassment of transgender women by Korean radical feminists. For example, WOMAD made admission policy only for biological women, and MTF (Male-to-Female) transgender persons and pre-op (pre-operative) lesbians were criticized by radical feminists on Facebook in 2017 labeling them as privileged sex class and non-minorities. Likewise, radical feminists also protested against the admission of transgender women to Sookmyung University in 2020 (H.-J. Lee, 2020).

Similarly, one of the paradoxical things about radical feminists in Korea is that they are queer-phobic yet say that lesbianism is the best approach to advocate for women's solidarity because lesbianism, for them “conveniently and powerfully connects women based on their shared biological identity” (H.-J. Lee, 2020, p. 433). Hence, she claims that with the women-only movement, radical feminists in Korea have forsaken “political correctness and morality”. J. Kim (2021) also adds that whether it was demanding the release of Park Geun Hye claiming she had been wrongly accused just because she was a woman or pursuing essentialism and separatism in the political agenda for women, self-identified radical feminists in a way stigmatized feminism in Korea.

Analyzing radical feminist movements in Korea shows four previously discussed distinct characteristics as mentioned by Mackay (2015). First, it aims to abolish patriarchy, which radical feminists consider as the root of women's subjugation by defying traditional gender norms. Second, it emphasizes political changes and spaces meant for only women through separatism and essentialism. Third, it recognizes gender-based violence as a cause of women's oppression by raising their voices against sexual violence against women. Lastly, it digs at the pornographic and prostitution sectors, which deepens its viewpoint on male aggressiveness against women through efforts to make legal reforms to protect women. Therefore, our research mainly relies on these characteristics which differentiate radical feminism from other schools of feminism as well as match well with the context of Korea.

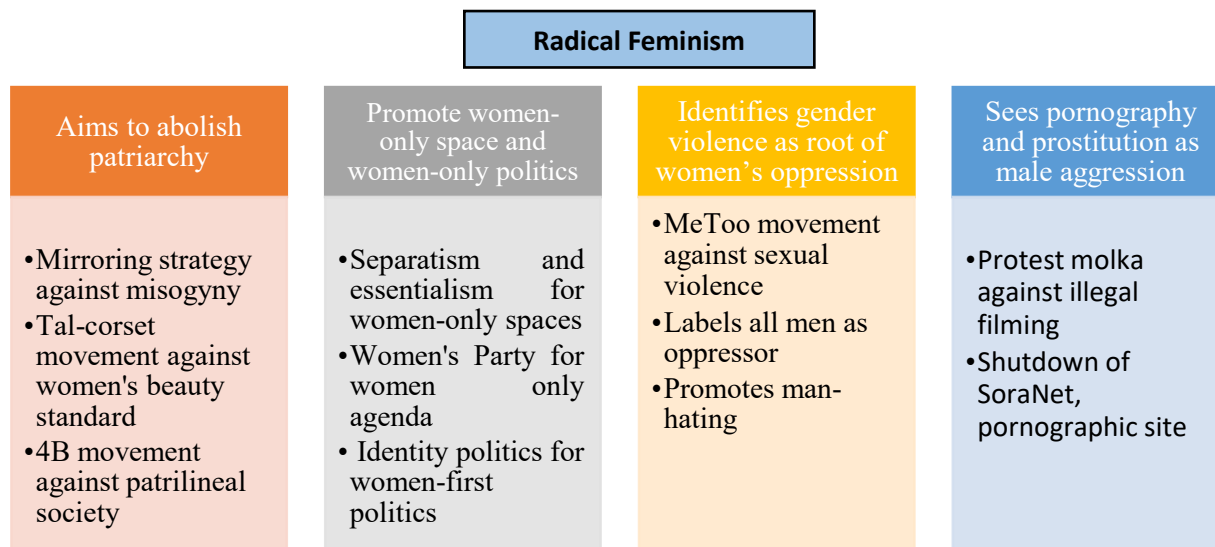


Figure 4: Characteristics of radical feminism in Korea

6.5 Anti-feminism in Korea and its popularization

In the context of Korea, Ma et al. (2019) state that along with the popularity of feminism among young women, a backlash among young males, particularly those in their twenties, has also increased rapidly due to antagonism toward feminist groups. According to their study report, both hostile sexism and anti-feminism are dominant in Korean society. Mostly due to the generational gap and worsening socio-economic following neoliberalism, the younger generation no longer views women as the “subject of protection” but instead regards them as a man-hating group that demands unreasonable things despite having the same “equal status” as males (p. 19). Hence, along with the demand for the abolition of both gender quotas and the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family¹¹, there is an urge for women to attend military service since they are no longer considered a minority group (Moon et al., 2022). These anti-feminists refer to themselves as a minority group (H. W. Jung, 2023), claiming that men are discriminated against and treated unfairly by feminist

¹¹ Ministry of Gender Equality was established in 2001 to assist the advancement of women's position through the enactment of legislation and regulation against gender discrimination, as well as regulating and administering women's policies. More information about history at https://www.mogef.go.kr/eng/am/eng_am_f005.do

groups. Therefore, anti-feminist men in Korea have distinctive features that use more aggressive and severe approaches to convey their hatred for feminist movements (H. W. Jung, 2023).

This can also be understood through the perception of military conscription which has been the center of feminism and anti-feminism debate in the younger generation (Choo, 2020). Most young Korean men i.e., 72.2% in their 20s believe military duty for just men is discriminatory and unfair to them and 64.7% demand women are required to serve in the military (Ma et al., 2019, p. 17). With greater uncertainty in the future and missed opportunities due to military enlistment, young men are, hence, experiencing a masculinity crisis and developing increased hatred toward women (Capelos et al., 2023).

Hines & Song (2021) state that some incidents, such as the mirroring of Megalia and Womad's posts, are further worsening the situation by cultivating an "extreme culture of misandry" (p.1-2). They point out that many young people identify feminism with man-hating speech. Because of the extremism of radical feminists, feminism has been seen negatively and men now have a misperception that feminism is misandrist. Hence, it can be assumed that radical feminism's retaliation to end male hegemony has directly or indirectly inflamed the situation between two opposing groups of feminists and anti-feminists.

Furthermore, such hatred is further fueled by conservative leaders who disseminate sexist ideology to demonize feminist discourses as radical and misandry (Hines & Song, 2021). Right-wing politicians, for example, Lee Jun-Seok and Yoon Suk-Yeol openly use anti-feminist rhetoric and have even campaigned for the end of gender quotas and the abolition of the Ministry of Gender Equality (ibid). These leaders have a large number of young misogynist followers, and their repeated attacks on feminism are stigmatizing feminist ideology and portraying feminism as an extremist movement. And, with the victory of Yoon Suk-Yeol, in the presidential election with his misogynistic tactics and massive support from young men, it can be anticipated that anti-feminist attitudes are likely to be heightened in the country and as well as it may affect radical feminist activism in the future too.

In fact, most of these young people have been actively participating in the movement supporting men's rights. For example, an organization called "Dang Dang We" set out in 2018 to protect men who had been falsely alleged of sexual harassment (Chaigne, 2021). Then, another group the "Anti-

feminist organization,” frequently demonstrated against the existence of the Ministry of Gender Equality (ibid). Recently, Bae-In Kyu, the leader of the New Men’s Solidarity movement and a YouTuber with 450,000 subscribers is one of those mounting a battle against feminists¹². This group which is the country’s most active anti-feminist group is often seen attacking feminists by claiming that their ideology promotes man-hatred and endangers men's rights (Chaigne, 2021; Choi, 2022; Sang-Hun, 2022). In an interview with Asian Boss (a YouTube channel) held on 30th December 2021, Bae says: “.....people [members of New Men’s Solidarity] are showing their support because they could no longer stand to watch radical feminists taking control over South Korea”¹³ (Asian Boss, 2021).

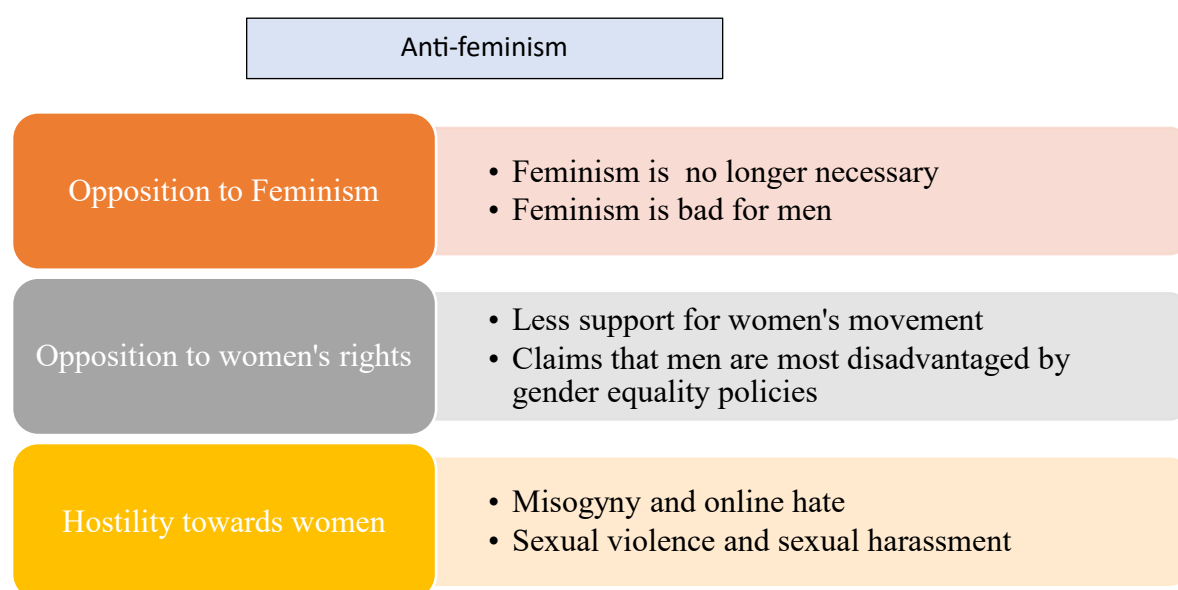


Figure 5: Characteristics of Anti-feminism in Korea

¹² Since the Wanja incident, his YouTube channel was deactivated after it received mass reporting. However, it is still active on other social networking platform such Facebook and Instagram. See Chaigne (2021) for more details.

¹³ See <https://youtu.be/TzvUEGGiLys> for the interview.

7. Analysis and Findings

7.2 Findings

From an empirical perspective, feminism, postfeminism, and backlash have distinct presumptions regarding gender equality in society and the role that feminism has played and will continue to play in achieving gender equity (Jordan, 2016). Therefore, by generating quantitative data on the perception of young Korean men and women towards gender equality, feminism, and radical feminism, this thesis aims to examine the impact of such attitudes on their anti-feminist sentiments.

7.2.1 Perception of gender equality

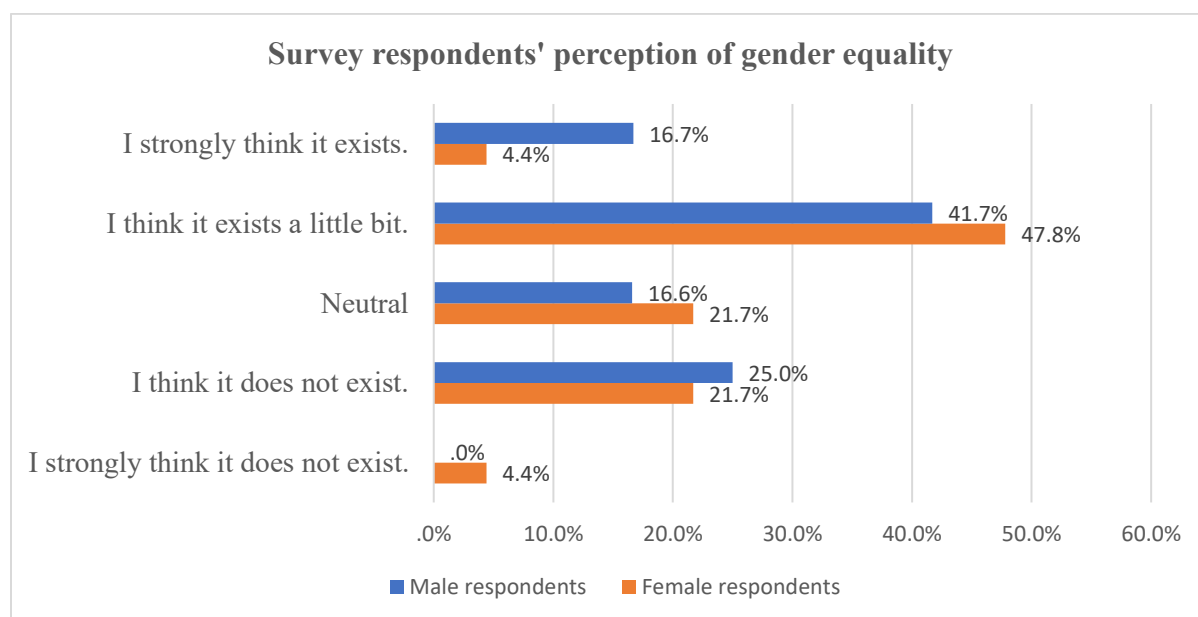


Figure 6: Respondents' perception of gender equality

The above figure 6 depicts how respondents see the current situation of gender equality in society. This information regarding gender equality is necessary for determining respondents' postfeminist tendencies. According to the results of the survey, only $\frac{1}{4}$ of men and women still think that there is gender inequality in Korea. Gender inequality can be understood as discrimination based on gender in terms of education, employment, rights, opportunities, and privileges. However, it is noteworthy that only 4.4% (1 in 23 females) and none of the men strongly believe in the existence of such inequalities. This shows that the majority of them which is 58.4% of men and 52.2% of women believe that gender equality prevails in Korean society. Since both men and women

respondents assume that there is no gender discrimination in Korea, they tend to have postfeminist beliefs.

In the next question, participants were given a situation if gender inequality exists in society, who do they believe to be its victims? Their response to the social group who are subjected to gender disparity helps to examine their backlash as well as feminist attitudes. For instance, from a feminist viewpoint gender inequality exists in society and women are a more affected group than men while from a backlash point of view, men are the ones who are more disadvantaged.

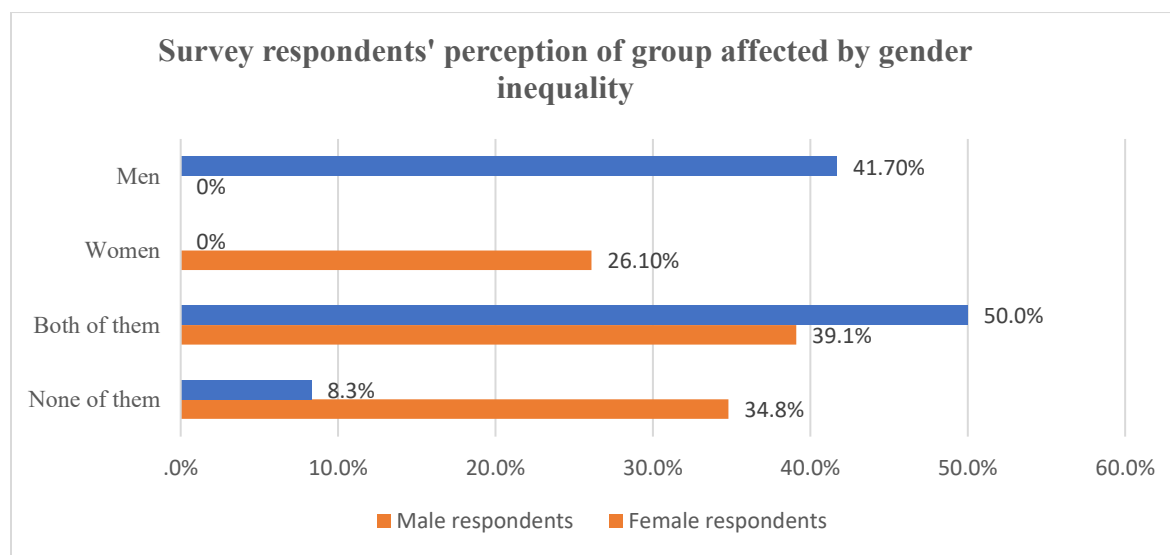


Figure 7: Respondents' perception of the group affected by gender inequality

Based on the survey results displayed in Figure 7, 41.7% of male respondents think that men are the groups who are impacted by gender inequality, whereas 26.10% of female respondents think that women are. Similarly, the vast majority of respondents, both male and female (50 percent of males and 39.1% of females), believe that both genders have been impacted. Interestingly, a significantly higher proportion of females (34.8%) than males (8.3%) feel that there is no disparity between genders.

Although it was once widely believed that women were the targets of gender discrimination, this viewpoint has lately been under debate, with the majority of feminists arguing that women are the victims of gender inequality and the anti-feminists arguing the opposite. This is further verified by survey results, which revealed that both male and female respondents believe that their respective

gender groups are the ones suffering from gender disparities in society. Moreover, the fact that a greater proportion of men than women identify themselves as victims can be linked to the victimhood narratives commonly present in backlash discourse. One of the factors contributing to such a victimhood mindset among young males in Korea is the country's mandatory military service for men.

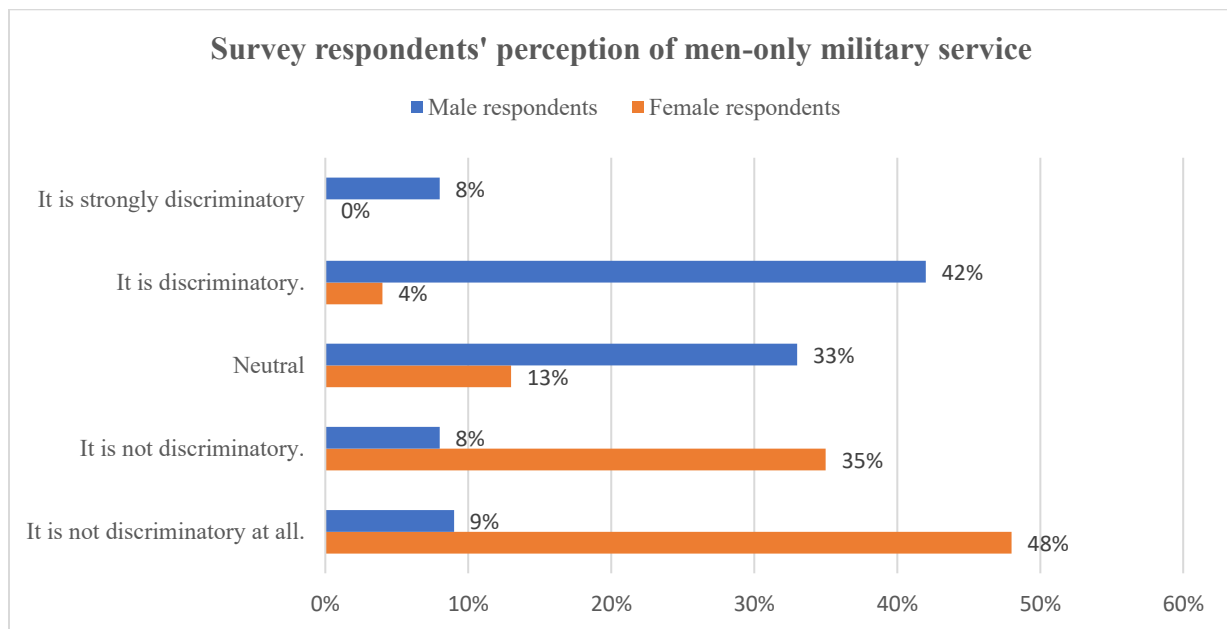


Figure 8: Respondents' perception of men-only military service

Figure 8 demonstrates respondents' viewpoints on whether they think compulsory military conscription is discriminatory or not. According to survey results, half of the male respondents consider such obligation as discriminatory while a whopping 83% of female respondents do not share the same viewpoint and perceive that it is not discriminatory. These findings can be related to the discussion mentioned in the previous chapters. First, mandatory military service deprives men of possible career as well as financial opportunities as they have to spend 18-21 months of their prime age while serving for countries. Therefore, they feel frustrated and consider it as reverse discrimination against men. Second, most men tend to amplify their loss and establish a victimhood mindset. While the older generation considers military service as a matter of masculinity, the younger generation thinks military duty is a loss of prospects and considers it as discrimination against men. (Ma et al., 2019). Therefore, most men demand that women also serve

in the military. Thirdly, young women such as radical feminists consider military service not an issue for them because they are concerned with the problem linked to only biological women (H.-J. Lee, 2020).

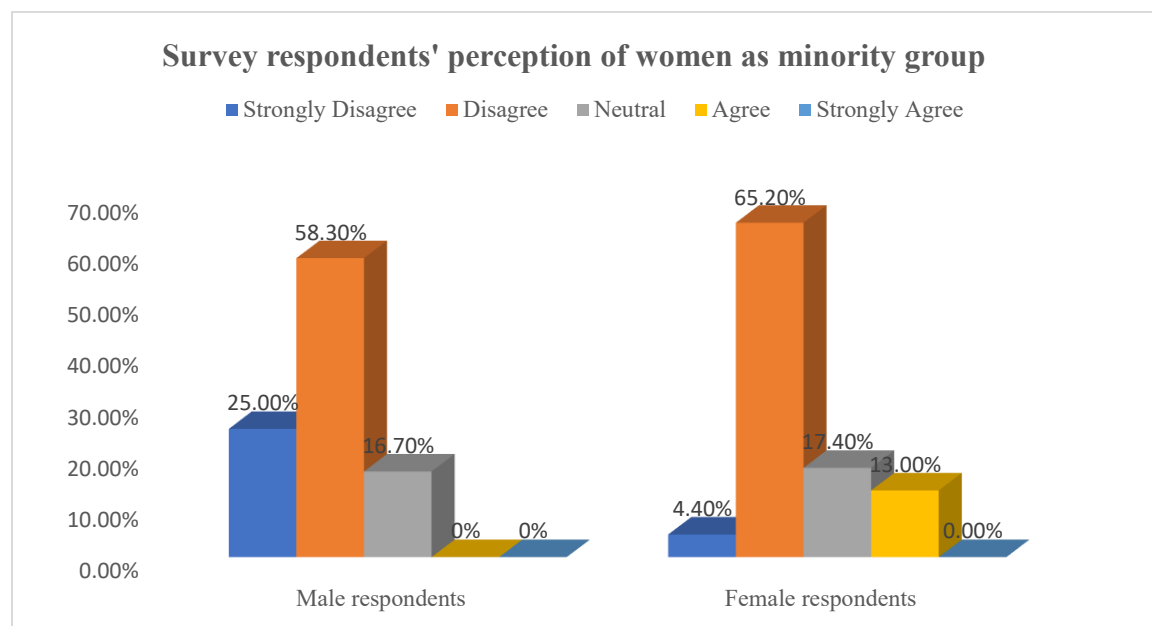


Figure 9: Respondents' perception of women as a minority group

Figure 9 shows respondents' level of agreement with the statement that women are a minority group. By minority group, it refers to the people who believe that they are the subjects of "collective discrimination" because they are treated differently and unequally from the others in their society due to physical or cultural traits (Wirth, 1945, p. 347 as cited in Viladrich & Loue, 2009, p. 1). In this context, women are considered a minority because of their subordinate position in society as compared to men as well as less privileges provided to them. According to the result, 83.3% of male respondents and 69.6% of females show their disagreement with the statement which means a majority of them do not consider women as the disadvantaged group in society. Only a small percentage of females i.e., 3 in 23 of them believe women are a subordinate group. However, none of the male respondents share the same viewpoint. This may be associated with the study report by Ma et al. (2019), which revealed that Korean men's perceptions of women as subjects of consideration and protection further deteriorates among the younger generation of the 20s as compared to the older generation. Similarly, according to the results shown in Figure 8, which show that most women feel no gender group experiences inequality, can be associated with

the majority of women's perception that women are not a minority group. This implies that the women in question believe that gender discrimination is no longer a problem for women in today's society. This goes against the argument put forth by radical feminists that women have historically been a marginalized group, by placing a greater emphasis on this position.

7.2.2 Perception of Feminism

Asking about respondents' opinions on feminism helps to understand their perceptions of it as well as determine if they consider it to be a movement that has impacted them personally and is crucial in today's context.

Table 3: Respondents' Perception of feminism

What word or phrase comes to your mind when you hear the word 'feminism'?	Male respondent	Female respondent
Gender Equality	0%	8.70%
Women's rights	16.70%	47.80%
Women Empowerment	16.70%	21.70%
Anti-male/misandrist	41.70%	21.70%
Over-exaggeration	50.00%	8.70%
Radical/extremism	16.70%	13.00%
Outdated	0%	0%
Good/positive	8.30%	13.00%
Bad/negative	58.30%	34.80%

Table 3 presents the opinions of young Korean respondents regarding the term "feminism." A majority of female survey respondents identify feminism as a movement that promotes women's empowerment and rights. Nevertheless, very few of them—and none of them are male respondents—believe that feminism served as an indication of gender equality. This may be the explanation for the majority of male respondents characterizing feminism as over-exaggerated activism and anti-male. Most of their views on feminism are unfavorable. On the contrary, the viewpoints expressed by female respondents are more diverse. While the majority of female respondents regard feminism favorably, a certain percentage of female respondents said

that when they hear the word "feminism," they associate it with radicalism (13%), misandry (21.7%), and exaggeration (13%). Such unfavorable perspectives of both young men and women could mean they have been directly or indirectly affected by the feminist movement.

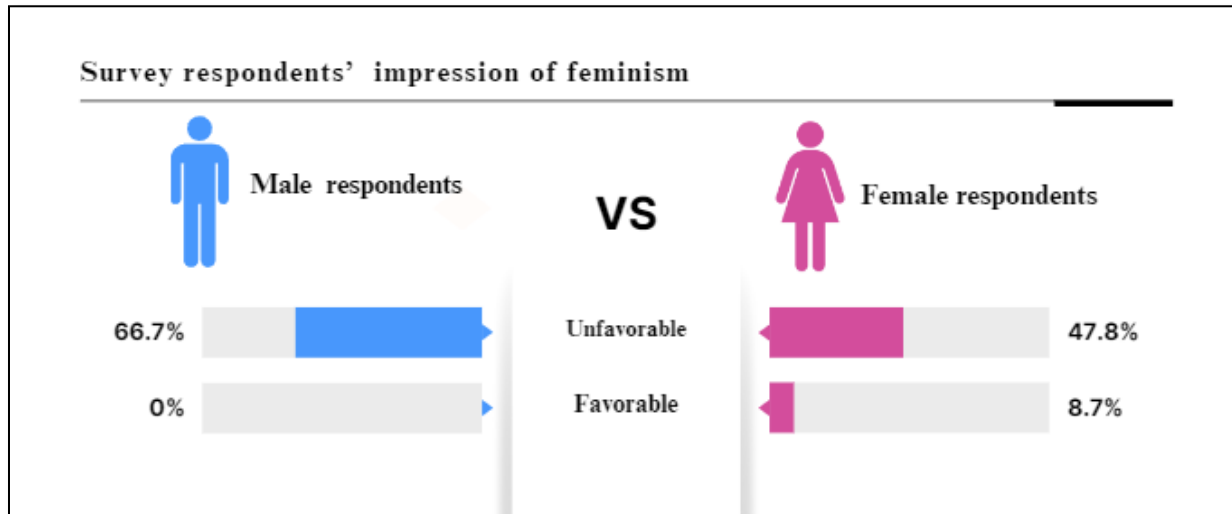


Figure 10: Respondents' impression of feminism

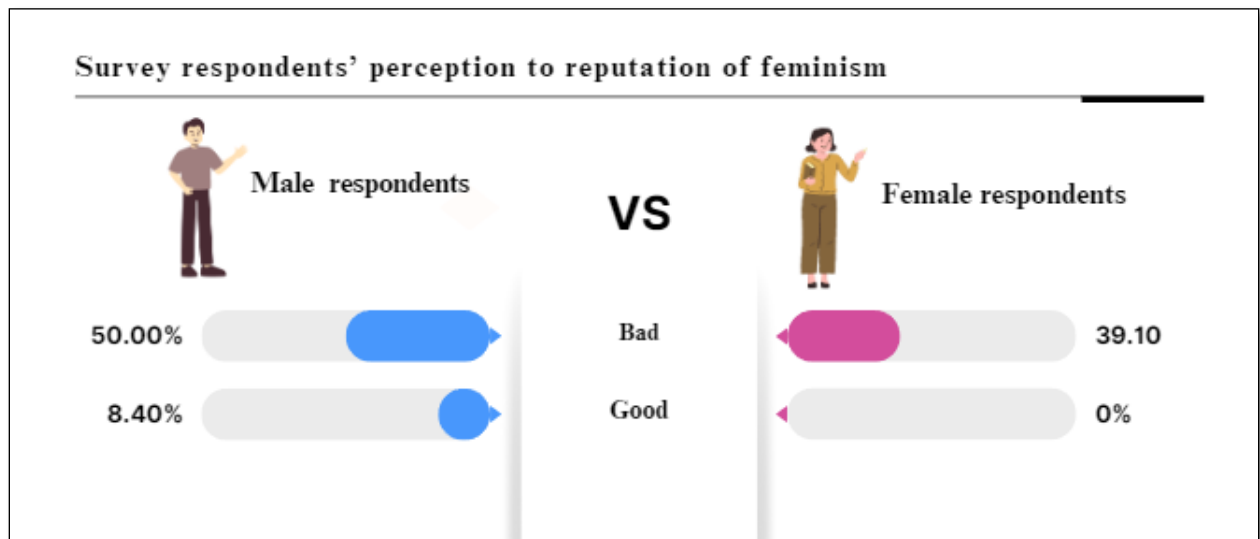


Figure 11: Respondents' perception of the reputation of feminism

This result could also be the cause of the negative impression of feminism (as shown in the figure 10) expressed by 66.7% of male respondents as well as 47.8% of female respondents. Only 2 in

23 females responded they had a favorable impression while none of the male respondents shared a similar viewpoint. Similarly, half of men think that feminism (as shown in figure) doesn't have a good reputation overall. On the other hand, over 39% of female respondents stated that they think feminism has a bad reputation. It is striking that none of them felt that feminism has a positive image. Hence, the argument presented by many literatures that feminism has a bad reputation among Koreans was reflected in the survey research too. Over time, Koreans particularly young men began to identify feminism with negative connotations due to its vilification (H.-J. Lee, 2020), and as a result, feminism has evolved into a bad word (Rashid, 2023).

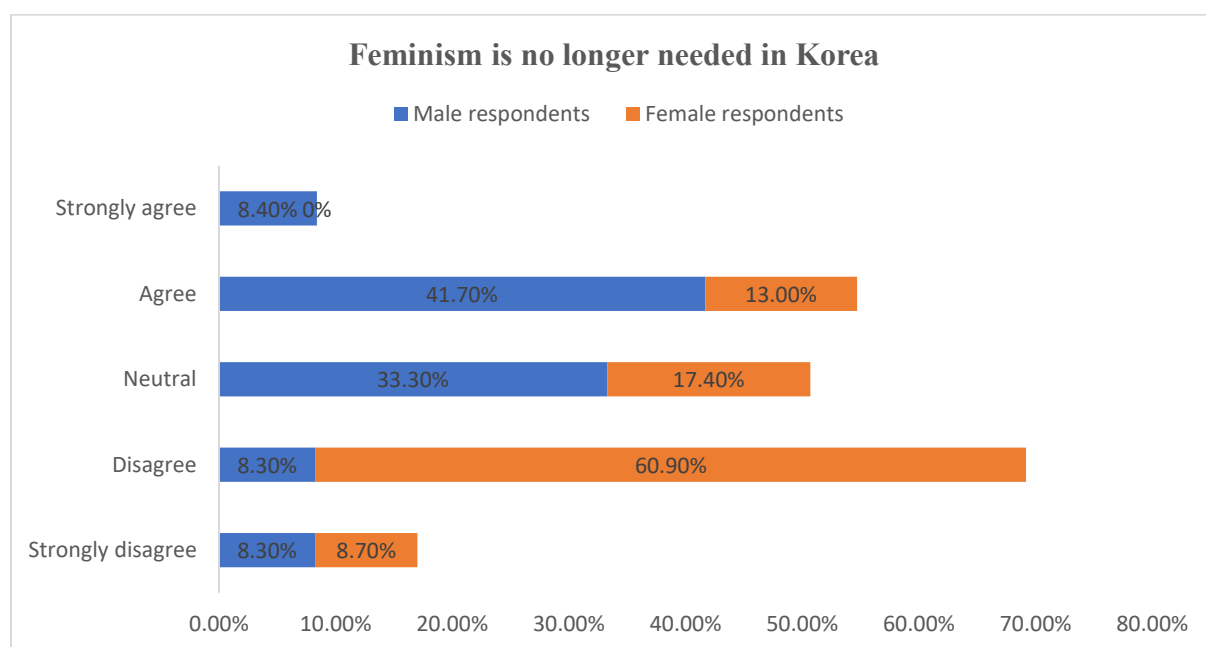


Figure 12: Respondents' perception of whether feminism is needed in Korea

The above figure shows the degree of agreement with the statement that “feminism is no longer needed in Korea”. According to the survey result, half of the male respondents believe the feminist movement is not required or relevant anymore in Korea. On the contrary, the majority of female participants hold rather opposing opinions and think feminism is still important in Korean society.

As stated by Maio et al.(2006), persons who hold an unfavorable mindset toward something generally also have unfavorable opinions, sentiments, and behaviors toward that thing, and vice versa. As a result, those with a negative attitude toward feminism have negative ideas, sentiments,

and attitudes about it. People who have a bad impression of feminism, for example, may consider that it is unnecessary in society, dislike people who support feminism, and respond severely toward feminists. Since most of the survey respondents particularly males expressed a negative impression of feminism in Figure 10, it could be understood that feminism has been bad for them, hence, reflecting their backlash attitude. Likewise, most males also believe feminism is no longer necessary in Korea and, therefore, showed their tendencies for postfeminism.

Another explanation for why the majority of Korean male respondents believe feminism is unnecessary is that they think feminist movements have already achieved a lot (Johanssen, 2021). As a result, they view women as a group that despises and assaults men and as having unreasonable demands, even though they are on equal terms with men (Ma et al., 2019).

7.2.3 Perception of radical feminism

The analysis of the perception of radical feminism started by asking for respondents' knowledge of Megalia's logo as illustrated in Figure 5. In the survey 80% who were aware of the emblem had an unfavorable impression of it, seeing it as humiliating, an act that insults Korean males and promotes misandry. Likewise, all the male respondents expressed that it was offensive. A comparatively smaller percentage of female respondents share a similar view as 40% believe it promotes man-hating, 30% think this logo is degrading act and offensive, and 20% feel it only attacked Korean men. One female respondent writes this symbol represents *위낙 크기를 나타내는 시그널*, which translates as “signals that indicate the size of the.. [private part of men's body]”. This could be the reason why 20% of men consider the logo irrational. Despite this 40% of women in the survey expressed it was not a problem at all.

In the next question regarding the mirroring strategy, more than 80% of both male and female respondents condemned the mirroring strategy and thought it was inappropriate. Surprisingly, none of the respondents whether male or female consider it acceptable. This demonstrates that, although radical feminists overwhelmingly supported the mirroring technique, the general Korean public is likely to disagree with the same.

Likewise, a significant number of responders, both male and female (more than 40% of each category), were against the Tal-corset initiative, and not a single male responded in favor of the advertisement by Incheon Line. Only 17.4% of female respondents showed their support for this movement. This result corresponds to the research by Korean Women's Development Institute which found men in their 20s showed the least amount of support for anti-corset initiatives (Ma et al., 2019). Another radical feminist movement 4B also holds rather a negative perception among young Koreans as 75% of males and 61% of females believe this to be inappropriate. Despite men's strong disagreement with the 4B movement's appropriateness, 17.4% of women shared an opposing view deeming it to be acceptable. One of the female respondents even adds "*I think it's [participating in a 4B movement] a personal choice*" (개인의 선택이라고 생각합니다) likely showing her support for such movements.

Similarly, while radical feminists maintain that patriarchal Korean society exists solely to exploit women, the survey's findings run counter to this assertion. More than 80% of respondents disagree with this statement—83.3% of men and 82.6% of women. Notably, none of the men concur that their society aims to take advantage of women. Additionally, 33% of male respondents strongly believe that women-only areas and women-first laws are not a priority at all. Remarkably, the majority of females (60.9%) also think such women-only spaces are of low priority. Likewise, regarding the Me-Too movement which highlighted the sexual violence faced by women, survey respondents reveal a rather divided opinion on this issue. While 34.8% of women feel that women females are victims of sexual violence, 58.4% of men (42% of them strongly against it) disagree and do not accept radical feminist arguments that characterize all women as victims and all men as offenders (H.-J. Lee, 2020). It is interesting that 22% of female respondents also do not view women as the subject of gender-based violence.

In the next question, respondents' comprehension of radical feminism was analyzed by asking them to share their opinions about it. The majority of men respondents in the survey (58.7%) agree that view the radical feminist movement as more aggressive and 17% of them think it is a distorted belief. Likewise, one-third of men believe that radical feminism seeks to establish female dominance, and one-sixth of males believe that it falsely implicates men. Likewise, 39% of female respondents also consider radical feminism as more antagonistic than other forms of feminism.

Most of them associate radical feminism as a movement that aims to abolish patriarchy and establish female supremacy as well as comply with a belief that all men are oppressors and women are the oppressed ones. This shows women as compared to men have better knowledge and understanding of radical feminism and its ideology. However, despite this, not a single woman believed that radical feminism promotes hostility and fear among men. To sum up, this survey result shows that most young Koreans are likely to believe radical feminism as a school of feminism that is more militant in its approach. and, hence, have negative perceptions about it. For instance, one of the male respondents comments that radical feminism is an Anti-national acts that attempt to undermine the democratic order of the Republic of Korea. This experience of the overstated assertions about female dominance promoted by postfeminism along with a significant lack of knowledge over what feminism is or was among certain generations (particularly the younger generation of men), is likely to set an ideal setting for the spread of anti-feminist ideologies among certain generation (Ging & Siapera, 2019).

Table 4: Respondents' perception of radical feminism

In your opinion, which of the following statements defines or are related to radical feminism?

	Male respondent (%)	Female respondent (%)
More aggressive than other forms of feminism	58.3%	39.1%
Condemns the existence of patriarchy and aims to abolish it	16.7%	13.0%
Prioritizes women-only spaces	16.7%	8.7%
Distorted ideology	16.7%	13.0%
Aims for female chauvinism	33.3%	43.5%
Wrongly accuses men as oppressors and women as the oppressed ones	16.3%	30.4%
Promotes hostility and fear in young men	8.3%	0%
Other comments: 흑백논리 (Black and white logic) 대한민국의 민주 질서를 훼손하려는 반국가적 행위 (Anti-national acts that attempt to undermine the democratic order of the Republic of Korea)		

7.2.4 Anti-feminist Sentiments

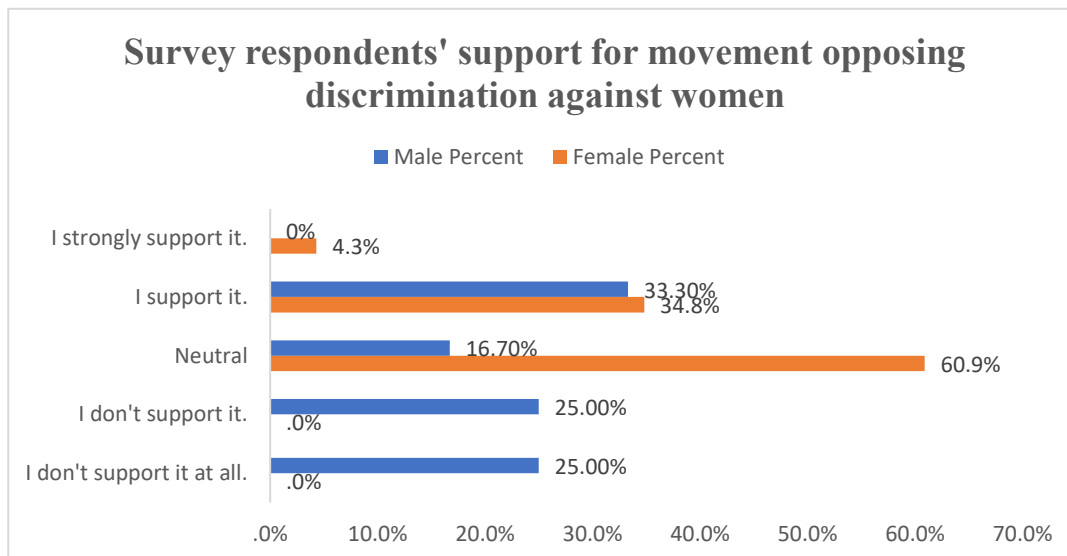


Figure 13: Respondents' support for the movement opposing discrimination against women

The above figure 13 illustrates young Koreans' support for the movement opposing discrimination against women. The survey reveals that, while many young women (39.1%) support the movement against gender inequality, half of the young males (50%) are opposed to such initiatives. Those who strongly supported gender-equality campaigns were only females and those who did not (strongly) support these campaigns were only males. Generally, feminists are the ones who show their advocacy for gender-equality policies which means that most female respondents have feminist beliefs. While low support for gender policies among men can be linked to anti-feminism as it represents a stance that is openly opposed to gender equality (Ging & Siapera, 2019). Despite this, women (57% of females) have responded positively to the government's decision to dissolve the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family contradicting the results of young men who largely (50%) oppose it. Abolishing the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family was one of the agendas used by President Yoon Seok Yul in his election campaign.

In the following question, respondents were asked to choose their position on feminism to identify whether they share feminist, anti-feminist, or neutral viewpoints.

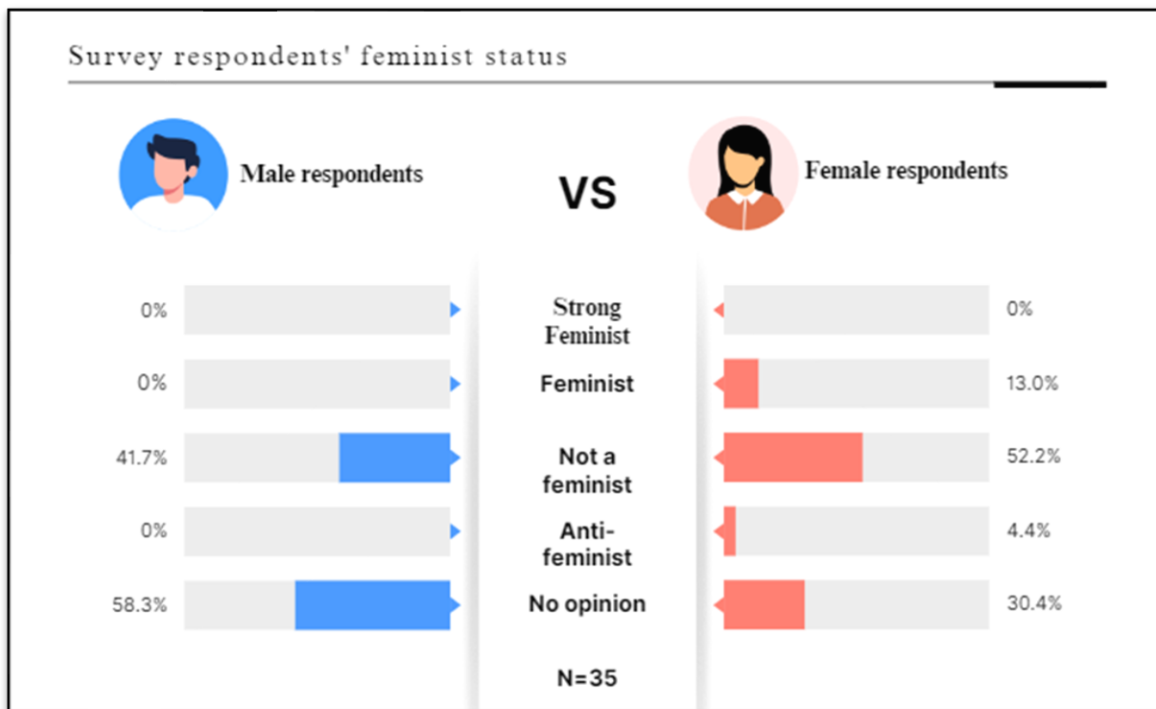


Figure 14: Respondents' feminist status

In the survey, none of the male participants indicated that they identified as either anti-feminist or feminist. As a result, 41.7% of them preferred to state that they were not feminists, while the other 50% shared no opinion. Conversely, 13% of women identify as feminists, and unexpectedly, one of them declared herself to be anti-feminist. Likewise, thirty percent of women decided not to express any opinions, while over fifty percent decided to maintain not being feminists. One thing that stands out among Koreans is that these young people prefer not to identify as (anti)feminists. As an example, a similar poll conducted in the US revealed that 6 out of 10 women and 1/3 of males considered themselves to be strong feminists or feminists (Cai & Clement, 2016). In contrast to the Korean context, where the majority of them were cautious, they boldly proclaimed their position. There could be various explanations for this. First, people who opted for a neutral stance might think that feminism is no longer needed as revealed in our previous finding. Second, because feminist ideology has deviated from its basic objective of achieving equality for all, it has become more warped, and they are unable to relate. That is to say, because feminism has lost relevance, it is no longer as popular as it was among the older generation of feminists (Hall & Rodriguez, 2003). For this reason, a majority of Koreans—50% of men and 30.4% of women—agree that Korean

society needs to be more inclusive of men's rights. Third is due to the bad reputation of feminism, women are hesitant to identify themselves as feminists (Hall & Rodriguez, 2003). Radical feminists in particular are sometimes accused of man-hatred and wrongly hold males responsible for the difficulties faced by women (Cai & Clement, 2016; Ma et al., 2019). As a result, half of our male respondents believe radical feminism has directly or indirectly affected them to a certain extent. Men might therefore not want to be associated with feminism which only blames them. Fourth, because of the fear of being labeled as feminists, most females choose not to identify themselves with such status. In Korean society, the word feminism is taboo in Korea and considered a bad word. Therefore, identifying as a feminist in public exposes oneself to abuse, online attacks, and bullying (Hines & Song, 2021). The research among young Korean university students also revealed that since women have observed a substantial amount of antifeminist backlash and daily hostility in both online and offline contexts, they are discouraged from openly disclosing their feminist identities and, hence, practice silent feminist activity (Jung & Moon, 2023).

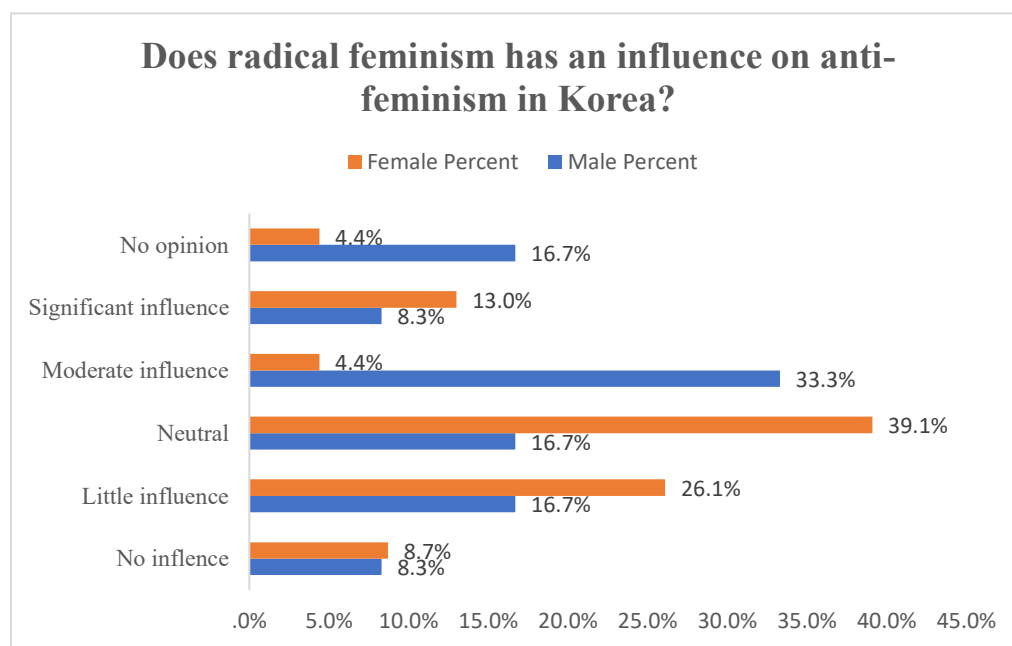


Figure 15: Respondents' perception of an influence of radical feminism on anti-feminism

To sum up, with approximately 80% of respondents believing that radical feminism is causing a divide between men and women in Korea and nearly half of them agreeing that it is influencing

anti-feminism in Korea, our research indicates that radical feminism has contributed to increasing anti-feminist sentiments among young people.

8. Discussion

Discussions are based on the previously described findings as well as comparisons with the existing works of literature on similar topics. The thesis study examined survey respondents' perceptions of gender equality, feminism, radical feminism, and anti-feminism to determine if the respondents fit into the criteria presented by the typology of backlash and postfeminism as illustrated by Jordan (2016). In general, postfeminist viewpoints exhibit a profoundly conflicted attitude towards feminism, while the rationale of backlash is overtly antagonistic to feminist movements (ibid). This means if respondents have more nuanced but troublesome perspectives about feminism, a postfeminist narrative is employed, and if they oppose feminism, then a backlash narrative is used (Jordan, 2016)

However, it should be noted that opinions, principles, and perspectives all exhibit two specific logical traits: they are evaluative, meaning positive and negative attitudes toward an object; and they are subjective, implying that they reflect a person's perception of what is happening and not inevitably the way the reality is (Stets, 2006). As a result, it should be taken into account that not all young Koreans associate feminism with postfeminist and backlash terms (ibid).

8.1 Postfeminism

1) Gender inequalities are non-existent or minimal.

The illustration Figure 6: perception of gender equality shows that the majority of respondents, both male and female, believe that gender equality exists in Korean society. This corresponds with the findings by Ma et al. (2019) that men are less likely to agree on the severity of gender discrimination. Similarly, the fact that most of them deny that women fall into a minority group suggests that there are no marginalized gender groups in Korean society because men and women are treated equally. This fits with one of postfeminism's criteria. Furthermore, our research reveals that Korean men are less likely to agree with radical feminists' assertions that patriarchal Korean society exploits women and that women are victims of sexual violence. With increasing cases of sexual violence, such as the Gangnam tragedy (the murder of a female in a public restroom by a

misogynistic male), Molka (the illegal filming of a woman with a spy camera), and #MeToo (sexual harassment against women), as well as nationwide protests against such gender-based violence, disagreeing that gender inequalities exist or are less significant in Korea implies that males tend to hold a postfeminist ideology. Likewise, while young feminists saw mirroring strategy as an effective way to counter prevalent post-feministic notions asserted in the backlash, namely that gender inequality in modern society is overstated and that women receive unduly preferential treatment (Moon et al., 2022), most males view it as an inappropriate strategy and tend to disagree.

2) Feminism is no longer necessary.

Taking a look at Figure 12: Perception of if feminism is needed, the majority of male participants think that feminism is no longer necessary in Korea. This conclusion is relevant to postfeminism discourse, which indicates that equality has been attained and is no longer required (Jordan, 2016; Negra et al., 2007). Postfeminism constructs feminism as a historical phenomenon and suggests that feminism's very success is what renders it irrelevant to modern society (Negra et al., 2007). Likewise, these males who have negative attitudes towards feminism are also more likely to think against feminism. Because of such postfeminist beliefs, most people misinterpret and categorize feminism as an outdated ineffectual ideology that has no bearing on modern women's lives (Hamel et al., 2016). These viewpoints typically surface when one believes that feminists have accomplished a great deal (Johanssen, 2021) or are making unreasonable demands (Dej & Kilty, 2024). Another explanation for such attitude could be the experience of the overstated assertions about female dominance, along with a significant information gap over what feminism is or was, among certain generations (Ging & Siapera, 2019). This situation fueled by postfeminism is likely to provide an ideal setting for the spread of anti-feminist ideologies (ibid). Female participants, on the other hand, are unlikely to believe such, which suggests that women generally are less inclined to postfeminist ideas.

8.2 Backlash

- 1) Significant gender inequalities exist in society- men are generally disadvantaged compared to women or women's equality has led to a damaged society.

Figure 6 and Figure 7 illustrate how gender inequality is perceived as well as who is impacted by it. The aforementioned data is crucial in determining whether males view themselves as members of a disadvantaged or afflicted group. Even though a quarter of men in this survey believe that gender inequality occurs in Korea, nearly fifty percent of them responded that they are the ones who experience it. This means young male respondents in the survey are starting to identify as social minorities or see them as victimized by female authority. Thus, anti-feminism is growing fast online among them (H. W. Jung, 2023). It also indicates that these young males are experiencing a backlash against feminism. This attitude may have its roots in the idea held by younger males, especially those in their 20s, that efforts to promote gender equality amount to giving women preferential treatment and fostering reverse discrimination (Dej & Kilty, 2024; Rich et al., 2023) as well as the argument put forward by 'Men's Solidarity' in 2013 that males must be designated as a minority (H.-J. Lee, 2020). Such perception also partly stems from their military enlistment. According to these research findings along with those of other academics, such as Choo (2020) and Ma et al. (2019), males in their 20s have unfavorable opinions about military duty and, as a result, contend that men-only military service constitutes discrimination against men. While young men have protested that conscription is unfair, young radical feminists have responded that it is a topic "exclusive to men," implying that feminism solely addresses the problems faced by biological women (Choo, 2020, p. 489). This has further exacerbated gender conflict. Thus, young men are becoming more antagonistic as a result of their growing sense of anxiety about the future and the opportunities they will lose when they enlist in the military (ibid).

- 2) Feminism has been bad for men.

Table 3 and Table 4 depicted how survey participants perceived feminism and radical feminism. The above data show that men generally have an unfavorable view of feminism and that this perspective gets worse when feminism becomes more radical. Their comparison of radical feminism to phrases such as extremism and distorted ideology reveals that feminism has been bad for men. Feminists were seen as man-haters who wanted to establish women's superiority at

the expense of males. They were considered the source of men's oppression. This was particularly common in Western countries, where some Americans see the feminist movement as angry and believe it unfairly blames men for the difficulties faced by women (Hamel et al., 2016). However, this study suggests that similar anti-feminist backlashes are emerging in young Korean men as well. Furthermore, as this research indicates, their view that radical feminism is not advancing men's rights, and their conviction that men's rights should be given greater importance in Korean society may have contributed to their animosity toward feminism. Moreover, nearly forty percent of participants expressed concern over the recent decline in marriage and childbirth rates as well as the increasing employment rate of women, citing these trends as a challenge to conventional gender norms. This could also mean that these men believe that women's rights pose a challenge because they alter established norms and the male-dominated social structure. In the study of masculism, these groups are referred to as anti-feminists who respond to such threats and defend an established societal agenda that feminism has disrupted (Blais & Dupuis-Déri, 2012b). This is also comparable to Faludi's (1991) claim, made within the framework of backlashes, that men have suffered economically because they think women are taking their promising prospects. According to these men because of women's equality, they are the ones who are experiencing hardship (ibid).

Based on the survey findings, it was revealed that most male respondents and female respondents perceived radical feminism adversely. They consider radical feminism as a more aggressive form of feminism promoting misandry and female supremacy. Likewise, regarding radical feminist activism such as the 4B movement, Tal-corset (Escape the Corset), and mirroring strategy, survey respondents often expressed their disagreement and unfavorable opinions. Hence, the survey findings show that young Koreans have a negative perception of radical feminism which answers the first research question of the thesis i.e., what are the perceptions of young Koreans towards radical feminism? Likewise, according to the survey findings, young Koreans, particularly, male respondents are less supportive of gender equality policies and often feel they are excluded from feminist movements (this is to say that the feminist movement needs to be more men's rights inclusive). Because of the misandrist nature of radical feminism, they have grown hostile towards the feminist movement and think feminism is no longer necessary in Korea. Similarly, survey findings also demonstrate that most males display a victimhood mentality and feel that they are

facing reverse discrimination in contemporary society. Hence, radical feminism is directly or indirectly contributing to the growth of anti-feminism through the development of postfeminist and backlash attitudes among Korean men.

9. Conclusion

The reboot of feminism in South Korea since the 2010s has led to an increase in radical feminist activism among the young generation of women (J. Kim, 2021, 2021; Y. Kim, 2021; J. Lee & Jeong, 2021). With growing feminist movements, there has also been a recent emergence of anti-feminism movements opposing feminist ideology (Ma et al., 2019). It has become apparent that with growing discontent due to political, socioeconomic, and cultural factors in the neoliberal era, young people are becoming increasingly antipathetic, and developing more antagonistic sentiments toward feminist activism (Choo, 2020; H. M. Kim, 2021; Ma et al., 2019). Moreover, one of the reasons why anti-feminism is getting more popular among young men is because of right-wing leaders like Lee Jun-Seok and Yoon Suk-Yeol who openly use anti-feminist rhetoric and have even campaigned for the end of gender quotas and the abolition of the Ministry of Gender Equality (Hines & Song, 2021). With the recent victory of Yoon Suk-Yeol in the presidential election with his misogynistic tactics and massive support from young men, it is necessary to investigate whether anti-feminist attitudes are likely to be heightened in the country. Therefore, with the aim of studying these growing anti-feminist sentiments among young Korean males, Korean youth aged 20-29 years were surveyed to analyze their perception of radical feminism and how such a view affects their anti-feminist sentiments.

For this purpose, survey research based on a quantitative method of data collection was used. Data were collected using the snowball sampling method and an online survey served as the primary source of data for the research study. Survey questionnaires were particularly designed to gather information on respondents' perceptions of gender equality, feminism, radical feminism, and anti-feminism. There was a total of 35 survey respondents which included 12 males and 23 females. Similarly, the typology of postfeminism and backlash presented by Jordan (2016) was employed to analyze young Korean men and women's tendencies toward such ideologies.

The study findings show that the majority of Korean men say that gender equality is achieved in their country and that feminism is hardly necessary. This shows that these males have postfeminist beliefs. Likewise, our study revealed that young males have a negative perception of feminism which gets worse when it concerns radical feminism as they see it as an outdated, distorted philosophy that encourages misandry. They indeed consider men to be the ones affected by gender inequality. The demonized public image of feminist ideology, which is thought to be tainted with radical feminism and man-hating, is what makes young Korean males believe that they are victimized by feminism (Hines & Song, 2021). Therefore, this study suggests these men also tend to have anti-feminist backlash. The study findings support the claims made by numerous works of literature that state that anti-feminism is increasing among young Korean males in their 20s. On the other hand, female respondents in the survey had rather varied viewpoints which made it difficult to associate such perspectives with postfeminism and backlash discourse. Because of their diverse responses, a concrete conclusion could not be drawn from the survey findings. However, it is evident that these female respondents are aware of the bad reputation of feminism in Korea and believe it has somehow impacted them too.

This research thesis mainly focused on the perception and attitude of young Korean men; however, it is also important to understand the perspectives of women on similar notions. For instance, based on the survey results, women showed more diverse and often contradictory viewpoints and opinions as compared to men. As this research only covered this issue briefly, therefore, further analysis and in-depth study are necessary to understand how radical feminism is affecting anti-feminist sentiments from young women's standpoint. Radical feminism in Korea directly or indirectly has affected Korean women too which is why it becomes important to study its impact on young Korean women and to examine whether it affects their perception of feminism and anti-feminism.

Reference

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: Information Sheet (English version)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

This is a participant information sheet from the University of Turku concerning the research thesis “Analyzing the perception and attitudes of young Korean men towards radical feminism and their anti-feminist sentiments.”

Invitation to participate in research

Participants are invited to take part in a study that assesses the perception and attitude of young Korean men in their 20s toward radical feminism and analyzes how such attitude affect their anti-feminist sentiments. The aim of the study is to collect survey data from the young Korean males in within 18-29 age group . This information will be used for only research purposes.

Voluntary participation

Participation in the study is voluntary. Participants can refuse to participate in the study or stop taking part in the study at any time. The given consent can be withdrawn at any time by contacting Phurba Lhamu Lama, University of Turku (e-mail: phurbalhamu.p.lama@utu.fi). The above-mentioned i.e., refusal, suspension and withdrawal will not have any negative impact on the participant. The questionnaire is anonymous and therefore the answers sent cannot be returned to the participant if the participant decides to stop taking part in the study.

Responsible researcher and the funder of the research

This study is carried out by the CEAS unit of the University of Turku. The responsible researcher is Professor Sabine Burghart. There is no external funding for this research. There are no conflicts of interest.

Research process

Participating in the survey means answering an electronic Google form/Webropol questionnaire, which takes about 15-20 minutes.

Possible risks

Participation in the survey will not cause any harm to the participant.

Incentives for participation

No fee is paid for participating in the research.

Processing of the personal data

Participants will answer in the Google form/Webropol questionnaire anonymously and there is no identification information asked. You will be asked to provide information about your knowledge,

awareness and attitudes towards feminism, gender issues and anti-feminism. Additionally, demographic measures will be taken to establish the diversity of subjects through an online survey. All the survey data and research materials will be stored following the University of Turku's data security guidelines.

Storage of the research data and reporting the research results

The research data from this survey will be used only for this thesis. The electronically stored data will be stored on a web drive provided by the University of Turku, accessible to the researcher with personal usernames and passwords. Confidentiality will be maintained to the degree possible given the technology and practices used by the online survey company. In addition, personal information of respondents will not be shared with third parties.

If you have questions about the research, you can contact:

Phurba Lhamu Lama at phurbalhamu.p.lama@utu.fi.

I have read and understood the Research Participant Guide and agree to participate in the project.

I understand that my participation is completely voluntary and that I may withdraw my participation at any time without any reason. Yes No

Appendix 2: Information Sheet (Korean version)

이 정보 동의서의 내용은 UTU 참가자 정보 동의서 템플릿에 따라 준비되었습니다.

참가자 정보 동의서

이 정보는 투르쿠대학교의 연구논문 “한국 젊은이들의 급진적 페미니즘과 반 페미니즘 정서에 대한 인식과 태도 분석”에 관한 참가자 정보 동의서입니다.

연구 참여 초대

참가자들은 한국 20 대 젊은 남성들의 급진적 페미니즘에 대한 인식과 태도를 평가하고 이러한 태도가 그들의 반 페미니즘 정서에 어떤 영향을 미치는지 분석하는 연구에 참여하도록 초대됩니다. 본 연구의 목적은 18~29 세의 한국 젊은 남성을 대상으로 설문조사 자료를 수집하는 것입니다. 이 정보는 연구 목적으로만 사용됩니다.

자발적인 참여

연구 참여는 자발적입니다. 참가자는 언제든지 연구 참여를 거부하거나 연구 참여를 중단할 수 있습니다. 제공된 동의는 투르쿠 대학교 Phurba Lhamu Lama(이메일: phurbalhamu.p.lama@utu.fi)에 연락하여 언제든지 철회할 수 있습니다. 위에서 언급한 거부, 정지, 철회는 참가자에게 어떠한 부정적인 영향도 미치지 않습니다. 설문지는 익명이므로 참가자가 연구 참여를 중단하기로 결정한 경우 전송된 답변은 참가자에게 반환될 수 없습니다.

책임 연구자이자 연구 자금 제공자

이 연구는 투르쿠 대학의 CEAS 부서에서 수행되었습니다. 책임 연구원은 Sabine Burghart 교수입니다. 본 연구에는 외부 자금 지원이 없습니다. 그래서 이해상충은 없습니다.

연구과정

설문조사에 참여한다는 것은 전자 Google Survey 설문지에 응답하는 것을 의미하며, 설문조사에는 약 15~20 분이 소요됩니다.

가능한 위험

설문조사 참여로 인해 참가자에게 어떠한 피해도 발생하지 않습니다.

참여 인센티브

연구 참여에 대한 수수료는 지불되지 않습니다.

개인정보 처리

참가자는 Google Survey 설문지에 익명으로 답변하게 되며 신원 정보는 묻지 않습니다. 페미니즘, 젠더 문제, 반 페미니즘에 대한 지식, 인식, 태도에 대한 정보를 제공하라는 요청을 받게 됩니다. 또한, 온라인 설문조사를 통해 주제의 다양성을 확립하기 위한 인구통계학적 조치도 취해질 예정입니다. 모든 설문조사 자료와 연구 자료는 투르쿠대학교의 데이터 보안 지침에 따라 저장됩니다.

연구자료 보관 및 연구결과 보고

본 설문조사의 연구 데이터는 본 논문을 위해서만 사용됩니다. 전자적으로 저장된 데이터는 투르쿠 대학에서 제공하는 웹 드라이브에 저장되며, 연구원은 개인 사용자 이름과 비밀번호를 사용하여 접근할 수 있습니다. 온라인 설문조사 회사가 사용하는 기술과 관행을 고려하여 가능한 한 기밀이 유지됩니다. 또한 응답자의 개인정보는 제 3자와 공유되지 않습니다.

귀하께서는 연구에 대해 질문이 있거나 이 연구 참여로 인해 부상을 입었다고 생각하시는 경우에 언제든지 Phurba Lhamu Lama:

(이메일) phurbalhamu.p.lama@utu.fi (으)로 연락하실 수 있습니다.

저는 연구 참가자 안내서를 읽고 이해했으며 프로젝트에 참여하는 것에 동의합니다.

저의 참여는 전적으로 자발적이며, 아무 이유 없이 언제든지 참여를 철회할 수 있다는

것을 이해합니다. 네 아니요

Appendix 3: Online Survey Questionnaire (Korean)

1. 일반 정보

나이:

학력:

중졸 이하

고등학교 졸

대학교 졸

대학원 졸

직업:.....

당신은:

미혼

미혼지만 파트너와 함께 생활

기혼

이혼

대부분의 정치적 문제에 대한 당신의 견해는 진보적, 온건 적, 보수적이라고
생각하시나요?

자유주의자

온건파

보수주의자

그런 식으로 생각하지 않음

의견 없음

2. 성평등이 대한 일반적인 질문

i) 여러분이 성평등이 존재하다고 생각 하시나요?

전혀 존재 안 한다고 생각 함

존재 안 한다고 생각 함

중립

조금 존재한다고 생각 함

아주 존재한다고 생각 함

ii) 만약 성 불평등이 존재한다면, 성 불평등에 직면한 사람들은 누구라고 생각하시나요?

남성 여성 둘 다 없음

iii) 여성이 소수자라고 생각하시나요?

매우 동의 동의 중립 반대 매우 반대

iv) 남성 병역 제도는 차별적이라고 생각하시나요?

전혀 차별적이지 않다

차별적이지 않다

중립

차별적이 이다

아주 차별적이 이다

v) 최근에 30~39 세 여성 취업률이 역대 최고치를 기록했고, 20 대 여성의 결혼 와 출산율도 급감하고 있습니다. 이 상황이 전통적인 성 역할에 어느 정도 위협이 된다고 생각하시나요?

절대 위협이 안된다고 생각 함

위협이 안된다고 생각 함

중립적

조금 위협이 된다고 생각 함

아주 위협이 된다고 생각 함

여성주의 (페미니즘) 대한 일반적인 질문

i) ‘페미니즘’ 와 ‘여성주의’ 이라는 단어를 들으면 어떤 단어나 짧은 문구가 떠오르나요? (여러 옵션을 선택할 수 있습니다)

젠더 평등

여성 인권

여성 역량 강화

남성 혐오자

지나친 과장

급진주의/극단주의

시대에 뒤쳐진

활동가/사위자/혁명

좋음/긍정적

나쁜/부정적인

기타.....

ii) 지난 한 해 동안 여성주의(페미니즘)이나 페미니스트 운동에 대해 얼마나 많이 들어 보셨나요?

많이 들어본 적 있음

가끔 들어본 적 있음

조금 들어본 적 있음

들어본 적 없음

iii) 여성주의 (페미니즘)에 대해 전반적으로 호의적이거나 비호 감적인 인상을 갖고 있나요?

호감

비 호감

의견 없음

iv) 여성 주의 (페미니즘)이 일반적으로 좋은 평판을 갖고 있다고 생각하시나요, 아니면 나쁜 평판을 갖고 있다고 생각하시나요?

좋은 평판

나쁜 평판

중간

둘 다

극단적인 (급진적/래디컬) 페미니즘 대한 질문

i) 극단적인 페미니스트 집단 메갈리아의 이 논쟁의 기호를 알고 있나요?



알고 있음

모름

그렇다면 주어진 조건에서 그것에 대한 당신의 의견은 어떠나요? (여러 옵션을 선택할 수 있습니다)

품위를 떨어뜨리는 행위

기분을 상하게 한

비합리적인

한국 남자를 공격하는 행위

남성 혐오 조장

심각한 문제

전혀 문제가 아니다

기타 의견이 있으면 써 주세요...

ii) **메갈리아의 젊은 페미니스트들이 콩치남, 김치남, 씹치남, 한남충 등의 단어와 문구를 사용한 미러링 전략에 대해 어떻게 생각하시나요?**

아주 부적절함

부적절함

중립적

적절함

아주 적절함

기타 의견이 있으면 써 주세요...

iii) **극단적인 페미니스트 따르면 한국 사회는 가부장적이며 여성 착취만을 추구한다. 이 말이 어느 정도 동의하시나요?**

매우 동의

동의

중립

반대

매우 반대

기타 의견이 있으면 써 주세요...

“이것도 코르셋인가?”

나 혼자만 두어명이 안 어재져서 ...

나도 궁금해!

음... 나도 궁금...

일시 8월11일(토) 10시~17시
장소 부평아트센터
대상 여성 고등학생 30명
신청 032-527-0090
<https://goo.gl/yLNwqd>
참가비 15,000원
(관련 도서, 점심식사 제공)

프로그램
 <내 모습 만나기>
 <이것도 코르셋인가?>
 <탈코 일조!>

주최
 (사)인천여성협의회

매우 반대한다

반대하는 편이다

중립

찬성한다

매우 찬성한다

기타 의견이 있으면 써 주세요...

viii) 젊은 여성들이 (이성애) 결혼, 출산, 연애 와 성관계를 거부하는 4B 운동(비비탄:

비혼, 비출산, 비연애, 비섹스)에 대해 어떻게 생각하시나요?

아주 부적절함

부적절함

중립적

적절함

아주 적절함

기타 의견이 있으면 써 주세요...

ix) 반 페미니스트 집단 신남성연대에 따르면 현재의 페미니즘은 남성 혐오적입니다.

이 주장에 얼마나 동의하시나요?

매우 동의 동의 중립 반대 매우 반대

기타 의견이 있으면 써 주세요...

x) 귀하의 의견으로는 다음 중 극단적인 페미니즘을 정의하거나 이와 관련된 진술은 무엇입니까? (여러 옵션을 선택할 수 있습니다)

극단적인 페미니즘은 다른 형태의 페미니즘보다 더 공격적입니다.

극단적인 페미니즘은 가부장제의 존재를 비난하고 이를 폐지하는 것을 목표로 한다.

극단적인 페미니즘은 여성 전용 공간을 우선시합니다.

극단적인 페미니즘은 왜곡된 이념입니다.

극단적인 페미니즘은 여성 우월주의를 목표로 합니다.

극단적인 페미니즘은 남자는 억압자이고 여자는 억압받는 자라고 잘못 비난합니다.

극단적인 페미니즘 담론은 젊은 남성들에게 적개심과 두려움을 조장합니다.

기타 의견이 있으면 써 주세요.....

xi) 현재 극단적인 페미니즘은 여자의 성평등에 기하 한다고 생각 하시나요?

예 아니요 의견 없음

xii) 현재 극단적인 페미니즘은 남자의 성평등에 기여한다고 생각 하시나요?

예 아니요 의견 없음

반 페미니즘 대한 일반적인 질문

i) **여성차별반대 운동을 지지하시나요?**

전혀 지지 않다 지지 않다 중립 지지한다 매우 지지한다

ii) **정부의 여성가족부 결정에 대해 어떻게 생각하시나요?**

아주 부적절함 부적절함 중립적 적절함 아주 적절함

iii) **한국에서 여성주의이 더 이상 필요하지 않다고 주장에 얼마나 동의하시나요?**

매우 동의 동의 중립 반대 매우 반대

iv) **여성 주의 반대하시나요?**

예 아니요 의견 없음

v) **당신은 자신을 다음과 같은 사람이라고 생각하시나요?**

강한 페미니스트 페미니스트 페미니스트가 아님 반페미니스트 의견 없음

vi) **반 페미니스트 단체에 참석해 본 적이 있나요?**

예 아니요 의견 없음

vii) **페미니스트 운동은 사회적 부담당한 대우이며 남성 탓으로 돌리는 비난입니다. 이것이 사실인가요, 아니면 거짓인가요?**

사실 거짓

viii) **한국의 남성들이 여성주의이나 페미니스트 운동에서 어느 정도 소외되거나 배제되고 있다고 생각하시나요?**

전혀 없음 조금 적당히 상당히 많이

ix) 한국 사회가 남성 인권을 더욱 포용해야 한다고 주장에 얼마나 동의하시나요?

매우 동의 동의 중립 반대 매우 반대

x) 당신은 개인적으로 한국의 극단적인 페미니즘에 어느 정도 영향을 받고 있다고 생각하시나요?

전혀 없음 조금 적당히 상당히 많이

xi) 귀하는 남성에 대한 차별을 경험하거나 목격한 적이 있나요? 그렇다면 예를 써 주세요.

.....

xii) 극단적인 페미니즘이 한국의 남녀 사이에 분열을 만들고 있다고 생각하시나요?

매우 동의 동의 중립 반대 매우 반대

xiii) 한국에 극단적인 페미니즘이 반 페미니즘에 얼마나 영향을 미친다고 생각하시나요?

전혀 영향 없음

조금 영향력이 있음

중립

적당히 영향력이 있음

매우 영향력이 있음

의견 없음

xiv) 기타 의견, 피드백 또는 정보가 있으면 적어주세요.....

Appendix 4: E-mail confirming the permission to use survey questionnaire

I received your request and permission is granted.

Please Note: (Standard note – as you may have seen on our website)

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[Author(s)], [Title of publication], (KFF, [date of publication]) [URL] (date accessed).

If you have any questions or need additional permission request(s) in the future, please feel free to email me directly.

Best,
Rain

Rain Lacsamana (they/them)

[Communications Associate](#)

[San Francisco, CA](#)

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KFF

The independent source for health policy research, polling, and news.

Full name *	Lama Phurba Lhamu
Email Address *	phurbalhamu.p.lama@utu.fi
Choose one *	Reprinting or Citing KFF Work

Appendix 5: Recommendation letter



Turku, 8 January 2024
 투르쿠, 2024 년 1 월 8 일

추천서

성명	Phurba Lhamu Lama
학교	투르쿠 대학교
학과	동아시아학

This is to confirm that Ms. Phurba Lhamu Lama is currently enrolled in the international Master's Degree Programme in East Asian Studies (EAST) at the University of Turku. In her Master's thesis she studies the perception and attitudes of young Korean men towards radical feminism and their anti-feminist sentiments.

위 학생은 현재 핀란드 투르쿠 대학교 동아시아학 정규 국제석사학위과정에 재학 중입니다. 석사 논문에서 급진적 여성주의에 대한 한국 젊은 남성들의 인식과 태도, 그리고 그들의 반여성주의 (또는 반 페미니스트) 정서를 연구하고 있습니다.

Ms. Lama completed intensive training in research methods and research ethics as part of her course work. She has a very good understanding of the existing ethical guidelines of the University of Turku that she diligently applies in her thesis project. She is a responsible junior scholar, and she regularly consults and updates her supervisor on her thesis project.

위 학생은 자신의 학위과정의 일환으로 연구 방법과 연구 윤리에 대한 집중적인 훈련을 수료하였습니다. 그리고 자신의 석사논문에 성실히 적용하고 있는 투르쿠 대학교의 기존 윤리 지침에 대해서도 매우 잘 이해하고 있습니다. 위 학생은 책임감 있는 석사 과정 학생이며 정기적으로 지도교수와 면담을 해오고 있습니다.

Therefore, we greatly support Ms. Lama's promising research project, and we thank you for your support in this matter.

이에 우리는 위 학생의 흥미로운 석사 학위 논문 연구를 적극 지지하며, 이 연구에 대한 귀하의 지원에 진심으로 감사드립니다.



If further information is required, please do not hesitate to contact us.

추가 정보가 필요한 경우나 문의사항이 있으시면 주저하지 마시고 저희에게 연락해 주시기 바랍니다. 감사합니다.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

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