

CULTURAL CONSONANCE, BODY IMAGE, AND  
DISORDERED EATING AMONG YOUNG  
SOUTH KOREAN MEN

by

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation, based on seventeen months of fieldwork in Seoul, South Korea, examines how culture affects young men's risk of developing eating disorders. Eating disorders are among the deadliest of all mental illnesses, yet they are poorly understood among men and in populations outside of the WEIRD university students who comprise most study samples in body image research. However, the global proliferation in eating disorders among women and men necessitates increased attention to men's culturally particular experiences of their body image.

Taking a convergent mixed-methods approach and drawing on theories of cultural models, intersectionality, and embodiment, this research does three things. First, it uses cognitive anthropological methods to elicit and validate a cultural model of the ideal male body among young South Koreans. Second, it uses that cultural model to create a scale of "cultural consonance with male body ideals" to measure individuals' ability to approximate that cultural model in their own bodies, which it then uses as a predictor for disordered eating in young Korean men. This analysis shows that cultural consonance affects risk of disordered eating beyond what traditional, individual psychological measures of body dissatisfaction predict. Third, four of these young men were selected for their intersections of cultural consonance, prestige of their educational institution, sexual orientation, and disordered eating risk to engage in in-depth ethnographic interviews to examine their embodied experiences of body image.

Together, these data indicate that men in South Korea experience their particular models of body image as profoundly impactful on (1) their ability to make and maintain interpersonal relationships with one another and (2) their pursuits of class mobility (or class maintenance, for

the upper-classes). For young Korean men, attention to one's appearance and investment in its improvement are not viewed as undermining to their masculinity, but as facilitating their social integration and professional advancement in the highly competitive environment that is modern South Korea. Disordered eating, then, sometimes results from these pursuits.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

-	minus (subtraction)
%	percent
+	plus (addition)
±	plus or minus (add or subtract)
<	is less than
=	equals
×	times, by (multiplication)
2NE1	pronounced “Twenty-One,” a popular former K-Pop girl group
2PM	A Korean boy band
B	unstandardized coefficient
$\beta$	standardized beta
BMI	Body Mass Index
BTS	<i>Bangtan Sonyeondan (Pangt’ansonyöndan)</i>
CC:A	Cultural Consonance: Attractiveness
CC:C	Cultural Consonance: <i>Chimsŭngnam</i>

CC:K	Cultural Consonance: <i>Kkonminam</i>
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CL	Stage name of Lee Chae-rin ( <i>Yi Ch'ae-rin</i> ), a member of 2NE1
cm	centimeters
df	degrees of freedom
DSM-5	Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fifth Edition
EAT-26	Eating Attitudes Test-26
EDNOS	Eating Disorder Not Otherwise Specified
EXO	A K-Pop boy band
GNP	Gross National Product
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Autoimmune Deficiency Syndrome
IMF	International Monetary Fund
K-Pop	Korean popular music
KAIST	Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology
kg	kilograms
kg/m <sup>2</sup>	kilograms per square meter
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
MBAS	Male Body Attitudes Scale

MDS	Nonmetric Multidimensional Scaling
n	sample size
p	probability (that results are random)
Pearson's <i>r</i>	correlation coefficient
PROFIT	Property Fitting analysis
R <sup>2</sup>	coefficient of multiple correlation
RA	residual agreement
SAT	Scholastic Aptitude Test
SKY	Seoul National University, Korea University, and Yonsei University
SNU	Seoul National University
SO	Sexual Orientation
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math
student's <i>t</i>	a test of difference between means
TVXQ/DBSK	<i>Tong Vfang Xien Qi</i> (Chinese: 東方神起) <i>Dong Bang Shin Ki</i> (Korean: 동방신기 <i>tongbangsin'gi</i> )
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UP	University Prestige
US	United States

WEIRD      White, Educated, and from Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic  
countries

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Once in 2017, without giving context other than the group being a popular music act in South Korea, I showed a picture of the members of the boy band EXO to a class of undergraduates at the University of Alabama. Because I was giving a lecture on masculinities, I asked for the class's initial impressions. One student responded, "I think it's really cool that South Korea is so progressive that a lesbian band is so popular."

This student reacted to the members of the band all having medium-length hair, soft facial features, makeup, and colorful outfits at that time typical of the *kkonminam*, or "beautiful flower boy," style that became popular in South Korea in the early 2000s. Because I had not clarified the gender of the members when I showed the picture, the student, through American cultural models of gender, interpreted these features as a kind of subversive androgyny enacted by young lesbian or nonbinary people rather than as South Korea's hegemonic style of masculine presentation.

At this point, BTS had not yet had its global breakthrough. Aside from brief attempts to introduce K-Pop in the United States throughout the late 2000s and early 2010s, most non-Asian Americans' only interaction with K-Pop was Psy's *Gangnam Style*. Contemporary popular Western think pieces on East Asian body ideals consisted primarily of "orientalizing" (Said, 1978) lamentations about East Asian women's acquiescence to pressures of conformity and inability to love themselves in the face of Western body norms (see Lee, 2016 and Holliday & Elfving-Hwang, 2012, for thorough criticisms of this perspective). Moreover, outside of media

scholars working on the Korean Wave 2.0, the ballooning popularity of Korean music and television in East Asia and the global South, there was little academic engagement with the cultural motivations underlying the styles of male presentation enacted in Korean media and emulated among the populace (Jung, 2011; Kim, 2005, 2013; Maliangkay, 2006). Even less were there studies of how these body ideals were lived.

Running parallel to this nascent engagement with Korean body image in media studies was a growing interest in men's body image in psychology and psychiatry. Researchers had been documenting a rise in disturbed body image and disordered eating and compensation behaviors in men, scientifically named "muscle dysmorphia" but popularly referred to as "reverse anorexia" or "the Adonis complex" (Pope et al., 2000). Namely, men<sup>1</sup> were increasingly exposed to and trying to emulate the impossibly massive and lean muscularity of bodybuilders and action figures. Once thought to be an affliction limited to women, body image disturbance and disordered eating are increasingly present among men around the world (McCabe et al., 2015).

In psychology, the global proliferation of body image disturbance and disordered eating has been attributed to the acculturative effects of Westernization. That is, as Western body ideals have traveled around the world through media, societies across geographies have incorporated these ideals into their own body images in an attempt to emulate the West. In cross-cultural research, therefore, variation in results could be attributed to cultural differences in their degree of Westernization. This perspective has been resoundingly criticized by anthropologists who argue that "Westernization" explains very little about why cultural groups may vary in the ways in which they interact with and internalize the meanings of body image-related messages. Rather, they argue, what is needed is not so much further cross-national research using translated tools

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<sup>1</sup> Western men, although little attention has been paid to cultural variability in body image research, and Western men are tacitly assumed to be the norm (See Chapter 2).

developed in the West, but ethnographic engagement with the people co-enacting these body ideals to understand the meanings and motivations they associate with them (Lester, 2004 ; see also Chapter 2).

This research takes South Korean men and male body ideals as its focus for the following reasons. First, body image disturbance and eating disorders, which are among the deadliest of all mental illnesses (Arcelus et al., 2011), are rapidly increasing in prevalence in men around the world (Mitchison & Mond, 2015). However, second, body image and eating disorders are poorly understood in men due to entrenched historical and cultural associations of eating disorders with femininity that affect the research and screening instruments used (Stanford & Lemberg, 2014b) and the treatment experience of clinicians pertaining primarily to women (Bunnell, 2021). Third, efforts to rectify these discrepancies by developing research tools attendant to men's body image concerns have been based on research among primarily WEIRD men (white, educated and from industrialized, rich, and democratic countries; Henrich et al., 2010), and specifically pertain to Western meanings of muscularity and muscularity-oriented behaviors (Cunningham et al., 2021).

South Korea has been noted as having some of the highest levels of body dissatisfaction in the world in women and men (Jackson et al., 2006; Jung et al., 2009; Ko & Cohen, 1998). For women, this primarily occurred following the opening of South Korea's markets and media to the rest of the world (Cho, 2002); for men, body image dissatisfaction exploded following the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis (Maliangkay, 2010 ; see Chapter 3). My previous research suggests that Korean men approach body image using different criteria and meaning systems that may not be adequately captured by measures developed under Western cultural models of male body image (Monocello, 2020, 2022; Monocello & Dressler, 2020). Specifically, the *kkonminam* (beautiful flower boy) ideal enacted by male K-Pop idols privileges thinness and "small muscle,"

not the bulky muscularity valued in the West. As the student's misperception of the K-Pop boy band members as lesbians shows, cultural models of hegemonic gender presentation often go unquestioned, and may also come to bear on how academics can develop research agendas and methods that may not adequately address the lifeworld of peoples outside the groups for which measures were originally developed.

Therefore, this dissertation has the following goals. First, it replicates my previous research on male body ideals by developing a cultural model of the ideal male body in South Korea using methods from cognitive anthropology. Second, using the theory and method of cultural consonance (Dressler, 2018), it connects individuals and their ability to approximate the cultural model in their own bodies to levels of disordered eating using previously translated and validated scales to understand the role culture plays in disordered eating beyond individual psychology. Third, drawing on perspectives and methods from psychological anthropology (Csordas, 1990; Levy & Hollan, 2015), I contextualize the results of the cultural consonance analysis within young South Korean men's lived experience of cultural consonance (or lack thereof) with ideal male bodies.

In Chapter 2, I start by framing this research with a discussion of the major pressures of life in South Korea. I particularly focus on the historical factors that shaped the modern, precarious neoliberal economy within which young Korean men are increasingly struggling to survive. I show how these economic stresses interdigitate with class anxieties, cutthroat educational competition, and the concept of "self-maintenance" (*chagi kwalli*) as an embodied index of individuals' motivation to get ahead in the hypercompetitive job market. I also examine education, employment, and family pressures within the context of survivals of Neo-

Confucianism which organize the ways in which men engage and associate meanings with theirs and others' bodily forms.

In Chapter 3, I explain what is meant by eating disorders, and describe the differences between anorexia nervosa, bulimia nervosa, and binge eating disorder. I then examine different theories of how body dissatisfaction, something experienced by almost everybody, results in eating disorders for only a relative (but growing) few women and men. I follow this discussion with an anthropological critique of how these theories have been utilized in cross-cultural research. I finish Chapter 3 with an outline of the intellectual foundations of the anthropology of body image which bear on the current project.

In Chapter 4, I provide a brief overview of the cognitive and psychological anthropological perspective employed in this research. From cognitive anthropology, I describe briefly its history, introduce the theory of culture that underlies cognitive anthropological research, and define cultural models (D'Andrade, 1995), cultural consensus (Romney et al., 1986), and cultural consonance (Dressler, 2018). I then synthesize these theories within the perspective of embodiment (Csordas, 1990, 1993) in order to describe how body image research demonstrates the ways in which cultural models are not merely mental representations, but get “under the skin.”

In Chapter 5, I describe the methods and analyses employed over the four phases of this research. Particularly, I describe cultural domain analysis (Borgatti, 1999), cultural consensus analysis (Romney et al., 1986), cultural consonance analysis (Dressler, 2018), and person-centered ethnography (Levy & Hollan, 2015), which I employed in this research to understand from men's lived experience how body ideals relate to disordered eating.

In Chapter 6, I present the results of the first two phases of research in which I employed the freelisting and pilesorting methods of cultural domain analysis. I used freelisting to elicit the terms which young Koreans use to describe ideal male bodies. I then used pilesorting to elicit the cognitive structure of associations young Koreans employ when interacting with men's bodies. I also employed correspondence analysis to confirm the validity of the interpretation of the pilesort.

In Chapter 7, I present the cultural consensus analysis of the two dimensions that emerged from the freelisting and pilesorting phases. Young Koreans evaluated features of the male body in terms of their attractiveness and how much attention people tended to pay to each of them. In Chapter 8, I present the measurement of cultural consonance in the ideal male body. I then show the complex pattern of relationships between cultural consonance, body dissatisfaction, and disordered eating in young Korean men.

In Chapter 9, I present the cases of four men who are representative of different intersection of experience that affect their relationships with body image and disordered eating. Particularly, these cases demonstrate the ways in which bodies interact with multiple axes of meaning to either be protective against or make one vulnerable to disordered eating.

In Chapter 10, I situate these findings within the anthropological, psychological, and Korean studies literatures. I describe their contributions to understandings of Korean male body image and, more broadly, cross-cultural research into body image.

Finally, in Chapter 11, I conclude the dissertation by summarizing these findings. I also indicate some limitations of the research. I end with some thoughts about future directions for this research.

Throughout this dissertation I romanize Korean words using the McCune-Reischauer system of romanization. I also write Korean names in Family-Name Given-Name format. These conventions are followed except in cases where well-known place names have different popular spellings (e.g., Seoul), I am referring to an academic who publishes under a preferred spelling (e.g., Cho Haejoang), or I am referring to a well-known historical figure with a nonconventional spelling (e.g., Syngman Rhee).

## CHAPTER 2

### THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF SOUTH KOREA

Tan'gun is remembered as the father of all Koreans, and modern Koreans claim a single, continuous, uninterrupted ethnic line from Tan'gun to the present. Tan'gun is not only considered the father of all Koreans, but also the god-king who established the first Korean state of Kojosŏn in modern-day P'yŏngyang, North Korea (Cumings, 2005; KTO, 2020). According to myth, the sky-god Hwanung wanted to live among humans, so he descended from the heavens to the sacred *Taebaek Paektusan* (Baekdu Mountain) to teach humans law, morality, art, medicine, and agriculture. Seeing the lifestyle Hwanung brought the humans, and wanting to join, a bear and a tiger prayed to Hwanung to become human themselves. Hwanung instructed them to live in a cave, out of the sun, for 100 days, eating nothing but garlic and mugwort; if they could make it to the end, they would become human. Both the tiger and the bear, wanting to become human, entered the cave. However, after only 20 days, the tiger left, and only the bear remained. When the 100 days passed, the bear emerged from the cave a human woman, who is known as Ungnyŏ. She then married Hwanung and gave birth to Tan'gun.

#### A Brief Political History of (South) Korea

The Tan'gun myth remains important to modern-day politics. South Korea claims that the date of the foundation of Kojosŏn is October 3, 2333 BCE, and celebrates October 3 as a national holiday, and that the Tan'gun myth is invoked in moments of national pride to evoke a sense of common bloodline and shared ancestry underpinning South Korean ethnic nationalism and unity (Shin, 2006). North Korea claims to have found Tan'gun's tomb and remains, which

they date to 3,000 BCE (Cumings, 2005). Kim Il-Sung, the first leader of the North Korean state, also derived his authority to rule North Korea through his claim of being born on Baekdu Mountain, just as Tan'gun himself was.

Kojosŏn appears in the historical record as early as 400 BCE, documented by the contemporary Chinese as having a bronze-wielding and horse-riding culture of considerable military might. However, by the first century CE, Kojosŏn had given way to the Three Kingdoms period. The Three Kingdoms period marked a millennium during which three monarchies within the Korean peninsula vied for control over the entire landmass. Paekche (18-660 CE) controlled the Western half of the peninsula from the southmost point to modern-day Seoul. Koguryŏ (37-668 CE) covered what is now modern-day North Korea. Silla (57-935) controlled the eastern half of what is modern-day South Korea, including Pusan, Kongju, and Taegu. During the Three Kingdoms period, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Chinese characters were introduced to the peninsula.

After centuries of alliances, warfare, and fending off attacks from China, Silla came to unify the kingdoms in 668 CE (Cumings, 2005). Influenced by the T'ang Dynasty in China, Unified Silla (668-935 CE) established the earliest Korean iteration of the Confucian academy and civil service exams that structures the Korean social order to the present day. Unified Silla was one of the most advanced civilizations of its time, developing higher mathematics and using woodblock printing to circulate Buddhist texts (Cumings, 2005). Silla remains important to the modern Korean national identity, in that the first leaders of the modern South Korean state were born in the regions once belonging to Silla. Extant regional animosities have been asserted as a basis for political decisions to develop industry on Silla while leaving former Paekche regions like Chŏlla relatively underdeveloped (academic informant, personal communication). Silla also

introduced the *hwarang*, young, noble male warrior-poets noted historically for their beauty, education, and military prowess (Pratt, 2006), establishing a historical precedent for the modern-day *kkonminam* (flower boy).

United Silla fell to the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392) in the early 10<sup>th</sup> century, and gave significant power to Buddhism during its tenure. However, the Koryŏ dynasty fell to the Yi dynasty in 1392, establishing the kingdom of Chosŏn, and remaining in power uninterrupted until 1910. They developed neo-Confucianism as the state ideology, and marginalized Buddhism as Chosŏn elites blamed Buddhism for the fall of Koryŏ. They adopted patrilinealism, a major shift from the matrilineal tradition of Koryŏ, maintained the practice of ancestor-worship, and retained the basic precepts of the bone-rank caste system established by Silla for organizing the social hierarchy, necessitating documentation of genealogies to prove pedigree (Cumings, 2005; Janelli & Janelli, 1982; Pratt, 2006).

This caste system placed the *yangban* at the top of the hierarchy. In Chosŏn, *yangban* men were Confucian scholar-officials and philosophers who ran society by virtue of their learnedness; commoners—peasants, entertainers, shamans, butchers, slaves—were expected to provide materially for the *yangban* aristocracy in exchange for the *yangban*'s ethical guidance (Cumings, 2005).

Young *yangban* men spent their days studying Confucian texts in preparation for the civil service exam. *Yangban* women were largely relegated to household duties and typically not allowed outside the home except when covered in layers of clothes and hidden away inside palanquins. Compared to the relative equality of women and men in the Koryŏ period, women's rights and social status precipitously declined during the Chosŏn era (Cumings, 2005). Often, women were not even given names, only later to be identified teknonymically as “\*child's\*

mother” once they’ve realized their reproductive duties (Lee & Kim Harvey, 1973). The ideas developed and standards promoted by the Chosŏn state set the groundwork for much of modern Korea’s beliefs and behaviors.

The Yi Dynasty ended when Japan annexed the Korean peninsula in 1910. Chosŏn had weakened significantly in the 1800s due to failed attempts by conservatives at reform that prevented them from addressing changes in the wake of the forceful opening of the peninsula by Western and Japanese powers and the introduction of a commercial economy (Cumings, 2005). Japanese colonial powers abolished slavery and militarized Korean education, a system of education that remains implemented today. It was also marked by political violence and extractive abuse. Japanese powers massacred communists and capitalists, forced farmers to grow rice that was all brought to Japan, forced men into deadly and dangerous construction work, and conscripted unwitting young girls into roles as “comfort women,” essentially sex slaves who served the Japanese military (Cumings, 2005; Lie, 1995).

Korea was freed from Japanese rule on August 15, 1945, but was arbitrarily divided at the 38<sup>th</sup> Parallel in 1948 by Soviet and—mainly—American interests after three years of shoring up support for the competing governments they respectively supported among the populace. Soviets supported the democratic efforts led by communist Kim Il Sung, while the Americans supported right-wing nationalist Syngman Rhee. Under Rhee, South Korea was effectively a dictatorship and a police state. Moreover, under his presidency, government corruption led to *chaebŏl* (massive family-owned conglomerates) flourishing while the general populace remained

abjectly poor, despite heavy American investment in Korean education and industry (Cumings, 2005; Eckert, 1990).<sup>2</sup>

Political differences and Cold War interests led to the Korean War, fought between 1950-53 (while the fighting ceased, the war has never officially ended), and the separation of Korea into the communist North and the autocratic capitalistic South. The war devastated both countries, razing infrastructure and leaving both to rebuild their states from nothing (Cumings, 2005). Syngman Rhee remained in power until 1960, when he was spirited out of South Korea following the April Revolution student protests.

A short-lived democracy was established. However, responding to a perceived vulnerability to communism in the democratic process established following Rhee's ousting, General Park Chung Hee staged a coup in 1962. Park conducted political purges and penned a new constitution ending presidential term limits while also expanding the economy and developing the highway and subway systems. He led the Republic of Korea's brutal military dictatorship for 17 years, until his assassination in 1979 by the head of the Korean CIA and his best friend, Kim Jae-Kyu. Chun Doo-hwan, the acting head of the Korean CIA following Kim Jae-Kyu's arrest and later execution, took control of the military, and therefore the government, on December 12. At the same time, desires for a more democratic governmental process erupted into protests around the country, particularly in cities and on university campuses. Facing widespread democratic student protests demanding direct presidential elections, Chun instituted countrywide martial law, closing universities and spurring further protests that resulted in the Gwangju Massacre of 1980 (Cumings, 2005).

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<sup>2</sup> *Pudaetchigae* (army base stew), widely enjoyed by young Koreans today, originated in this period as a dish scavenged from the scraps of canned and processed foods thrown out by American soldiers and is remembered by the older generations as a dish of desperation.

The Gwangju Massacre—and the anti-American sentiment spurred by the lack of response by the Reagan administration to Chun’s egregious human rights violations—set the groundwork for political and social change that culminated in direct democracy at the end of the decade through the *Minjung Undong* (People’s Movement). The *Minjung* Movement was a populist theoretical and aesthetic movement that sought to mobilize the Korean proletariat (farmers, factory workers, and manual laborers) against the oppressive military regime. These efforts at organization were largely undertaken by university students and professors, who would take jobs in factories and move to rural villages to try and organize unions and fight for a more democratic political environment. As a result, the government cracked down severely on universities, and it was not uncommon for students to be disappeared by the government, tortured, and murdered under the guise of protecting the public from communism (Abelmann, 1996). Rather than suppressing the movement, however, government crackdowns transformed the Korean citizenry from docile workers into a people who actively demanded their rights and sought to put checks on their government leaders’ power (Moon, 2005). In 1987, protests culminated in Chun Doo-hwan’s resignation. He left the reins of the party to Roh Taewoo, who was elected president by a narrow margin in the first direct presidential election in 16 years, due to the opposition party splitting the ticket (Abelmann, 1996; Cumings, 2005).

Conservative Kim Young-sam was elected president in 1993, the first civilian to win in over 40 years, running on an anti-corruption platform, and had Chun and Roh imprisoned and convicted on charges of bribery and treason for their military coups and massacres. In this period of democracy and political stability, protests died down (Cho, 1994). Kim Young-sam was followed by Liberal Kim Dae-Jung, once imprisoned, tortured, exiled by, and targeted for assassination by the military dictatorship, was the first opposition party leader to win the

presidency in 50 years. Before he took the reins of the presidency, he requested that Kim Young-sam pardon Chun and Roh. He led the country through the 1997 International Monetary Fund (IMF) crisis, which bankrupted many *chaebŏl* and fundamentally changed the Korean economy.

Kim Dae Jung was followed by Roh Moo-hyun, a former human rights attorney notable for defending students tortured by the military regime, who was elected in 2003. A political outsider, he was seen as a “people’s candidate,” but the lack of political experience in his administration quickly became apparent (Seth, 2020). Roh was succeeded by former Hyundai CEO and former Seoul Mayor Lee Myung-bak, whose unpopular, authoritarian administration saw widely opposed bans on imports of US beef and skyrocketing costs of commodities. Lee was followed by Park Geun-Hye, the first female head of state in the Republic of Korea, and daughter and former first lady (following the assassination of her mother) of dictator Park Chung Hee, overwhelmingly elected by the over-50 voters nostalgic for the economic growth of her father’s era. Park became embroiled in scandals following her incompetent handling of the 2016 Sewol Ferry disaster, in which hundreds of high school students drowned, and was removed from office, arrested, imprisoned (and, between sending this dissertation for review by my committee and my dissertation defense, pardoned). Current President Moon Jae-In, a liberal former human rights attorney and chief-of-staff of former president Roh Moo-hyun, was elected in a special election in 2017 (Seth, 2020).

### Neo-Confucianism

Confucian philosophy (*yugyo*) was introduced to the Korean peninsula during the Koguryŏ era (~372 CE) and institutionalized as a state ideology known as Neo-Confucianism during the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910) (De Bary & Haboush, 1985; Deuchler, 1992), and it still pervades the everyday experiences and relationalities of South Koreans to the extent that South

Korea is considered “the most Confucian part of the world” (Koh, 1996, p. 191). This remains the case, even though few people identify as “Confucians” in census data, where it is categorized as a religion (Kim, 1996; Koh, 1996; KOSIS, 2017).

Most Koreans do not report religious faith (56.1%), while 27.6% of the population is Christian (19.7% Protestant and 7.9% Catholic) and 15.5% are Korean Buddhist. The remaining 8% includes Won Buddhism, Confucianism<sup>3</sup>, Chōndogyo<sup>4</sup>, Orthodox Christianity, Korean Shamanism (e.g., Taejonggyo), and new religious movements like Taesun Chinrihoe and Jeungsando (KOSIS, 2017). South Korea’s population is split evenly between male and female. However, Korean women tend to be more religious than men, with 48.4% of women and 39.3% of men identifying as religious. Women are more highly represented among adherents of all reported religions except for Confucianism, in which men outnumber women 1.5:1 (KOSIS, 2017). Syncretism is also common, particularly between Korean shamanism and evangelical Christianity (Kim, 2010). Many Koreans, even Christians, will engage with ritual elements of Confucianism, Korean shamanism, Taoist geomancy, and Buddhism regardless of religious affiliation. There is historical precedent, as Koreans have not typically divided themselves into religious groups throughout history, instead drawing upon various practices as suited their particular needs (Kim, 1991). As a result, despite Confucianism’s lack of official status—South Korea is not by constitution a “Neo-Confucian state” in the way the Chosŏn dynasty was—it still pervades the minds and practices of the majority of religious and non-religious Koreans as a moral foundation (Koh, 1996).

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<sup>3</sup> Confucianism is reported as a religion in Korean government statistics, but its principles are generally adhered to among the entire population, particularly as neo-Confucianism was the guiding philosophy of the *Chosŏn* era (Park and Cho, 1995; Walraven, 2011).

<sup>4</sup> A religious movement started in the late 1800s as a response to a perceived encroachment of Western ideas via the uptake of Catholicism among the lower classes.

Foundational to Neo-Confucianism is a focus on social harmony achieved through a deference to hierarchies and attention to interpersonal relationalities. A well-known Confucian concept is the Three Doctrines and Five Relationships (*samgangoryun*), in which the person on the right of the hyphen defers to the person on the left: parent-child, husband-wife, sibling-sibling, friend-friend, and ruler-subject. In return, the person on the left of the hyphen is charged with the care for the person on the right (Littlejohn, 2011). Related are the concepts of filial piety (*hyo*)—an uncompromising respect for and deference toward one’s parents and ancestors because of the unrepayable debt of giving one life—and ancestor worship (*chosang sungbae*) rituals (*chesa*) through which filial descendants care for their ancestors in the afterlife (Janelli & Janelli, 2004; Sorensen & Kim, 2004).

#### Class, Education, Employment, and the Economy

Education is one of the most important values in South Korean society, a value that has persisted since Confucian education was introduced to the Korean peninsula. Historically, education was associated with the *yangban* (兩班; aristocratic officials) elite. The *yangban* were the literati and the aristocracy of the Chosŏn era, conferred the authority to rule under Neo-Confucian ethics by virtue of their education. Because Neo-Confucianism was ultimately a system of moral philosophy, the *yangban*’s education in Confucian texts in preparation for the civil service exam perpetuated their status as the aristocracy of Korea and associated education and class status with moral uprightness.

#### Class in the Chosŏn Era.

At the outset of the Neo-Confucian Chosŏn Era, anyone could sit for the civil service exam, but over the course of the dynasty examinations became legally restricted to the hereditary *yangban* class (Deuchler, 1992; Haboush, 1991). Therefore, education became strictly associated

with the upper caste. The Chosŏn dynasty social hierarchy was split into two broad categories: the *yangmin* (良民; the “good” people) and the *chŏnmin* (賤民; the “base” or “despised” people). These were then further subdivided into castes (Passin, 1956-57).

The *yangmin* were comprised of three major subcategories, of which the highest-ranking was the *yangban*. The *yangban* were further subdivided into the *munban* (文班; the literati and civil officials) and the *muban* (武班; the military nobility), a distinction that persists in the *munmu* (文武; *wen-wu* in Chinese) dichotomy which understands both education and physical strength to be important for men, but also that only the morality associated with education was entitled one to leadership (see also: Louie, 2014; Śleziak, 2013).

Beyond the *yangban*, the other members of the *yangmin* were the *chung'in* (中人; the middle class) and the *sangmin* (常民; the common people). The *chung'in* were comprised of those who took care of the administration of government and its more technical aspects, such as the doctors, accountants, astronomers, and interpreters. The *sangmin* were the merchants, small landowners, and artisans (Passin, 1956-57).

The *chŏnmin* consisted of two broad sub-classes: the public and the private. Public *chŏnmin* included the *kisaeng* (female entertainers), various kinds of servants to the government, jailkeepers, government slaves, and fugitives. The private *chŏnmin* were those of particular, often hereditary, professions, and included Buddhist monks and nuns, messengers, actors, shamans, those who maintained memorial tablets, executioners, shoemakers, and the *paekchŏng* (白丁), sometimes described as the “untouchable” caste of Korea. The *paekchŏng* were mostly butchers and leatherworkers, associated with “unclean” and polluting professions, and were not counted among the citizenry in duties (such as military service) or privileges (Passin, 1955, 1956-57). These castes were best described by their legal social status, rather than their economic

status, because there are reports of members of the *chŏnmin* caste, even the *paekchŏng*, being quite well-off economically compared to members of the *sangmin*, since they provided goods and services needed by everyone (Chung, 1984).

#### Class and Education in Modern Korea

Slavery was abolished in 1910 when Japan formally annexed the Korean peninsula, and Japanese colonialism (1910-1945), followed by American military governance (1945-1948) and the Korean War (1950-1953) upended the social order established by the Yi dynasty through land redistribution policies and the indiscriminate destruction of properties and infrastructure during the Korean War. The destruction of the Korean War left behind “a poor but a highly fluid and egalitarian society in South Korea” (Koo, 1987, p. 170). However, while the former caste system is no longer enshrined in law, placing the prospect of social mobility within reach for status-conscious Koreans, their attitudes about the relationships between class, education, and morality persist to the present day (Koo, 1987; Park & Kim, 2014).

In rural areas, this transition occurred more slowly, and traditional caste relationships persisted much later in agrarian communities than in the cities (Brandt, 1971; Osgood, 1951). However, that is not to say that the specifics have completely survived in an informal format into the present. In Korea’s abrupt transition to a market economy, those of the *yangban* class frequently fell into poverty because of their refusal to perform physical labor or engage in commercial activity. Historically, the role of a *yangban* man was to study the Confucian classics to prepare for the civil service exam, after which he would be recognized as both intellectually and morally qualified for a role in advising government affairs. As their role was largely mental (especially for the *munban* branch), for a *yangban* man to engage in either would be viewed as a violation of the moral order and subject him and his descendants to the revocation of their

*yangban* status, and sometimes their names erased from family lineages (Abelmann, 2002; Chung, 1984; Gale, 1975[1898]; Lett, 1998). Historically, even sports—viewed as the purview of commoners (M. Cho, 2017)—were periodically proscribed from *yangban* participation (Chang, 2002). It was considered more noble of a *yangban* to starve than dirty his hands; in modernizing South Korea, many chose just that.

While the power of the *yangban* as a legal caste largely disappeared from Korea following liberation from Japanese colonialism and the Korean War, the *yangban*-derived association of education with class and moral standing persists as a structuring cultural force in Korean society. As a result, education remains a powerful form of cultural capital in South Korea. Brandt (1971), writing of his ethnographic field study conducted in 1966, notes that poor rural families would sacrifice the labor potential of a son for the prestige they would all garner for his being educated at even a high-school level. Even modern conceptions of the Korean “middle class” are not based on purely economic rationale, but rather are infused with *mun-mu* attitudes such that two families can be of comparable means, but the “middle class” family will have reached it via education and subsequent white-collar professions, while the other family whose money comes from physical labor will be considered “working class.” Likewise, university and college professors, physicians, and lawyers—those with doctorates—are viewed as modern *yangban* and count themselves culturally among the upper class, despite Korean professors in particular making little money in the form of direct salaries (Kendall, 1996; Lett, 1998). In his ethnography of Poongsan corporation, Kim (1992) noted that his status as a university professor precluded him from certain forms of participant-observation with the blue-collar workers, ranging from refusal of his participation to not telling him about certain activities.

Efforts at educating the Korean population at large began in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century with Protestant missionaries establishing private schools. Japanese colonial powers also developed some of the infrastructure, including the military-style dress and discipline still employed at many schools. The USA Military Government (1945-1948) tried to establish democratic reforms during its tenure, although later South Korea's authoritarian governments (1948-1987) instead centered education on anticommunism and progovernment propaganda (Sorensen, 1994). In 1949, the Basic Education Law was passed that established 6 years of compulsory, free elementary school, followed by 3 years of noncompulsory tuitioned middle school, 3 years of noncompulsory tuitioned high school, and 4 years of noncompulsory tuitioned college (Sorensen, 1994). Seth (2002) notes the existence of a trope during Korea's modernization of the poor rural farmer selling his only ox or one of his few rice paddies to make tuition to send his children to school so they can move up in life, reiterating that education is something appreciated by all members of the social strata. So many parents enrolled their children in school, particularly in the years immediately following the Korean War, that their human, building, and pedagogical resources quickly became overwhelmed (Seth, 2002). Following the Korean war, the US government invested in developing the physical infrastructure of Korea, especially the primary schools (Yoon, 1993). By the mid-1960s, the South Korean populace was as educated as countries with highly developed economies, despite its own GNP being a third the size of countries with comparably educated citizens (McGinn et al., 1980).

In modern South Korea, education determines one's future. The most prestigious university from which one can receive an undergraduate degree is Seoul National University (*Sŏuldaehakkyo*), followed by Korea University (*Koryŏtaehakkyo*) and Yonsei University (*Yŏnsetaehakkyo*). Collectively, these are known as the SKY universities, the acronym serving as

an apt metaphor for the dreams of the families who aspire for their children to attend them, as well as the perceived advantages they will have for economic advancement upon graduation. Other universities like Sungkyunkwan University (*Sōngkyunkwandaehakkyo*), the oldest Korean university and historically the seat of Confucian study in Korea, and KAIST (*K'aisŭ'tŭ*; formerly Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology) are also highly regarded in Korean society as prestigious institutions of learning and opportunity.

A degree from a top-ranked university, and particularly a SKY university, provides one and one's family with an immense amount of cultural capital in the form of educational prestige (Brandt, 1971; Sorensen, 1994). One of these degrees also confers one membership in that university's *hakkŏl* (academic clique) and *hakyŏn* (academic network), providing one access to social and career opportunities not available to those without those connections and credentials (Lee & Brinton, 1996). For example, Choong Soon Kim (1992) observed that the chairman of Poongsan Corporation was able to leverage his school ties with former presidents Chun and Roh to advance his business interests, had he wanted to, since he was their *sŏnbae* (senior). Job opportunities that are stable and better paid are unevenly distributed to graduates of universities in Seoul, and then further stratified between those who attend a SKY university and those who do not (Hwang, 2005). Further, one's academic network circumscribes one's pool of potential romantic partners (Byun et al., 2020; Park & Smits, 2005).

As a result, students and their parents, particularly their mothers, are engaged in a cutthroat environment of preparation for the university entrance exam (*sunŭng*), which starts as early as middle school (Park & Abelmann, 2004). Described as being engaged in "examination hell" (*sihŏm chiŏk*), a typical student in Korea, throughout their middle and high-school years, spends the first several hours of their days in school followed by the same number of hours in

after-school exam preparation programs known as “cram schools” or *hagwon*. Students in the middle class and those with upwardly mobile aspirations are often in education settings from early morning until 11pm or midnight, especially as they close in on the exam date. Parents spend significant percentages of their income on “shadow education” (that which is not performed in the established school system) services for their children in attempts to ensure that their children score competitively on the *sunŭng* and enter a prestigious institution (Anderson & Kohler, 2013; Jo, 2020; Park et al., 2011).

These pressures were only exacerbated in the years following the economic restructuring demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) after the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis. With the IMF’s neoliberal demands for a “flexible” workforce, once-assured lifetime employment middle-class professions became precarious overnight; multitudes were deemed redundant and fired. This was massively problematic, as the propaganda and laws which established the male head of the nuclear household as the breadwinner for decades were no longer in line with the economic realities of the workforce.

This increased pressure within the established cutthroat educational environment of “examination hell” led to the emergence of what Cho Haejoang has described as the “spec” generation (Cho, 2015). The “spec” generation refers to the generation of students who are concerned less with learning or creative expression than with developing the “specifications” – essentially, résumé lines—that would make them impressive to potential employers in the increasingly competitive job market. She remarks that these students saw their parents’ generation, those who entered adulthood in the 1990s, in the prosperous and free moment of the emergent democracy and before the financial crash, who chose creative, non-traditional paths and ended in ruin, and wanted to avoid that future for themselves at all costs.

Overall, education is a major organizing feature of Korean life. Educational prestige is a measure by which individuals (and their parents) compare themselves. It is still regarded as an index of one's individual morality as well, in line with historical Neo-Confucian associations between education, class, and morality. It is also the primary criterion by which one's access to upward mobility, stable employment, and certain romantic opportunities is granted.

### Gender, Sexuality, and the Family

The other major focus of Neo-Confucianism in modern South Korea is the family, as the family is the main avenue through which the moral system is reproduced in the absence of larger governmental structures to support it (Koh, 1996). Even though the household system has moved from an extended family structure to a nuclear family structure over the course of Korea's industrialization (explained further below), Neo-Confucian precepts continue to underlie family-related interactions and decision-making. Parents are respected by the children, and older siblings are respected by younger siblings. Men refer to and address their older brothers as *hyōng* and older sisters as *nuna*, and women refer to and address their older brothers as *oppa* and older sisters as *ōnni*, while older siblings refer to (but do not address) their younger siblings as *tongsaeng*. Cousins may also be referred to as, for example, *sach'on hyōng* (older male cousin).

As a result, even extra-familial relationalities take on family-like patterns. For example, *chaebōl*, the family-owned conglomerates that have organized the Korean economy for decades structure their hierarchies and describe the employer-employee relationship as that of a parent-child relationship as well (Janelli & Janelli, 1993; Janelli & Yim, 1997; Kim & Park, 2003). A common trope among office-workers refers to the long hours spent in the office, often doing very little work, because strict organizational hierarchy demands that they cannot leave the office until their supervisor does. Kwon (2015) described how even blue-collar employees of large firms

came to view their workplaces as part of their family, as formative as the villages in which many of them grew up (the interviews were performed in 2001). Relatedly in terms of organizational hierarchy reflecting family structures, club officers at elite universities also speak about developing their members as if the officers are parents and their members are children (Yun, 2021).

Kinship terms are also commonly used among unrelated people. When referencing a senior citizen, one may describe or address them as a *halmŏni* (grandmother) or *haraboji* (grandfather), and friendly female restaurant proprietors may ask customers to address them as *imo* (aunt/mother's sister). Unrelated middle-aged people may be referred to or addressed as *ajŏssi* (uncle/middle-aged man), *ajumŏni* (aunt/middle-aged woman), or *ajumma* (aunt/middle-aged woman), although these are also used or taken as insults if the referent is not actually at that life-stage.

People of the same age refer to each other as *ch'in'gu* (friend), but men of different ages can refer to the older of the dyad as “*hyŏng*” if they are close, sometimes with the older granting permission or the younger requesting permission to address the older in that fashion. There is also annoyance or discomfort when someone tries to establish that relationship without first establishing the emotional connection, such as when a younger person may try to unctuously ingratiate himself into an older person's orbit, or an older person demands that level of respect from a younger person. (Or, another example one Korean woman described, a American girl whom she met for the first time at a language exchange café immediately calling her *ŏnni*.)

When there is a larger age difference while two people are still in the same life stage, or are separated within organizational hierarchy, the suffix *-nim* is sometimes added (e.g., *hyŏngnim*, *nunim*) for additional respect. For example, this may happen in situations in which

they may be closer than the more distant dyad of *sŏnbae* (senior) and *hubae* (junior) would describe, but still need to acknowledge hierarchy and distance. In one case from my fieldnotes, two college roommates had a difference of about 12 years between them (the older returned to school for a second bachelor's degree), and the older insisted that the younger refer to him as *hyŏngnim* rather than just *hyŏng* to show respect.

*Oppa*, in particular, is also used in romantic dyads, in which women address their boyfriends as *oppa*. However, heterosexual men typically would not refer to their older girlfriends as *nuna*; men told me that if a woman tells a man to call her *nuna*, she is also asserting that she is not romantically interested in him. I have also heard of same-sex relationships using any of the terms depending on the partners' gender expressions (e.g., an effeminate gay man may refer to his older, effeminate male partner as *ŏnni*; a femme lesbian may refer to her butch partner as *oppa*). On another occasion, a friend came out to me as transgender. When I asked for her preferred pronouns, she looked visibly confused by the question. Korean lacks gendered third-person pronouns in speech, but because we often hung out in a group of her friends and sometimes spoke English, I wanted to know what her preference was so as not to accidentally "out" her to the uninitiated. Then she invited me to call her *nuna*. I, then confused myself, asked, "Why would I call you *nuna*?" She asked, her face dropping, "You don't want to call me *nuna*?" as if I were rejecting our friendship or her gender identity, and I had to clarify, "No, I would, but I'm older than you."

Protestant Christians in Korea use different terms among each other in church settings: men are *hyŏngjenim* (brother) and women are *chamaenim* (sister). In standard Korean, *hyŏngje* means "sibling," as in "How many siblings do you have?" and is derived from the Chinese characters *hyŏng* (兄) and *je* (弟), older brother and younger brother, respectively (*cha* [姊] and

*mae* [妹] are used for older and younger sister, respectively). However, in Protestant Christian contexts, *hyōngjaenim* and *chamaenim* are forms of address which index kinship within global Christianity and collapse the gender and age hierarchies present in standard Korean into a recognition of gender and Christian affiliation. However, these terms also rupture traditional models of social relations and often create distance between people, rather than intimacy (i.e., referring to someone as *hyōngjae* marks them as a "male Christian stranger"; Harkness, 2015).

### The Korean Family in History

Korean kinship has been determined patrilineally since the establishment of the Chosŏn era. Prior to Chosŏn, the Koryŏ dynasty determined lineage through the matriline; however, the shift to Neo-Confucianism along with the change in dynasty established the male line as the one of import (Deuchler, 1992). Historically, Chosŏn-era households consisted of multigenerational, patrilocal stem families and the majority of a household's wealth and influence passed through agnatic primogeniture from father to eldest son of his primary wife upon the father's death or retirement (Park & Cho, 1995). The eldest son would inherit the "big house" (*kŭn chip*) and younger sons would receive smaller land inheritances to establish their own "small houses" (*chagŭn chip*). All sons, but especially eldest sons, were expected to obey their parents, care for them in their old age, host a good funeral, perform ancestor rites, and have sons of their own (Sorensen & Kim, 2004). They were also expected to lead their younger brothers in society, and the younger brothers would defer to the eldest in social matters once he took the mantle of family patriarch (Brandt, 1971).

Women were separated from their family lineage at marriage, but retained their surname; their husbands' names were entered into their own family genealogies (*chokpo*) in their stead (Brandt, 1971). An old saying, "The farther the in-laws and outhouses, the better," exemplifies

traditional attitudes regarding marriage in that women were expected to cut off contact with their natal families and integrate into their husband's family (Brandt, 1971; B. S. Lee, 2020). This prototypically led to the new wife's mistreatment, particularly by her mother-in-law, because she had no family nearby to defend her. That said, the stereotype was often overblown, since the mother-in-law also recognized that the daughter-in-law would be responsible for her care in her senescence (Brandt, 1971). Because women from the Chosŏn dynasty onward were disallowed from collecting inheritance upon their fathers' deaths and because men were necessary to perform ancestor worship rites, families without sons sometimes adopted sons from other families to marry their daughters. Traditionally, it was taboo to marry someone with the same surname (i.e., from the same clan), although by the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century urban Koreans were rejecting this proscription (Brandt, 1971). Polygamy and taking concubines was also common (Deuchler, 1992; Gale, 1975[1898]), although in the modern era these are no longer socially or legally sanctioned practices.

Under Neo-Confucian prescriptions about gender during the Chosŏn era, women were structurally and politically inferior to men, but in practice their roles were regarded as reciprocal rather than opposed. For example, women's space was internal to the home and men's space was external. Sorensen (1983) describes the ways in which the social structure was reproduced in the architecture of a traditional Korean house: "The house mistress lives in the Inner Room (*anbang*) of the Inner Wing (*anch'ae*) and takes care of the inside labor (*annil*); while the house master lives in the *sarang bang* of the Outer Wing (*pakkatch'ae*) and takes care of the outside labor (*pakkannil*)" (70). Further, they were even colloquially described as the "inside master" (*an chuin*) and "outside master" (*pakkat chuin*), respectively. As a result, the men typically worked outside of the walls of the house, maintained social connections, and brought resources back for

the family. Women worked within the walls to ensure that everyone was fed and clothed.

*Yangban* women rarely left the home, or when they did it was on a covered palanquin, as it was considered a significant breach of propriety for *yangban* women to interact with men who were not their fathers, husbands, brothers, or sons. Even commoner women were not permitted to speak to men alone, especially foreign ones (Brandt, 1971; Osgood, 1951).<sup>5</sup>

This phenomenon of legal-subordination-but-practical-reciprocation of power relations also bore out in men's and women's ritual roles. Whereas male Confucians performed solemn ancestor-worship ceremonies (*chesa*) (Janelli, 1977; Young, 1983), female (primarily female, at least, although there are male shamans [*paksu*] who perform in women's attire and are often homosexual; see Kendall [2009]) shamans performed bombastic and ecstatic rituals (*kut*) intended to quell the spirits of those who died (typically) of non-natural causes (Kendall, 1985; Walraven, 1991-1992). Walraven (2019) has described shamanism as serving the immediate needs of families while Confucianism served the state and emphasized individuals' and families' duties to it. Moreover, the *kut*, typically performed by women (or men dressed as women) who always come from without the family, provides a space for the resolution of conflicts with ancestors through argument, which would be a massive breach of propriety for men to do (Kendall, 1985). Wolf (1994) similarly found that women in China and Taiwan, not bound by rules of Confucian propriety due to their effective political exclusion, were able to—and were even sometimes functionally required to—break and disregard rules to allay suffering or problems that men's required adherence would otherwise not resolve.

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<sup>5</sup> Haejoang Cho's (1979) ethnography of the traditional women divers of Cheju Island off the southern coast of Korea provides an interesting counterexample in which the women of this community were the breadwinners for their households while the men did little to no actual labor.

## The Modern Nuclear Family

Many of these family practices persisted well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially in rural areas of South Korea. However, with the expansion of industrialization, urbanization, and the new economic and political realities that emerged alongside these processes, Korean households shifted to the nuclear model practiced by most Koreans today. Chang (2020) traces the evolution of the household structure over South Korea's decades-long process of industrialization and modernization from 1960-2015. He attributes the change to several interacting forces. The first is government family planning propaganda that gradually decreased the ideal number of children from five in the 1950s to one in the 1980s, only to start encouraging at least two children again in the 1990s once fertility had dipped below replacement levels. The second is General Park Chung Hee's industrialization, urbanization, and modernization policies, which drew young workers away from their parents' rural households to much smaller apartment homes in the cities. The mass employment of women in factories particularly contributed to this shift in terms of their increased economic independence, leading to later marriages and fewer children. The expansion of higher education also contributed to delays in marriage and having children. As a result of these historical processes, the modern, middle-class nuclear family tends to consist of a husband, his wife, and one or two children.

As South Korea industrialized, households became wealthier, and a new middle class was born. This also led to shift in the ways in which gendered labor was constructed within the middle-class household unit. While the intra-/extra-household distinction of women's and men's labor existed into the 1990s (and persists among many Koreans as an ideal family structure into the present), the types of labor performed in these domains and the meanings attached to such labor shifted in important ways. Kendall (2002) notes that, in agrarian premodern Korea, both

men and women were involved in the productive labor necessary to maintain the household. Men—the patriarch, his sons, and grandsons—worked outside the home in the sense that their labor was typically performed outside the walls of the house; likewise, the labor of women—the matriarch, her unmarried daughters and daughters-in-law, and unmarried granddaughters and granddaughters-in-law—remained typically within the walls. Generally, this division of labor involved men bringing food or other raw materials from the field or market, and women processing them for the family to use. While women were officially denigrated under Neo-Confucian precepts, they had immense social power despite a lack of institutional legitimacy (Cho, 2002), as their “gender codependent” (Cho, 2002, p. 170) roles were recognized as indispensable for the reproduction of the family line. Further, in matchmaking arrangements a potential wife’s industriousness was particularly valued (Kendall, 1996).

However, modernization shifted this inner/outer distinction through a process of what Cho (2002) describes as “‘housewifization,’ the transition from a mother-centered to a wife-centered patriarchy” (167). This was due, in large part, to rise of the nuclear family as the primary family structure in South Korea over the course of its early modernization (1960~1980), especially as the population overwhelmingly migrated from rural communities to urban centers. Exposure to urban settings and the nuclearization of the family structure expanded the “outer” world that men inhabited, while considerably narrowing the “inner” domain occupied by women. However, these shifts in understandings of gender roles were not just a result of the particularly Korean, Neo-Confucian capitalist economic policies and practices of the developmental state. They were also cemented by specific biopolitical reconstructions of gender engaged in by the military dictatorship. Under the military dictatorship, men were reconstructed as protectors and

providers, while women were reconstructed as reproducers and rearers. These roles applied both to the home and the country more generally (Moon, 2005).

For men, the role of protector was instituted through mandatory military service. Originally established in 1949, all Korean men are expected to serve in the military after age 18. The most recent policy mandates 21 months for regular soldiers, 24 months for the air force, and three years for commissioned officers who postponed their military service to obtain advanced degrees, such as lawyers and physicians. In order to ensure participation by all eligible men, the government instituted policies that penalized companies for hiring men who did not complete their military service, and also incentivized military service through an “extra points” system in which men who have completed their military service would be awarded extra points on ubiquitous employment entrance exams and policies that allowed men to treat their military service as “work experience.” The extra points system effectively excluded women from employment opportunities, further solidifying the gender distinctions in where labor occurred in developing Korea, in which men were the provider for the household (Moon, 2005).<sup>6</sup>

The “provider” role of modernizing Korean men was particularly embodied in the *saellorimaen* (salaryman), the middle-class, white-collar workers described during the developmental era as “soldiers” of Korea’s economic advancement. Typical of what was thought of as “patriotic overwork”, he worked upwards of 12-hour days Monday through Friday and half days on Saturdays. These were followed by essentially mandatory homosocial after-work dinners, heavy drinking, and other activities like visiting prostitutes (Janelli & Yim, 2002; Kim, 1998; Lee, 2002). Saturday hours may be followed by golf or hiking. As a result, male heads of modern nuclear households were rarely present during the family’s waking hours. Earning power

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<sup>6</sup> The extra points system was abolished in 1999.

became a symbol of masculinity, meaning his presence at home would signal that he is not earning money, therefore undermining his manhood, although younger generations at the time were beginning to reject that idea and trying to spend more time with their families (Moon, 2002). K.-O. Kim (1993) notes that, among middle-class families, “the wife pushes her husband outside” (25) in order to engage in these activities as symbols of middle-class status and networking for social advancement. Lee (2002) describes how this lifestyle led to *sŏnginbyŏng* (adults’ diseases) and *hyŏndaebŏng* (illnesses of modernity)—cancer,<sup>7</sup> hepatitis, hypertension, chronic bronchitis, diabetes, et cetera—becoming idioms of distress for the unintended consequences of men’s sacrifice of their bodies for the sake of the nation’s advancement and their families’ ability to sleep in comfortable homes, eat well, and get good educations.

Women’s roles, on the other hand, were primarily understood through bearing and raising children. They kept house, controlled the household finances, birthed and took care of the children, and, most importantly, managed their children’s education. Primarily, wives spent money on necessities like bills, school tuition, and household goods, but wives also invested in stocks and real estate, sought and paid for “shadow education” opportunities, arranged marriages for other families, and engaged in other activities designed to advance or maintain their social status (Abelmann, 1997). Men’s consumption practices were comparatively limited, because they were provided with an allowance by their wives after handing over their paychecks (Janelli & Janelli, 1993). Under Korean Neo-Confucianism, it was considered unseemly and immoral for men to be preoccupied with details about money, so women traditionally controlled household

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<sup>7</sup> Cancer holds a polysemous status in South Korea. Over the course of modernization, increases in cancer diagnoses were viewed as symbolic of South Korea’s success in economic development, since citizens were regularly living long enough to develop cancer. Presently, however, cancer has become associated with the stresses and abuses of modernization, particularly in the lifestyle behaviors demanded by the workplace (excessive drinking, smoking, poor diets, and late hours) that are known to increase risk for cancer and other chronic illnesses (Nelson, 2017).

finances. Kim (1998) reports from the men she interviewed in the 1980s that they typically made the broader decisions for where household funds and investments would go, but that their wives oversaw the details. Even into the 1990s middle-class men reported discomfort with having to deal too much with money (Lett, 1998), as it would be beneath their status and “unclean” (Moon, 1990).<sup>8</sup> There were also social expectations to spend money lavishly and unthinkingly to appear magnanimous (Brandt, 1971; Gale, 1975[1898]), so the allowance system served as a strategy for men to overcome this expectation by only ever having a set amount of money on hand and placing the blame on his wife’s tight grip on the family purse strings (Janelli & Janelli, 1993).<sup>9</sup>

Historically, motherhood—particularly having a son—secured a woman status within the household into which she married (Kendall, 1983). As with the case of Taiwan, a woman’s establishment of her “uterine family” (Wolf, 1972) was an obligation to the male line into which she married, grounds for divorce if she failed to produce a son, and essential to her metaphysical wellbeing in the form of ancestor worship. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, women began to view motherhood as more of a sex-specific privilege than an obligation, one that they could replace with a career should they choose to, although many still viewed motherhood as the precondition for true womanhood (E.-S. Kim, 1993; Kim, 1997). Given near total control of the details of children’s upbringing, women typically develop deep bonds with their children; Korean children, likewise, usually view their mothers as the most important relationship in their lives, and their fathers as one of the least (Lee, 2002). Indeed, for as long as Neo-Confucianism has been the norm in Korea, men’s emotional relationships have been with their mothers, while their relationships with their fathers are typically experienced as filial obligations (Brandt, 1971;

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<sup>8</sup> Banking was one of the few industries dominated by women in Korea in this period (Abelmann, 2002).

<sup>9</sup> Upper class men often kept slush funds for use with their friends and coworkers to spend on drinks in expensive clubs and on prostitutes (Elaine H. Kim, 1998; Janelli & Janelli, 2004).

Kim, 1998; Takahashi, 1936). The modern Korean middle class adapted this tradition: men worked and socialized outside the home, distancing themselves from reproductive activities, while women constructed the home as “a place to rest” in between household- and career-advancing activities (Yi, 1998), not a place to engage in the emotional world of the family. Whereas men competed in the workplace, women competed among themselves in terms of whose children were most accomplished (Park & Abelmann, 2004; Yi, 1998).

Managing children’s education was of the utmost importance for mothers in modernizing Korea, while a father’s complete disinterest in children’s education beyond funding it is considered the ideal scenario (Park & Abelmann, 2004) and remains so into the present (Park & Jang, 2020). The time and energy commitment required by the managing of children’s education usually means that women cannot pursue their own careers and successfully mother their children; as a result, most professional women quit their jobs when they become mothers (Cho, 2002).<sup>10</sup> Particularly among the middle classes, it would be unseemly for women to have to work outside the home (Lett, 1998). Highly educated women are valued in the marriage marketplace not for their ability to contribute to household funds (although most women do engage in informal labor to supplement the household income needed to pay for shadow education services), but for its demonstration of their ability to navigate the education system to the benefit of their children (Jo, 2020). These strategies range from educating their children in the fine arts (Abelmann, 2002), to researching and enrolling their children in expensive *hagwŏn* (cram

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<sup>10</sup> This also remains expected in the present. The popular Korean drama series *SKY Castle* (Kim, Moon, & Park, 2018-2019) followed the machinations of upper-class mothers living in a suburb in Seoul known as “SKY Castle,” inhabited by doctors and university professors, to prepare their children to enter prestigious programs at top global and Korean universities. Some of the mothers have advanced degrees from prestigious international universities, and in a later episode, a woman who runs a successful dental practice and is moving into the neighborhood tells the other mothers how she was planning to close her practice to devote her efforts to making sure her children are prepared for the university entrance exam.

schools) and hiring tutors (Byun, 2014; Jung, 2018), to bribing teachers to procure class leadership roles for their children (Cho, 2002).

The process of modernization, therefore, transformed Korean gender dynamics from one of complementary forms of gendered labor to a model in which husbands were the sole providers for the household through their wages while wives consumed their husband's wages for the sake of maintaining and advancing the family's social status (Kendall, 2002).<sup>11</sup> In other words, rather than harvesting raw materials from the family farm to be processed at home, men brought home their paychecks and women spent them on the goods and services that ensured their families' class mobility and maintenance. Roles were still regarded as complementary (Hoffman, 1995), although moral panics surrounding women's consumption and lack of attention to their husbands frequently emerged, particularly in the wake of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis (Kendall, 2002).

#### Gender and the Family Under Neoliberalism

In November 1997, responding to economic instability earlier in the year in Thailand, foreign investors and lenders in Korea suddenly recalled their short-term loans. *Chaeböl*, which effectively controlled the Korean economy and were the largest employers in the country, relied heavily on these short-term loans for certain kinds of lending practices and their own haphazard efforts at diversification, could not repay their loans. Eleven of these *chaeböl* filed for bankruptcy, and the government was forced to request assistance from the International Monetary Fund. In exchange for this assistance, the IMF required neoliberal austerity policies that fundamentally altered Koreans' relationships with their careers, with ramifications for education, conceptions of individual selfhood, gender roles, and lifestyle expectations (Kendall,

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<sup>11</sup> This was only really the case for middle- and upper-class households. In modern working-class families, both the husband and wife often worked outside the home, but the wife was still expected to perform the household-maintenance labor (*annil*) as well (Lett, 1998).

2009; Suh, 1998). These changes led to general tensions between a retrenchment of the non-individualistic nuclear family dynamic and emerging pressures to atomize oneself for professional advancement (Abelmann et al., 2013).

Chief among these pressures was the demand for increased flexibility in the workforce. During Korea's development, middle-class men could expect lifetime employment at a major company, with promotions given commensurate with seniority. This employment was based on a combination of academic prestige (many companies only hired from the graduates of top universities), completion of military service (for men), and successfully passing hypercompetitive semiannual company entrance exams (for which veterans received extra points). Promotions were also competitive, as there were fewer positions the higher one ascended the corporate ladder; however, firing and redundancy were uncommon without significant cause; rather, middle-aged men who lacked advancement opportunities were often pressured into quitting by no longer assigning them responsibilities (Janelli & Yim, 2002). Blue-collar workers similarly enjoyed job security, and the fruits of the labor movements of the 1980s, which vastly improved their pay and working conditions, were finally being enjoyed. However, the IMF mandates ushered in an era of unprecedented layoffs; many permanent positions were made temporary as well, creating an even more intense competition both to become stably employed and to retain that employment. Pressure to remain employed caused intense stress, and no longer could families reasonably rely on a husband's income to support them (Song, 2007).

Following the IMF Crisis, young Koreans who entered university in the late 1990s faced a contracted job market, so that many entered public works programs or started marketing themselves as "new intellectuals" or the "new generation." Experiencing anomie between the expectation that graduation from university would lead to a lifelong career in a *chaebŏl* and post-

IMF exhortations for labor flexibility leading to unstable employment, many young people eschewed the traditional pathways and became entrepreneurs, entered venture capital, and moved rapidly between startups in pursuit of money rather than job security (Song, 2007).

A decade later, the “spec generation” who entered college in the 2000s following IMF restructuring, shifted back to more conservative approaches to education. Unlike the students of the 90s, the “spec generation” was less interested in intellectual advancement and creativity than they were in developing their resumes, “specs,” to land stable employment. Unlike the students of the 90s, who approached studies as an avenue toward independence, these students’ university schedules were made in consultation with their mothers, reflecting an intensification of mothers’ micromanagement of their children’s education to prepare them for the hypercompetitive job market. These students, seeing how their parents’ generation’s ventures often failed, desired a return to the stable workplace environments of the pre-IMF crisis generation and feared independent deviation from the standard path to success, even if under post-IMF conditions such stable jobs were extremely competitive and by no means guaranteed (Cho, 2015).

Transformations in the neoliberal economy have also altered men’s relationships with institutions that under the development era were integral to the construction of Korean manhood. In terms of the military, men recognize the reasons for its existence, but view it as a time of immense hardship with no benefits. Historically, the “extra points” system gave veterans a leg-up in hiring, but it was abolished in the 1990s as part of the gender equality movement. Without that carrot, all that remains is the stick of jail time that forces men to waste two years of their youth, get behind in their education, lose their girlfriends, and enter the intensely competitive job market with at least two years less experience than women of the same age (Joo, 2012). Relatedly, the once-aspirational image of the salaryman has become a symbol of institutional

abuse, wastefulness, and depravity. Their old ways of managing—dependent on hierarchy (i.e., they give, but will not receive, feedback), wasting employees’ time on unnecessary pet projects with little guidance just to castigate them (Prentice, 2019)—no longer work in the increasingly globalized workplace among an increasingly cosmopolitan workforce. Negative images of the old managerial style—"an outdated work ethic, poor decision-making, low productivity, abuse of power, excessive drinking, high personnel cost, sexual harassment, and demotivators to merit-based promotion" (Prentice 2020:91)—are used to argue for workplace reforms (Prentice, 2020).

Skyrocketing costs of housing in major cities (especially Seoul), stagnating wages, increasing competition on the job market, and resultant economic precarity has led to young Koreans living with their parents well into their 30s. A popular notion is that the cost of a home is approximately ten years’ wages, and young single people can count on little help towards the purchase of a house or apartment in the form of bank loans. In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, it could be expected among middle class families that, upon marriage, the groom’s family would purchase the apartment for the couple, while the wife’s family would furnish it; however, even before the Asian Financial Crisis this was a massive burden on parents (Lett, 1998). As a result, since the early 2000s, the phenomenon of living with one’s parents following graduation and employment rather than starting one’s own household due to financial constraints has been referred to as the “Kangaroo Tribe,” (*k’aeng’garuchok*) drawing on the metaphor of a baby in its’ mother’s pouch (Jeon, 2020; O, 2015).

That said, young, unmarried Koreans also increasingly want to live on their own, apart from their families. Some young people, particularly those whose families reside outside of Seoul but who attend universities in Seoul, can afford cheap officetels,<sup>12</sup> or *kosiwŏn* (tiny living

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<sup>12</sup> An officetel is a kind of rental that can be used either as an office space for a small business or housing. They are similar to a small studio apartment.

arrangements typically furnished with a bed and a desk, used mainly by students and graduates preparing for company or government entrance exams) through a combination of family support and their own part-time employment (*arūbait'ū*). For many, however, this is economically unfeasible, due to the prohibitive cost of rental deposits in South Korea. South Korea uses a unique system for renting called *chōnse* in which a large lump sum, around 25% of the cost of the apartment or officetel is provided up front, often in the form of tens of thousands of US dollars. Another, less popular system is known as *wōlse*, which entails monthly payments; however, it still requires an up-front deposit of USD \$5,000-\$10,000. The landlord then invests this money and collects the interest. However, there is little to no assistance available for young, unmarried people to procure the funds necessary to live on their own. This becomes problematic for women who do not intend to marry, as well as and especially LGBT people, as their families heavily monitor their sexuality and pressure them to get married. These people, who are also often precariously and under-employed, regularly resort to casual liaisons in love motels, or find a way to scrape together money through loans from their personal connections to afford their own small home (Song, 2010, 2014).

The majority of students at SKY Universities—Seoul National University, Korea University, and Yonsei University—grew up and attended schools and *hagwōn* in Kangnam, meaning that they were often from upper- and upper-middle-class families (Koo, 2007). Students at lower-tier universities, however, could not rely on their university rank to speak for itself (Abelmann et al., 2009). A major component of education in Korea, and one of the more important “specs” young Koreans can garner, is proficiency in English. For Koreans, English is a commodity that grants them access to certain jobs, and therefore cosmopolitanism. For mothers, managing their children’s English language education through *hagwōn*, short-term study abroad,

and even moving with their children abroad to be educated in the US while their husbands financially support them from Korea (Abelmann et al., 2014; Lo et al., 2015) is part of the mother's role in preparing their children for class mobility or maintenance in Korea's rapidly globalizing economy (Park, 2011; Park & Abelmann, 2004). For students, learning English is a vital component of *chagi kwalli* (self-maintenance), these days an index of a person's mental health, professional competence, and willingness to improve oneself for the sake of one's employer (Abelmann et al., 2009; Chun & Han, 2015; Seo, 2011).

Another increasingly important marker of *chagi kwalli* is the physical appearance. Cho (2002) describes her female Korean students' increasing preoccupation with their appearance and experience of eating disorders in the 1990s as resulting from their increased interactions with market economies and contacts with men in daily life as an unintended consequence of the gains of the feminist movement. Abelmann et al. (2013) note that, immediately following the financial crisis, developing a sense of personal style had become part of one's repertoire of self-maintenance alongside other forms of self-development demanded by the neoliberalizing state. Moreover, Koreans understand themselves, especially their bodies, as representing not only themselves but the people to whom they are connected (family, friends, coworkers), such that dressing well has become associated with expressing basic respect for other people both in terms of what they see and how others judge the group (Elfvig-Hwang, 2016; Kim, 2003).

Men followed not long after, especially in the wake of the financial crisis with the emergence of the *kkonminam* (flower boy) model in the early 2000s (Jung, 2011). The "flower boy" emerged due to a combination of men's role as breadwinner being undermined following the financial crisis (Jung, 2011), middle-class women's increasing economic power due to their entry into the formal labor market (J.-h. Cho, 2009), targeted marketing by cosmetics, fashion,

and toiletry companies to men (Lim, 2008), and pressures of the precarious job market necessitating new strategies to stand out against other applicants (Elfvig-Hwang, 2017; Holliday & Elfvig-Hwang, 2012). This “new male” showed an interest in fashion and makeup, and deviated from previous models of masculinity in that he strove to impress and to be emotionally available to his partner (Maliangkay, 2010, 2013), in contrast with the hegemonic military masculinity that dominated discourse in the 1970s to the late 1990s (Elfvig-Hwang, 2011; Moon, 2005). In fact, Korean companies market lines of cosmetics specifically to men performing their mandatory military service, including sunscreens, facemasks, moisturizers, and camouflage face paint formulated to be less harsh on the skin (Chae & Cheng, 2018). However, it is important to remember that South Korea remains heavily heterosexist; as a result, the emergence of the *kkonminam* did not also lead to an increase in acceptance of male homosexuality. Rather, the consumption and grooming practices associated with *kkonminam* aesthetics were subsumed into naturalistic narratives of “instinctive” masculine behavior rather than portrayed as deviant (Lim, 2008). As a result, it is not uncommon to see young Korean men publicly primping themselves in reflective surfaces or applying makeup on the subway, showing off luxurious accessories or having conversations with their other male friends about recommendations for eyebrow pencils, lip balms, and sunscreens.

*Kkonminam* masculinity only subverts “traditional” masculinity when “traditional” masculinity is understood as the masculinity of the 1970s. In actuality, appreciation of male beauty has deep roots in Korean culture. During the Silla dynasty, a group of poet-warriors selected from among the sons of the elites were called *hwarang* (also a term meaning “flower boy” or “flower of youth”), were valued for their beauty as well as their military and scholarly prowess (Rutt, 1961). During the Chosŏn era, because there were fewer government

appointments than male *yangban* who could study, test, and work for them, many *yangban* were actually uneducated beyond a few aphorisms, and projected their caste status through a particular attention to fashion and hairstyling in lieu of their knowledge of the Confucian classics (Gale, 1975[1898]). On this backdrop, the *kkonminam* is less of an anomaly than a continuation of Korea's cultural history of appreciation of male beauty; the masculinity promoted by the military dictatorship is the historically aberrant practice. That said, the *kkonminam* represents not a return to pre-modern beliefs about male presentation, but a reformulation of these embodied ideals within the structures of South Korea's neoliberal service economy (Monocello & Dressler, 2020). These practices are described as "feminine" (*yŏsŏngsŭrŏpta*), in that these are practices and aesthetics typically associated with women's practices and desires. However, they are not associated with femininity in a way that compromises a man's masculinity or heterosexuality (Maliangkay, 2013).

#### Male Bi-/Homosexuality

Sexuality in Korea is performed less through dress than through action. Cheng (2021) observes that Korean gender structure remains centered on the dichotomy of penetrator and penetrated, with full (heterosexual) maleness being conferred through his having sex with women (see Koo & Kim, 2021 for examples of how Korean feminists also reproduce this dichotomy in their rhetoric). Homosexual men generally do not participate in this field; at the same time, knowing the intense homophobia rampant in Korean society, most keep their sexuality secret.

Historically, homosexuality was not despised in Korea as it is today. The Silla-era *hwarang* were known to be engaged in homosexual relationships, especially as evidenced explicitly through their poetry. A Koryŏ king, Kongmin (A.D. 1352–1374), was known for

having multiple official male lovers. Moreover, both *yangban* and commoners of the Chosŏn era were known to engage in homosexual activity, sometimes even with each other, despite Neo-Confucianism's disapproval of non-reproductive relations (Kim & Hahn, 2006; Rutt, 1961).

Yet, in modern South Korea homosexuality remains largely invisible. It was not until the 1990s when student activists on SKY university campuses created gay and lesbian organizations to assert the validity of their identities and lobby for human rights (Seo, 2001). Before then, censorship mandated by the military government and an inability for most Koreans to travel internationally prevented them from knowing what homosexuality even was. Most married women and had children in line with chrononormative (Cho, 2020b) precepts of Korean neo-Confucian culture, that is, getting married and having children at the appropriate ages in order to carry on the family line. During this period, homosexual men still found ways to meet each other, particularly in the theaters in Chongno, a district of Seoul, but many lacked the language to describe their experiences; many just understood it as *sŭk'insip* (lit. "skinship," intimacy built through touch) that they particularly enjoyed. Since Korean men, regardless of sexual orientation, engage in *sŭk'insip* with other men with whom they are close, these lines were often blurred. Then, with the advent of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the 1970s, HIV/AIDS and homosexuality were constructed as diseases of homosexual foreigners, but media noted that Koreans were safe because there were no homosexual Koreans (Cho, 2020b).

With the advent of the internet in the late 1990s and early 2000s, LGBT Koreans found message boards where they could make connections through shared experiences while still keeping their identities secret. These forums also facilitated surreptitious hookups (*pŏnseksŭ*; "lightning sex") and contributed to feelings of insecurity in relationships. Other sites rejected hookup-oriented posts and instead were used to facilitate group meetups around specific

interests. They began to develop somewhat of a sense of activism, and the terms they used to describe themselves evolved from *pogal* (a reversal of *kalbo*, the most vulgar word for “prostitute”) to *iban* (meaning “second-class citizen”) (Cho, 2020b; Seo, 2001). And while LGBT Pride events have become increasingly popular over the years, with participation in Seoul Pride ballooning from 15,000 participants in 2014 to 80,000 in 2017 (Han, 2018), and there is increasing representation of LGBT persons and characters in media (Henry, 2020), LGBT people remain invisible in Korea’s daily life.

According to study conducted in 2002, LGBT persons were the most distrusted group in South Korea, due to their “abnormality” (Kim, 2004). While it is not and has never been illegal to be LGBT or engage in homosexual activity in civilian society, LGBT persons have nonetheless been denied protections and other rights by the government. Homosexual sexual activity is illegal for men while conducting their mandatory military service, ostensibly to prevent sexual abuse within the military (Gitzen, 2021; Kwon et al., 2007), but in practice is applied even to men engaging in consensual sexual activity with civilians (Gitzen, 2020).<sup>13</sup> Fundamentalist Christian conservatives sloganize that “anal sex is not a human right” in order to continue to deny LGBT persons the right to marry, and the explicitly feminist liberal party led by current President Moon Jae-In insists that it is not yet time to fight for LGBT interests (Han, 2021). Korean academic feminists often argue that lesbians should not be part of feminism because they reinforce patriarchy through taking on butch-femme roles in their relationships (Koo & Kim, 2021), and LGBT Korean academics often struggle to publish LGBT-related research in Korean feminist venues due to a perception that LGBT research does not undermine

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<sup>13</sup> On May 24, 2017, a gay man days away from his discharge from his two years of mandatory military service was sentenced to six months in prison for having consensual sex with men off base in his home, and in the same year 32 more men faced criminal charges after being targeted by other soldiers directed by their commanders to find and “out” other gay soldiers using gay dating apps (Gitzen 2020).

patriarchy (Henry, 2018). A prominent feminist website, *Megalia*, split up in 2015 over internal conflict surrounding how feminists should approach LGBT issues, with one faction asserting that all biological males, gay men and transgender women included, are “slaves to their penises and potential rapists” (quoted in Kim, 2018; Koo, 2019, p. 8). As a result of this controversy, *Megalia* had to ban reference to gay men as “asshole vermin” (referring to anal sex), leading to an exodus of anti-LGBT feminists to a new site called *Womad*. As of 2017, *Megalia* has gone defunct, and *Womad*-users have often allied themselves with conservatives in anti-gay and anti-transgender organizing (Koo & Kim, 2021).

With neither structural nor social support, LGBT Koreans have adopted certain strategies for living under the heterosexism that pervades every aspect of Korean society. One of these is the practice of *kyeyak kyõlhon* (“contract marriages”), arrangements by which gay men and lesbian women marry each other and even have children together in order to fulfill their filial duties to their families (and especially head off questions of when they will get married), and, for men, gain access to promotions at work from which they would unofficially be barred if they remained unmarried. This arrangement is supposed to allow them to retain the freedom to pursue relationships with people of their same sex while fulfilling the South Korea’s chrononormative expectations, with plans to later explain to friends and family that one of them is infertile to respond to queries about their lack of children. Nonetheless, the contract marriage often ends up being unequal, as the woman is expected to maintain the duties of a Korean wife (J. S. P. Cho, 2009).

Contract marriages are relatively rare, and most gay men just remain single. Many of these men try to overcompensate for being unfilial sons (i.e., non-reproductive) through financial means by buying expensive things—like houses—for their parents or investing in their siblings’

business ventures (J. S. P. Cho, 2017). Because under the South Korean neo-Confucian regime children are expected to care for their parents in their old age, there is little by way of social security for the elderly in Korea. As gay men get older (late 30s-40s), many “retire” from gay life to focus on making money, as they lack the social safety net provided by children (Cho, 2020a). Others, following the lead of “bats”—gay men who are married to heterosexual women and seek same-sex relationships and sexual encounters secretly—plan to marry a woman and start a family to make sure they have support as they get older (Cho, 2020b). In describing this phenomenon, Cho draws on affect theorist Lauren Berlant’s concept of “aspirational normalcy,” the desire to approximate what is considered “normal” and the stability that accompanies it (Berlant, 2007),<sup>14</sup> to describe how gay Korean men—particularly economically insecure gay Korean men—fantasize about the security that comes with living in accordance with sociocultural norms (Cho, 2020b).

## Conclusions

In this chapter, I have outlined the interlocking historical, social, political, and economic forces that shape the experiences of the young Koreans, and particularly the young Korean men, who participated in this study. I showed how Neo-Confucianism, established during the Chosŏn era, persists into the present, shaping how the young Koreans of today come to understand their particular instantiations of the relationships between education and socioeconomic status, as well as the construction of gender. Education is the most culturally acceptable and valorized means of achieving class mobility/maintenance, especially through the networks to which a prestigious education at a SKY University can provide access. This has become especially important under the IMF’s neoliberalization policies, which dramatically increased competition for stable, well-

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<sup>14</sup> Berlant’s concept of “aspirational normalcy,” while not explicitly referencing Veblen, recalls his concept of the “common standard of decency.”

paying jobs in Korea. For men, particularly, it affords easier access to higher paid and more stable work, allowing him to fulfill the masculine role of provider for the Korean household and filial son who can take care of his parents in their later years and continue the family line within heterosexist Neo-Confucian ideals. However, for non-heterosexual men, and especially non-heterosexual men without a prestigious educational background, this “normalcy” is unattainable while living as one’s authentic self.

## CHAPTER 3

### BODY IMAGE

#### Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the dominant psychological and psychiatric approaches to body image and eating disorders. I then introduce the anthropological critique of these approaches, particularly of psychological studies' lack of attention to culture and cross-cultural variability, and summarize anthropologists' efforts at demonstrating the importance of taking culture seriously in body image research since the 1990s. I end with a discussion of male body ideals in Korea, complicating the psychological literature with the focus on culture and the anthropological literature with a focus on men's experiences of body image.

#### Body Image and Eating Disorders in Psychological Theory

##### Eating Disorders

The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fifth Edition (DSM-5 American Psychiatric Association, 2013) recognizes six "feeding and eating disorders" (hereby referred to as "eating disorders"). These include disorders known as pica, rumination disorder, avoidant/restrictive food intake disorder, anorexia nervosa, bulimia nervosa, and binge eating disorders. Pica refers to the persistent eating of nonfood substances in a manner inappropriate for one's developmental age. Rumination disorder refers to the repeated regurgitation of food over a period of at least one month to re-chew, re-swallow, or spit out. Avoidant/restrictive food intake disorder refers to a refusal to eat, restriction of food intake, or sensitivity to certain qualities of

food that is not associated with a disturbance of body image, or the sensory sensitivities associated with autism spectrum disorders.<sup>15</sup>

Anorexia nervosa is the most well-known of the eating disorders. The DSM-5 criteria for anorexia nervosa include the restriction of energy intake relative to what the body needs and a resultant significantly low body weight (usually with a BMI less than 18.5 kg/m<sup>2</sup> for an adult);<sup>16</sup> intense fear of gaining weight or fatness<sup>17</sup> with persistent efforts to prevent weight gain; and disturbance in self-assessment of body weight or shape, undue influence of shape or weight on felt self-worth, and failure to recognize the seriousness of low body weight. It can manifest as “restricting type,” meaning that weight loss is accomplished through dieting, fasting, or excessive exercise, or “binge-eating/purging type,” meaning that the patient is engaged in binge eating and/or purging behaviors like use of laxatives, diuretics, enemas, or vomiting even after eating only small amounts of food to spur weight loss or prevent processing calories.

Bulimia nervosa is characterized by recurrent episodes (at least once weekly for three months) of binge eating in which during a set period of time one eats a significantly larger amount of food than most individuals would in the same period and a feeling of a loss of control overeating during that period of time. This is followed by inappropriate compensatory behaviors such as vomiting; use of laxatives, diuretics, or enemas; overexercise; or fasting to prevent weight gain. This is accompanied by an undue fixation on weight or shape. People with bulimia nervosa also have a 30% lifetime prevalence of alcohol or stimulant abuse.

Binge-eating disorder is characterized by recurrent episodes of binge eating with a feeling of a loss of control but without inappropriate compensatory behaviors. They are usually

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<sup>15</sup> These three disorders are not typically related to body image and are not of interest to this dissertation.

<sup>16</sup> Psychologists and psychiatrists now overwhelmingly recognize that, in practice, anorexia nervosa can occur at any size.

<sup>17</sup> See Section 3 of this chapter for cross-cultural critique of this criterion.

associated with at least three of (1) eating faster than usual; (2) eating until uncomfortably full; (3) eating large amounts even when not physically hungry; (4) eating alone due to embarrassment about the amount one is eating; and (5) feelings of guilt, self-disgust, or depression afterward.

The DSM-5 also includes categories of “other specified feeding or eating disorders” and “unspecified feeding or eating disorders.” These are typically versions of one of the above disorders that lacks one of the diagnostic criteria, previously referred to as “Eating Disorder Not Otherwise Specified” (EDNOS). For example, “atypical anorexia nervosa” refers to all of the aforementioned characteristics of anorexia nervosa except that the patient’s weight is at or above the normal range.<sup>18</sup> Versions for bulimia nervosa and binge-eating disorder describe less frequent binge eating/purging episodes or within a shorter time span. “Purging disorder” refers to the forced expulsion of food without binge eating. “Unspecified feeding or eating disorders” apply to situations in which an eating disorder appears to be present, but there is insufficient information to make a specific diagnosis, as may be the case in an emergency room setting.

Eating disorders are among the deadliest of all mental illnesses. The mortality rate of anorexia nervosa has been found in meta-analyses not only to be the deadliest of all eating disorders (Arcelus et al., 2011), but also the second-deadliest class of mental disorders after substance abuse disorders (Chesney et al., 2014). Moreover, fewer than half of patients fully recover from anorexia nervosa, with 20% of them developing a chronic case, and 5% dying (Steinhausen, 2009). One in five of these deaths is likely to be by suicide (Arcelus et al., 2011). These numbers appear to have persisted over the last decade (Dobrescu et al., 2020; Golden &

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<sup>18</sup> Whitelaw and colleagues (2014) found a fivefold increase over six years of non-underweight adolescents presenting for treatment for anorexia nervosa, and Golden and Mehler (2020) assert that 25-40% of patients admitted to specialized eating disorders programs fit the criteria for “atypical anorexia nervosa.”

Mehler, 2020). The effects of caloric restriction associated with eating disorders, particularly anorexia nervosa, can lead to medical complications of the metabolic, endocrine, cardiopulmonary, gastrointestinal, neurological, and hematological systems, which can be reversed and treated with proper nutrition (Cass et al., 2020). However, underdiagnosis and undertreatment, for reasons ranging from racial and gender bias (Becker et al., 2010; Räisänen & Hunt, 2014) to barriers created by for-profit health insurance companies (Lester, 2018), can lead to poorer outcomes (Khalsa et al., 2017).

### Body Image

Psychologist Thomas Cash, one of the pioneers in the field of body image research, especially body image research as distinct from eating disorders research, also founded the journal, *Body Image*. Cash has defined body image as “the multifaceted psychological experience of embodiment, especially but not exclusively one’s physical appearance... It encompasses one’s body-related self-perceptions and self-attitudes, including thoughts, beliefs, feelings, and behaviors” (Cash, 2004, p. 1), which is the definition utilized in most body image research.

While distinct from eating disorders, body image is thought to contribute heavily to disordered eating through the construct of body dissatisfaction. Body dissatisfaction refers to negative feelings about, or even disgust with, one’s body, especially as it relates to one’s appearance (Polivy & Herman, 2002). As a result, body dissatisfaction has been found to be the strongest predictor of eating disorders, with increased body dissatisfaction leading to higher risk of developing eating disorders (Phelps et al., 1999). At the same time, body dissatisfaction has been challenged as a cause of disordered eating in that body dissatisfaction is commonplace while eating disorders are relatively uncommon (Rodin et al., 1985; Tantleff-Dunn et al., 2011),

leading to researchers to posit other theories and moderating variables to explain this discrepancy (Tylka, 2004). Prominent sociocultural theories<sup>19,20</sup> in the body image literature connecting body dissatisfaction to eating disorders include sociocultural theory and feminist theory/objectification theory.

### Theoretical Frameworks

*Sociocultural Theory.* Sociocultural theory argues that current societal beauty standards present exacting body ideals that are difficult for most people to reach, and that these body ideals vary across time (i.e., different periods of history have articulated different body ideals) and cultures (i.e., different cultural groups assign values to bodies in different ways). Because the current ideal for women is the “thin-ideal” (Bordo, 2003), women endeavor to approximate this body type, leading to disordered eating (Thompson et al., 1999). Tiggemann (2012) outlines the fundamental components of the model, saying

(1) there exist societal ideals of beauty (within a particular culture) that are (2) transmitted via a variety of sociocultural channels. These ideals are then (3) adopted or internalized by individuals, so that (4) body satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) will be a function of the extent to which individuals do (or do not) meet the ideal prescription. Such satisfaction or dissatisfaction will then have (5) affective and behavioral consequences of its own (e.g., eating disorders)... the model also recognizes that (6) there will be individual differences in response... [based on] a variety of biological and psychological

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<sup>19</sup> The following theories are regarded as sociocultural theories of body image. One of them is also itself entitled “sociocultural theory” (Thompson, et al. 1999), and refers primarily to the “tripartite influence model,” a model of specific influences that reproduce models of body ideals.

<sup>20</sup> There are also theories related to the effects of individual temperament and biology on the relationship between body image and disordered eating which are not covered in this dissertation.

characteristics that moderate the links in the model, and ultimately determine an individual's degree of vulnerability to sociocultural pressures. (p. 759)

Sociocultural theory also articulates a “tripartite influence model,” which argues that ideals are reinforced by parents, peers, and the media (Thompson et al., 1999).

*Feminist/Objectification Theory.* Feminist theory, also known as objectification theory, posits that women's psychological concerns are based on the ways in which they navigate engagements with men and patriarchal power structures throughout society (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Specifically, since women's bodies are sexually objectified, they are treated as assemblages of parts valued primarily for their physical appearance and ability to reproduce (Bartky, 2015). This happens not just in the individual moments of objectifying interactions, but more generally within “sexually objectifying environments” (Szymanski et al., 2011). “Sexually objectifying environments” are those settings in which

(a) traditional gender roles exist, (b) a high probability of male contact exists (physically speaking, a male-dominated environment), (c) women typically hold less power than men in that environment, (d) a high degree of attention is drawn to sexual/ physical attributes of women's bodies, and (e) there is the approval and acknowledgement of male gaze (20-21).

While these criteria were originally considered to refer to discrete settings, such as the restaurant Hooters, Moradi (2011) has suggested that a given culture or society such as the United States also meets these criteria. While there may be particular settings in which these pressures are intensified, such as in Hooters restaurants or beauty pageants (Moffitt & Szymanski, 2011), these pressures are also often part of the fabric of daily life.

As a result, objectification theory posits that women internalize that objectification and “self-objectify,” coming to experience themselves as objects of scrutiny on the basis of their appearance (Tiggemann, 2013). Self-objectification leads to women’s increased surveillance of their own bodies, resulting in body dissatisfaction or body shame, the emotion that comes from failing to meet a cultural standard against one measures oneself (Moradi & Huang, 2008). Because this cultural standard is embodied in the “thin-ideal,” one which associates femininity and beauty with thinness (Bordo, 2003), self-objectification is the reason that body dissatisfaction and body shame increase women’s risk for disordered eating (Murnen & Seabrook, 2012; Schaefer & Thompson, 2018).

## Body Image and Eating Disorders in Men

### History and Barriers

Historically, eating disorders and body image concerns have been considered the purview of women (Andersen, 2014; Murray, 2021; Zhang, 2014), despite the earliest reports of illnesses that would later be identified as anorexia nervosa being reported in female *and* male patients (e.g., Gull, 1874; Morton, 1694; see: Wooldridge, 2016), and the earliest efforts recognizable as dieting began among European men in the late Renaissance (Strings, 2019). In fact, the term “anorexia nervosa” is used due to the early male patients: because of them, the original term these physicians considered, “anorexia hysterica,” could not apply to men, who lacked uteruses (Wooldridge, 2016). However, men were excluded from the body image literature for over 100 years, resulting in a litany of problems that continue to plague research and treatment endeavors for disordered eating and body image disturbance (Murray, 2021).

One of the core problems that remains is the popular notion that men are immune from body image concerns and eating disorders, an assumption that pervades both lay and clinical

approaches to men expressing these problems. One of the foundational assumptions of the literature that led to the exclusion of males from research was the diagnostic requirement of amenorrhea, the lack of menstruation when it would be expected for a woman's developmental age, due to malnutrition, which persisted as a diagnostic criterion for anorexia nervosa until the publication of the DSM-5 (Attia et al., 2013). In other words, the presence of a uterus was believed to be important to the potential for developing an eating disorder throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, despite the 19<sup>th</sup> century rejection of the "hysterica" label for the more sex-inclusive "nervosa." Because men cannot menstruate, they were almost completely excluded from research into eating disorders throughout most of the 1900s.<sup>21</sup> To the present, only 1% of body image- and eating disorders-related research publications exclusively focus on male populations (Murray et al., 2016).

This dearth of focus on men's experience of body image and eating disorders research has been paradoxically both based on the assumption, and used as evidence, that body image concerns and eating disorders are rare in men. The DSM-5 notes that eating disorders affect women versus men at a rate of about ten-to-one; however, epidemiological research has suggested that that ratio is actually closer to four-to-one in US populations (Hudson et al., 2007) and three-to-one in Australia (Mitchison & Mond, 2015).

These rates may be underestimates (Trompeter et al., 2021). Because of the historical association of disordered eating with women and men's exclusion from the research, theories and research instruments have been developed based almost exclusively on women's experiences. As a result, research instruments often fail to consider the specific needs and concerns of men, for example in their emphasis on thinness-related behaviors or concerns about bodily features more

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<sup>21</sup> One exception is Arthur Crisp and his colleagues, who included males in their studies in the 1960s (Wooldridge, 2016).

typically associated with women's body image (Reas et al., 2014; Stanford & Lemberg, 2014b; Strother et al., 2014). This leads to low estimates of male body image disturbance and disordered eating due not to an actual low prevalence of these disorders among men but rather reflecting low validity and reliability of these measures when men are confronted with them (Raevuori et al., 2014).

Relatedly, men present for treatment of eating disorders and body image concerns later than women for reasons having to do to the popular understanding of body image and eating disorders as women's concerns. Räisänen and Hunt (2014) note that men face barriers to treatment at every step of help-seeking. First, the popular association of body image disturbance and eating disorders with women means that men overlook their experiences, failing to consider the possibility that they are experiencing a women's disorder. Second, there is a lack of popularly available information directly and comprehensively addressing men's experiences of body image and disordered eating. Third, when presenting for treatment, providers, also biased by the popular gendering of eating disorders, may attribute symptoms of disordered eating or body image disturbance to a more gender-appropriate diagnosis (Räisänen & Hunt, 2014). Often, this means that they only receive treatment at a much later and more severe stage of their disorder, leading to a higher mortality rate for male than for female patients (Coelho et al., 2018; Wooldridge, 2016).

Further, treatment settings predominantly serve women due to their greater representation among patient populations. Sometimes, a male patient may be one of the only men in the institution among patients and staff, one of the only men in the institution who has experienced

an eating disorder<sup>22</sup>, or one of the first men treated by a given clinician (Bunnell, 2021).

Moreover, the jargon and strategies of rapport-building used by clinicians (e.g., encouragement to be vulnerable) is often gendered, sometimes not making intuitive sense to men or causing them to question the validity of their diagnosis as a man with a “woman’s disorder” (Kierski & Blazina, 2010), causing them to self-stigmatize, viewing themselves as “less of a man” (Griffiths, Mond, et al., 2015).

Moreover, whether treatment protocols based on women’s experiences work equally well for men is left to question. Strobel et al. (2019) found in a large, gender-matched sample that men and women recovered from anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa at similar rates, but that men had higher rates of EDNOS at follow-up. However, research instruments they used (e.g., the Eating Disorders Inventory) have been found to have indeterminate reliability and be biased toward lower scores among men (Stanford & Lemberg, 2014a). As the prevalence rates of body image disturbance and disordered eating among men is expected to converge with those of women (Mitchison & Mond, 2015), understanding the specifics of men’s body image is becoming increasingly important.

### Men’s Body Ideals and Disordered Eating

Presently, men’s body ideals are understood to be oriented toward a physique characterized by large, lean musculatures within a V-shaped torso (i.e., a high shoulder-waist ratio), large biceps, and “six-pack” abs. This mesomorphic (muscular-and-low-fat body type) ideal for men re-emerged from a century of homoerotic connotations in the 1980s when (semi)nude and sexualized male forms entered eroticized media forms that had previously

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<sup>22</sup> In other words, there may be male staff in the institution, but these men have not themselves experienced an eating disorder. Thus staff may not empathize with male patients’ experiences, and male patients experience it as an insult to their masculinity.

focused primarily on women (Grogan, 1998). Male action figures portraying characters like G. I. Joe, Luke Skywalker, and Batman shifted from realistic proportions in the 1960s and 1970s to figurines with massive arms and miniature waists by the early 2000s (Baghurst et al., 2006; Pope et al., 2000). Sports Illustrated, Men's Health, Men's Fitness, and Playgirl magazines also all featured increasingly sexualized, denuded, and leanly muscular male bodies over this timespan (Farquhar & Wasylikiw, 2007; Labre, 2005; Leit et al., 2001; Rohlinger, 2002). These images continue to be promulgated, particularly through "fitspiration" posts on social media (Tiggemann & Zaccardo, 2018). Feminist philosopher Susan Bordo, whose book *Unbearable Weight* (2003, originally published in 1993) is foundational to sociocultural approaches to women's body image and disordered eating, in her later book *The Male Body* (1999) remarked in surprise that gender equality in body ideals was coming not in the form of less body dissatisfaction for women, but an explosion of it among men.

Early research into men's body ideals often did not find evidence of body dissatisfaction among men because they tended to use measures designed for women and focused on skinniness. However, in reality smaller men reported wanting to be larger while fatter men reported wanting to be leaner; in averaging differences scores between current and ideal bodies, the bidirectionality of body dissatisfaction would be collapsed into a score around zero (Holmqvist Gattario et al., 2014). Unlike women's ideals and directions of dissatisfaction, which emphasize thinness, present men's body dissatisfaction has been found to be bidirectional. That is, men tend to emphasize both a desire for greater muscularity and low body fat, rather than an exclusive drive for thinness (McCabe & Ricciardelli, 2004).

Desire among men to approximate the mesomorphic ideal, parallel to women and the thin ideal, has been associated with a type of body dysmorphic disorder known as "muscle

dysmorphia.” Other, more colloquial, labels include “male anorexia,” “bigorexia,” and the “Adonis complex” (Pope et al., 2000). In muscle dysmorphia, the (typically male) sufferer views his own body as not muscular enough, usually in the form of being too skinny. He seeks to compensate for this by overexercise, with the goal of increasing muscle mass, and strict regulation of diet, with the goal of increasing muscle definition (Segura-García et al., 2010). However, these behaviors can also lead to nutrient imbalances, exercise-related injuries, bradycardia, and anabolic steroid-use (Nagata, Ganson, et al., 2021).

The mesomorphic ideal has also been associated with “muscularity-oriented disordered eating” (Murray et al., 2012; Murray et al., 2013). Muscularity-oriented disordered eating refers to disordered eating beliefs and behaviors associated with a goal not of thinness, as tends to be the case for women, but with the goals of muscularity and leanness (Calzo et al., 2012). For example, men with a diagnosis of anorexia nervosa tend to fear weight gain rather than desire to lose weight, and their body concerns have more to do with maximizing muscular definition than with achieving a certain size or specific weight (Olivardia, 2007). Wooldridge (2016) described a severely underweight male patient who, desiring the mesomorphic ideal but understanding it to be a biological impossibility, opted instead for calorie-restricting behaviors, saying that if he could not be that muscular, he could at least avoid being fat. Because severity of muscle dysmorphia and of muscularity-oriented disordered eating are highly correlated, Murray and colleagues (2012) suggest that muscle dysmorphia should be classified as an eating disorder.

#### Theoretical Frameworks

Male body image and eating disorders researchers in psychology have attempted to theorize the connections between eating disorders and body dissatisfaction in men, attending to the differences in men’s manifestations of these phenomena compared to women. In doing so,

they have drawn on the aforementioned sociocultural and objectification theories to varying degrees of success. They have also adopted related “masculinity hypotheses” to account for the different set of gender expectations men confront compared to women, suggesting that these too affect men’s vulnerability to body dissatisfaction and disordered eating.<sup>23</sup>

*Sociocultural Theory and Men.* As with women, sociocultural theorists suggest that men are presented with unrealistic body standards which they internalize and with which they compare themselves. Failure to approximate these standards in their own bodies leads to body dissatisfaction, which is a precursor for disordered eating. Typically, these body ideals are internalized in accordance with the tripartite influence model, that is, through their interactions with peers, parents, and the media. Later research indicated that partner influence may also be important to consider in the model (Tylka, 2011; Tylka & Andorka, 2012), suggesting that a “quadripartite” model may be more appropriate for conceptualizing eating disorder risk among certain groups. People can be influenced by multiple sources beyond these four as well, including teachers, coaches, preachers, physicians, and anyone who may feel a need or authority to comment on another’s body (Tiggemann, 2012).

Peer influence on men’s body image has been demonstrated in several ways. For one, participation in fitness activities, particularly sports, was associated with social acceptance and popularity (Tatangelo & Ricciardelli, 2013). Men are also reported to engage in fat talk (see Nichter, 2000) and muscle talk (Sladek et al., 2014), and through these conversations reiterating the importance of these features in male body image. Tylka (2011) found that pressure to be muscular by a romantic partner predicted disordered eating behaviors in men, but not muscularity enhancement behaviors. She argues that, because romantic partners tend to eat with

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<sup>23</sup> Reviews by Tylka (2021) and Murnen and Karazsia (2017) categorize male body image research into these three broad theoretical frameworks.

one another, men may be more likely to develop disordered eating behaviors if their partners are critical of their appearance.

Parent influence has been found to be among the strongest of the sociocultural influences on men (Stanford & McCabe, 2005), not only in the U.S. but around the world (McCabe et al., 2015). Parent influence is also exerted over multiple modalities. For example, parental teasing regarding a boy's weight or appearance increased his risk for body dysmorphic disorder and appearance-related rejection sensitivity (Densham et al., 2017). Moreover, men with parents who themselves dieted or criticized their children's eating had increased propensity for disordered eating (Kroon Van Diest & Tylka, 2010).

Media influence is the most elaborated within the model, likely due to the ease with which it can be manipulated in experimental settings relative to the other influences. Barlett et al. (2008) demonstrates that media influence has small to moderate effects on men's body dissatisfaction, and therefore on their disordered eating. Exposure to ideal male images, especially on television, leads to social comparison and body dissatisfaction in men (Allen & Mulgrew, 2020; Hargreaves & Tiggemann, 2009). Visual social media like Instagram increases male users' body dissatisfaction, disordered eating, and desire to use anabolic steroids (Griffiths et al., 2018). Visual-heavy dating apps like Tinder and Grindr have been shown to reduce men's self-esteem and body satisfaction, and Grindr in particular to increase weight stigma and sexual objectification in men (Filice et al., 2019; Strubel & Petrie, 2017).

*Objectification Theory and Men.* Objectification theory has been overall less supported in the literature (Murnen & Karazsia, 2017; Tylka, 2021), in large part because men tend not to be sexually objectified in mainstream culture (Daniel & Bridges, 2010; Parent & Moradi, 2011). Whereas women's bodies are generally valued for their ornamentality (i.e., how they look),

men's bodies are typically valued for their instrumentality (i.e., how the function) (Franzoi, 1995; Freedman, 1990). As a result, there is little opportunity for most men to internalize sexual objectification and self-objectify.

In her ethnographic study of fashion models in the US and UK, sociologist Ashley Mears (2011) describes how male models are viewed, and view themselves, as transient within the field of modeling. Their aesthetic labor is devalued (they get paid about half as much as female models), they are mocked by their clients, and they themselves accept and often even repeat these tropes because to take modeling seriously—to actively pursue a career contingent upon being objectified—would compromise their masculinity. Clients also recognize the larger cultural attitudes toward objectified men and increasingly employ famous athletes to model brands, drawing on their muscles primary instrumentality to associate the product with masculinity (Mears, 2011). Monocello and Dressler's (2020) interviews with American men about body ideals further evidenced the importance of the instrumentality-ornamentality divide in American thinking about men's bodies.

Sexual minority men appear to be an exception to this trend, as they are significantly more likely to report sexual objectification, self-objectification, and body shame than straight men (Engeln-Maddox et al., 2011; Martins et al., 2007). Parallel to women's experience of patriarchal oppression put forward as a precursor in the original objectification model (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997), it has been suggested that minority stress provides that environment for gay and bisexual men (Kimmel & Mahalik, 2005). Moreover, degree of involvement in the gay community, which often involves intense sexualization and social comparison, is related to sexual objectification, providing the sexualization environment (Davids et al., 2015). Bodybuilders are another exception, demonstrating high levels of body

dissatisfaction, drive for muscularity, and self-objectification compared to regular weight lifters and controls (Hallsworth et al., 2005). This is because bodybuilding is ultimately about ornamentality (Monaghan, 2014).

*Masculinity Hypotheses.* Two related masculinity hypotheses have been invoked to explain men's muscle dissatisfaction. The earlier hypothesis, published in the mid-1980s, was known as the "threatened masculinity hypothesis" and argued that men's muscle dissatisfaction resulted from gains in women's power (Mishkind et al., 1986). That is, as women increasingly entered domains typically associated with men, symbols used by men to project their status and differentiate themselves from women, such as their careers, no longer served that purpose. As a result, men retreated to their bodies, using their greater body mass and relative ease of developing muscularity to maintain their distinction. Bordo (2003) likewise argued from a feminist perspective that women's rapidly increasing drive for thinness occurred with women's greater entrance into the workforce and a desire to project their femininity despite their increased social power.

Relatedly, the more recent masculinity hypothesis argues that masculinity predicts eating pathology and body dissatisfaction in men. Blashill (2011) found that greater degrees of masculine personality traits predicted lower levels of eating pathology and body dissatisfaction in men. These personality traits were measured by the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974) and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence et al., 1974), and included items related to aggressiveness, ambition, and promiscuity for men. However, measures of masculinity that include broader conceptions of masculinity than just personality traits, such as occupational preference and hobbies (Mahalik et al., 2003), were positively associated with body dissatisfaction. Griffiths, Murray, et al. (2015) argue that men who endorse traditional masculine

norms, but may not themselves be able to approximate, then try to compensate by attempting to project masculinity through their muscularity, which then may lead to body dissatisfaction and disordered eating. Since men demonstrating symptoms of muscle dysmorphia tend to be rated as more masculine (Griffiths et al., 2014), this makes sense. Likewise, men who report more conformity with femininity also report greater dissatisfaction with body fat and restrictive eating behaviors (Murray & Touyz, 2012), but less muscle dissatisfaction (Blashill, 2011).

### Body Image, Eating Disorders, and Culture

For the anthropologist reading to this point, conspicuously missing from this chapter has been an explicit engagement with culture. This is not accidental, although it is somewhat incidental. Despite the prominence of “sociocultural” theories, the psychological literature on body image has largely not engaged with culture, or really any feature not encompassed by the White,<sup>24</sup> Educated, and from Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic (Henrich et al., 2010) populations from which university-age research samples are typically selected. I say “largely” because there have been attempts in psychological and psychiatric body image research to advance understanding beyond white, Western, and anglophone settings, but these attempts represent a small portion of the body image literature and contain several conceptual flaws in their use of culture (see below).<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> These samples are rarely exclusively white, but whites tend to be overwhelmingly represented in samples and potential differences in responses based on ethnic background are rarely taken into consideration, except those situations in which weaker than expected effects are found during analysis.

<sup>25</sup> One of the most recent and comprehensive volumes on eating disorders in boys and men, aptly titled *Eating Disorders in Boys and Men* (Nagata, et al. 2021), contains one chapter on “Racial and Ethnic Considerations in the United States” (Yu & Perez, 2021) and one chapter on “Cross-Cultural Considerations in Latin American Boys and Men” (Compte & Trujillo, 2021).

## Culture-Bound Syndromes

The concept of the “culture-bound syndrome” was coined by Pow Meng Yap (1951) to describe disorders that only appeared among certain groups of people.<sup>26</sup> Yap’s goal was to ensure that, particularly, colonized peoples’ meaning systems were taken seriously in the psychiatric encounter. This positioned Yap against Kraepelin’s psychiatry, which viewed European illnesses as universal and their manifestations among their colonized populations as exotic aberrations from the European norm (Crozier, 2018). Over time, these disorders came to be considered and described in practice as precisely what Yap hoped to avoid: that is, those disorders which did not fit into the “universalist” nosologies of Western psychiatric practice were therefore “exotic” and evidence of a community’s lack of civility (Bhugra et al., 2007).

In the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, psychologists, psychiatrists, and anthropologists also began to consider eating disorders as a form of culture-bound syndrome.<sup>27</sup> Anthropologists were reconceptualizing culture-bound syndromes to de-emphasize the “boundedness” of a disorder and place more emphasis on the ways in which a given illness appeared to manifest in line with local meaning systems (Kleinman, 1980; Ritenbaugh, 1982). Therefore, using culture-bound syndromes as a heuristic to understand the interplay of health and meaning systems became important.

Reading the articles produced by transcultural psychiatrists and medical anthropologists on the topic in the 1980s, one feels the simultaneous earnestness of inquiry and tongue-in-cheek style of the contemporary reflexive turn in using the self-evident whiteness, affluence, and

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<sup>26</sup> Such disorders include amok in Malaysia, a condition of in which violence is conducted in a period of dissociation; dhat in India, the fear of semen loss as a fear of loss of vital essence; pibloktoq among the Inuit, in which they strip off their clothes and run naked into the arctic tundra; and hwabyōng in Korea, literally “fire illness,” a psychosomatic illness that results from holding in anger.

<sup>27</sup> Yap (1967) was one of the earliest to characterize anorexia nervosa as a culture-bound syndrome (bulimia nervosa had not yet been identified).

Westernness of eating disorders to challenge of the “ethnocentric biases of Western psychiatrists... [who] believe that true psychiatric syndromes only occur in the West... [and] label variations from these norms in other cultures as [culture-bound syndromes]” (Prince, 1985, p. 199). But this was not merely irony: at the time, eating disorders were rarely found outside of the Western (US, UK, and Australia) world (Prince, 1983), and the symptoms of eating disorders reflected ways of approaching and understanding women’s bodies particular to the Protestant Christian worldview prominent in the United States (Bordo, 2003; Swartz, 1985).

#### Westernization/Acculturation Theory

However, this “eating disorders as culture-bound illnesses” hypothesis was being challenged by large numbers of cases being identified among ethnic minorities within the US and UK as well as in Japan, later in Hong Kong, and increasingly around the world in places that did not share the Christian background associated with eating disorders in the West (Nasser, 1997). At the same time, eating disorders were still highly associated with Western cultural norms and values. This led to the development of the “Westernization hypothesis,” also known as “acculturation theory,” to explain how a “Western” culture-bound illness could be cropping up in increasingly distant locales.

The Westernization/acculturation hypothesis holds that the worldwide ballooning in rates of eating disorders results from non-Western people’s increasing interaction with Western culture, especially through globalized Western media. The acculturative process occurs among migrant or minority groups within Western countries (Berry et al., 1986), and the Westernization process occurs through contact with Western culture (mainly, the media) within a non-Western country (Gordon, 2001). Through this Western media, women are presented with the thin-ideal (and men with the muscular ideal) and come to aspire to that body themselves. This exposure

lays the groundwork for body dissatisfaction and eventually eating disorders (Chamorro & Flores-Ortiz, 2000; Davis & Katzman, 1999; Gunewardene et al., 2001; Kim & Han, 2017).

### Body Image and Anthropology

To anthropologists, the Westernization and acculturation hypotheses are based on unsatisfactory—and even incorrect—treatments of culture. These theories tend to construct the process of Westernization/acculturation as monolithically being transplanted from the West to the rest of the world. They also conflate processes of acculturation, Westernization, and modernization (Van Esterik, 2001). The treatment of culture is shallow, monolithic, based on stereotypes, and is approached through linguistic translations of popular research instruments without regard for local meaning systems that may lead respondents to interpret questions in unexpected ways, skewing results (Lee, 2004). They also problematically reify culture as bounded and tied to geography (except American culture, which travels anywhere, unchanged, and with relative ease); portray eating disorders as “culture bound syndromes” in the strict sense of boundedness in order to use them as evidence of Westernization, while also saying that Westernization is the cause of eating disorders; and overall use culture to represent whatever factors that are not strictly psychological or biological (Lester, 2004).

The anthropological perspective does not completely reject Westernization as one of many factors related to the global rise in body image dissatisfaction and disordered eating; the dissemination of thin (and mesomorphic) body ideals to new locales has undeniably been a crucial undergird supporting the development of symptomologies that report these body types as goals. Rather, anthropologists emphasized that Westernization was nowhere near the entire story, nor even a particularly interesting or explanatory part at that (Lester, 2004).

Specifically, anthropologists were interested in the meanings, conditions, and power relations that led to disordered eating and shaped their locally particular manifestations. This is due to the ways in which anthropologists approach “the body.” Whereas psychological models of the body center the individual, anthropological analysis is often decentered and allows itself to float (seemingly) freely between individuals and the conditions that structure their experiences.

### Theories of the Body in Anthropology

Anthropological conceptions of the body often start with reference to Mary Douglas’ (1966) model of the “two bodies:” the physical body and the social body. The physical body is the “self,” the biological and psychological being that interacts with the world. The “social body” is the meanings in which the body is embedded which constrain and shape the physical body’s experiences and motivations.

Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987) describe a model of “three bodies,” including the individual body-self, the social body, and the body-politic. The individual body-self is analogous to the physical body in Douglas’ (1966) formulation, as are the two models’ social bodies largely concerned with the symbolic and indexical elements of the body. The body-politic refers to the ways in which power is exerted over bodies in a Foucauldian sense. Often, this is concerned with how governments exert power over bodies, especially through biopolitical (the ways in which governments shape the process of living) and necropolitical (the ways in which governments decide who is worthy of life and death) endeavors (Foucault, 2008; Mbembé, 2003). Following Butler (1997), I conceive of the body-politic to include not just government power, but also the ways in which power structures emerge and are recapitulated in everyday interactions with other people.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> The regulation of bodies in relation to ideal images tends not to occur so much within governing organizations as compared to the disapproving gaze and comments of other people in quotidian interactions.

This leads to Csordas (1990, 1993), who, taking a phenomenological approach, points out that the body is the *subject* of culture. Whereas previous conceptualizations of the body position the body as objects upon which meaning and power are enacted, Csordas' embodiment perspective acknowledges that these same bodies are also continuously involved in remaking those meanings and structures. Moreover, rather than conceptualizing culture as "written on the skin," the embodiment perspective argues that culture pervades the entire body. In other words, culture not only affects how someone looks and presents themselves, but also how the body itself functions in subtle but potentially important ways.

Finally, the body is also conceived of as "multiple" (Mol, 2002): in varying spaces of meaning bodies are not just looked-at differently but become ontologically different things.<sup>29</sup> In other words, in embodying different systems of meaning, bodies are treated as and experience themselves as situational and contextual, emerging from and co-created in the particular cultural frames and practices in which they are enacted.

Since the 1990s, anthropologists have drawn on these theories to explore body image and eating disorders in line with four major and overlapping strands. These include the globalization of body ideals, fat stigma, the phenomenology of eating disorders (especially treatment), and cosmetic surgery. The overall goal of this literature has been to problematize the narrative of "Westernization," showing how body ideals and attitudes toward fat are embodied in local forms rather than erased in the flows of globalization, how eating disorders are far more complicated than psychiatric diagnostic criteria suggest, and how beauty and its production can be informative of larger social processes. Anthropological research into body image demonstrates

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<sup>29</sup> The anthropological debate about the practical line between the "is perceived as" (epistemological) and "is" (ontological) is a blurry and semantic morass that is of extremely uninteresting compared to the health consequences of embodying the cultural models and social structures of a given context.

the wide array of experiences not captured in psychological models that fundamentally shape how body ideals, body image, and eating disorders are experienced across cultures.

#### The Globalization of Body Ideals and Cultural Epidemiologies of Disordered Eating

Psychiatrist and anthropologist Anne Becker performed the foundational research in the cross-cultural anthropology of body image and eating disorders<sup>30</sup> during her ethnographic fieldwork in rural Fiji in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Becker, 1994, 1995), and has continued for the last 30 years. She was interested in how Fijians related to their bodies, and how their embodied experiences affected their vulnerability to disordered eating. She found in her early studies that Fijians were not particularly concerned with their own bodies, despite a clear preoccupation with others' body shapes and sizes. Moreover, rural Fijians' concern with others' bodies was not about personal considerations—for example, personal morality or self-presentation. Rather, their concerns reflected the ways in which body shape was a powerful index of social embeddedness and being cared-for. Among rural Fijians, socially embedded and cared-for bodies, especially women's bodies, were robust bodies, well-fed and able to perform the demanding physical labor associated with their gender roles. On the other hand, thin bodies were seen as reflecting a lack of social care, or even falling victim to a local culture-bound illness or idiom of distress known as “going thin.” Furthermore, the responsibility for a body's shape was not embodied in the individual, but in the community. As a result, there was little interest among Fijians in “working” on their own bodies, through exercise, diet, or any other means.

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<sup>30</sup> Anthropologists were involved in conversations about the status of eating disorders as “culture bound syndromes” in the 1980s and 1990s, but, since eating disorders were not broadly recognized as global issues until the 1990s, Becker's work represents some of the earliest cross-cultural work on body image and eating disorders and is foundational to all future research.

Becker focused particularly on women's bodies in her research. She found that the confluence of factors—robust ideal female bodies, and social, rather than individual, responsibility for maintaining their size and shape—resulted in Fijians being unable to comprehend the motivation to or acknowledge the possibility of engaging in disordered eating behaviors. Consequently, Becker's data showed no contemporary evidence of disordered eating in this late 1980s, early 1990s research. Her work was an important early step in the direction of not just acknowledging “culture” as a factor in the global distribution of psychiatric disorders, but also in doing the work of explaining what about a particular cultural groups' beliefs and practices affected whether and how particular psychiatric phenomena do or do not manifest themselves.

By the publication of her ethnography, *Body, Self, and Society: The View from Fiji*, these rural Fijians received access to television, and individual concerns with body shape began to appear in its wake (Becker, 1995). Research conducted in 1998, three years following the appearance of television in the community, demonstrated a marked increase in disordered eating. Particularly, women connected their newfound, thinner, body ideals to goals for employment, social mobility, and lifestyle attainment through the emulation of characters they saw on television programs. Television became an avenue through which they could model their navigation of newly accessible cosmopolitan spaces. At the same time, they were not just interested in emulating television characters' body shapes, but also their physical capabilities (Xena from *Xena: Warrior Princess* was a popular example) and personality characteristics, focusing on concepts like gender parity and the ability to help others. Therefore, it was not just television, but television within the context of rapid social and economic change, that led to this profound transition in attitudes toward the body among rural Fijian women (Becker, 2004).

A 2004 special issue of *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* entitled “New Global Perspectives on Eating Disorders” was dedicated to exploring cross-cultural variability in the prevalence and experience of body ideals and disordered eating, as well as providing new directions for approaching eating disorders from a cultural standpoint. Specifically, the contributors to this special issue addressed the relatively unproblematized notion of “culture” in eating disorders research—generally used as a catch-all for explaining differences across populations rather than explaining what *about* culture leads to those differences. By studying a range of locales using a variety of methods researchers in this special issue challenged previous methodological and theoretical frames, offering nuanced and ethnographically detailed analyses of the cultural underpinnings of disordered eating across cultural groups.

Methodological insights focused particularly on the uncritical utilization of psychometric scales across cultural groups as a major issue in body image-related cross-cultural research. Research conducted by Le Grange and colleagues (2004) among impoverished black women in South Africa suggested that black women score significantly higher on eating disorder scales than white and mixed-race women. However, when Le Grange and colleagues engaged respondents in posttest interviews to examine the cultural validity of the Eating Attitudes Test (EAT-26; Garner et al., 1982), they found that several factors confounded the results. First, because the questionnaire was in English rather than their native Zulu, many did not understand the questionnaire in the first place,<sup>31</sup> and just marked items randomly before handing it in. Second, some of the questions took on unexpected meanings. For example, when participants reported being preoccupied with food, they were referring to their hunger due to food not being available around the house, not a desire to be thin. Further, vomiting after meals for some had to

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<sup>31</sup> The school taught in English, so the researchers assumed that not translating the questionnaire was appropriate. However, the questionnaire was not meaningful to these girls.

do with overeating when food was available, not knowing when the next meal would come; for others, they vomited after eating pork out of desperation despite their Muslim faith. By forcing themselves to vomit, they would not be violating proscriptions against eating pork. Among this population, then, the EAT-26 was not measuring disordered eating, it was measuring poverty and food insecurity.

Katzman and colleague's (2004) paper resulted from an argument among the authors about whether the eating disorders found on Curaçao were "orphan cases," appearing independently from the rest of the world, or were related to global flows of information. In their study, all of the women presenting with anorexia nervosa were mixed-race women who had spent a significant amount of their young adulthood studying in Holland. By studying abroad, they were confronted with racialized, socioeconomic, and gendered factors related to upward mobility that were largely impossible to reproduce in the island environment. For these women, eating disorders were less about food than they were about aspiration to the kind of lifestyle they experienced outside of Curaçao. Therefore, the authors underscored the necessity of exploring who develops eating disorders, and what common factors (such as study abroad and reentry among mixed-race women, in the case of Curaçao) may underlie their development in a particular (sub)group.

Theoretical insights related primarily to the need to go beyond attributing differences to "culture" rather than explaining how "culture" causes such differences to appear. For example, Pike and Borovoy's (2004) ethnographic contextualization of case studies of Japanese women with eating disorders show that eating disorders were less associated with a fear of fat than engaging a tension between the responsibilities of motherhood and the freedom of youth, embodied in a thin, "cute" appearance. Further, they were less afraid of "fat" *per se* than they

were of appearing different from the largely thin majority surrounding them. These issues related more to the demands of the modern Japanese economy than to thinness as a measure of social- and self-worth. This study showed that, even though the outcome—disordered eating—was nosologically similar between “Western” and Japanese presentations, the underlying cultural features that informed the phenomenology were notably different. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that the causes—nor the treatment of—eating disorders are the same across cultural groups. Navigating modernity was also a prominent theme among women with eating disorders in Curaçao (Katzman et al., 2004).

Finally, Anderson-Fye’s (2003, 2004) study challenged the conceptualization of the inevitability of eating disorders in the wake of globalization and exposure to Western media. Through her ethnographic account of Belizean schoolgirls’ conceptions of and attitude about their bodies, in the context of ubiquitous beauty pageants and increased interaction with American fashion magazines and television shows, she explains how local body ideals (i.e., having curves) and a local ethnopsychology of “never leave yourself” protected Belizean girls from wanting to change their bodies drastically and from engaging the disordered behaviors that would make it possible. The only women in the community engaging in disordered eating behaviors were employed in the tourist industry and were encouraged to maintain an appearance preferred by American and British tourists but were not dedicated to the body ideal itself. (Hoang [2015] similarly documented restricting and purging behaviors among Vietnamese sex workers, but did not specify whether these behaviors were the result of mental illness or for purely instrumental purposes). Anderson-Fye (2004) points out that, as far as the globalization of body ideals is concerned, body ideals are not transferred whole-cloth from one cultural group to

another (i.e., the US to the developing world), but are filtered through local ethnopsychologies (or, perhaps, cultural models) such that certain messages are taken up while others are ignored.

In many ways, the strain of research described in this section can be read as a cultural epidemiology of eating disorders, combining insights from psychological anthropology with rigorous psychological methods and analyses to examine the ways in which culture structures the uptake of body ideals and manifest disordered eating behaviors. It also serves as a corrective to the continued misappropriation of the culture concept in psychiatric and psychological research (Anderson-Fye, 2018). These researchers suggest that an uncritical use of the culture concept leads to shallow—and incorrect—analyses that misrepresent the role of culture in eating disorders research. Therefore, cross-cultural body image research requires more than just the translation and application of psychometric scales in different populations. It also necessitates deeply contextual, mixed-methods approaches to fully understand the body image-related attitudes and behaviors of a particular group.

#### Fat, Obesity, Stigma, and Symbolic Body Capital

Overlapping with studies of the globalization of body ideals are studies on the shifting meanings of fat and the biocultural consequences of rising prevalence of fat stigma. Fat stigma is defined in this literature in varying ways. One school of thought takes a strict “spoiled identity” definition in Goffman’s sense (Boero, 2007; Goffman, 1963; Guthman, 2011). That is, these researchers conceptualize fat stigma as those social attitudes toward fat that regard fat people as morally compromised, unintelligent, and potentially even dangerous. This attitude then justifies treating fat people as lesser-than thinner people, forcing them to pay more for healthcare and seats on airplanes, questioning their competence in job interviews, and criticizing them to their face in public (Puhl & Heuer, 2010).

These attitudes among dominant cultural adherents in the United States—as well as other white, Western populations—can be traced to the model of “healthism” originally outlined by Crawford (1980). “Healthism” refers to “the preoccupation with personal health as a primary—often *the* primary—focus for the definition and achievement of well-being...healthism treats individual behavior, attitudes, and emotions as the relevant symptoms needing attention” (Crawford, 1980, p. 368, emphasis original). Under healthism, engaging in “unhealthy” behaviors—like eating certain foods and not exercising—becomes a problem on the individual level: a problem of personal irresponsibility, incompetence, compromised morality, and even impurity and danger. Importantly, healthism also medicalized “wellness.” Yet, true “health” is also ever elusive and requires constant surveillance and maintenance to satisfy. Upon the initiation of the “War on Fat” in the 1990s, fat and obesity were moved to the center of conversations about health, well-being, and value (Boero, 2007; Guthman, 2011). This centering of fat within discourses of health has fundamentally shifted the ways in which Americans engage with theirs’ and others’ bodies, leading to unattainable expectations of “health” and “fitness” among the generation of people born during and after the late 1980s, who were brought up under the discourses of the “War on Fat.” As a result, young Americans—regardless of weight status and consonance with healthist ideals—tend to remain heavily dissatisfied with their bodies, causing them to engage in deleterious eating and compensation behaviors (Greenhalgh, 2015). Moreover, fat/obesity stigma has failed to prevent obesity, and may contribute to its increase (Brewis, 2014).

Anthropologist Mimi Nichter (2000), interested in how these meanings came to bear on girls’ and women’s actual lives, focused on the attitudes and behaviors related to fat among adolescent, mainly white, girls and their families in the United States, with a particular focus on

“fat talk.” Nichter describes “fat talk”—also known as “I’m so fat” discourses—as a kind of ritualistic speech with multiple uses. It acts as an “idiom of distress” to refer to more general negative feelings. It is also a bid for support, in that people usually respond along the lines of “no you’re not,” reassuring them of their continued membership in the group. Third, it acts as an “apology” for violating norms around women’s eating (“unhealthy,” in particular) food. Ultimately, it is a tool for building rapport among women. Further, it allowed girls to engage in discourse concerning cultural body ideals without actually performing the harmful dietary behaviors associated with eating disorders. At the same time, it normalizes the discourses that tend to be adopted by those who do develop disordered eating.

However, negatively affected, healthism-related concern with fat is not universal (Monocello, 2020). These attitudes range from a lack of concern with fat relative to other things like overall shape (Belizean schoolgirls; Anderson-Fye, 2004), presenting oneself as an “acceptable person” (African-Americans; McClure, 2017), and not “standing out” (Japan; Pike & Borovoy, 2004), to being describable as a “fat-loving” culture (Azawagh Arabs; Popenoe, 2004; Tuareg; Rasmussen, 2010; Jamaica; Sobo, 1994).<sup>32</sup> Moreover, even where fatness is denigrated, the meaning of fat is not always the same across those cultural groups. Early cross-cultural work like Sing Lee’s (1993) formulation of nonfat-phobic anorexia nervosa as a diagnostic subcategory among patients with anorexia in East, Southeast, and South Asian populations challenges the perceived universality of a fear of fatness in disordered eating, as well as concern with fatness more generally. The cross-cultural variability in attitudes toward fat underscores the need for radically contextualized and culturally rigorous approaches to research that take seriously the local ways in which people understand their bodies before embarking on projects

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<sup>32</sup> A more recent study of body ideals in Jamaica indicates that obesity stigma is becoming more widespread, especially among those with aspirations for upward mobility (Anderson-Fye, et al., 2020).

that may fail to address a community's actual concerns. Therefore, another conceptualization of fat stigma is the "negative attitudes" approach adopted by Brewis and colleagues (Anderson-Fye & Brewis, 2017). This perspective allows for more flexibility in understanding the ways in which people ascribe meaning to fat and fatness across cultural groups.

This is important, because negative attitudes toward fat do appear to be increasing in communities around the world. These increases are occurring even in communities believed to be "fat-loving," demonstrating the power of social and economic change on body ideals and challenging conceptions of monolithic cultural approaches to body image (Anderson-Fye et al., 2020). For example, over several research projects, Brewis and colleagues have documented fat-negative attitudes among people in American Samoa, Argentina, Guatemala, Iceland, London, Mexico, New Zealand, Paraguay, Puerto Rico, South Korea, Tanzania, and the US (Brewis et al., 2017; Brewis, 2011; Brewis et al., 2011; Hackman et al., 2016). Yet, while these groups' attitudes toward fatness are negative in that they tend to respond affirmatively to questions about negative attributes of fat people, each group also varies in their responses to specific prompts (Brewis et al., 2011), indicating that attitudes toward fat, while overwhelmingly trending toward the negative, are not uniform across cultural contexts. Moreover, the ways in which such attitudes manifest in individuals' implicit and explicit attitudes are not uniform, as in the case of Paraguayan women who express explicit fat-stigmatizing beliefs yet score low on implicit bias scales (Brewis & Wutich, 2012), suggesting that even attitudes that share similar vocabulary may not fully share in their sentiment. Because psychological and psychiatric models of body image and disordered eating are often rooted in Western healthist symbologies of fatness (Bordo, 1999, 2003; Crawford, 1984), understanding the culturally diverse ways in which fatness is

conceptualized and stigmatized, even when superficially similar to Western models, may have serious implications for research and prevention strategies.

Questions about the nature of the global trend toward denigrating fatness despite cross-cultural variation in the ways in which fat bodies are engaged led Brewis and Anderson-Fye to convene a School for Advanced Research seminar with scholars from multiple anthropological and sociological orientations. The result was the edited volume *Fat Planet: Obesity, Culture, and Symbolic Body Capital* (Anderson-Fye & Brewis, 2017; Brewis, 2017). The chapters in this volume explore questions about global attitudes toward obesity through local formulations of symbolic body capital, upward mobility, and navigation of general power relations.

In the first empirical chapter, Hruschka (2017) describes a “big body mass reversal,” which refers to the point at which greater per capita annual income results in thinner bodies indexing wealth and power. As a result, it appears in global data that as income increases, thinner women become more commonly found in richer populations. He compares two hypotheses—resource-driven and body capital-driven hypotheses—to explain this pattern. The resource-driven hypothesis argues that women with more household income in wealthier societies are more able to achieve a slim body ideal, exchanging economic capital for body capital. The body capital hypothesis argues that women who are already thin will more likely be selected for wealthier marriage and labor markets, exchanging body capital for economic capital. He makes four observations in his data: (1) a wife’s BMI is inversely related to her husband’s income, but neither her own nor her husband’s BMI are related to her own income; (2) a woman’s BMI is inversely related to household income if she is married, but not if she has never married; (3) in general, wealthier populations have larger body mass, but wealthier women within these populations may be thinner than poorer women; and (4) wealthier countries’ marriage markets

appear to be fifty times more powerful than labor markets in determining women's BMI. Thus, a body capital hypothesis best describes the trends in global data indicating a "body mass reversal."

Edmonds and Mears (2017) complicate the concept of body capital by exploring the ways in which body capital is exchanged in different fields pertaining to labor, sex, and health in fashion modeling, VIP nightclubs, and Brazilian cosmetic surgery. Regarding labor, models' body capital can be transformed into cultural capital for more editorial looks or economic capital for more "commercial" looks, but rarely both (Mears, 2011); in Brazil, managing appearance in such a way that one appears "whiter" is crucial to obtaining work. Regarding sex, Brazilian women see dating as a "market" that cosmetic surgery allows them to engage in more completely (Edmonds, 2010). In VIP nightclubs, women are hired because of their beauty and sex appeal, but these women must also differentiate themselves from sex workers. The field of sex also necessitates acknowledgement that body capital is not always owned by the person him/herself but can be appropriated by others (like club promoters) for their own gain. Regarding health, particularly in fat and aging, medical procedures and cosmetics are used to maintain bodies in ways acceptable in their local standards. These standards are based on the particular meaning systems in which bodies are interpreted.

Anderson-Fye and colleagues (2017) sought to explore the relationships among body ideals, upward mobility, and obesity stigma in transforming body capital across cultural groups in a period of rapid social, economic, and cultural change in Belize, Jamaica, and Nepal. While they found evidence of fat stigma in all three groups, attitudes toward fat were culturally nuanced and historically informed. Local desires and structural factors affected risks for and protection from obesity stigma: for example, male gender was protective in Belize but predisposing in

Jamaica; city life in Nepal was a risk factor for obesity stigma, but body size was unrelated to the marriage market. Their chapter underscores the need for attention to cultural particularities in body ideals and obesity stigma research.

McClure's (2017) study of obesity and body capital among African American girls challenges the widespread bracketing of African Americans' experiences of body image as "anomalous" and seeks to explain variation in African Americans' approaches to fatness. In other words, her research recognizes that African Americans simultaneously denigrate and accept fat bodies, although when either attitude appears is contextual based on a larger "ethos of acceptable personhood." In terms of body image, this ethos centers overall presentation rather than the presence or absence of particular features. The "body positivity" evidenced among African Americans results not from a lack of care about fat, but rather a more flexible notion of acceptability that the presence of fat itself does not undermine. This distinction is important because African American women who present with eating disorders are given different diagnoses under the assumption that they are not susceptible to eating disorders, leading to higher rates of complications (Becker et al., 2010).

Taylor's (2015, 2017) research shows that fat is as much of a linguistic issue as it is a biocultural one. Particularly, she focused on the ways in which body ideals were constructed in the discourses high school students in Arizona, USA, used to co-construct their gender identities and positioning in the social hierarchy. They employed "fat talk" to divert attention from their own bodies. Girls engaged in "cooperative competition" to assist each other in achieving the right looks for their bodies through sharing clothes and advice. Boys engaged in "verbal dueling" and showed off their muscles to gain status among girls and other boys. Overall, the language employed by these students shaped the ways in which they experienced and worked on their own

bodies, showing that local discourses should be considered alongside larger trends when researching body image.

Becker's (2017) chapter documented her continued research in Fiji, revealing "an emerging dissonance between traditional and contemporary values" (155)—for example, between "eating well" and "overeating"—while also showing that Fijians have rebounded from the complete endorsement of a thin ideal in the late 1990s (Becker, 2004) to a "just right" body ideal (neither too thin nor too fat) in her 2012 research. As a result of this new body ideal, Fijians were less likely to suffer from anorexia nervosa, but instead used herbal appetite stimulants and purgatives—often procured and administered by family members in the same way as other food—to maintain the new body ideal. Trainer's (2017) chapter revealed similar conflicts between tradition and modernity, particularly in how these conflicts shape young Emerati college women's bodies. For them, there was a tension between appearing vain and appearing without regard for the self and the family, which was embodied in a "thin-but-not-skinny" ideal.

Lester and Anderson-Fye's (2017) summary of the chapters challenges prevailing theories upon which obesity stigma research has been based in the past. They argue that what is often valued is less the outcome (i.e., the body's shape) than engaging in the behaviors—including diet, exercise, medical interventions, and policing others' bodies—that shape the outcome. They also show that the "thin=good, fat=bad" framework based in the Western Protestant Ethic (Bordo, 2003) inadequately accounts for the wide variety in the ways in which bodies and fatness are valued around the world: thinness is not always "good," nor is fatness always "bad," but rather the kinds and distributions of fat—as well as the ways in which they index community membership—matter more. Finally, they argue that "Western" conceptions of "the market" set up premises that may not apply in certain cultural groups—as in Nepal where

fat does not appear to bear on the marriage market despite evidence in the global trends that the marriage market is indisputably more “powerful” in determining body shape than the labor market (Anderson-Fye et al., 2017; Hruschka, 2017).

#### Phenomenologies of Resistance and Relatedness in Eating Disorders and Treatment

Another line of anthropological research has run parallel to the investigations of the mental health consequences of the global distribution of body ideals. While all of the research summarized thus far draws upon discourse (Foucault, 1969), practice (Bourdieu, 1977), and embodiment theories (Csordas, 1990) to varying degrees, this line of research uses them explicitly to deconstruct Western theories about eating disorders and evaluate the phenomenological, embodied experiences of those already suffering from them, especially in the relationalities and resistance they enact through their disorder. The majority of this research has been performed among Western, Anglophone, often inpatient populations, although more recent publications have branched into other cultural groups (Eli & Warin, 2018). These studies show that eating disorders are not just an attempt to conform to a thin ideal, but are fundamentally “embodied responses to suffering” (Pike, 2018, p. 582).

Lester (1997) deconstructs psychiatric and feminist models of the self in theorization of anorexia nervosa, and argues that both are flawed in that they misunderstand anorexic women’s relationships with their bodies. Feminists argue that the traditional psychiatric approach pays too little heed to the cultural meaning of women’s bodies that theories of the self cannot be gender neutral. Yet, feminist theorizing of anorexia reifies an individual-culture binary as unreflective of the lived experience of anorexia. Lester argues that anorexics do not believe “I am not my body,” but rather that their female body is an insurmountable barrier to their freedom within a patriarchal sociocultural structure; anorexia is an attempt to resist those barriers. Using

Foucault's concept of "technologies of the self," she argues that anorexics' denial of the link between their self and their body reflects what they ultimately want to achieve through their self-starvation, not the root cause of self-starvation.

Gremillion's (2002) ethnographic research in an eating disorders treatment center disputes the idea that anorexics' bodies are merely passive receptacles of cultural inscriptions about women's body ideals and sociocultural expectations. Rather, they challenge power structures and co-construct their bodies with those imposing expectations on them—whether society and the thin ideal or the treatment center and goals for weight gain. This also appears in Lester's more recent work. As both an anthropologist and a therapist, she has looked at the ways in which patients and practitioners embody eating disorders, their treatments, and the structures that affect the delivery of care. In a comparison of two eating disorders clinics—one in Mexico and one in the US—she found that they approached the treatment of eating disorders in opposite ways: the Mexican clinic treated eating disorders by trying to reintegrate patients into codependent<sup>33</sup> relationships with their families, while the US clinic stressed independence (Lester, 2007). She explores how therapists navigate the structural, economic demands of managed care while maintaining their ethical obligations to their patients, rhetorics of "manipulation" that cause tension between patient and practitioner. She also examines how patients and practitioners deal with an insurance model that stresses paying only for "good patients" (i.e., those who actively work to get better). She outlines the fundamental hypocrisy of a system that positions the basic symptoms of eating disorders, including a resistance to gaining

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<sup>33</sup> These relationships may be considered clinically codependent in the US but are normal family integration in Mexico. Oppositely, relieving oneself of the preoccupation with others was considered integral to overcoming eating disorders in the US.

weight and the desire to die, as noncompliance and therefore rationale to withdraw care (Lester, 2009, 2017, 2018).

Warin's work centers relationalities between anorexics, anorexia, and treatment. She describes the ways in which anorexics' foods "polluted" their bodies, leading to abjection (Douglas, 1966; Kristeva, 1982; Warin, 2003). Warin found that anorexics had varied discourses about different kinds of food, related particularly to being a "calorie girl" or a "fats girl." "Calorie girls" viewed calories as miasmatic, floating in the air, their nostrils particularly vulnerable to caloric intrusion; as a result, they often worked diligently to remove food smells in their lives. "Fats girls" feared touching foods, as they imagined fat seeping into their bodies through their skin. In other words, anorexics' interactions with foods are embodied interactions that vary between people and the kinds of foods to which they are exposed. She also criticizes the "spectacle" of thinness in discourse about anorexia, demonstrating how it was not something "exotic" or "primitive" to her participants, but part of their everyday relations with the world around them, their *habitus* (Warin, 2004). Thus, when they relapse, they often evidence ambivalence and their symptoms may even go unnoticed as they appear to be acting in culturally appropriate ways (Musolino et al., 2018). Returning to the concept of anorexia as *habitus*, she demonstrates that some institutional practices reproduce the environments in which anorexics' problematic practices began (e.g., letting their hospital room be turned into their "bedroom," where many of these women secretly engaged in their bingeing and purging practices), having counterproductive effects on their treatment (Warin, 2005).

Warin's work on relatedness and anorexia also shows how anorexia can be not just a diagnosis, but also an identity. Notions of belonging as an anorexic included having low enough weight to deserve the title of "anorexic," leading to a desire and a competition to be the "best

anorexic” by being the least healthy. Patients who attempted to “get better” were ridiculed and excluded by other patients. Sharing the common identity of being anorexic, patients worked together to resist and subvert the treatment center’s authority. Her work shows that eating disorders are about more than just fat; they subsume and pervert the entire social world, and need to be addressed more holistically (Warin, 2006, 2010).

Eli’s work with women suffering from eating disorders in Israel analyzed how they embodied their illnesses and treatments. In treatment, those suffering from eating disorders perceived themselves to be in a state of liminality, transitioning from illness to wellness, from an anorexic identity to a “normal” one—particularly important because of the attachment anorexics often develop to the identity of being anorexic (Eli, 2014). This liminal space is also perceived as a “safe” space for them to avoid outside stressors; thus, full recovery—and, therefore, reentry into the stressful world, is resisted in favor of the safety of the liminal space of recovery-in-process (Eli, 2018; see also: Lavis, 2018). She found that recovered anorexics embodied memories of their disorder that were invoked with post-recovery practices like weight training, which sometimes advocates calorie-counting, or instances of late menstruation, since amenorrhea is a consequence of the nutritional deficiencies associated with disordered eating (Eli, 2016). Among binge eaters, she found that binge eating was experienced as more than just overeating, but as a valued practice that allowed for a feeling of “release” not previously considered in cognitive-behavioral approaches to binge eating (Eli, 2015).

#### Biopolitics and Cosmetic Surgery

This fourth node of research departs from the previous three approaches—largely embedded in psychological and biocultural approaches—and instead adopts the perspectives of biopower/biopolitics, affect theory, and science and technology studies. Although these authors

have placed particular emphasis on the production of beauty through cosmetic surgery rather than disordered eating, their primary concern with the topics of biopolitics and beauty reveal the multiple ways in which the body-politic (re)produces beauty standards.

Kaw's (1993) study of cosmetic surgery among Asian American women represents an early foray into this field of study. She argued that Asian American women's preference for double-eyelid surgery and rhinoplasty results from their internalization of dominant US gender norms rewarding women's investment in their ornamentality. She further attributes their desire for cosmetic surgery to racist tropes that associate their natural features with undesirable personality characteristics, such as a lack of vibrancy or creativity. She argues that cosmetic surgery and beauty industries in the US profit from the medicalization of race.

Jarrín (2015; 2017) describes a parallel medicalization of race in the Brazilian context, in which discourses of beauty subsumed earlier eugenics discourses of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. They draw on Foucauldian arguments about cosmetic surgery in considering the ways in which Brazilians have come to measure "progress" by approximating a culturally particular version of "whiteness" through "neo-Lamarckian" cosmetic surgery practices (Jarrín, 2017). (Taylor-Alexander (2016) notes a similar phenomenon in Mexico, where cosmetic surgeons have allied with the government in public health campaigns to combat back alley cosmetic surgeries—engaged by those who pursue upward mobility but cannot afford traditional medical procedures—because the government sees them as threats to progress). Jarrín recognizes that Brazilian patients do not appear to internalize medical professionals' ideas about cosmetic surgery, that is, patients themselves do not view cosmetic surgery as using beauty to civilize themselves. However, they suggest that Brazilians' pervasive affective responses to beauty

motivate the populace to comply with the state's biopolitical goals that conflate their particular notion of beauty with civilization.

So Yeon Leem (2017) disputes the idea that Korean cosmetic surgery attempts to create Caucasian-ness in Koreans' bodies, instead arguing that the biopolitics of Korean cosmetic surgery focuses on enhancing Korean characteristics in-line with local aesthetics under local logics (see also: Holliday & Elfving-Hwang, 2012). While early cosmetic surgery in Korea may have viewed approximating whiteness as a sign of development and cosmopolitanism (DiMoia, 2013), Leem (2015) demonstrates how post-Korean War (1950-53) conversations about cosmetic surgery involved much more than "whitening" discourse. In the 60s and 70s, Korean cosmetic surgeons attempted to get away from discourses of frivolity and legitimize their practice as a form of therapeutic medicine. In the 80s and 90s, it evolved with rapid economic growth into a marker of middle-class status. Now, cosmetic surgery in Korea is a global business permeating every aspect of Korean men's and women's lives (Leem, 2015). Because of legal, medical, economic, and reputational implications of cosmetic surgery in Korea (see the next section for an elaboration of these factors among patients), she shows that cosmetic surgery is not a field in which surgeons dominate patients' bodies, but one of mutual vulnerability through surgeons' anxiety over "unruly bodies" (Leem, 2016a). In other words, for surgeons, because patients' bodies are often unpredictable, surgeons face blame for uncontrollable or unpredictable complications, which can lead to lawsuits, need for more care for patients, and hits to their reputations as surgeons that can hinder the growth of their business.

Where Are the Men?

Male body image research is underdeveloped across all academic fields, but in anthropological work its absence is notable. Except for Dos Santos and colleagues' (2001) and

Hrushka's (2017) work on the gendered trends in body size across wealth levels, Anderson-Fye and colleagues' inclusion of body ideals for men in four cultures (2017), and my own research (Monocello, 2020; Monocello & Dressler, 2020), the anthropological literature has had little sustained engagement with men's bodies, and even less with men's subjective engagement with their own bodies. Even putting aside that men's body image problems are on the rise the world over (Mitchison & Mond, 2015), anthropologists studying illnesses typical of one gender (e.g., *debilidad* in Peru; Oths, 1999) have demonstrated the power of examining what these gender-atypical cases can help to explain about the conditions that undergird that illness's manifestation. The fact that men are increasingly experiencing body image disturbances and disordered eating while being underdiagnosed and undertreated makes this research especially urgent.

#### Body Image in South Korea

Therefore, this research attempts to advance psychological engagement with cultural variety in body image and anthropological engagement with men's body image through its focus on the body ideals and vulnerability to disordered eating of young South Korean men. South Korea is notable for evidencing some of the highest levels of body dissatisfaction and eating disorders, as well as some of the highest per-capita rates of cosmetic surgery, in the world (Pike et al., 2014).

#### Psychological Research on Body Image in Korea

Body image research on Koreans has primarily focused on Korean women. Cross-cultural research consistently demonstrated that Korean women have higher levels of body dissatisfaction and disordered eating than American women (Jackson et al., 2006; Jung & Forbes, 2006; Jung & Forbes, 2007; Jung et al., 2009; Ko & Cohen, 1998). Jung et al. (2009) also found that Korean adolescent boys had higher levels of body dissatisfaction and drive for thinness than did

American adolescent boys, and others (e.g., Hong et al., 2015) have found these attitudes prevalent among students, male and female, across all ages. Noh et al. (2018) found that Korean men were likely to overestimate their weight status, more so than Taiwanese men. Overweight boys were both more likely to bully and to be bullied verbally than girls and other boys (Kim et al., 2016).

#### Lookism and the Cultural Context

Brewis et al. (2017) have suggested Koreans' attitudes about body image broadly, including male body image, are rooted in fat stigma, drawing on research suggesting that South Korea may be one of the most fat-stigmatizing nations in the world (Marini et al., 2013). Monocello (2020) has cautioned that, while fat-negative perspectives are prominent in Korean discourse about bodies, the underlying logic of Korean fat negativity differs from that of the US. That is, whereas US fat stigma has its basis in healthism (Crawford, 1984; Farrell, 2011), Korean fat negativity in men appears to be more concerned with lookism (*oemojisangju ũi*).

Lookism refers to discrimination based on appearance (Chae, 2019). In Korea, lookism is related to neoliberal notions of self-maintenance (*chagi kwalli*). That is, people engaging in self-maintenance behaviors such as taking care of their appearance indicate that they are engaged in other self-maintenance and self-improvement practices as well (Lee, 2016; Seo, 2011). In investing in their appearance, whether through skincare, fashion, gym memberships, or cosmetic surgery, they demonstrate to employers current and future that they will also be diligent employees who will improve their skills in ways useful to the company (Elfvig-Hwang, 2017, 2021; Lee, 2016). This may explain the why those with stable jobs put more effort into their weight management (Han et al., 2018).

Maintaining appearance based on lookist standards is also important on an interpersonal level. This is because, despite neoliberalism increasing individualism among younger Koreans, most still view their bodies not as individual objects, but as embedded in their larger social relationships (Kim, 2009; Kim, 2003). This has been termed “interrelational projection” (Kim, 2008 in Choi, 2019, p. 1007). As a result, not engaging in appearance maintenance indexes a lack of care or consideration for others, particularly for those with whom one is directly associated (Elfving-Hwang, 2016). Importantly, self-maintenance is more about the process than the ultimate goal (cf. Lester & Anderson-Fye, 2017; Lim & Kim, 2012).

### South Korean Male Body Ideals

While Westernization hypotheses assume the global spread of the mesomorphic ideal as the body ideal to which men aspire, Korean male body ideals suggest that they approach male body image distinctly from Western expectations. Korean body ideals appear to be particularly tied into the model of the *kkonminam* (literally, a man who is as beautiful as a flower, heretofore called a “flower boy”). The *kkonminam* is marked by appearing “pretty,” having perfectly styled hair, big eyes, surgically altered “soft” features, impeccable fashion sense, and an eye for doing his own makeup. His body is thin, with defined pectoral and abdominal muscles (Maliangkay, 2010, 2013). While some culture studies researchers have focused on the muscularity of the Korean male ideal (e.g., Joo, 2012), the kind of muscle *kkonminam* aspire to is known as *chan’gŭnyuk* (small muscle), muscle that is defined without significant muscle mass (Monocello & Dressler, 2020).

The *kkonminam* ideal rose to prominence in the aftermath of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis (see the chapter on South Korea), which ushered in neoliberal reforms to the Korean economy and forced women into the formal labor force to make up for men’s newfound inability

to provide sufficiently for the household (Jung, 2011). Entering the formal economy, women developed the fiscal power to direct media to present male images in line with women's preferences for men who are more sympathetic and share common interests (Kim, 2005; Turnbull, 2009). This shifted the media ideal from the "militarized" masculinity portrayed in the propaganda of the military dictatorships (1961-1987) of Park Chung Hee and Chun Doo Hwan, of a strong patriarch who protects the country militarily and provides for his household as a blue- or white-collar worker in Korea's industrializing economy (Moon, 2005).

The *kkonminam* image also draws on historical Korean models of the *hwarang* and the *yangban*. During the Silla dynasty (668 to 935), the *hwarang* (an earlier term for "flower boys") were a corps of "warrior-poets" drawn from the elites of the Silla upper castes valorized for their youth, beauty, artistic sense, and military prowess (Kim & Hahn, 2006; Rutt, 1961). The *yangban* were the elites of the Chosŏn era (1392-1910), making up the caste of the Confucian scholar-officials who were the hereditary noble class that populated government. Based on Confucian ethics, they eschewed manual labor and focused on the cultivation of their minds, relegating the manual to the realm of the peasantry and slaves (Kawashima, 1989; Lett, 1998; Louie, 2014). They often dressed ostentatiously as a marker of their status, especially when they could not justify it through their scholarship (Gale, 1975[1898]). Therefore, the *kkonminam* draws on the historical associations of male beauty with class status, aligning it within the capitalist logics of the neoliberal "oxymoronic Confucian merchant" (Ong, 1999) to use his appearance as a marker of and vehicle for class mobility and maintenance.

## Conclusions

In this chapter, I outlined the prominent theories of the connection between body image and disordered eating in psychological research, which include sociocultural theory/the tripartite

influence model (Thompson et al., 1999), feminist theory/objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997), and masculinity hypotheses (Blashill, 2011; Mishkind et al., 1986). Theories of eating disorders as culture-bound syndromes particular to affluent white women (Prince, 1983) and Westernization (Gordon, 2001) as explaining the global proliferation of body image disturbance and eating disorders were also introduced.

These theories have been criticized by medical anthropologists for lacking a coherent perspective on culture (Lester, 2004), tending to treat culture as a categorical variable if dealing with it at all, rather than exploring the meanings associated with body image and disordered eating practices (Lee, 2004). Work by psychological and medical anthropologists from a number of theoretical perspectives was introduced to demonstrate the ways in which culture bears upon body ideals, the interpretation of research instruments, specific pathways of vulnerability to eating disorders, lived experiences of eating disorders, fat stigma, symbolic body capital, and the biopolitics of beauty.

Finally, I introduce the case of Korean male body image in order to complicate discussion further. My focus on Koreans furthers the elaboration of culture's influence on body image and disordered eating in a context where rampant body dissatisfaction and eating disorders are often brushed off as simply products of Westernization. The focus on male Koreans expands anthropology's nascent engagement with men's lived experiences of body image and disordered eating. Korean culture as it relates to male body image, as well as a theory of culture useful to both anthropologists and psychologists, are elaborated in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER 4

### A COGNITIVE THEORY OF CULTURE

#### Introduction

In this chapter, I describe the anthropological goals and interests that led to a theory of cultural models, individually varied yet socially shared understandings of how the world works and should be, that allow people to live in groups. I then summarize the ways in which cultural models relate to a theory cultural consonance, defined broadly as an individual's approximation of a given cultural model in their own life, that can be used as a measure of culture in predicting mental and physical health outcomes. Finally, I introduce the concept of embodiment in order to synthesize the oft-opposed cognitive and embodiment perspectives as a model for studying body image from an emic, experience-near perspective that also can speak directly to larger trends and social processes.

#### Cultural Models

In the middle of the 20th century, a movement within cultural anthropology known alternatively as “ethnoscience” or “the new ethnography” emerged with the goal of enhancing the systematicity and reliability of ethnographic anthropological research. This movement was founded upon a definition of culture as: “whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members...” (Goodenough, 1957, p. 167). With this definition in mind, ethnoscientists attempted to develop methods with the intention of centering inquiry on the terms and worldviews of the peoples they were studying (Blount, 2011; D'Andrade, 1995; Quinn, 2011). In contrast with previous efforts that sought to systematically

study different cultural groups within Western frameworks, ethnoscientists were interested in creating formal methodological tools for exploring the ways in which lived and understood the world in their own terms.

In other words, ethnoscientists were interested in developing a science of “emic” perspectives. Drawing on the linguistic concepts of *phonemic* and *phonetic*, Pike (1954) drew a distinction between “emic” and “etic” perspectives in anthropological research. Where “phonetics” described a universal system of categorizing sounds, the “etic” anthropological perspective sought to understand human behavior within “universalist” cultural categories. Likewise, where “phonemics” describes the ways in which combinations of sounds become culturally meaningful, the “emic” anthropological perspective seeks to describe human behavior within the categories, contours, and configurations defined by and meaningful to the group in question.<sup>34</sup> A science of emic perspectives would, more reliably than traditional ethnography, give de(ethno)centralized accounts of the world and advance knowledge of the diversity of human cultures with less infringement of the anthropologist’s own biases during data collection and analysis, they claimed.

The major flaw of ethnoscience was in its operationalization of culture. That is, it took the vocabularies people used as culture itself and relied on a pre-Chomskyan theory of language already abandoned by contemporary linguistics (D'Andrade, 1995), leading to studies that were highly methodologically intensive despite often being focused on fairly inconsequential aspects

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<sup>34</sup> For illustration, Dressler and Oths (2014) contrast English and Brazilian linguistic approaches to the word “day.” In Brazilian Portuguese, one can say the word *dia* as “*dia*” or “*dja*” with no change in meaning. In other words, in Brazilian Portuguese, while “*dia*” and “*dja*” might be phonetically distinct according to the International Phonetic Alphabet, they are phonemically indistinguishable (i.e., they are understood to be the same word despite slightly different pronunciations). However, if one were to pronounce day as “*djay*” rather than “*day*,” the average native English speaker would assume one is referring to a bird (i.e., a jay).

of peoples' lives (e.g., Tzeltal ethnotaxonomies of firewood [Metzger & Williams, 1966]).<sup>35</sup> By the 1970s, Keesing (1972) described ethnoscience as having “bored itself to death” (307-308).

By the 1980s, cognitive anthropologists believed in the ultimate goals of the ethnoscience framework while realizing that ethnosemantic networks provided little insight into peoples' engagement of those concepts in their daily lives. Knowing what things were called in a particular cultural group did not translate into an understanding of their lifeworlds more comprehensively (D'Andrade, 1995).

What they did find helpful was the concept of the schema in cognitive psychology. In general, a schema refers to a skeletal mental structure into which variable information can be inserted. As D'Andrade (1992) describes:

A schema is an interpretation which is frequent, well organized, memorable, which can be made from minimal cues, contains one or more prototypic instantiations, is resistant to change, etc.... *[I]t would be more accurate to speak always of interpretations with such and such a degree of schematicity...*

(p. 29, emphasis original)

So, for example, one could have a schema of a bird, which would usually include a beak, wings, feather pattern and color, two feet. A *cultural* schema, or cultural model,<sup>36</sup> then occurs when these schemas are shared by people with common backgrounds or experiences (de Munck

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<sup>35</sup> D'Andrade (1995) argues that firewood is actually an extremely important domain to adults this community, dealing with the aftereffects of deforestation and thus a relative paucity of potential firewood in their area. However, in reading the article this connection to the environmental conditions underlying this elaborate taxonomy of firewood is at best alluded to. While D'Andrade may be correct in saying that, ultimately, firewood is an exceedingly consequential domain to this community, Metzger and Williams (1966) do not make this clear in their article. This reflects the academic/ethnographic priorities of the ethnoscience literature at the time.

<sup>36</sup> D'Andrade (1995) describes cultural schemas as the building blocks of cultural models—a cultural model may be made of one or more cultural schemas—but for simplicity's sake they will both be referred to throughout this text as “cultural models.”

& Bennardo, 2019; Quinn, 2011; Romney et al., 1986), which shapes thought and experience, as well as motivates behavior (D'Andrade, 1992; Strauss, 1992). Without having to appeal to a “superorganic” (Kroeber, 1917), theoretically nebulous “public symbols” (Geertz, 1973), or arguments that it is merely an abstraction of and for anthropologists (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952), cultural models theory locates culture within and between individuals simultaneously (de Munck & Bennardo, 2019; Dressler, 2018; Strauss & Quinn, 1997).

Cultural models are shared within a cultural group, but they are also described as “distributed” within the cultural group. “Distributed” means that each person is imperfectly familiar with the model, or potentially unfamiliar with it if the model is particularly specialized. In other words, people have variable competence with the model (Romney et al., 1986), meaning that individuals differ in the degree to which their understandings of a topic (or, a “sphere of discourse; Weller & Romney, 1988) is in accordance with everyone else’s understandings.<sup>37</sup> Yet, people in a given community tend to be able to understand and live with one another because, despite these differences, there is an overall “cultural consensus” from which they draw, which makes each other’s beliefs and behaviors intersubjectively legible (Romney et al., 1986). This simultaneous sharedness and distribution occurs because cultural models are usually not explicitly taught but rather inferred, leading to individual variation based on individuals’ specific life experiences (Kronenfeld, 2018; see also, Sapir, 1934), as opposed to a perfect replication in each person (i.e., the “fax” model of culture criticized by Strauss [1992]).

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<sup>37</sup> One of the consequences of this insight is that cultural consensus analysis (Romney, et al. 1986) calculates a cultural answer key (i.e., the “right” understanding of a phenomenon) based not on a simple average of responses, but as an average weighted by the extent to which a given respondent’s answers correlate with every other participant’s responses. Borgatti and Halgin (2011) found in a cultural consensus analysis of sportswriters’ college football ranking predictions that the cultural answer key had a higher correlation with the actual rankings than each individual writer’s prediction.

Individual variation is often patterned as subgroup trends toward emphasis on particular aspects of the model. This has been described as “residual agreement,” as it is organized by the second factor of cultural consensus analysis (see “Methods” for further discussion of residual agreement analysis; Boster, 1986; Dressler et al., 2015). Variation in both cultural competence and residual agreement may be related to any number of factors, including age, sex, gender, and political orientation (e.g., Dressler et al., 2015; Romney et al., 1987; Romney et al., 1986). These forms of variation may also predict outcomes like T-Cells in HIV-positive women (Copeland, 2018) and propensity to stigmatize substance users (Henderson & Dressler, 2017). Individual instantiations of cultural models vary in these patterned ways because culture is constantly and iteratively co-constructed within series of overlapping “norm circles” (Elder-Vass, 2010), quotidian microcontexts of interaction, which can structure and are structured by an individual’s access to other microcontexts and, therefore, aspects of specific iterations of a cultural model (de Munck & Bennardo, 2019).

This intracultural patterning can take on multiple forms, which have been described as “noncoherent,” “monocentric,” “multifocal,” and “multicentric” (Henderson et al., 2022). In a noncoherent domain, everyone in a community approaches a topic idiosyncratically, meaning that there is no overall sharing of the model. In a monocentric domain, there is a single, highly shared domain with little intracultural variation. More common is the multifocal domain, in which there are two patterns of emphasis within the overall domain. Multicentric domains contain two, non-overlapping “pools of information” (D’Andrade, 1981) into which individuals’ responses sort them, have two subtypes depending on whether there is overall consensus in the model. An example of a multicentric domain with consensus comes from Koreans’ and Americans’ models of the desirability of men’s bodily features: there is overall agreement about

whether items are attractive, but Koreans place more emphasis on features associated with the “flower boy” while Americans place more emphasis on features associated with instrumental masculinity (Monocello & Dressler, 2020). An example of the multicentric domain without consensus can be found in Koreans’ and Americans’ models of which features people tend to pay attention to in men’s bodies: Americans are attuned to individual items like fatness or muscularity, while Koreans pay attention to proportions (Monocello, 2022). This has implications for the fundamental assumptions used by body image researchers in survey design and interpretation of results, especially in relation understanding body (dis)satisfaction in terms of summing or averaging of the presence or absence of given traits (which may not be emically valid across contexts [Dressler & Oths, 2014]) versus culturally mediated<sup>38</sup> assessments of overall body shape.<sup>39</sup>

It should be noted that not all cognitive anthropologists view cultural models and cultural consensus to be as intertwined as I have suggested in this chapter. While some, like Blount (2011) view cultural models approaches and cultural consensus approaches to be complementary methodologies for arriving at valid representations of cultural models, Quinn (2011) argues that cultural consensus theory and cultural models theory as she employs it are two entirely separate outgrowths of ethnoscience. She argues that cultural consensus theory is interested in the distribution of a cultural knowledge in a population rather than in the structure of cultural models within individuals. This perspective is based on Garro’s (2000) assertion that cultural consensus theory was interested only in the content of a cultural model and individuals’ ability to answer questions correctly to the extent that they would be a good informant about a domain. She argues

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<sup>38</sup> Strauss and Quinn (1997) draw on the theory of connectionism to argue that cultural models are where this cultural mediation occurs, in that new experiences are interpreted and internalized in relation to previously established mental and neural structures.

<sup>39</sup> How to do this is an empirical question worthy of further investigation.

that cultural models theory, in contrast, is interested in how individuals structure and draw on cultural models in shared but idiosyncratic ways on their own lived experiences. Put in terms of semiotics (Peirce, 1955), Garro claims that cultural consensus theory has limited usefulness because it is stuck in the referential and symbolic (what is this set of information that everyone tends to draw on?), while the cultural models approach is more broadly theoretically satisfying in that provides the symbolic *and* the indexical (how does individual variation in enactments of this information point to individual variation in lived experiences?). I tend toward Blount's (2011) more synthetic approach, especially in light of more recent advances in methods using extensions of cultural consensus approaches to operationalize cultural models as metaindexes of patterned individual variation in knowledge (through residual agreement analysis [Dressler et al. 2015; see above]) and behavior (through cultural consonance analysis [Dressler, 2018; see below]) with real and direct health consequences. In other words, individuals' cultural competence, residual agreement, and cultural consonance point to (index) embodied processes of scalar intimacy (Pritzker & Perrino, 2020) with the cultural model in question, which in turn simultaneously point to (index) and connect health outcomes and engagement with larger social, economic, and political conditions and chronotopes.

In defining culture as knowledge, the theory of cultural models provides a useful conceptual separation of culture from the beliefs and behaviors that emerge from it (Dressler, 2018). It provides a framework for understanding the ways in which people organize their world, which ultimately structures the ways they behave. Unlike theories that infer culture from beliefs and behaviors (e.g., practice theory; Bourdieu, 1977), cultural models theory also provides means of accessing the "emic" perspective on resultant beliefs and behaviors directly from the people to whom they are relevant.

## Cultural Consonance

In identifying culture as knowledge in the individual, stored as shared and distributed cultural models, cognitive anthropologists have also recognized the subsequent need to connect these models to peoples' actual behaviors. Especially important for cognitive anthropologists to deal with was the fact that people do not individually believe or behave in one-to-one accordance with their cultural models, or with each other.

Melford Spiro's (1987) concept of internalization or "cognitive salience" as consisting of five levels is an important step in understanding how cultural models lead to behavior. He recognizes five levels of cognitive salience. The lowest level is acquaintance with the model, a basic familiarity with the concepts therein ("I have seen a K-Pop music video and know what a 'flower boy' is."). The next level is an understanding of the concepts in a way that reflects the established tradition ("Flower boys have X, Y, and Z characteristics and are considered handsome in Korean society."). Beyond that is believing that they, in fact, constitute a correct way of understanding phenomena ("I believe that 'flower boys' are handsome, so I feel a sense of pleasure when I see a man presenting in this way."). Following belief in the veracity of the model is using it as a guide to organize action ("The more closely I present myself along with the 'flower boy' ideal, the more likely I will be to get ahead in life."). Finally, at the top level of cognitive salience is allowing the belief to instigate action ("I spend a lot of time and money on my clothes, hair, body, and makeup to approximate a 'flower boy' aesthetic so I can get ahead in life and make sure that I don't embarrass my employer or my friends when we're together."). In sum, Spiro differentiates degrees of knowing about a cultural model, acknowledging it to be true, and acting in accordance with it. At and above the belief level, the model can be said to be internalized.

However, not all models are inherently motivating. To quote D'Andrade (1992): "Not all schemas function as goals, but all goals are schemas" (31). Recall that, within the theory of connectionism, models (schemas) can be both singular units of culture as well as building blocks for other, more complex models, and multiple of these may be running in parallel for any given event. Goal-schemas are usually made up of multiple other schemas and activated in response to certain drives and affects. For example, a cultural model of a meal may not itself be motivating, but it will be activated in the context of hunger as part of a series of associations designed to satiate it (for a Korean person it would likely include rice to be considered a meal *per se*).<sup>40</sup> Further, it may even activate other goal schemas with its own inherently constructed goals (for a "meat-and-potatoes" American, it will contain a protein and a side dish; however, for some Catholics,<sup>41</sup> if this meal is occurring on a Friday, that protein will likely be fish as eating meat would be considered sinful).

While not describing it explicitly in these terms, Le Grange and colleagues' (2004) research on eating disorders among young Zulu women in South Africa provides an interesting case study in this regard. In a survey of Zulu schoolgirls, they found high levels of disordered eating, especially bingeing and purging behaviors, which was unexpected for this community. Upon interviewing some of the girls later, however, they found that these behaviors were not motivated by a thin-ideal or even engaging body image at all. Rather, some noted that they reported vomiting after meals because they were food insecure and, not knowing when their next meal would come, they overate, making themselves sick (i.e., based on physical and affective goals within a specific context of economic deprivation). Others said that due to their food

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<sup>40</sup> Unless it is "Western" food

<sup>41</sup> My grandfather was one of those Catholics who eschewed meat on *every* Friday, not just those during Lent. Fish and shellfish are not considered meat in this model.

insecurity they sometimes resorted to eating pork, despite being Muslim; purging was not motivated by a desire to be thin but rather to avoid the sin of digesting pork (i.e., a cultural goal-schema, motivated by meaning).

For researchers interested just in the theoretical implications in the connections between knowledge, belief, and behavior among encultured individuals, this is interesting in itself. However, it also introduces the potential to operationalize cultural beliefs and behaviors in the way that cultural consensus analysis systematically operationalizes cultural knowledge, as individually variable phenomena organized around shared understandings of the world. This has been most fruitfully realized in the theory and method of cultural consonance (Dressler, 2018).

Cultural consonance is defined as the extent to which an individual in their beliefs and behaviors approximate expectations set out in a given cultural model in their own life. The concept of cultural consonance was developed as part of a long line of social epidemiological research that sought to connect individuals' life circumstances to health outcomes. This research was conducted particularly in relation to a theory of stress, essentially the psychosomatic process of an individual's response to adverse events or circumstances, including the active (if unconscious) ways in which one copes with or attempts to affect these circumstances (Lazarus, 1966 in Dressler, 2018).

The early stress literature was particularly interested in understanding the relationship between modernization and stress, although these discussions were often divorced from understandings of global power structures (Goodman & Leatherman, 1998) and local meaning (Dressler, 2015). These led to nascent meaning-centered approaches that focused on stress as the product of incongruence between the expectations and understandings of behaviors with which

one was raised and the realities of a modern economy, especially present in those populations experiencing rapid migration from rural to urban centers (e.g., Cassel, 1976).

Drawing on these ideas, Dressler (1982) advanced a concept of “lifestyle incongruity” as a chronic stressor attributable to the process of modernization to explain rising blood pressure levels among St. Lucians. Lifestyle incongruity referred to the material difference between what one aspired to and what one could achieve under current conditions, with the stress emerging from that difference. At the same time, having more “social resources,” that is, social networks that link female-led households by their children by different men who support their children across these households, acted as a buffer against lifestyle incongruity’s effects on blood pressure.

The concept of lifestyle incongruity fed directly into the conceptualization of cultural consonance. Central to the lifestyle incongruity concept was its attention to local meanings, expectations, and circumstances in the construction of its measures; however, it involved problematic usage of socioeconomic status that made statistical modeling of lifestyle incongruity conceptually unclear (see: Dressler, 2018). “Cultural consonance,” based in a cognitive theory of culture that allowed for the development of measures from cultural models identified through cultural domain analysis (Borgatti, 1994) and cultural consensus analysis (Romney et al., 1986), allows for a more direct and parsimonious empirical engagement with the effects of differences between cultural expectations and lived reality at the individual and group level simultaneously (Dressler, 2018).

Following the trajectory of attempts to involve cultural considerations in stress models, the earliest use of cultural consonance was in a study comparing blood pressure levels in four Brazilian neighborhoods defined by varying economic status. Dressler and colleagues (1996)

found that the measure of cultural consonance in lifestyle not only predicts variation in blood pressure beyond demographic variables and traditional psychological predictors of stress, it also absorbs the variation explained by traditional measures of socioeconomic status. Further research has replicated these findings in Brazil, among African Americans in the American Southeast (Dressler & Bindon, 2000), African American teenagers in Chicago (Sweet, 2010), and the Tsimane of Bolivia (Reyes-Garcia et al., 2010). It has also been connected to other mental and physical health outcomes, including depressive symptoms (Balieiro et al., 2011; Dengah, 2014); body mass, weight, and abdominal circumference (Dressler et al., 2012; Dressler et al., 2008); HIV (Copeland, 2018); hemoglobin A1C (Andrews, 2019); and problematic gaming (Snodgrass et al., 2014).

This is because cultural consonance attends to the specific cultural conditions and goals by which people judge themselves in relation to others.<sup>42</sup> It also accesses the ways in which individuals perceive themselves in relation to others based on their individual circumstances relative to those goals. Measures of socioeconomic status tend to center WEIRD cultural models, and may both engage items irrelevant to the community in question or fail to engage items that are important to that specific community. As such, the inherent emic validity (Dressler & Oths, 2014) of the cultural consonance method makes it a much more powerful measure of one's position in the cultural "space of meaning" (Dressler, 2020) than other measures for operationalizing sociocultural status. The cultural consonance model also provides a roadmap for performing biocultural research (Dressler, 2005) that attends to individual variation in

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<sup>42</sup> Cultural consonance as a *theoretical construct* is primarily understood in relation to goal-schemas (D'Andrade, 1992) or models to which people can conceivably aspire or accomplish in one's own life. However, the methods used to arrive at a measure of cultural consonance can be used to derive emically valid measures of phenomena of any culturally salient domain (Dressler, 2018). For example, while one cannot aspire to be a different racial phenotype, Gravlee and colleagues (2005) demonstrated that the ways in which people in Puerto Rico placed themselves into emic categories of race better predicted blood pressure than spectrometer measures of skin tone and genotype.

experiences of meaning and behavior within a subdiscipline that had historically studied health outcomes while treating culture either as a simple categorical variable (e.g., McElroy, 1990) or subordinated a meaning-centered approach to analyses of political economy (e.g., Goodman & Leatherman, 1998).

Dressler (2018) notes that the cultural consonance model, as well as the lifestyle incongruity model that preceded it, is sometimes compared with Veblen's (1899) concept of "conspicuous consumption." Conspicuous consumption essentially refers to the spending money on goods that are unnecessary for life for the purpose of advertising the fact that one can buy them (i.e., one's socioeconomic status). The rich engage in conspicuous consumption in order to solidify their status in relation to other rich people; the middle classes, seeking to emulate the upper classes, also engage in conspicuous consumption to try and approximate that status themselves. The cultural consonance model does not really measure conspicuous consumption, however. Rather, it is more aligned with Veblen's (1899) other concept of the "conventional standard of decency," which refers to the widely understood model of the basics that one needs in order to live a decent life. Therefore, low cultural consonance in the domain of lifestyle often has less to do with a disappointment that one has not reached the highest standard of living than it does with the social consequences of, as well as an individual's perception of others' judgment of them in relation to, a lack of access to what is commonly understood to make up the basic necessities for life. Further research is needed in cultural domains that may not directly relate to lifestyle.

#### Embodiment, Intersectionality, and Cultural Consonance

An embodiment perspective relies on an understanding of the Cartesian dualistic mind as separate from body as philosophically and phenomenologically untenable; rather, from an

embodiment perspective mind and body are necessarily indivisible (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, 1964). This is, of course, an imperfect tethering, as is demonstrated by Leder's (1990) concepts of bodily "disappearance" and "dys-appearance." Leder refers to bodily "disappearance" as the norm throughout most of one's life, in which the body functions largely invisible to one's consciousness. One's hearts pump blood to one's organs, peristalsis moves food through one's digestive tract, and the immune systems resists pathogens without any conscious effort on one's own part.

The opposite of "disappearance" is "dys-appearance" – the body coming to consciousness by virtue of pain, disease, or dysfunction (Leder, 1990). Ironically, this often leads to the objectification and alienation of the body part(s) in question: the biceps, the morning after a hard arm-workout, are stuck in place, fixable through muscle relaxants, pain relievers, and stretching, coaxing it back into its disappeared state; the appendix, once inflamed, becomes a foreign agent that need be surgically removed. Leder distinguishes between dys-appearance due to biomedically defined objective (observer-independent)<sup>43</sup> dysfunction and dys-appearance due to subjective (observer-dependent) dysfunctions circumscribed by cultural prejudices (Leder, 1990, pp. 89-90). He also distinguishes first-person dys-appearance—that which occurs within the individual, the result of one's own sensations of the body—and social dys-appearance—the incorporated gaze of the Other (96), another person's attention raising one's awareness of a bodily deviation or dysfunction. Essentially, dys-appearance involves parts of the body being raised to consciousness and objectified (i.e., experienced as separate from oneself).

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<sup>43</sup> Leder does not define these as "objective" and "subjective," but this orientation is strongly implied. This use of "objective" and "subjective" is more epistemological than has been used in phenomenologically describing the body as the "subject" rather than the "object" of culture. In the former usage, "objective" and "subjective" refer to something closer to the "etic-emic" distinction discussed further below. Briefly, "objective" in the former sense is used to describe a situation of, given the same set of criteria, anyone should come to a similar conclusion, whereas "subjective" is used to describe situations that are more individual experience and feelings-based. In the phenomenological sense, an "object" is acted upon or observed, whereas a "subject" does the acting or observation.

Psychiatrist R.D. Laing described a related phenomenon which he termed “unembodiment,” which refers to the complete rupture of the natural connection between the body and the self (Laing, 1990), not just of individual parts in the way that Leder spoke of dys-appearance. Originally used to describe the experience of Laing’s schizophrenia patients, unembodiment refers to the self’s untethering from the body among people who “experience themselves as primarily split into a mind and a body. Usually they feel most closely identified with the 'mind'” (Laing, 1990, p. 65). Under conditions of unembodiment, the body becomes an object of the self, rather than part of it. The mind-self observes the body-in-the-world, but does not participate in it.

Under an embodiment perspective, however, unembodiment and dys-appearance are anomalous. For the most part, the body and self are viewed as continuous, the body being the seat of experience.<sup>44</sup> Expanded to anthropology, embodiment understands the body-mind to be, from a phenomenological perspective, the subject, or “existential ground of culture” as well (Csordas, 1990, p. 6). In constructing the body as the subject of culture, embodiment diverges from previous theories of culture and the body that portray the body as being “acted on” by culture as culture’s object: it opposes a “culture is written on the skin” argument not as false, but as incomplete.

### Embodiment and Culture

The embodiment perspective on culture combines the phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1964) with the practice theory of Bourdieu (1977, 1984[1974]) in arguing that the “pre-objective”—those patterned processes of perception that are not consciously analyzed but

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<sup>44</sup> This assumption is challenged as centering the experiences of men in a state of social dominance and failing to account for marginalized groups who experience “multiple material otherness” (McClure, 2020) like overweight and obese women (Moss, 1992), anorexic women (Lester, 1997), or overweight and obese young African American girls (McClure, 2020) for whom unembodiment may be typical.

nonetheless shape experience (Merleau-Ponty, 1964)—and the *habitus*—unconscious, learned, and patterned processes of “doing” (Bourdieu, 1977)—derive from the embodiment of culture. By embodying culture, people are oriented toward the world in ways that pattern their sensory perception and behavioral reproduction of it without ever having to think about why their perceptions and behaviors emerge as they do (Csordas, 1993).

Therefore, the embodiment perspective insists that culture is not simply “written on the skin,” but also that individual bodies are fully engaged in the (re)production of culture. With the body as the “seat” or “subject” of culture, culture emerges from the interactions between bodies. At the same time, bodies are never pre-cultural; that is, they are always suffused with it and through their interactions intersubjectively and intercorporeally<sup>45</sup> reconstruct it (Csordas, 2008). As a result, just as the body and mind are inseparable, so too are the body-mind and culture themselves codependent phenomena (Csordas, 1990).

Embodiment theory argues that the body is the seat of culture, both a thing upon which culture is exerted and the mode by which it is (re)produced (Csordas, 1990, 1993). Through embodiment, culture is not just written on the skin, or just present in the mind (Csordas, 1999), but pervades the entire being. It is opposed to the concept of Cartesian dualism, the conceptual split between the mind and body, arguing instead for an understanding of the mind and body as an integrated whole. It is the intersubjective and intercorporeal dance of the individual body-self co-constructing realities with other individual body-selves that produces and reproduces culture.

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<sup>45</sup> “Intercorporeality” expands on “intersubjectivity” by calling attention to the ways in which the body is involved in interaction that is not necessarily verbal, but still communicative, affective, and culturally laden. This refers not just to gesture and facial expression, but to touch as well.

## Embodiment among South Korean Men

However, there has been little explicit theorizing of embodiment within the Korean context. A challenge in applying embodiment theory in East Asian contexts has to do with embodiment theory's explicit positioning against the concept of the mind-body dualism envisioned by Descartes. Members of East Asian cultures—particularly Han Chinese, Korean, and Japanese cultures—immerse themselves not in a world of Cartesian dualism but in cosmologies informed by Daoism and, especially, Confucianism. So, while embodiment theory is useful for challenging the (Western) researcher's preconceptions of the relationships between culture and the body, turning analysis away from mere "skin-deep" renderings of the effects of culture, applications of embodiment theory tend to reveal more about the (usually, Western) anthropologist's engagement with the data than interlocutors' lived experiences in these contexts. In other words, much of the theorizing of embodiment in Western anthropology manifests as attempts to remember a mind-body-culture continuity that most of the world never forgot.

For example, Lee's (2000) discussion of the tensions between aging and eating spicy foods, particularly *kimchi*, as Korean identity among elderly Koreans in Japan introduces the concept of "bodily memory" to evoke the distress of embodying in themselves a cultural touchpoint of Koreanness for their diasporic community while being unable to participate in Korean dietary practices. However, the "Koreanness" in Lee's study is in the interchangeable details: the foods, the location, the history of migration. Embodiment remains at the level of the "that," a description of the outcome rather than an investigation of the potentially culturally varied processes by which it occurs.

This is not to say that embodiment theory is useless outside of Western, Cartesian-influenced locales. The basic idea of embodiment theory (that the lived body is the site of the

production and reproduction of culture (Csordas, 1990)) provides a powerful conceptual basis for understanding the ways in which people come to engage their and others bodies in the interactive, symbolic, political structures that shape their lives (Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987). What is often missing from these discussions is an attention to what Cassaniti and Luhrmann (2014) call the “cultural kindling” of experience that underlies cultural diversity in the ways in which embodiment manifests. In South Korea, this “kindling” is suffused with Neo-Confucianism.

According to Confucian philosopher Tu Wei-Ming, humans “embod[y] the universe” (Tu, 1992, p. 87). Tu argues that the *yin-yang* concept is not one of dichotomy (unlike Cartesian dualism) but of interchange, the two never existing in complete separation. Lived bodies are a function of the dynamics of relationships, seasons, environment, cosmology, time of birth, and flows of vital energy (*qi* in Chinese, *ki* in Korean) interconnecting Heaven, Earth, Cosmos, society, and the individual; disruption of any of these, whether through natural disaster, political violence, interpersonal distress, or even dietary imbalance, results in visceral reactions.

Kwon’s (2015) discussion of the embodied responses of blue collar workers laid off during the neoliberal transformations of the South Korean economy in the wake of the Asian Financial Crisis demonstrates the ways in which Koreans “embody the[ir] universe.” Kwon reports that workers described the factory—the structure, the machines, the coworkers—as a “place of attachment” (*chǒngdŭn ilt’o*), as just as integral to their being-in-the-world as their hometown in how it shaped their habitus. The company was another home to them, they identified as “Daewoo [the name of the company] men,” and there was an expectation that they would work there until they retired. Memories of the workplace interdigitated with their memories of raising their families. When they were laid off, they described the feeling as being “severed” (*charŭda*); once constructed as “soldiers” of the modernizing state, they viewed

themselves as “cripples” (*pyõngsin*) without access to their affective body-space. Kwon’s (2015) research, however, focuses on the violence of neoliberalism and the effects of the economy on the body, rather than examining the deeper cultural underpinnings of why their embodiments of this structural violence occurred in these specific ways.

#### Embodiment and Intersectionality

McClure (2020) has recently extended Laing’s concept of unembodiment through a synthesis with intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 1991; Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016) and Csordas’ (1990) cultural phenomenology. Intersectionality theory argues that the experiences of members of a given identity marker are not monolithic; rather, there are intersections of these axes of identity at which peoples’ engagements with systems differ in gestalt, beyond the sum of the experiences associated with the individual axes themselves (Crenshaw, 1989). Crenshaw uses the examples of the experience of women of color when confronting male violence against women and discrimination claims to illustrate that neither treating her as an African American person (for whom the default is male) nor as a woman (for whom the default is white) addresses the ways in which she experiences both simultaneously (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991). Rather, intersections of axes of identities form a gestalt otherwise incompletely explained as the sum of the expected experiences of individual axes themselves. Intersectionality theory, therefore, recognizes the importance of taking into consideration the multifarious ways in which privilege and oppression—due to race, ethnicity, gender, class, sexual orientation, and an ever growing set of axes of analysis—come to bear on behavior and outcomes under a given set of circumstances (Cho et al., 2013; Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016).

Previous conceptions of embodiment in anthropology address how culture pervades the body. In drawing on intersectionality theory, McClure explores *unembodiment* as "body-self

discontinuity in the context of multiple material otherness” (McClure, 2020, p. 10), and the rupturing of the relationships between body, self, and the social perception of either under circumstances of divergence from socioculturally dominant narratives. In McClure’s research on the physicality of African American girls, this multiple material otherness could manifest through any combination of gender performance, race, body size, and community ties, among others. Their unembodiment—which was argued to affect their long-term commitment to physical activity, with the result of decreasing their likelihood of overweight and obesity later in life—manifested in the form of discontinuities between their and others’ interpretations of their bodies (i.e., Scheper-Hughes and Lock’s [1987] social body), objectification of and attempts to appear committed to ‘fixing’ their own bodies in relation to perceived fat stigma, and disconnects between theirs and other’ expectations of their bodily engagement within sporting activities. In other words, McClure’s research demonstrates that unembodiment applies not only to discontinuities within the individual body-self, as explored by Laing (1990), but can *also* be shown to manifest in the ruptures between the body-self and the social body with lasting health effects. While this research particularly describes, from an intersectionality approach, the ways in which intersections of otherized identities and materialities can manifest in the un/embodiment of African American girls, a productive extension of this research could examine cultural consonance with cultural models of these varied axes to explore potentials for and experiences of unembodiment in multiple contexts and communities. Cultural consonance with models of body image, as examined in this dissertation, is one opportunity.

In sum, embodiment describes where culture can be located (i.e., in and between bodies as an emergent property of intersubjective and intercorporeal co-engagement of bodies and their social and physical environments), but it does not concern itself with defining what culture is.

However, the theory of cultural models fits easily within this framework, despite Csordas' (1999, pp. 150-151) criticism of it as only considering "culture from the neck up" (i.e., happening only in the mind) or "the body in the mind" (i.e., the body as a topic of metaphor), rather than a "the mind in the body" approach that embodiment advocates. Drawing on the theory of connectionism, which holds that cultural models are encoded in interlocking neural pathways (Strauss & Quinn, 1997), and the recognition by neuroanthropologists that the brain through the nervous system pervades the entire body and is involved in the experience and production of cultural phenomena (Lende & Downey, 2012), the theory of cultural models as a useful tool for getting at the collective emic experience of the preobjective logics underlying *habitus* is not a particularly large leap. In other words, if, as Merleau-Ponty (1964) and Csordas (1990) have pointed out, bodies are pre-objective (being-in-the-world without thinking about these modes of being) but not pre-cultural, the concept of cultural models, described by D'Andrade (1995) and others as working precisely because one needs not think about cultural models to be able to employ them in life, can easily be employed to investigate the culture that shapes embodiment. This also provides a conceptual framework for the link between cultural models/consensus and the body that make cultural consonance a useful theoretical and methodological tool for examining the effects of individual and intersectional variations in belief and behaviors in relation to these commonly held models on embodied health outcomes.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, I summarized three important contemporary anthropological perspectives on culture and the body: cultural models, cultural consonance, and embodiment. Traditionally, embodiment perspectives have produced powerful portraits of the ways in which meanings are not just understood (in the sense of being purely mental representations), but sensorially

experienced throughout the body and reproduced between interacting bodies. A weakness of this literature, however, has been its fundamental reliance on the anthropologist's inferences about other peoples' experiences and assumptions of the generalizability of these inferences. Cultural models theory, while less (but not entirely un)interested in the day-to-day embodied experience aspects of culture, provides powerful frameworks for examining cultural meanings and their distributions within communities through systematic and radically emic methods in cultural domain analysis and cultural consensus analysis. The theory of cultural consonance not only bridges embodiment and cultural models theory as a measure of variability in individuals' incorporation of these models (literally, the ways in which these models come to bear on and be expressed in bodies), it also systematically connects this variability to other outcomes. In bridging these concepts, cultural consonance theory formally demonstrates the necessity of a deep engagement with culture in health research, and provides a model for future research in other domains.

Knowing that body image-related networks of embodied meaning vary across cultures and genders in intersecting ways (Anderson-Fye, 2018; McClure, 2020; see Chapter 2), drawing on cultural consonance theory to examine the effects of cultural models of ideal bodies on health outcomes follows logically. Especially considering the wide recognition among psychologists, psychiatrists, and other body image researchers that existing tools for measuring body image and disordered eating fail to access the meaning systems engaged by non-WEIRD female populations, the theory and method of cultural consonance provides a powerful tool for incorporating systematic engagements with embodied meaning systems into research on body image and disordered eating among populations with whom these issues are not well elaborated.

## CHAPTER 5

### METHODS

#### Introduction

In order to study Koreans' cultural models of male body ideals, this study employed a multiphase, convergent mixed-methods research design (Fetters et al., 2013). Alongside participant observation and informal interviews, methods of cultural domain analysis, cultural consonance analysis, and person-centered ethnography were employed across four phases. The Institutional Review Board of the University of Alabama approved the study on 30 May 2019 (IRB Protocol: 19-OR-140-ME).

I collected data between September 2019 and January 2021, during which I performed participant-observation by going to the gym 4-5 times per week pre-COVID, having meals, participating in language exchange, going to plays and performances, *noraebang* (karaoke), bars, and cafés, and celebrating holidays with local friends. I also spent two months in Kwangju, South Korea, in the summer of 2018, and July 2019 in Ansan, South Korea. During my early trips I was learning Korean, engaging in language exchange, and performing informal participant-observation. Phase I occurred between September 2019 and December 2019. Phase II occurred between January 2020 and March 2020. Phase III data were collected between March 2020 and January 2021. Phase IV occurred between August 2020 and January 2021.

#### Setting

I performed this research in the Seoul Capital Area, which consists of Seoul City (*Sŏult'ŭkbyŏlsi*; hereby, Seoul), Incheon City (*Inch'ŏn kwang'yŏksi*) and Gyeonggi Province

(*Kyōng'gi-do*). Seoul<sup>46</sup> is situated in the northwest of South Korea on the Han River, where it has been settled for over 4,000 years. The capital city of Paekche, Chosŏn, and modern-day South Korea, it has also been an important city throughout other dynasties (Yu, 2021).

Seoul is the political, economic, and cultural capital of South Korea, with a population of over 9.7 million people living in the city proper (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2021), 13.5 million in Gyeonggi, and 2.9 million in Incheon, for a total of over 25 million people in the Seoul Capital Area, accounting for approximately half of the Korean population (KOSIS, 2021a). Seoul is home to South Korea's most prestigious universities, the SKY universities, the most lucrative jobs, and the entertainment conglomerates which produce Korean pop music (K-Pop), Korean television dramas (K-Dramas), Korean cosmetics (K-Beauty), and other elements of the Korean Wave. Seoul is a place in which people interact daily with ubiquitous messages about body ideals through television, advertisements,<sup>47</sup> gym signs showing off their trainers' muscled forms, and even chain restaurants' posters which feature celebrity endorsements. It is also an intensely competitive economic and educational environment in which one's appearance acts as part of one's résumé. Therefore, Seoul is an ideal location to study male body ideals and their relationships with disordered eating.

### Sample

One hundred seventeen South Korean men ( $n = 102$ ) and women ( $n = 15$ ) between the ages of 18 and 34 were recruited for the research through sampling by convenience and snowball sampling. Initial respondents were met through university events and language exchange

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<sup>46</sup> Seoul has also been known by other names throughout its history, including Wiryesŏng during the Paekche era (18-660 CE), Hanyang during Koryŏ (918-1392 CE), Hansŏng during Chosŏn (1392-1910), and Keijo/Kyŏngsŏng during Japanese annexation. Since Chosŏn, however, it has also been popularly referred to as Seoul (Yu, 2021).

<sup>47</sup> Advertisements are not just those made by fashion, cosmetics, and entertainment companies. international K-Pop fans regularly collectively purchase ad space in subway stations to celebrate the birthdays of their favorite idols (Fedorenko, 2021).

opportunities. Participants received 5,000 Korean won (KRW or ₩) upon completion of any survey in which they participated. Participants could engage in more than one phase of the study.

#### Phase I: Freelisting

Twenty-five men and women were recruited to participate in the freelisting phase of this research. Interviews were conducted face-to-face in cafes, quiet outdoor locations, or school buildings when they were conducted on a university campus. When given permission, interviews were audio-recorded. These interviews occurred between September 2019 and December 2019.

First, I asked participants to identify three to five male public figures who Korean people generally described as handsome. Then, I asked participants to list three to five male public figures who Korean people generally view as unattractive. This served two purposes: first, responses to this question provided explicit examples of attractive and unattractive men according to Korean people; second, participants had examples in mind when I asked them to list all of the words and phrases that Korean people used to describe men's bodies.

Finally, I ended the survey with a short demographic questionnaire that inquired about gender, age, birthplace, height, weight, university, academic major, relationship status, occupation, parents' occupation(s), and sexual orientation. I also asked men about the status of their mandatory military service, whether it was complete, in progress, in the future, or if they were exempt. If they were exempt from military service, I asked them to briefly describe their exemption (usually, they are medical exemptions, but sometimes exemptions can be awarded for receiving international awards in art or sports). I also asked them to describe any experiences abroad.

On the occasions which participants used phrases like “a good face (*choŭn ōlgul*),” I asked them to describe specifically the features that made a face “good.” Further, when participants employed terms that describe a kind of “look” –for example, *ojing’ō* (squid), meaning “a really ugly person”, or *kisaeng orabi*, meaning “a really beautiful man” or “a man whose only value is in his looks”—I asked them to detail the features that a man with that look tended to have.

I analyzed freelists using *Flame v1.2*, a Microsoft Excel macro designed to analyze freelist data (Pennec et al., 2016). The initial analysis indicated that there were 530 individual words and phrases in the sample. Then, I combined words and phrases following Borgatti’s (1999) recommendations. Further, Korean has multiple grammatical constructions available to say what is effectively the same phrase. For example, one could refer to the concept of “tall” as *k’ŭn k’i*, *k’iga k’ŭta*, *k’iga k’ō*, *k’iga k’ōyo*, *k’iga k’ŭmnita*, et cetera. Therefore, I standardized all of the items to the standard written style (e.g., *k’iga k’ŭta*). Standardization reduced the number of independent words and phrases to 200.

## Phase II: Pilesorting and Correspondence Analysis

This phase occurred between January 2020 and March 2020. Forty-two items were chosen for the pilesorting phase of research. These were items mentioned by at least 10 percent of participants. I wrote each individual item on a notecard and formed them into a single deck of forty-two cards.

For pilesorting, I gave each of 25 participants the deck of cards and asked them to sort the cards into as many piles as they saw fit, as long as they made at least two piles. Once they had sorted the cards to their satisfaction, I asked them to describe their reasoning for making each pile.

For correspondence analysis, I asked participants to indicate whether each of the items was represented in the following categories: *chalsaenggyōtta* (handsome), *motsaenggyōtta* (ugly), *kwiyopta* (cute), *kkonminam* (flower boy), *chimsūngnam* (beastly man). They were allowed to indicate that an item could be represented in more than one category. For example, “tall” was indicated to be a trait associated with the handsome, flower boy, and beastly man categories.

Finally, I ended the survey with a short demographic questionnaire that inquired about gender, age, birthplace, height, weight, university, academic major, relationship status, occupation, parents’ occupation(s), and sexual orientation. I also asked men about the status of their mandatory military service, whether it was complete, in progress, in the future, or if they were exempt. If they were exempt, I asked them to briefly describe their exemption. I also asked them to describe any experiences abroad.

Due to the outbreak of the 2019 novel coronavirus in East Asia in late January, and particularly the large-scale outbreak in Taegu in late February, in-person interviews were no longer feasible. Using Qualtrics, I developed an online survey tool that effectively collected data in the same way as the in-person interviews. The major difference between the face-to-face and online formats was that the online format could not collect participants’ verbal descriptions of their piles. The online tool allowed them to name and describe their piles, but deeper conversations about participants’ responses were no longer possible. The online tool also limited the number of potential piles to ten; however, only one of the participants used all ten options. The median number of piles was four, although they ranged from two to ten piles across all participants.

Pilesort data were analyzed using non-metric multidimensional scaling (MDS), cluster analysis, and cultural consensus analysis in ANTHROPAC (Borgatti, 1996). Correspondence analysis was performed in Microsoft Excel using XLSTAT (Addinsoft, 2020).

### Phase III: Rating Tasks, Cultural Consonance, and Psychometric Scales

Phase III occurred between March 2020 and January 2021. One hundred seventeen (102 men, 15 women) participated in this phase of the research. I started the survey with a short demographic questionnaire that inquired about gender, age, birthplace, height, weight, university, academic major, relationship status, occupation, parents' occupation(s), and sexual orientation. I also asked men about the status of their mandatory military service, whether it was complete, in progress, in the future, or if they were exempt. If they were exempt, I asked them to briefly describe their exemption. I also asked them to describe any experiences abroad. I also asked men to indicate their perceived and ideal fatness and muscularity on two 9-point Stunkard-style silhouette scales (Ralph-Nearman & Filik, 2018).

I then provided participants with the same forty-two items as in Phase II. First, I asked them to indicate how much attention Korean people tend to pay each feature when evaluating men's bodies, followed by their own opinion about how much attention they pay to each feature. They were asked to evaluate each feature on a scale of 0 (no attention), 1 (little attention), 2 (some attention), and 3 (high attention).

Second, I asked them to indicate how attractive Korean people tend to find each feature, followed by their own opinion about how attractive they find each feature. They were asked to evaluate each feature on a scale of 0 (highly unattractive), 1 (somewhat unattractive), 2 (somewhat attractive), 3 (highly attractive).

Third, in order to measure cultural consonance with models of the ideal male body, I asked the men to indicate how well other people would say each feature is represented in their own body. The intent was to have participants divorce their response from their own opinions about their bodies. They were asked to evaluate each feature on a scale of 0 (not at all represented), 1 (slightly represented), 2 (represented), and 3 (highly represented).

Fourth, I asked the men to respond to the Male Body Attitudes Scale (MBAS; Tylka et al., 2005). The MBAS is a 24-item psychological scale designed to examine the extent to which men are dissatisfied with their body image, also known as body dissatisfaction. Respondents indicate the frequency with which they feel each statement on a 6-point scale from 1 (never) to 6 (always). Responses are averaged, and higher values indicate greater body dissatisfaction. There are three subscales, titled “low body fat,” “muscularity,” and “height.” The MBAS was translated into Korean with assistance of a native speaker of Korean fluent in English, and back-translated into English with the assistance of another native speaker of Korean fluent in English.

Fifth, I asked the men and women to respond to the validated Korean translation of the Eating Attitudes Test-26 (EAT-26; Garner et al., 1982; Lee et al., 1998). The EAT-26 is a 26-item psychological scale designed to assess risk for disordered eating. Respondents indicate the frequency with which they feel each statement on a 6-point scale from 1 (always) to 6 (never). There are also three subscales: “dieting,” “bulimia and food preoccupation,” and “oral control.” Items rated at a 1 (always) are given a score of 3, 2 (usually) are given a score of 2, and 3 (often) are given a score of 1, and 4 (sometimes), 5 (rarely), and 6 (never) are given a score of 0. Scores are summed, and higher scores indicate greater risk of disordered eating. Among Western samples, scores above 20 indicate a likely eating disorder. Among Korean men, scores above 18 indicate a likely eating disorder (Lee et al., 1998).

## Analyses

### Cultural Consensus Analysis

I analyzed the attention and attractiveness dimensions using cultural consensus analysis in ANTHROPAC. Cultural consensus analysis works like a factor analysis of participants. The primary assumption of cultural consensus analysis is the “one culture” hypothesis, meaning that the analysis runs with the expectation that participants respond to the survey in generally the same ways. The “one culture” hypothesis is evaluated by the ratio between the eigenvalues of the first and second factors: the higher the eigenvalue ratio, the more cultural agreement there is in the sample (Romney et al., 1986).

Cultural consensus analysis also assigns each participant two values based on the first two factors of the factor analysis. The first value is the individual’s cultural competence. Cultural competence coefficients indicate an individual’s knowledge of the cultural model. Cultural competence coefficients should be greater than zero, and higher cultural competence coefficients (up to 1) indicate a higher degree of agreement with the cultural model. Cultural competence coefficients below zero indicate that such people have responded in a way opposite to the cultural answer key. A “cultural answer key” is then calculated as a weighted average, in which those participants with higher cultural competence coefficients’ answers are weighted more heavily.

### Residual Agreement Analysis

The second value is the individual’s residual agreement value (Boster, 1986; Dressler et al., 2015). Residual agreement values are either positive or negative, and explain the variation in the sample beyond cultural consensus. In other words, cultural competence describes what an

individual “knows,” while residual agreement describes what separates people within the larger pattern of agreement.

Residual agreement analysis is conducted first by graphing residual agreement coefficients against cultural competence coefficients, visualizing the larger patterns of agreement and disagreement within the sample. From here, other variables can be hypothesized as to what may lead to the variation in residual agreement coefficients, and tested using various statistical tests depending on the types of variables under consideration.

If the variable underlying the variation in residual agreement is determined, one can then visualize the items upon which both groups disagree the most. For each item, the cultural answer key value is subtracted from each participant’s responses. These differences are then averaged within the groups as determined by the underlying variable. Items toward the origin of the graph indicate that both groups agree about the evaluation of that item. Items toward the margins are those upon which the groups disagree, in that one group places more emphasis on that item than the other group.

#### Cultural Consonance Analysis

Cultural consonance values were calculated as the sum of the ratings on the consonance scale for each item scored above a 1.5 on the cultural answer key for the “attractiveness” dimension. These values are then standardized. This then creates a variable with which one can evaluate the relationships between one’s ability to approximate the cultural model with other dependent and independent variables.

## CHAPTER 6

### CULTURAL MODELS OF MALE BODY IDEALS IN SOUTH KOREA

#### Introduction

This chapter describes the process of data collection and results of the analysis of freelists and pilesorts for the cultural domain analyses. Freelists are used to populate the cultural model. In other words, freelists elicit the words and phrases people utilize when they think about, talk about, and act upon the cultural domain in question. I refer to these words and phrases as “items,” for short. The more people who mention a given item, the more likely that item is a widely shared element of that model.

Pilesorts then take these elicited terms and as participants are asked to sort the items however they see fit. The goal of the pilesort is to determine the cognitive structure of the cultural domain. That is, pilesorts are used to understand the ways in which items are related to one another. Using nonmetric multidimensional scaling (MDS), relationships can be examined as a function of the Euclidean distance between each item and every other item. This will be explained further in the pilesort section below.

#### Freelists

Twenty-five South Korean men ( $n = 13$ ) and women ( $n = 12$ ) participated in freelisting exercises. Table 1 describes the characteristics of the sample. The men were slightly older, owing to the fact that most men interrupt their university studies to complete at least 21 months of mandatory military service. Fewer than half of the male participants had completed their

military service. Most women chose not to report their weight, and therefore BMI could not be calculated for them.

Table 1. Demographic Information for Freelist Participants

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Male (n = 13)</b>	<b>Female (n = 12)</b>	<b>Total (n = 25)</b>
Age	26.0 ± 3	22.0 ± 3	24.0 ± 4
Height (cm)	175.0 ± 3.8	160.1 ± 4.2	168.5 ± 8.5
Weight (kg)	68.2 ± 8.9	--	--
BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )	22.3 ± 2.8	--	--
% Identifying as Heterosexual	46.2	75.0	60.0
% Completed Military Service	46.2	--	--

They were first asked to list three to five male celebrities whom people generally regarded as handsome. They were then asked to list three to five male celebrities whom people generally found to be unattractive. These questions were asked in order to draw to the surface prototypically attractive and unattractive men’s bodies about which participants could think as they listed specific attractive and unattractive features. Table 2 lists the top ten most frequently referenced attractive and unattractive male celebrities.

Table 2. Ideal and Non-Ideal Male Celebrities

Ideal Male Celebrities			Non-Ideal Male Celebrities				
Rank	Name	%	Rank	Name	%		
1	원빈 (김도진)	Won Bin (KIM Do-Jin)	36%	1	박명수	PARK Myungsoo	24%
2	차은우	CHA Eun-woo	32%	2	유해진	YOO Hae-jin	24%
3	박보검	PARK Bo-gum	24%	3	유재석	YOO Jae-suk	24%
4	강동원	KANG Dong-won	24%	4	정종철	JEONG Jong-cheol	16%
5	정우성	JUNG Woo-sung	20%	5	정준하	JEONG Jun-ha	16%
6	이동욱	LEE Dong-wook	16%	6	박준형	PARK Jun-hyeong	16%
7	장동건	JANG Dong-gun	16%	7	노홍철	NOH Hong-cheol	12%
8	로운 (김석우)	Rowoon (KIM Seok-woo)	16%	8	정형돈	JUNG Hyeong-don	12%
9	뷔 (김태형)	V (KIM Taehyung)	16%	9	오지현	OH Ji-heon	12%
10	김우빈	KIM Woo-bin	12%	10	류준열	RYU Jun-yeol	12%



Figure 1. The ten most frequently referenced "handsome" male celebrities

A. Won Bin. B. Cha Eun Woo. C. Park Bo-gum. D. Kang Dong-won. E. Jung Woo-sung. F. Lee Dong-wook. G. Jang Dong-gun. H. Rowoon. I. Kim Taehyung (BTS V). J. Kim Woo-bin.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Images are adapted from original photographs with Creative Commons licenses. A. LGE (2011). B. cherubic Eunwoo (2017). C. blessingbell (2018) D. Kimetc (2016). E. Dispatch (2019a). F. Dispatch (2019b). G. Dispatch (2018). H. F28STAR (2018). I. Min (2019). J. Rokiei (2013).



Figure 2. The ten most frequently referenced "unattractive" male celebrities

A. Park Myungsoo. B. Yoo Hae-jin. C. Yoo Jae-suk. D. Jeong Jong-Cheol. E. Jeong Jun-Ha. F. Park Jun-Hyeong . G. Noh Hong-Cheol . H. Jung Hyeong-Don. I. Oh Ji-Heon . J. Ryu Jun-Yeol.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Images are adapted from original photographs with Creative Commons licenses. A. ACROFAN (2008). B. lottent (2014). C. F28STAR (2017) D. Sangjinhwa & Wooris (2021). E. Park (2014). F. wasabcon (2014). G. ACROFAN (2011b). H. ACROFAN (2011a). I. WEB Radio FM (2021). J. unplugge7 (2016).

Figure 1 provides a visual reference for the ten “attractive” male celebrities. Celebrities referenced range in age from 23 (CHA Eun-woo) to 48 (JANG Dong-gun), reflecting an internalization of media both from their formative years and attention to current trends. They are either leading men from popular Korean dramas or members of popular K-pop groups. Actor Won Bin (age 47), for example, is popularly regarded as being the prototypical handsome man. KIM Taehyung (age 25) is a member of the popular K-Pop group BTS. PARK Bo-gum is currently a highly popular actor and model representing several products on billboards and other advertisements throughout the country. Figure 2 provides a visual reference for the ten “unattractive” male celebrities. They are almost exclusively comedians, known for having poor fashion sense and sometimes bad, abusive personalities.

Following the question about celebrities, I asked them to list all of the words and phrases that Korean people tend to use when describing men’s bodies. About half of participants made separate lists for attractive and unattractive features, while the other half integrated their freelists by listing terms as they came up in their mind. Because I asked them to list all of the words and phrases they could think of, rather than specifying that they list positive and then negative features, I analyzed the freelists without regard to individual participants’ initial organization beyond the sequence in which they mentioned each item. The freelists reached saturation after 23 of the interviews were completed, indicating that no new terms were being added (Figure 3).

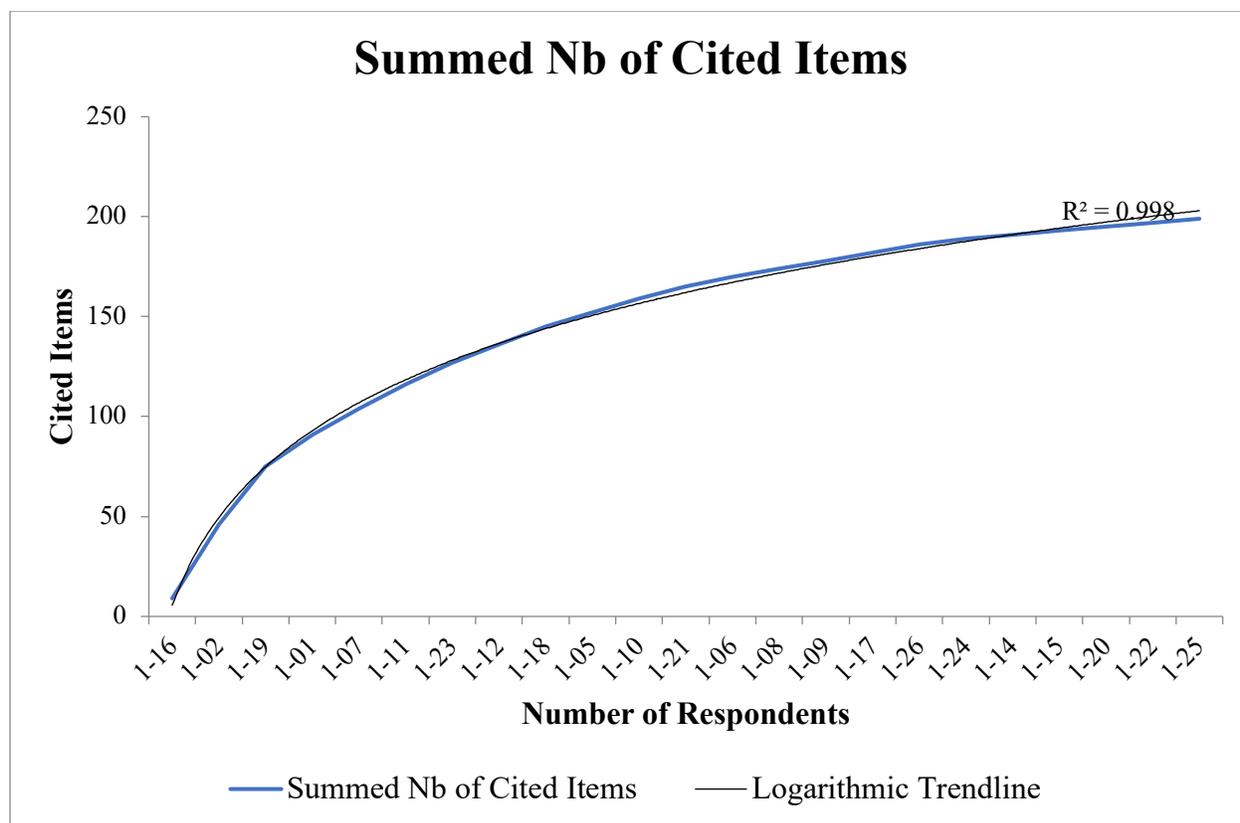


Figure 3. Freelist Saturation Analysis

After cleaning the data by combining similar ideas under umbrella terms and standardizing words and phrases, 200 discrete words and phrases remained. I excluded terms like “handsome” (*chalsaenggyötta*) or “ugly” (*motsaenggyötta*) because they were too general and were usually elaborated into their more specific components.<sup>50</sup> I also excluded those terms which related to personality rather than appearance. Thirty-eight words and phrases were mentioned by more than 10% of the respondents and are presented in Table 3. I also included four items (denoted by a \*) based on ethnographic observation and informal interactions: *t’ōri mant’a* (body hair), *hwaryōhan yōmsaek’an mōri* (colorfully-dyed hair), *kar yōmsaek’an mōri* (brown-dyed hair), and *hwajanghada* (to wear makeup).

<sup>50</sup> Because they are culturally relevant categories, I employ them later in the correspondence analysis.

Fat (*ttungttunghada*) was the most frequently mentioned term, by 68% of respondents, followed by tall (*k'iga k'üda*) at 60% and white skin (*p'ibuga hayat'a*) at 56%. Among South Koreans, having “white skin” in the domain of body image does not refer to racial categories or a “Western European” skin tone, but rather refers to skin that is bright, unblemished, and undamaged by the sun. Sometimes, the phrases “like a peeled hard-boiled egg” or “like milk” were used to the same effect.

Fifty-two percent of participants mentioned big muscles (*künyugi mant'a*), high nose (*k'oga nopta*), well-defined facial features (*imokkubiga tturyöthada*), shortness (*k'iga chakta*), and wide shoulders (*öikkaega nölda*). A high nose refers to the bridge of the nose being sharp and raised off the face. This is opposed to a “flat nose” (*k'oga natta*)—mentioned by 32% of participants—a feature many Koreans will seek to “correct” by way of rhinoplasty.

Forty-eight percent of participants referred to thick eyebrows (*nunssöbi chinhada*), a small face (*ölguri chakta*), eight- or seven-head body (*p'aldüngsin/ch'ildüngsini itta*), and a V-line jaw (*V-raini itta*). Regarding thick eyebrows, some participants referenced children’s cartoon character Tchang’gu (짱구) as an example. One straight, male participant noted that he and his friends share advice on eyebrow pencil brands and techniques. Small faces are ubiquitous among the “attractive” celebrities, with the difference easily seen in comparing them to the “unattractive” celebrities. Seven/Eight-head bodies refer to a proportion by which the body is as tall as seven to eight heads stacked on top of one another and is generally only possible if one has a small face and long legs (mentioned by 28% of participants). On the other hand, people with five-head bodies may be teased, or be exaggratingly described as having a “two-head body.” A V-line jaw is another feature common among “attractive” celebrities, as opposed to the

robust jaw more commonly viewed as attractive among Western celebrities, in which the jaw smoothly extends from the ear down to a pointed chin and contributes to having a small face.

Forty-four percent of participants referred to big eyes (*nuni k'ŭda*). Like “white skin,” “big eyes” has less to do with approximating a “Western European” look than making one look more alert and personable.<sup>51</sup> While 36% mentioned small eyes, some referred to them positively while others noted that they make one look tired. Double-eyelid (*ssangkkŏp 'ul*) surgery is a procedure by which an epicanthal crease is created and makes the eye bigger and rounder. Double-eyelids are a common feature among celebrities and were mentioned by 16% of respondents.

Forty-four percent also referred to flawless skin (*p'ibuē chapt'iga ŏpta*), and acne (*yŏdŭrŭmi itta*). Further, forty percent referenced being neat, clean, and organized (*kkalkkŭmhada*). Many related this idea to *chagi kwalli* (self-maintenance), putting effort into one's appearance in order not only to project competence and confidence, but also to make sure one does not make others uncomfortable (*nunch'iga itta*). Styling one's hair (*sŭt'ailhan mŏriga*, mentioned by 40%) and dressing well (*osŭl chal iptā*, 48%) as opposed to dressing poorly (*osŭl mot iptā*, 32%), are other ways to project these traits.

Twenty-eight percent of participants referenced “small muscle” (*chan'gŭnyuk*), tan skin (*kuritbit p'ibuga itta*), and thinning hair (*t'almoga itta*). Small muscle refers to lean muscle on a thin frame, like that of a swimmer or a model, and usually includes being thin (*narssinhada*, 16%) and having defined abdominal muscles (*pokkŭni itta*, 16%). The “attractive” men tend to have

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<sup>51</sup> DiMoia (2013) has shown that the preference for big eyes emerged out of Koreans interactions with American soldiers during the Korean War and became popular with the introduction of double-eyelid surgery by American plastic surgeons who originally performed it for medical purposes. While many Koreans naturally have “big eyes” and epicanthic creases, cosmetic surgery became popularized among the emerging middle-class in the 1970s and 1980s. As it became more commonplace, Korean cosmetic surgeons began Koreanizing the surgery to avoid replicating “Caucasian” eyes on Korean faces (Baek et al., 1989), opting instead for procedures which “enhance” aesthetic qualities and proportions in line with local expectations and standards (Leem 2016b).

small muscle, as opposed to big muscles. Koreans generally tend to avoid tanning, due to associations with manual labor and skin damage, although men looking to build their muscles may go to tanning salons in order to develop contrasts and deeper shadows to further define their muscles. This is particularly true if they plan to do a *padi p'ŭrop'il* (“body profile”), a photoshoot in which they show off their toned bodies.

Thinning hair was always negative. One participant said, “Unlike Americans, we don’t think fat people are bad. But we may morally judge guys who are going bald. No one kills themselves because they’re fat, but a lot of guys kill themselves over losing their hair.”

A height of at least 180 centimeters (*180 sench'i isang*) was mentioned by 20% of participants, specifically after “tall.” This is in reference to a controversy from the mid-2000s in which a female television program panelist said that “any man shorter than 180 centimeters is a loser.” This idea that remains both a joke and a source of anxiety for young men.

Twelve percent of participants mentioned big hands, beards, dimples, being strong, and “stomach comes out.” Big hands were noted by women as a quality that made them feel and appear more petite in relation to a potential partner. Beards were mentioned as something strange since Korean men typically believe that they cannot grow enough facial hair to have a beard that looks intentional, rather than a product of neglect. Dimples were noted as something considered to be cute. Strength is a more ambivalent quality, considering that muscularity is often more of an aesthetic choice rather than an instrumental goal for men.

Table 3. Freelist Results

한글 (Hangŭl)	McCune- Reischauer Romanization	English	%	한글 (Hangŭl)	McCune- Reischauer Romanization	English	%
뚱뚱하다	<i>ttungttunghada</i>	Fat	68	구릿빛 피부가 있다	<i>kuritbit p'ibuga itta</i>	Tan skin	28
키가 크다	<i>k'iga k'ūda</i>	Tall	60	탈모가 있다	<i>t'alмога itta</i>	Thinning hair	28
피부가 하얗다	<i>p'ibuga hayat'a</i>	White skin	56	잔근육이 있다	<i>chan'gŭnyugi itta</i>	Small muscle	28
코가 높다	<i>k'oga nopta</i>	High Nose	52	안경을 쓰다	<i>an'gyōngŭl ssūda</i>	Wears glasses	24
키가 작다	<i>k'iga chakta</i>	Short	52	180 센치 이상	<i>180 sench'i isang</i>	At least 180 centimeters	20
어깨가 넓다	<i>ōkkaega nōlta</i>	Wide Shoulders	52	머리가 작다	<i>mōriga chakta</i>	Short hair	20
이목구비가 뚜렷하다	<i>imokkubiga tturyōthada</i>	Well-defined features	52	건장하다	<i>kōnjanghada</i>	Burly	20
근육이 많다	<i>kŭnyugi mant'a</i>	Big muscles	52	쌍꺼풀이 있다	<i>ssangkkōp'uri itta</i>	Double-eyelids	16
눈썹이 진하다	<i>nunssōbi chinhada</i>	Thick eyebrows	48	날씬하다	<i>narssinhada</i>	Thin	16
얼굴이 작다	<i>ōlguri chakta</i>	Small face	48	이가 고르다	<i>iga korūda</i>	Straight teeth	16
팔등신/칠등신이 있다	<i>p'aldŭngsin/ ch'ildŭngsini itta</i>	8-/7-head body	48	복근이 있다	<i>pokkūni itta</i>	Abs	16
옷을 잘 입다	<i>osŭl chal iptā</i>	Dresses well	48	손이 크다	<i>soni kūda</i>	Big hands	12
V 라인이 있다	<i>V-raini itta</i>	V-line jaw	48	수염이 있다	<i>suyōmi itta</i>	Beard	12
눈이 크다	<i>nuni k'ūda</i>	Big eyes	44	보조개가 있다	<i>pojogaega itta</i>	Dimples	12
여드름이 있다	<i>yōdŭrŭmi itta</i>	Acne	44	튼튼하다	<i>t'ünt'ūnhada</i>	Strong	12
피부에 잡티가 없다	<i>p'ibuë chapt'iga ōpta</i>	Flawless skin	44	배가 나오다	<i>paega naoda</i>	Stomach comes out	12
스타일한 머리가 있다	<i>sūt'ailhan mōriga itta</i>	Styled hair	40	털이 많다	<i>t'ōri mant'a</i>	Body hair	*
깔끔하다	<i>kkalgŭmhada</i>	Clean and neat	40	화려한 염색한 머리	<i>hwaryōhan yōmsaek'an mōri</i>	Colorfully dyed hair	*
눈이 작다	<i>nuni chakta</i>	Small eyes	36	갈 염색한 머리	<i>kar yōmsaek'an mōri</i>	Brown-dyed hair	*
코가 낮다	<i>k'oga natta</i>	Flat nose	32	화장하다	<i>hwajanghada</i>	Wears makeup	*
옷을 못 입다	<i>osŭl mot iptā</i>	Dresses poorly	32				
다리가 길다	<i>tariga kilita</i>	Long legs	28				

\* denotes an item included by the researcher

“Stomach comes out” was viewed as distinct from fatness as it was more associated with aging. Particularly, it was associated with becoming an *ajussi* (middle-aged man). While *ajussi* refers to any middle-aged man, the term is often used as a shorthand to refer to someone older who is loud, opinionated, offers unsolicited advice, and no longer follows social trends. Being otherwise thin but having a protruding stomach is one of the physical markers of this life stage.

I also included four terms based on my ethnographic observations. These include having body hair, dyeing the hair colorfully, dyeing the hair brown, and wearing makeup. Some interlocutors had mentioned in passing that they do not like body hair, since it is somewhat abnormal for Koreans to get much hair on their arms, legs, and torsos.

Walking around Seoul, it is also common to see young men with colorfully dyed hair, emulating popular K-Pop stars. Friends—particularly those working in office jobs—noted that they had dyed their hair brown or dark red in order to look a little different but not stand out too much or look unprofessional.

It was also not uncommon to see young Korean men wear makeup. One Korean friend who lived in the US for about 7 years, through high school and university, told me he was surprised at seeing men wearing makeup in public when he returned to South Korea for graduate school. Makeup use ranged from using products like BB cream to even out the skin tone and offer slight sun protection and eyebrow pencils used to fill in the eyebrows and make them thicker, to more full faces of makeup. Prior to the SARS-Cov-2019 pandemic, it was not uncommon to see young men apply makeup on the subway. Typically, the fuller faces of makeup were intended to be subtle and natural, and were done more for special occasions like weddings, first dates, getting professional headshots, or getting group pictures taken with friends.

## Pilesorts

The forty-two items that came out of the freelisting phase were brought into the pilesorting phase. The goal of pilesorting is to understand the cognitive structure of the cultural model. Freelisting itself only indicates what concepts are involved in the domain of male body ideals. Pilesorting takes those concepts and evaluates the ways in which these concepts are related to one another.

In pilesorting, participants are presented with a stack of cards and asked to sort the cards however they see fit, as long as they make at least two piles. Because pilot research suggested that participants tended to be unfamiliar with the activity, and because I wanted to get peoples' most immediate thoughts without them having thought about it extensively first, I created two piles of cards. The first was a stack of 12 cards containing the names of fruits one could easily find in a Korean grocery store. They performed pilesorts on these cards first to practice and get a sense of what they would be doing. Once they sorted the fruit cards and explained their reasoning, demonstrating that they understood the task, I gave them the second stack of cards containing the 42 items from the freelisting phase. I instructed them to sort the cards in whatever way made sense to them, as long as they made at least two piles.

Twenty-five men ( $n = 17$ ) and women ( $n = 8$ ) participated in the pilesorting exercise (Table 4). The average age of this sample was  $24 \pm 3$  years old. Men were, on average,  $173.5 \pm 7.3$  cm, while women were  $164.5 \pm 7.4$  cm tall. Men weighed  $68.8 \pm 9.7$  kg. Women did not respond to the weight question. Men's average BMI was  $22.5 \pm 2.8$  kg/m<sup>2</sup>; BMI could not be calculated for women because they did not respond to the weight question. Of men, 47.1% had completed their mandatory military service by the time of the interview. Those identifying as heterosexual included 62.5% of men and 87.5% of women. The woman who did not identify as

heterosexual identified as bisexual. Those men who did not identify as heterosexual included two who identified as bisexual and four who identified as homosexual. The number of piles created ranged from 3 to 10. The median number of piles was 4, and the mode was 3.

Table 4. Demographic Information for Pilesort Participants

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Male (n = 16)</b>	<b>Female (n = 9)</b>	<b>Total (n = 25)</b>
Korean Age (years)	25 ± 3	24 ± 4	24 ± 3
Height (cm)*	173.5 ± 7.3	164.5 ± 7.4	171.1 ± 8.7
Weight (kg)	68.8 ± 9.7	--	--
BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )	22.0 ± 2.8	--	--
% Heterosexual	56	89	68
% Completed Military Service	50	--	--
Average Cultural Competence:			
Pilesorts	0.68 ± 0.14	0.78 ± 0.07	0.71 ± 0.13

\* p < 0.01

#### Nonmetric Multidimensional Scaling and Cluster Analysis

Participants' pilesorts were first analyzed using nonmetric multidimensional scaling in ANTHROPAC. Nonmetric multidimensional scaling turns the proportion of times each item was sorted with every other item into a distance in two-dimensional space. Items closer to one another are more related (i.e., they are more frequently pilesorted together) than those items farther apart. The results of nonmetric multidimensional scaling are presented in Figure 4. Stress in two dimensions was 0.187, indicating that the data are well fit to a two-dimensional model. In other words, the graph accurately describes the distribution of the items in two dimensions.

Cluster analysis was performed next to determine the subgroups of items within the larger model. Cluster analysis is also performed in ANTHROPAC. Cluster analysis indicates the presence of three clusters and three items that did not sort with the others, indicated by color in Figure 4. The four clusters are the negative items in purple, indeterminate items in gray, positive items related to the body in blue, and positive items related to the face and adornment in green.

Negative items (purple) include fat, stomach comes out, short, dress poorly, balding, acne, flat nose, small eyes, and glasses. Participants typically noted that people did not like these features in men. In gray were items I call “indeterminate,” because they were, in many ways, not relevant to most Koreans’ experiences of men’s bodies. Typically, Korean men have little body and facial hair. Most talk about body hair and facial hair in negative ways, in part because their presence would make one stand out as different from others around them. Koreans also usually avoid tanning, noting how it is bad for the skin, although men may tan slightly to make their muscles—particularly their abs—more visible.

Positive bodily features are in blue, and include burly, strong, abs, big muscles, big hands, wide shoulders, 180 cm, tall, small muscle, 8-head body, and long legs. These are items having to do with the body and its proportions. They are also more associated with aspects of Western/“hard” masculinity.

Positive appearance features are in green. These features include neat and efficient, dress well, high nose, thin, small head, thick eyebrows, white skin, angular features, styled hair, small face, flawless skin, big eyes, straight teeth, dimples, V-line jaw, makeup, double eyelid, brown hair, and colorful hair. These items are associated with appearance maintenance and soft masculinity.

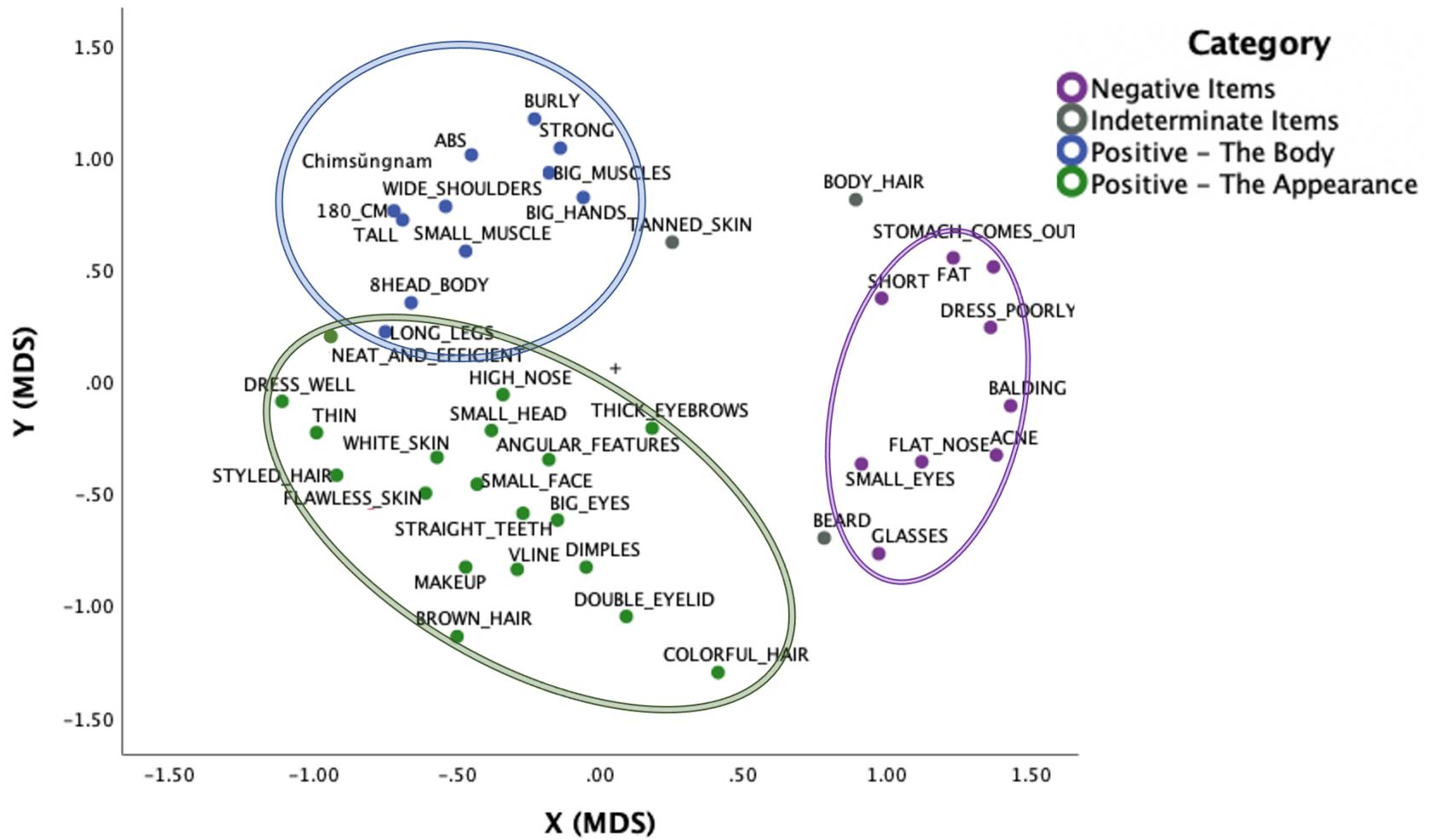


Figure 4. Non-Metric MDS Plot of Male Body Image Terms

## Cultural Consensus Analysis of Pile-sort Data

Stress in two dimensions, described above, is a measure by which the extent to which participants agreed in their responses can be ascertained. Another, more direct measurement, involves cultural consensus analysis. Whereas the direct measure of stress in two dimensions describes how easily the distance measures are “flattened” from a three-dimensional to two-dimensional model, cultural consensus analysis can be performed on the individual proximity matrices calculated by ANTHROPAC to examine the extent to which people tended to sort items in the same ways.

Cultural consensus analysis of the individual proximity matrices resulted in an eigenvalue ratio of 12.4 between the first and second eigenvalues, and an average cultural competence of  $0.715 \pm 0.126$ . Pseudo-reliability was calculated to be 0.963. An eigenvalue ratio of 3 is the general rule-of-thumb for examining the validity of the one-culture hypothesis. In other words, if the first factor, cultural competence, describes at least 3 times as much variance in the model as the second factor, residual agreement, one can say that respondents have drawn from a single cultural model in performing their pile-sorts. Here, an eigenvalue ratio of 12.4 and an average cultural competence of 0.715 indicates that the arrangement is highly shared. Further, the residual agreement plot (Figure 5) indicates little subgroup variation in the pile-sort data, further supporting the one-culture hypothesis for the pile-sort data. In other words, the MDS plot presented in Figure 4 can be said to accurately represent a shared way of thinking about the relationships among body image terms in this sample.

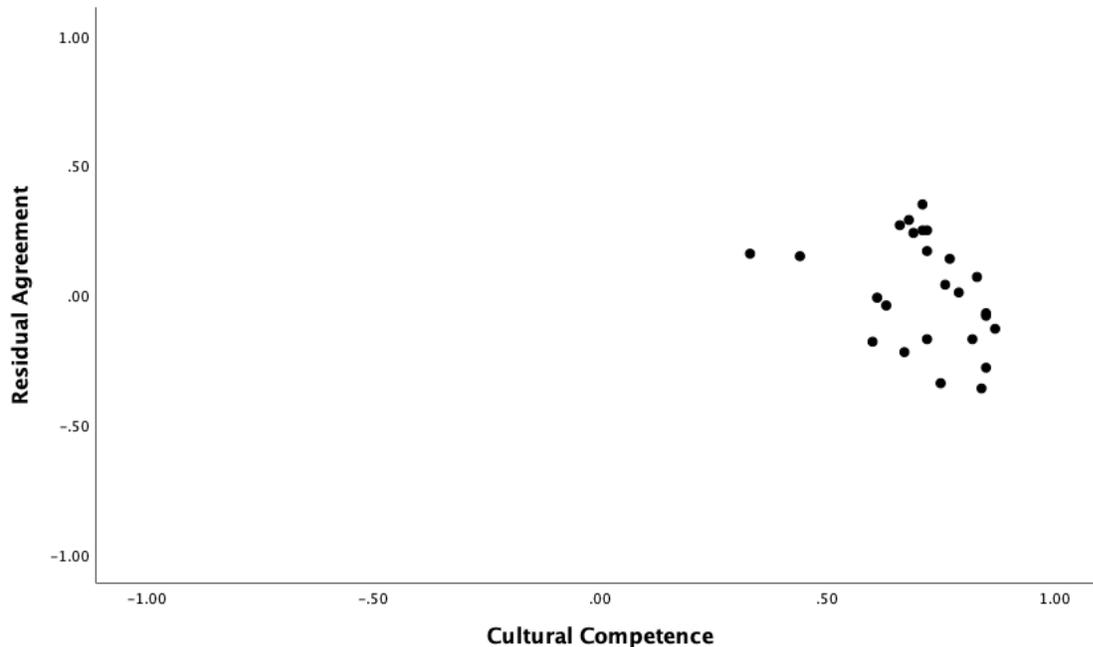


Figure 5. Cultural Competence versus Residual Agreement in Pile Sorts

#### Correspondence Analysis

When participants completed the pilesorting task, I asked them to indicate whether each item was associated with being handsome (*chalsaenggyötta*), unattractive (*motsaenggyötta*), cute (*kwiyoöpta*), a flower boy (*kkonminam*), and a beastly guy (*chimsüngnam*). Previous research (Monocello and Dressler, 2020) suggested that Koreans utilize these categories when thinking about male body ideals; likewise, during the freelisting phase participants sometimes used these categories as starting points for coming up with more granular concepts. Participants could indicate multiple categories for each item. I then performed correspondence analysis on the responses using XLSTAT. The results of correspondence analysis are presented in Figure 6. Red dots represent the categories around which the items (blue dots) organize.

Correspondence analysis shows that handsomeness is related most to being a flower boy, and is associated with small heads, white skin, small faces, big eyes, flawless skin, thinness, colorful hair, brown hair, wearing makeup, having a V-line jaw, styled hair, angular features,

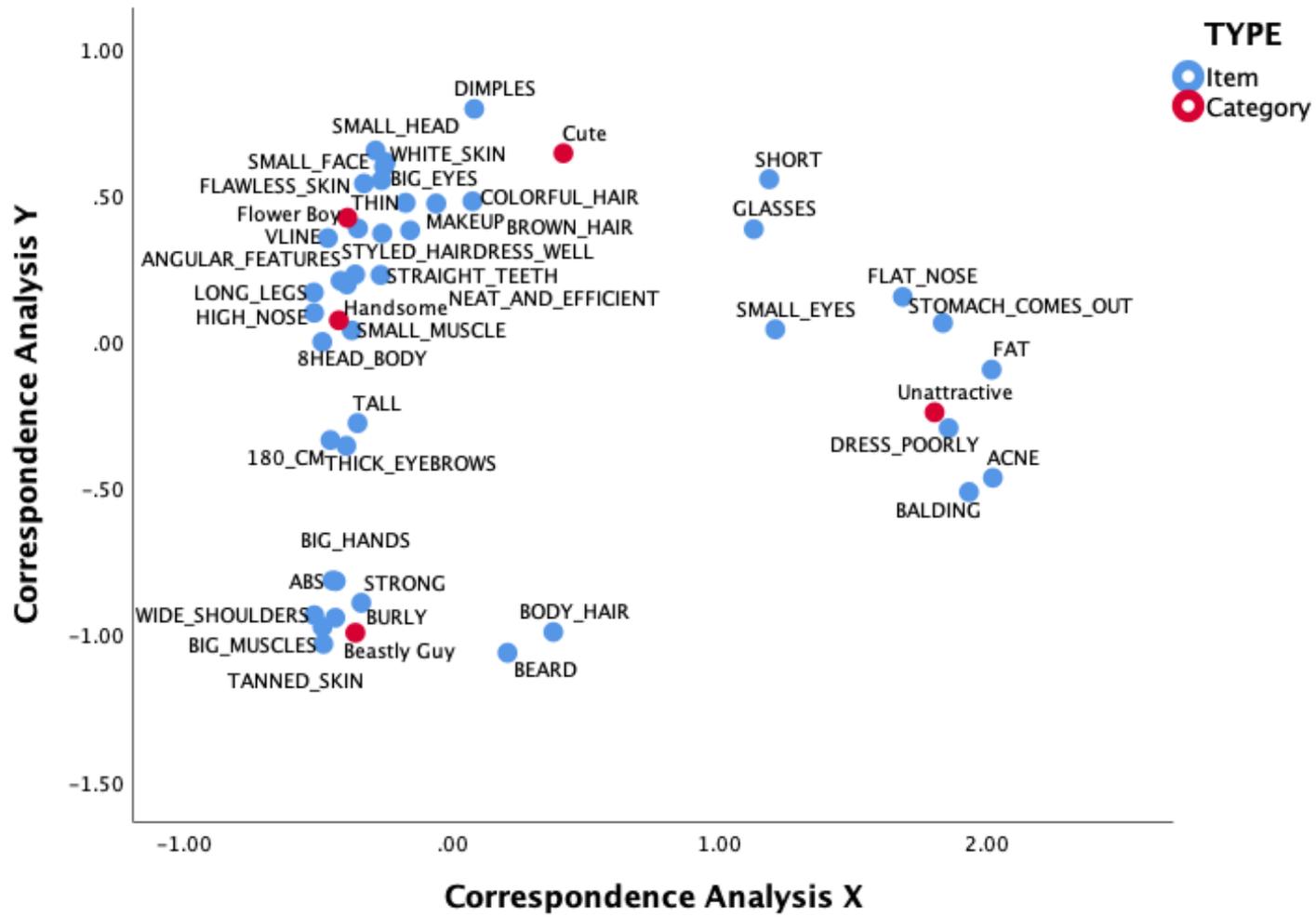


Figure 6. Correspondence Analysis of Items by Category

long legs, high noses, small muscle, appearing neat and efficient, and having eight-head body proportions.

Being a beastly guy was associated with big hands, abs, big muscles, strength, wide shoulders, and tanned skin. There was also some association with body and facial hair. Flower boys and beastly guys shared the traits of tallness, 180-centimeter heights, and thick eyebrows.

Cuteness was harder to place for these participants, in that it consisted of elements considered more attractive and elements considered less attractive. The more attractive features of a cute person include having colorful hair and dimples. The less attractive features included being short, wearing glasses, and having small eyes. According to interviews, men typically did not want to be associated with being cute, since it indicated that they would not be seriously considered as a romantic partner by women; they described being referred to as “cute” in similar ways that young American men describe being “friendzoned.”<sup>52</sup>

Unattractiveness was associated with flat noses, stomach coming out, fatness, dressing poorly, acne, and balding. Flat noses and stomach coming out were unattractive because of the ways in which they affected proportions, whereas being fat, dressing poorly, acne, and balding indicated a lack of attention to self-maintenance and a lack of desire for self-improvement.

## Conclusions

This chapter identified the components and structure of the cultural model of male body ideals held by young South Korean adults. The freelisting phase reaching saturation suggests that the process identified the relevant features which young South Korean adults refer to when thinking about men’s bodies. While further research into the extent to which such content is shared within subcultures—gay subcultures, athletic subcultures, artistic subcultures—is worth

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<sup>52</sup> Note that the notion of being cute (*kwiyoŏpta*) is distinct from performing cuteness (*aegyo*). While practiced mostly by women, men also engage in *aegyo* to a lesser extent, usually with a hint of irony.

pursuing, these data describe the baseline features with which South Koreans evaluate male bodies in general.

The pilesorting phase organized that list of terms into clusters which illustrate the cognitive structures through which young South Koreans associate features of the ideal male body with one another. These coalesce into four clusters: proper body types, aesthetic preferences, undesirable features, and those that are uncommon and therefore unwanted because having them would cause one to stand out. Analysis of stress within the nonmetric multidimensional scaling and cultural consensus among individual respondents demonstrate that this cognitive structure is strongly shared, and therefore may be representative of the cultural model of male body ideals embodied by young South Koreans more broadly. This structuring suggests an underlying dimension of scales of attractiveness that organize young South Koreans' assessments of features of male bodies.

The correspondence analysis gives further support to this hypothetical dimension, as items appear to fall on the spectrum from "handsome" to "unattractive," with "cute" occupying an anxious center. Differences between the items associated with flower boys and beastly guys suggest the presence of two different forms of ideal male bodies: the flower boy which focuses on appearing thin and pretty, and the beastly guy who sports a larger and more muscular physique. That the flower boy is more closely associated with the more general "handsome" than the beastly guy suggests that there may be a hierarchy of valuation of these two forms.

## CHAPTER 7

### DIMENSIONS OF THE CULTURAL MODEL OF MALE BODY IDEALS

#### Introduction

In Chapter 6, I discussed the cultural domain of male body ideals as modeled through freelisting, pilesorting, and correspondence analysis. In this chapter, I examine the dimensions of the cultural model in the form of the attention people tend to pay to each feature, and the degree of attractiveness people associate with each feature. I also more thoroughly analyze the results of the correspondence analysis. Using the analytical models of cultural consensus analysis and residual agreement analysis, I explore agreement and variation in participants' responses to these dimensions of the ideal male body in South Korea.

#### Sample Characteristics

One hundred seventeen young Korean men ( $n = 102$ ) and women ( $n = 15$ ) participated in this phase of the research. Table 5 summarizes the demographic characteristics of this sample. The average age was  $26 \pm 3$  years. I report whole numbers here because South Koreans calculate age as Current Year – Year of Birth + 1. At birth, a person is one year old, and everyone's age increases on New Year. Therefore, a person can be born on December 31, considered one year old, and then on January 1 they will be two years old. Men, at an average age of  $26 \pm 3$  years of age, were older than women, at an average age of  $23 \pm 3$  years (student's  $t = 3.221$ ,  $p = 0.002$ ).

The average height was  $174.2 \pm 6.6$  centimeters overall. Men, at an average of  $175.9 \pm 4.8$  cm, were taller than women, at an average height of  $161.8 \pm 3.9$  cm (student's  $t = 10.493$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). The average weight of men was  $73.0 \pm 9.4$  kg; women did not respond to the weight

question. Men’s average body mass index was  $23.5 \pm 2.5$ ; because women did not respond to the weight question, I could not calculate their average BMI. Regarding sexual orientation, 75.2% of the sample identified as heterosexual, including 75.5% of men and 73.3% of women. Regarding military service, 68.6% of men had completed their mandatory military service by the time these data were collected.

Table 5. Sample Characteristics

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Male (n = 102)</b>	<b>Female (n = 15)</b>	<b>Total (n = 117)</b>
Korean Age (years)*	26 ± 3	23 ± 3	26 ± 3
Height (cm)*	175.9 ± 4.8	161.8 ± 3.9	174.2 ± 6.6
Weight (kg)	73.0 ± 9.4	--	--
BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )	23.5 ± 2.5	--	--
% Heterosexual	75.5%	73.3%	75.2%
% Completed Military Service	68.6%	--	--
Average Cultural Competence:			
Attention	0.41 ± 0.26	0.51 ± 0.28	0.43 ± 0.26
Attractiveness	0.76 ± 0.22	0.82 ± 0.09	0.77 ± 0.21

\*  $p < 0.01$

### The Dimension of Attention

#### Cultural Consensus Analysis of “Attention”

Participants were asked to rate the extent to which people in South Korea paid attention to each of the 42 features listed on a scale of 0 (no attention) to 3 (high attention). I analyzed these data using cultural consensus analysis. The eigenvalue ratio between the first and second factors—cultural competence and residual agreement, respectively—was 1.991, below the threshold of 3 that suggests the presence of a single cultural model. It explained 38.2% of the variance. The average cultural competence was  $0.43 \pm 0.26$ , and there were 11 participants who had negative cultural competence. Negative cultural competence indicates that those participants were responding to the survey in patterns opposite to the larger response patterns.

## Residual Agreement Analysis of “Attention”

Previous research suggested cultural consensus among young South Koreans living in the southeastern United States (Monocello, 2017). Therefore, the lack of cultural consensus on this dimension led to further analysis to determine whether the lack of cultural consensus derived from an actual lack of consensus within the sample or from distinct subgroups existing within it. Figure 7 depicts the residual agreement variables – which indicate subgroup variation – plotted against cultural competence – which indicates individuals’ extent of agreement with every other participant, a.k.a. their “knowledge” of the cultural model.

I then split the sample up by the positive (above 0) and negative (below 0) residual agreement coefficient values. The negative residual agreement group had 49 men and women, and the positive residual agreement group had 68 men and women. I performed cultural consensus analysis on each group individually.

The negative residual agreement group had an eigenvalue ratio of 6.535, explaining 50.5% of the variance in the sample. The average cultural competence was  $0.60 \pm 0.27$ , with two negative cultural competence values. For the positive residual agreement group, the eigenvalue ratio was 3.753, explaining 36.5% of the variance in the sample. There were five participants with negative—but considerably reduced in absolute value—cultural competence coefficients.

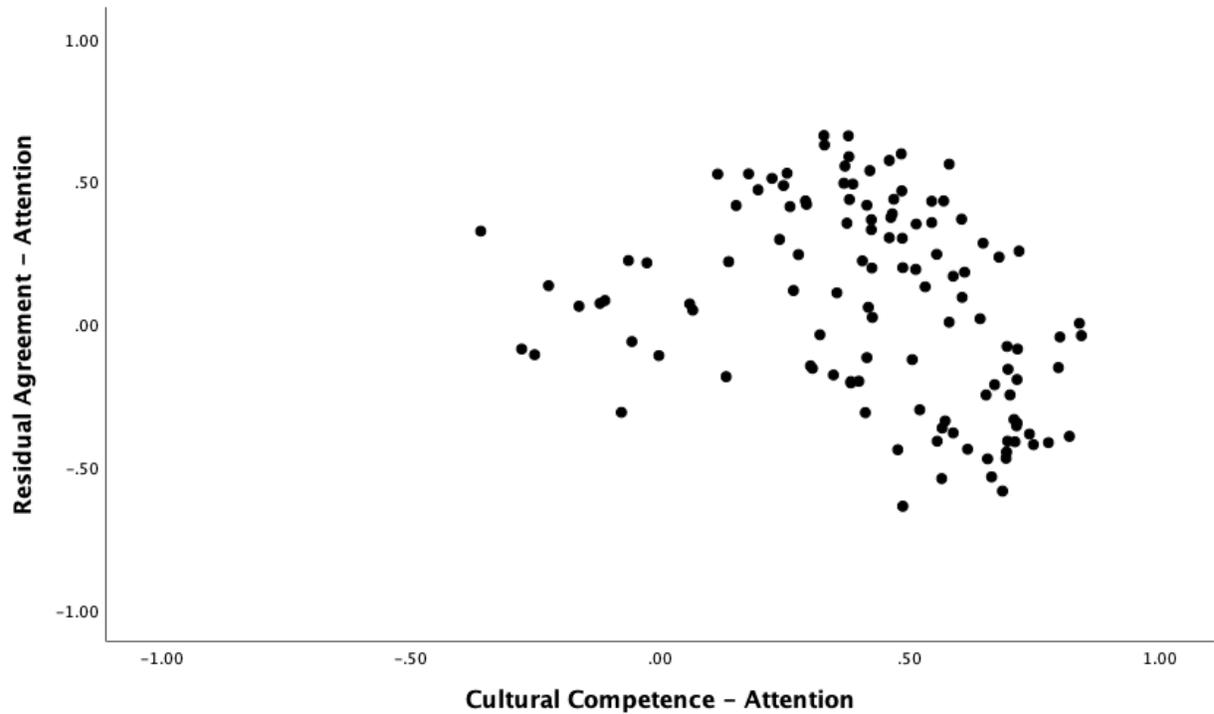


Figure 7. Residual Agreement vs. Cultural Competence in "Attention"

The next step was to compare the ways in which these subgroups distinguish themselves from the aggregate cultural answer key. After calculating the positive and negative residual agreement groups' cultural answer keys, I subtracted the value of the aggregate cultural answer key from the value of each residual agreement group's answer keys, respectively, for each item (Table 6). These difference scores were then graphed against each other in order to evaluate the particular items which "pull apart" the two groups

Figure 8 depicts the conformation of the items. The most significant item pulling apart the two subgroups is "balding." The other items that dramatically differ between both subgroups is dressing poorly, stomach coming out, acne, fatness, and shortness. "Flat nose" and "small eyes" are more strongly associated with the positive residual agreement group. On the other hand, "big hands," "dimples," "brown hair," and "V-line jaws" are more strongly associated with the negative residual agreement group.

Table 6. Cultural Answer Keys and Residual Agreement Analysis of "Attention"

<b>Item</b>	<b>Aggregate Cultural Answer Key</b>	<b>Negative RA Cultural Answer Key</b>	<b>Positive RA Cultural Answer Key</b>	<b>Negative RA Difference Score</b>	<b>Positive RA Difference Score</b>
Tall	2.22	2.10	2.38	0.16	-0.12
High nose	1.52	1.52	1.49	-0.04	-0.01
Short	1.30	0.61	2.02	0.73	-0.68
Wide shoulders	2.09	2.00	2.19	0.10	-0.09
White skin	1.60	1.60	1.50	-0.09	0.00
Thick eyebrows	1.39	1.36	1.32	-0.08	-0.04
Small face	1.89	1.78	1.92	0.03	-0.11
8-head body	1.83	1.86	1.71	-0.12	0.03
Big eyes	1.53	1.49	1.50	-0.04	-0.04
Small eyes	1.18	0.87	1.45	0.27	-0.31
Long legs	1.95	1.98	1.88	-0.07	0.03
Flat nose	1.05	0.69	1.34	0.29	-0.36
180 cm	2.15	2.03	2.28	0.12	-0.12
Dress well	2.13	2.23	2.12	-0.01	0.10
Double eyelid	1.12	1.08	1.10	-0.01	-0.04
Angular features	1.85	1.76	1.88	0.04	-0.09
V-line	1.45	1.54	1.29	-0.15	0.09
Thin	1.66	1.76	1.62	-0.04	0.10
Small head	1.73	1.77	1.67	-0.06	0.04
Straight teeth	1.48	1.60	1.37	-0.11	0.11
Tanned skin	1.16	1.23	0.98	-0.17	0.07
Glasses	0.95	0.80	1.05	0.10	-0.15
Dress poorly	1.08	0.55	1.55	0.46	-0.53
Balding	1.43	0.39	2.46	1.02	-1.04
Acne	1.27	0.63	1.82	0.55	-0.64
Abs	1.70	1.69	1.66	-0.04	-0.01
Big muscles	1.61	1.62	1.53	-0.07	0.01
Styled hair	1.77	1.80	1.76	0.00	0.03
Body hair	0.93	0.75	1.01	0.08	-0.17
Flawless skin	1.75	1.79	1.73	-0.02	0.04
Small muscle	2.03	2.15	1.94	-0.08	0.12
Neat and efficient	2.08	2.23	2.03	-0.04	0.15
Big hands	1.37	1.62	1.04	-0.33	0.25
Beard	1.00	0.85	1.08	0.07	-0.15
Dimples	1.00	1.15	0.75	-0.25	0.15
Burly	1.82	1.92	1.77	-0.06	0.09
Fat	1.12	0.50	1.72	0.60	-0.62
Strong	1.80	1.93	1.68	-0.11	0.14
Stomach comes out	1.11	0.51	1.68	0.57	-0.59
Colorful hair	0.92	0.79	0.98	0.06	-0.13
Brown hair	1.07	1.26	0.83	-0.24	0.20
Makeup	1.07	0.90	1.24	0.17	-0.17

Overall, it appears that the groups significantly differ in the extent to which they pay attention to men’s unattractive features, with the negative residual agreement group paying less attention and the positive residual agreement paying more attention. This pattern describes the overall pattern: the positive residual agreement group believes that more attention is paid to unattractive features than attractive ones, and vice-versa for the negative residual agreement group.

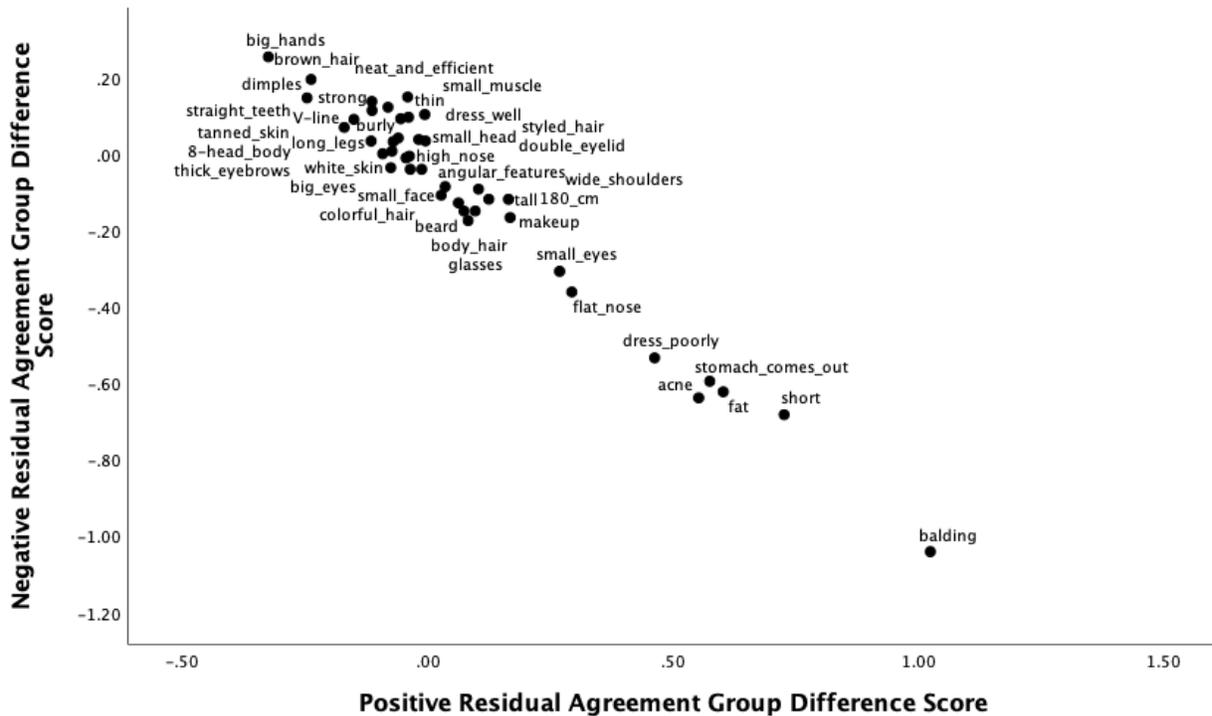


Figure 8. Residual Agreement Deviation Scores Plot for "Attention"

### The Dimension of Attractiveness

#### Cultural Consensus Analysis of “Attractiveness”

Participants were asked to rate the extent to which people in South Korea found attractive each of the 42 features listed on a scale of 0 (very unattractive) to 3 (very attractive). I analyzed these data using cultural consensus analysis. The eigenvalue ratio between the first and second factors was 16.700, with the first factor explaining 67.064% of the variance. The average cultural

competence was  $0.77 \pm 0.21$ , and there were two participants who had negative cultural competence.

### Residual Agreement Analysis of "Attractiveness"

In order to evaluate patterns of intracultural variation, the residual agreement coefficients were graphed against the cultural competence coefficients. Unlike the distribution shown in Figure 7, the distribution in Figure 9 shows a far tighter spread, evidencing greater overall agreement and lower intracultural variation in the model of attention.

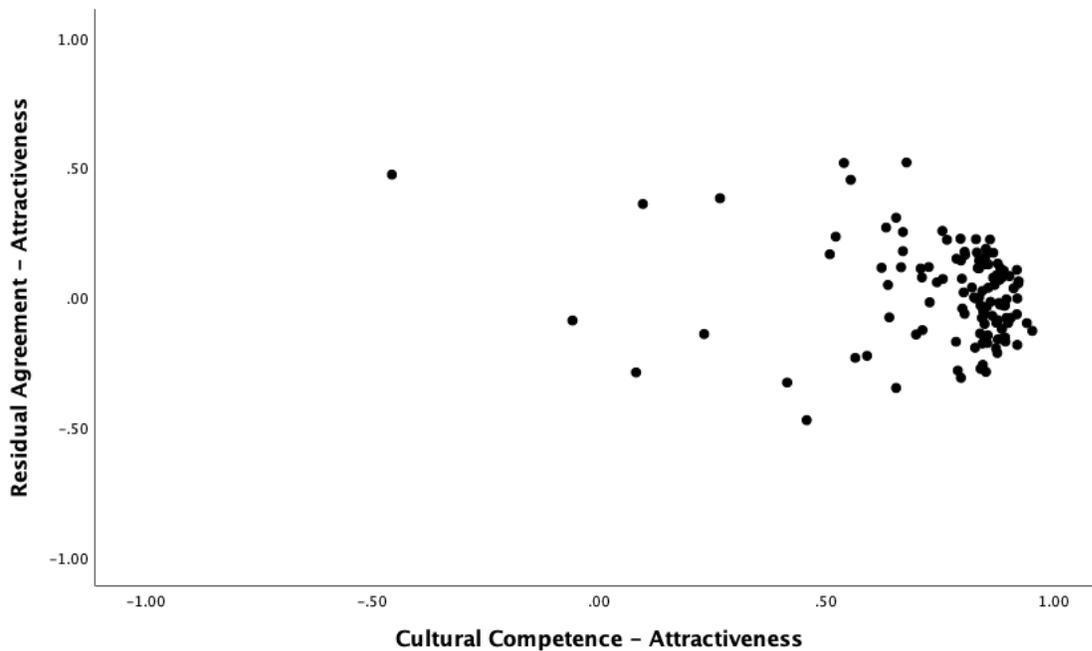


Figure 9. Residual Agreement vs. Cultural Competence in "Attractiveness"

I again created two groups based on the residual agreement coefficient being positive or negative. I used cultural consensus analysis within each residual agreement groups to calculate each group's cultural answer key. I then calculated difference scores for each item by subtracting the aggregate cultural answer key from the positive and negative residual agreement groups' answer keys, respectively (Table 7).

To examine the patterns in which the two groups' cultural answer keys differed, I then graphed the negative residual agreement group's difference scores against the positive residual agreement group's difference scores (Figure 10). The positive residual agreement group believe that tanned skin, body hair, beards, and small eyes were more desirable than the overall average. The negative residual agreement group found that makeup, colorful hair, double eyelids, brown hair, thinness, big eyes, white skin, and V-line jaws were more attractive than the overall average.

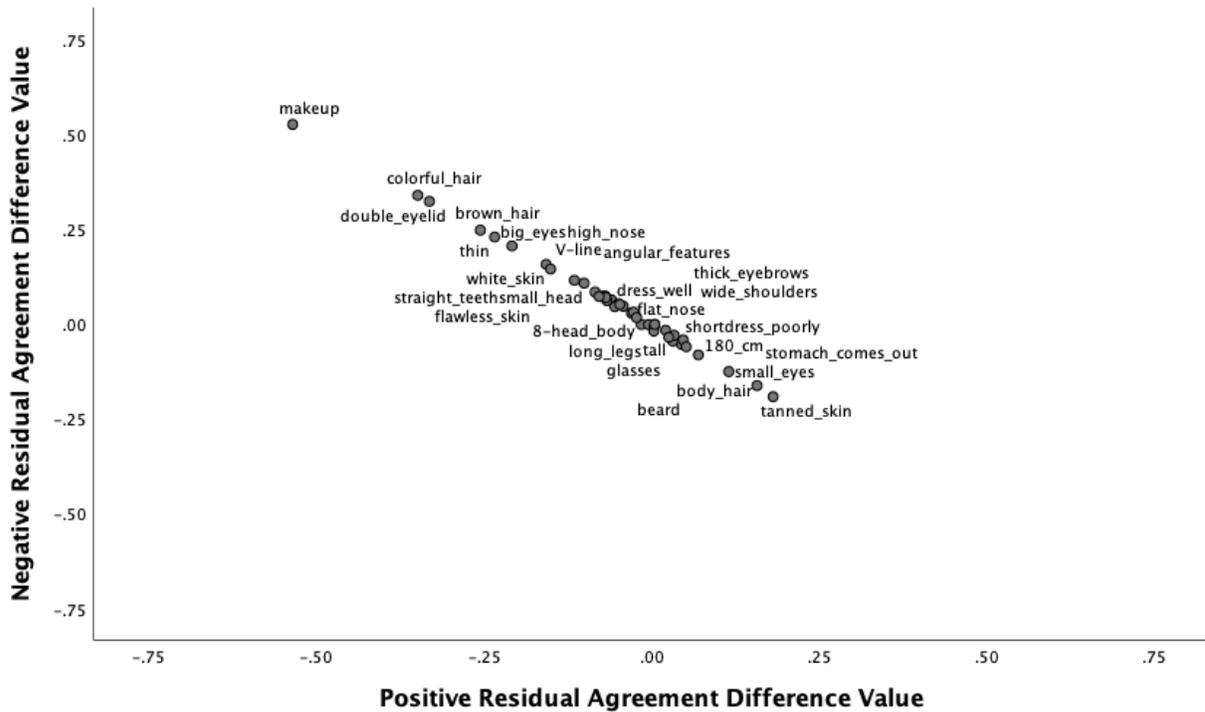


Figure 10. Residual Agreement Deviation Scores Plot for "Attention"

Based on the residual agreement analysis of the Attractiveness dimension, there appears to be intracultural variation in the degree to which people find attractive features that are related to the prototypical *kkonminam* (flower boy) features versus *chimsŭngnam* (beastly guy) features. The *kkonminam* features were considered to be more attractive by the negative residual agreement group, and the *chimsŭngnam* features were considered to be more attractive by the positive residual agreement group.

Table 7. Cultural Answer Keys and Residual Agreement Analysis of "Attractiveness"

<b>Item</b>	<b>Aggregate Cultural Answer Key</b>	<b>Negative RA Cultural Answer Key</b>	<b>Positive RA Cultural Answer Key</b>	<b>Negative RA Difference Score</b>	<b>Positive RA Difference Score</b>
Tall	2.55	2.55	2.56	0.00	0.00
High nose	2.21	2.31	2.11	0.11	-0.10
Short	0.73	0.67	0.77	-0.05	0.04
Wide shoulders	2.58	2.63	2.54	0.05	-0.04
White skin	2.10	2.26	1.94	0.16	-0.16
Thick eyebrows	2.08	2.15	2.02	0.06	-0.06
Small face	2.19	2.27	2.12	0.07	-0.07
8-head body	2.46	2.48	2.43	0.03	-0.03
Big eyes	2.14	2.34	1.93	0.21	-0.21
Small eyes	1.21	1.08	1.32	-0.13	0.12
Long legs	2.42	2.40	2.44	-0.02	0.02
Flat nose	0.87	0.87	0.86	0.00	-0.02
180 cm	2.63	2.59	2.68	-0.04	0.05
Dress well	2.65	2.70	2.60	0.05	-0.05
Double eyelid	1.81	2.13	1.47	0.32	-0.33
Angular features	2.34	2.42	2.26	0.08	-0.08
V-line	2.15	2.29	2.00	0.14	-0.15
Thin	2.14	2.37	1.91	0.23	-0.23
Small head	2.26	2.34	2.19	0.07	-0.07
Straight teeth	2.22	2.33	2.10	0.11	-0.12
Tanned skin	1.75	1.56	1.93	-0.19	0.18
Glasses	1.19	1.19	1.19	0.00	0.00
Dress poorly	0.47	0.46	0.48	-0.01	0.00
Balding	0.19	0.17	0.19	-0.02	0.00
Acne	0.51	0.46	0.54	-0.05	0.03
Abs	2.36	2.42	2.29	0.06	-0.07
Big muscles	2.11	2.08	2.14	-0.03	0.03
Styled hair	2.26	2.33	2.19	0.07	-0.07
Body hair	0.91	0.75	1.07	-0.16	0.16
Flawless skin	2.30	2.34	2.24	0.05	-0.06
Small muscle	2.49	2.55	2.42	0.07	-0.07
Neat and efficient	2.59	2.62	2.56	0.03	-0.03
Big hands	2.08	2.15	2.00	0.07	-0.08
Beard	0.94	0.88	0.99	-0.06	0.05
Dimples	1.94	1.96	1.92	0.02	-0.02
Burly	2.34	2.39	2.29	0.05	-0.05
Fat	0.42	0.38	0.44	-0.04	0.03
Strong	2.29	2.29	2.29	0.00	0.00
Stomach comes out	0.47	0.38	0.54	-0.08	0.07
Colorful hair	1.11	1.45	0.76	0.34	-0.35
Brown hair	1.67	1.92	1.42	0.25	-0.26
Makeup	1.28	1.80	0.74	0.53	-0.54

## Consensus Analysis of Correspondence Data

The residual agreement analysis of the Attractiveness dimension suggested a need to parse out the ways in which items were associated with different masculinities, namely the *kkonminam* and *chimsŭngnam*. The data collected during the correspondence analysis in Phase II were appropriate for doing this analysis, because I asked participants to associate each of the 42 items with at least one of the five categories of handsome, ugly, cute, *kkonminam*, and *chimsŭngnam*. While correspondence analysis describes the geometric distribution of items in terms of the frequencies with which items are considered part of a given category, cultural consensus analysis details the ways in which items associate with each dimension.

Table 8. Cultural Consensus Analysis of Correspondence Analysis Dimensions

<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Eigenvalue Ratio</b>	<b>Total (n = 25)</b>	<b>Male (n = 16)</b>	<b>Female (n = 9)</b>
<i>Chalsaenggyötta</i>	4.320	0.62 ± 0.22	0.61 ± 0.24	0.63 ± 0.21
<i>Kkonminam</i>	3.595	0.63 ± 0.16	0.60 ± 0.17	0.67 ± 0.12
<i>Chimsŭngnam</i>	5.643	0.72 ± 0.14	0.72 ± 0.12	0.71 ± 0.18

### The *Chalsaenggyötta* Dimension

The dimensions of the correspondence analysis were analyzed individually in Anthropac using the multiple-choice method. Table 8 presents the eigenvalue ratios and respondents' average cultural competence in each of the dimensions of the correspondence analysis. For the *chalsaenggyötta* (handsome) dimension, the eigenvalue ratio between the first and second factor was 4.320; the first factor accounted for 73.4% of the variance. Overall, the average cultural competence in this sample was  $0.62 \pm 0.22$ . Table 9 presents the results of the cultural answer keys of the correspondence analysis data. The *chalsaenggyötta* dimension included the following items: tall, high nose, white skin, thick eyebrows, small face, 8-head body, big eyes, long legs, being at least 180 centimeters tall, dress well, double eyelids, angular features, v-line jaw, thin,

small head, straight teeth, abs, styled hair, flawless skin, small muscle, neat and efficient, and brown hair.

#### The *Kkonminam* Dimension

For the *kkonminam* (flower boy) dimension, the eigenvalue ratio between the first and second factors was 3.595. The first factor accounted for 69.8% of the variance. The average cultural competence in this dimension was  $0.63 \pm 0.16$ . The cultural answer key for the *kkonminam* dimension included the following items: tall, high nose, white skin, thick eyebrows, small face, 8-head body, big eyes, long legs, at least 180cm tall, dress well, double eyelids, angular features, V-line jaw, thin, small head, straight teeth, styled hair, flawless skin, small muscle, neat and efficient, dimples, colorful hair, and makeup.

#### The *Chimsŭngnam* Dimension

For the *chimsŭngnam* (beastly guy) dimension, the eigenvalue ratio between the first and second factors was 5.634. The first factor accounted for 79.5% of the variance. The average cultural competence in this dimension was  $0.72 \pm 0.14$ . The cultural answer key for the *chimsŭngnam* dimension included the following items: tall, wide shoulders, thick eyebrows, at least 180cm, tanned skin, abs, big muscles, body hair, big hands, beard, burly, and strong.

#### PROFIT Analyses

PROFIT analysis examines the degree to which a hypothesized dimension of a cultural model is engaged in the pilesorting exercise by performing a multiple regression of the X and Y dimensions derived from nonmetric multidimensional scaling on the cultural answer keys of a given dimension. I performed PROFIT analysis for the Attractiveness (Table 7), *Kkonminam* (Table 9), and *Chimsŭngnam* dimensions (Table 9) in Anthropac. I chose the Attractiveness dimension from the Phase III sample rather than the *Chalsaenggyŏtta* (Handsome) dimension

Table 9. Cultural Answer Keys of Correspondence Analysis Data

<b>Items</b>	<b><i>Kkonminam</i></b>	<b><i>Chimsŭngnam</i></b>	<b><i>Chalsaenggyötta</i></b>
Tall	X	X	X
High Nose	X		X
Short			
Wide Shoulders		X	
White Skin	X		X
Thick Eyebrows	X	X	X
Small Face	X		X
8-Head Body	X		X
Big Eyes	X		X
Small Eyes			
Long Legs	X		X
Flat Nose			
At Least 180cm	X	X	X
Dress Well	X		X
Double Eyelids	X		X
Angular Features	X		X
V-line Jaw	X		X
Thin	X		X
Small Head	X		X
Straight Teeth	X		X
Tanned Skin		X	
Wears Glasses			
Dress Poorly			
Thinning Hair			
Acne			
Abs		X	X
Big Muscles		X	
Styled Hair	X		X
Body Hair		X	
Flawless Skin	X		X
Small Muscle	X		X
Neat and Efficient	X		X
Big Hands		X	
Beard		X	
Dimples	X		
Burly		X	
Fat			
Strong		X	
Stomach Comes Out			
Colorful Hair	X		
Brown Hair			X
Makeup	X		

from the Phase II sample due to the Attractiveness dimension's larger sample size and greater granularity. They correlate at Pearson's  $r = 0.883$  ( $p < 0.001$ ). While the correspondence analysis-derived *kkonminam* and *chimsŭngnam* dimensions were originally analyzed for cultural consensus using the multiple-choice method, reflecting the binary responses from which they were derived, prior to PROFIT analysis I calculated a new cultural answer key using the interval method in order to better fit the assumptions of the model.

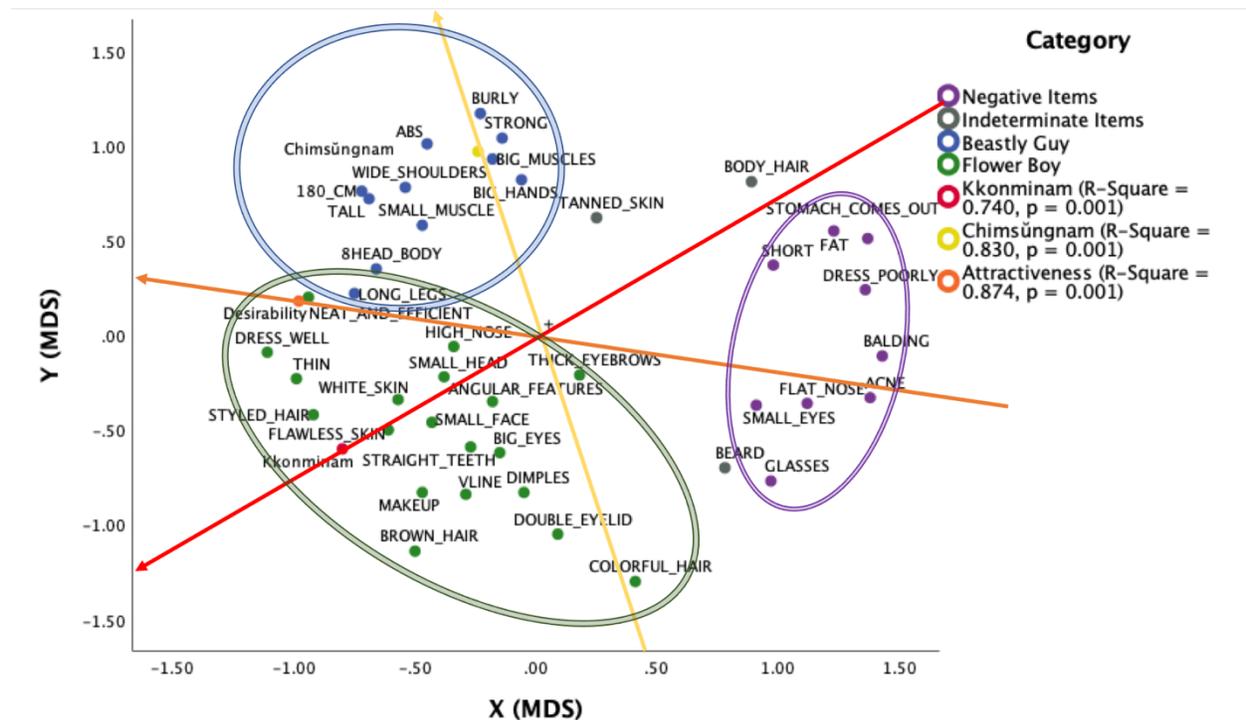


Figure 11. PROFIT Analyses of *Kkonminam*, *Chimsŭngnam*, and Attractiveness Dimensions

Figure 11 presents the results of the PROFIT analyses of the *Kkonminam*, *Chimsŭngnam*, and Attractiveness dimensions. The red line represents the correlation between the MDS coordinates and the *Kkonminam* dimension ( $R^2 = 0.740$ ,  $p = 0.001$ ). The red line runs through the cluster of green dots, which were hypothesized to be *kkonminam*-related features. Those items more strongly related to the “soft” masculinity of the *kkonminam* trend toward the head of the arrow in the bottom left of the graph, and heavily emphasize items like makeup, flawless skin,

dressing well, and styled hair. Although “small muscle” appears in the blue cluster in the MDS plot, the PROFIT analysis shows that it is more related to the *kkonminam* dimension than big muscles are.

The yellow line represents the correlation between the MDS coordinates and the *Chimsŭngnam* dimension ( $R^2 = 0.830$ ,  $p = 0.001$ ). The yellow line runs through the cluster of blue dots, which were hypothesized to be *chimsŭngnam*-related features. The items more strongly related to the “hard” masculinity of the *chimsŭngnam* trend toward the top left of the graph, and emphasize items related to body size and physicality; those toward the bottom of the graph, like colorful hair, are far less related to the *chimsŭngnam* presentation.

The orange line represents the correlation between the MDS coordinates and the Attractiveness dimension ( $R^2 = 0.874$ ,  $p = 0.001$ ). The orange line cuts almost exactly between the blue and green clusters, supporting the hypothesis that both the *kkonminam* and *chimsŭngnam* dimensions are considered different instantiations of desirable masculine presentation. More leftward items, like those related to the *kkonminam* and *chimsŭngnam*, are considered more attractive, while those in the purple cluster are considered less attractive.

## Conclusions

In this chapter, I tested the ways in which the dimensions of attention to male bodily features, their degree of attractiveness, and features’ relationships to *kkonminam* (flower boy) and *chimsŭngnam* (beastly guy) masculinities are shared and varied among young South Koreans using cultural consensus analysis and residual agreement analysis. I showed that there was significant variation within the sample pertaining to their relative attention to positive versus negative features. I also showed that, while there was overall consensus on the degree to which

factors were deemed attractive, intracultural variation derived from the extent to which residual agreement group members found *kkonminam* and *chimsŭngnam* features to be desirable.

Further, I used PROFIT analysis to examine the extent to which the attractiveness, *kkonminam*, and *chimsŭngnam* dimensions underlie the configuration of items derived from the pilesorts. I showed that there is cultural consensus on what features were related to *kkonminam* and *chimsŭngnam* presentations. I also showed that these *kkonminam* and *chimsŭngnam* dimensions underlie the ways in which people cognitively associate men's bodily features with one another. The PROFIT analysis of the attractiveness dimension shows that both *kkonminam* and *chimsŭngnam* presentations are considered to be desirable, lending further support for my interpretation of the residual agreement analysis of the attractiveness dimension.

## CHAPTER 8

### CULTURAL CONSONANCE ANALYSIS

#### Introduction

In Chapter 7, I discussed four dimensions of South Koreans' cultural model of the ideal male body. These included attention, the extent to which South Koreans pay attention to each feature of the ideal male body; attractiveness, the extent to which South Koreans find each feature of the ideal male body to be aesthetically desirable; *kkonminam*, the extent to which each feature is related to the “flower boy” style of presentation; and *chimsŭngnam*, the extent to which each feature is related to the “beastly guy” style of presentation.

In this chapter, I first report the descriptive statistics performed on the Male Body Attitudes Scale (MBAS) measure of body dissatisfaction and the Eating Attitudes Test (EAT-26) measure of risk for disordered eating. I then calculate cultural consonance for the attractiveness, *kkonminam*, and *chimsŭngnam* dimensions, based on the cultural answer keys calculated in the previous chapter. Cultural consonance refers to the degree to which a person, in their beliefs and behaviors, approximates a valued cultural model (Dressler, 2018). Because the dimension of attention is arguably value-neutral, I do not calculate a cultural consonance variable for it.

Then, using bivariate and multiple regression analyses, I examine how cultural consonance in the model of male body image affects men's vulnerability to disordered eating compared to more typical measures of body dissatisfaction and body mass index (BMI).

## Eating Disorders Variables

For the Male Body Attitudes Scale (MBAS), men's average score was  $3.46 \pm 0.80$ . For the Eating Attitudes Test (EAT-26), the average score was  $10.51 \pm 8.91$  overall, with an average of  $10.68 \pm 9.29$  for men and  $9.40 \pm 5.93$  for women. Among respondents, 20.5% scored above 18 on the EAT-26, indicating high risk for eating disorders (Rhee et al., 1998). Among men, 22.5% of respondents scored above 18, as well as 6.7% of women.

## Cultural Consonance Variables

### Attractiveness

During Phase III data collection, 103 men were asked to indicate the degree to which another person would say each of the 42 features of male bodies were represented in their own bodies. This was done on a Likert-style scale of (0) not at all represented, (1) slightly represented, (2) represented, (3) highly represented. Two did not complete the cultural consonance exercise and one did not complete the EAT-26 and were excluded from the analysis. A sample size of 100 men remained.

The purpose behind asking what "another person would say" was twofold. First, it invited these men to think more objectively about their own bodies, distancing their responses from their own personal feelings about their bodies. Second, it allowed them to speak more sincerely about their bodies, especially because local rules of propriety prohibit boasting about one's own appearance. However, the same standard does not apply to others making those same statements about one's appearance. By asking the participant what another person would say about their body, they could more accurately report their approximation of their own body with the cultural model without feeling as if they were risking incurring social repercussions by boasting.

Based on the cultural answer key of the Attractiveness dimension, items with a value of 1.50 or greater were used to make a Cultural Consonance with Attractiveness scale. A cultural answer key value of 1.50 or greater indicated that the item was considered to be attractive. For the Cultural Consonance with Attractiveness scale, 29 items of the original 42 were included, as they exceeded the threshold of 1.5 necessary for inclusion in the scale (Table 10). For each of the items in the scale, the self-reported representation scores were summed. For example, if a participant said that he was tall (3, highly represented) and fat (3, highly represented), only his rating of the “tall” item was included in the Cultural Consonance with Attractiveness score. The average score was  $36.5 \pm 12.8$ . Scores ranged from 7 to 70.

Table 10. Cultural Consonance with Attractiveness Scale Items

<b>Item</b>	<b>Cultural Answer Key Value</b>	<b>Item</b>	<b>Cultural Answer Key Value</b>
Dress well	2.65	Big muscles	2.11
180 cm	2.63	White skin	2.10
Neat and efficient	2.59	Thick eyebrows	2.08
Wide shoulders	2.58	Big hands	2.08
Tall	2.55	Dimples	1.94
Small muscle	2.49	Double eyelid	1.81
8-head body	2.46	Tanned skin	1.75
Long legs	2.42	Brown hair	1.67
Abs	2.36		
Angular features	2.34		
Burly	2.34		
Flawless skin	2.30		
Strong	2.29		
Small head	2.26		
Styled hair	2.26		
Straight teeth	2.22		
High nose	2.21		
Small face	2.19		
V-line	2.15		
Big eyes	2.14		
Thin	2.14		

*Kkonminam*

Based on the cultural answer key of the *kkonminam* dimension calculated in Chapter 9, a Cultural Consonance with *Kkonminam* scale was developed by including those items deemed related to *kkonminam* masculinity. Unlike the Attractiveness cultural answer key, which was calculated using the interval method, the *kkonminam* answer key was calculated using the multiple-choice method, as the original question offered a binary choice between a given feature being related to the *kkonminam* or not. Therefore, it was not necessary to set a cut-off point at which an item would be considered to be *kkonminam*-related, the answer key provided that information directly.

The Cultural Consonance with *Kkonminam* scale included 23 of the original 42 items (Table 11). For each of the items in the scale, the scores from the self-report of features' representation were summed. The mean Cultural Consonance with *Kkonminam* was  $27.7 \pm 10.3$ , and the scores ranged from 7 to 56.

Table 11. Cultural Consonance with *Kkonminam* Scale Items

<b>Cultural Consonance with <i>Kkonminam</i> Scale Items</b>	
Tall	Straight Teeth
High Nose	Styled Hair
White Skin	Flawless Skin
Thick Eyebrows	Small Muscle
Small Face	Neat and Efficient
8-Head Body	Dimples
Big Eyes	Colorful Hair
Long Legs	Makeup
At Least 180cm	V-line Jaw
Dress Well	Thin
Double Eyelids	Small Head
Angular Features	

*Chimsǔngnam*

Based on the cultural answer key of the *chimsǔngnam* dimension calculated in Chapter 9, a Cultural Consonance with *Chimsǔngnam* scale was developed by including those items deemed related to *chimsǔngnam* masculinity. Unlike the Attractiveness cultural answer key, which was calculated using the interval method, the *chimsǔngnam* answer key was calculated using the multiple-choice method, as the original question offered a binary choice between a given feature being related to the *chimsǔngnam* or not. Therefore, it was not necessary to set a cut-off point at which an item would be considered to be *chimsǔngnam*-related, the answer key provided that information directly.

The Cultural Consonance with *Chimsǔngnam* scale included 12 of the original 42 items (Table 12). For each of the items in the scale, the scores from the self-report of features' representation were summed. The mean Cultural Consonance with *Chimsǔngnam* was  $14.1 \pm 6.5$ , and the scores ranged from 1 to 32.

Table 12. Cultural Consonance with *Chimsǔngnam* Scale Items

<b>Cultural Consonance with <i>Chimsǔngnam</i> Scale Items</b>	
Tall	Big Muscles
Thick Eyebrows	Body Hair
At Least 180cm	Big Hands
Wide Shoulders	Beard
Tanned Skin	Burly
Abs	Strong

Cultural Consonance Analysis

After calculating the cultural consonance variables, the next step is to test whether and to what extent the cultural consonance variable (individuals' approximation of the ideal male body) and the outcome variable (disordered eating beliefs and behaviors via the EAT-26) are related after controlling for potential confounders and other known related variables. These known body

mass index (BMI), body dissatisfaction (measured with the Male Body Attitudes Scale), and sexual orientation. Because only two participants identified as bisexual, and the rest identified as heterosexual or homosexual, I coded the “sexual orientation” variable as a binary based on heterosexual (0) and non-heterosexual (1) identity. Anthropological body image literature also suggest that university education also increases risk for disordered eating as a proxy for upward mobility (Anderson-Fye et al., 2017). In the case of South Korea, over 80% of the youth population obtains some tertiary education. Therefore, I coded university prestige as a binary based on Non-Top-Tier (0) and Top-Tier (1) status. I standardized all continuous variables to Z-scores.

Sexual orientation and university prestige can also be conceptualized roughly as elements of cultural consonance in other domains, like family life and life goals. Beyond the specific experiences of body image among gay men, gay South Korean men often described their homosexuality as a major barrier to fulfilling the reproductive aspects of their filial piety, namely, to marry and produce a male heir. Lacking social acceptance and legal support for marriage, adoption, and surrogacy services, as well as fearing the ostracizing and bullying of their hypothetical children even were parenthood possible, gay men feel precluded from participation in a core aspect of the South Korean domain of family life.

Regarding university prestige, there is a strong cultural narrative that the prestige of one’s university guarantees success and stability. This mindset comports with the historical Confucian *mun-mu* (mental-martial) dichotomy described throughout East Asia, in which scholars are held in the highest esteem (Louie, 2014). Graduates of the top universities—known as SKY universities—are held in particularly high regard. Universities like Sungkyunkwan University and KAIST (formerly Korea Advanced Institute for Science and Technology) are also considered

top-tier universities. As a result, competition for entry into top universities is extremely tight, and families will spend a small fortune on after-school *sunŭng* (university entrance exam) preparation starting in elementary school. The university in South Korea becomes a site of upward mobility and (more often) class reproduction: SKY students tend to hail from the richest neighborhoods in Seoul, and gain access to a *hakyŏn* (school-network) that circumscribes their pool of potential partners to other graduates of top-tier universities. Therefore, associations with prestigious universities offer a fast-track to fulfilling major life goals such as marrying well and being able to provide for the family (see Chapter 2).

presents the results of bivariate Pearson's correlations of the variables of interest. Results showed that age was related to residual agreement in the model of attractiveness and body dissatisfaction, with older men reporting higher body dissatisfaction but not higher disordered eating. Height was related to weight, BMI, cultural consonance in attractiveness and cultural consonance in the beastly guy model. Weight was also related to BMI, as well as sexual identity with gay and bisexual men reporting lower weight. Higher weight was also associated with cultural consonance in the beastly guy model and disordered eating. Lower BMI was associated with identifying as gay or bisexual, and higher BMI was associated with body dissatisfaction and disordered eating. University prestige was positively associated with identifying as gay or bisexual, as well as cultural competence in the model of attention; it was negatively associated with cultural consonance in the attractiveness and beastly guy models. Identifying as gay or bisexual was associated with residual agreement in the dimension of attention, negatively associated with cultural consonance in the model of the beastly guy, and positively associated with body dissatisfaction and disordered eating. Cultural consonance in the

attractiveness, flower boy, and beastly guy models all very weakly correlated with disordered eating, slightly below statistically significant levels, prompting further investigation.

Ethnographic observation and informal conversations with interlocutors suggested that cultural consonance with the model of attractiveness may be of differential importance to mental health among men depending both on their sexual orientation and their university prestige. This occurs in the immediate sense of gay men's body ideals and the university as a marketplace of social, romantic, sartorial, cultural, and other forms of capital, as well as in the ways in which these factors relate to larger cultural domains. A common refrain among top-tier university students was that "SNU (Seoul National University) guys don't care about how they look," since they are largely considered to be too engrossed in studying to care about their appearances. Moreover, their status as graduates of SNU (as well as other top-tier universities to a lesser extent) secures their primacy in the marital marketplace, particularly through their *hakyōn* (school-network). On the other hand, students at top-tier universities tend to come from rich families with access to fashion and cosmetics, and the first time I met a SNU professor I was told that one of her colleagues from another university had recently remarked to her that male SNU students were far more handsome than the students at his own institution. As for homosexual men, social stigmas preclude their access their university's *hakyōn* for romantic purposes (not professional connections), and they often find their education to be a barrier in the dating scene, as other gay men may be intimidated by their social status. Unlike heterosexual men, their romantic capital tends to rest largely in their appearance.

Table 13. Bivariate Correlation Matrix for Cultural Consonance Analysis

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1 Korean Age															
2 Height (cm)	-0.069														
3 Weight (kg)	-0.012	0.604 **													
4 BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )	0.023	0.223 *	0.910 **												
5 University Prestige	0.052	-0.109	-0.163	-0.141											
6 Sexual Identity	0.065	-0.095	-0.279 **	-0.283 **	0.198 *										
7 Cultural Competence: Attention	-0.062	0.022	-0.074	-0.113	0.204 *	0.034									
8 Residual Agreement: Attention	0.078	-0.051	0.080	0.124	0.063	-0.253 *	-0.303 **								
9 Cultural Competence: Attractiveness	-0.136	0.109	0.035	-0.006	0.172	0.124	0.281 **	0.006							
10 Residual Agreement: Attractiveness	0.301 **	0.040	-0.056	-0.097	-0.023	0.063	0.045	-0.039	-0.182						
11 Cultural Consonance: Desirability	0.081	0.258 **	0.064	-0.053	-0.283 **	-0.025	-0.134	-0.168	-0.072	0.002					
12 Cultural Consonance: Flower Boy	0.115	0.178	-0.058	-0.158	-0.180	0.136	-0.119	-0.242 *	-0.077	0.069	0.941 **				
13 Cultural Consonance: Beastly Guy	-0.012	0.467 **	0.345 **	0.176	-0.385 **	-0.205 *	-0.171	-0.044	-0.085	-0.007	0.755 **	0.549 **			
14 MBAS Score	0.220 *	-0.175	0.142	0.270 **	0.111	0.228 *	0.068	-0.104	-0.07	0.145	-0.134	-0.059	-0.208 *		
15 EAT-26 Score	0.076	0.010	0.209 *	0.260 **	0.002	0.335 **	-0.175	-0.081	0.035	0.051	0.183	0.192	0.146	0.516 **	

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

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

Due to the ways in which university prestige and sexual orientation appeared in the ethnography to shape the degree to which cultural consonance with the ideal male body was expected to be important to men’s social success—and, therefore, mental health—a three-way interaction among cultural consonance, university prestige, and sexual orientation was hypothesized to exist that underlies men’s risk for disordered eating. Therefore, a multivariate linear regression was performed with EAT-26 score as the dependent variable.

#### Cultural Consonance Analysis of the Attractiveness Model

In Model 1 (Table 14), I controlled for BMI and body dissatisfaction (MBAS). Age was not included as all the men fell within the range of ages at which body image is specifically important, and in the correlation matrix appeared unrelated to disordered eating.<sup>53</sup> Model 1 shows that body dissatisfaction predicts disordered eating ( $\beta = 0.480$ ,  $t = 5.374$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), with higher body dissatisfaction related to a higher risk of disordered eating among men. Model 1 explains 28.2% of the variance ( $R^2 = 0.282$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ).

Table 14. Control Variables for Multiple Regression of the EAT-26

<b>Model 1**</b>	<b>Unstandardized Coefficients</b>		<b>Standardized Coefficients</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
	<b>B</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b><math>\beta</math></b>		
(Constant)	0.004	0.093		0.042	0.967
BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )	0.152	0.104	0.131	1.462	0.147
Male Body Attitudes Scale (MBAS)**	0.502	0.093	0.488	5.374	<0.001

N = 100, df = 97,  $R^2 = 0.282$ ,  $p < 0.001$

\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$

<sup>53</sup> While age is often an important intersectional factor in disordered eating, this age range was specifically chosen due to the common life stage in which these men are embedded. Namely, it is a life stage at which Korean men are particularly invested in their appearance, and in particular ways, compared to men in other age groups. That is, during the university years, they are specifically interested in their appearance for the sake of attracting romantic partners, for self-expression, and for demonstrating adherence to precepts of *chagi kwalli*. Men at younger ages are less able to fulfill aspects of self-expression in their body image, as their primary pressure is studying for the *sunŭng* (Seth, 2002), while older men with established careers, partners, and potentially children, are invested in maintaining their appearance primarily for the sake of their professional associations (Elfvig-Hwang, 2020).

In Model 2 (Table 15), I added the university prestige, sexual orientation, and cultural consonance variables to the analysis. Model 2 shows that BMI ( $\beta = 0.255$ ,  $t = 2.906$ ,  $p = 0.005$ ) body dissatisfaction ( $\beta = 0.409$ ,  $t = 4.279$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), sexual orientation ( $\beta = 0.320$ ,  $t = 3.691$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), and cultural consonance ( $\beta = 0.260$ ,  $t = 3.183$ ,  $p = 0.002$ ) were all related to disordered eating. This indicated that higher BMI, higher body dissatisfaction, non-heterosexual orientation, and—surprisingly—higher cultural consonance was directly related to disordered eating. In other words, the closer men approximated the ideal male body, the larger the body, and the more dissatisfied with the body, the greater their risk for disordered eating. With the addition of cultural consonance and sexual orientation variables, Model 2 explains 43.2% of the variation, 15.0% more than Model 1 ( $p < 0.001$ ).

Table 15. Main Effects for Multiple Regression of the EAT-26

Model 2**	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	0.226	0.105		2.147	0.034
BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )**	0.296	0.102	0.255	2.906	0.005
Male Body Attitudes Scale (MBAS)**	0.427	0.090	0.409	4.279	<0.001
Sexual Orientation**	0.817	0.221	0.320	3.691	<0.001
University Prestige	0.007	0.190	0.003	0.038	0.970
Cultural Consonance: Attractiveness**	0.278	0.087	0.260	3.183	0.002

N = 100, df = 94, R<sup>2</sup> = 0.432, p < 0.001

\*p < 0.05, \*\*p < 0.01

In Model 3 (Table 16), I introduced the two-way interaction variables: university prestige × sexual orientation, university prestige × cultural consonance, and sexual orientation × cultural consonance. Model 3 shows that BMI ( $\beta = 0.235$ ,  $t = 2.691$ ,  $p = 0.008$ ), body dissatisfaction ( $\beta = 0.423$ ,  $t = 4.958$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), sexual orientation ( $\beta = 0.232$ ,  $t = 2.069$ ,  $p = 0.041$ ), cultural

consonance ( $\beta = 0.223$ ,  $t = 2.300$ ,  $p = 0.024$ ), and the two-way interaction University x Cultural Consonance: Attractiveness variable ( $\beta = 0.221$ ,  $t = 2.082$ ,  $p = 0.040$ ) were directly related to disordered eating. The addition of two-way interaction variables increases the variance explained by 4.1%.

Table 16. Two-Way Interaction Effects for Multiple Regression of the EAT-26

Model 3**	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	-0.137	0.114		-1.201	0.233
BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )**	0.273	0.101	0.235	2.691	0.008
Male Body Attitudes Scale (MBAS)**	0.442	0.089	0.423	4.958	<0.001
Sexual Orientation**	0.593	0.286	0.232	2.069	0.041
University Prestige	0.037	0.236	0.016	0.156	0.877
Cultural Consonance: Attractiveness*	0.239	0.104	0.223	2.300	0.024
University x Cultural Consonance: Attractiveness*	0.447	0.215	0.221	2.082	0.040
Sexual Orientation x Cultural Consonance: Attractiveness	-0.348	0.217	-0.158	-1.607	0.112
University x Sexual Orientation	0.364	0.428	0.105	0.851	0.397

N = 100, df = 91, R<sup>2</sup> = 0.473, p < 0.001

\*p < 0.05, \*\*p < 0.01

Finally, in Model 4 (Table 17) I introduced the three-way interaction variable: university prestige x sexual orientation x cultural consonance. Of the main effects, BMI ( $\beta = 0.212$ ,  $t = 2.472$ ,  $p = 0.015$ ), body dissatisfaction ( $\beta = 0.465$ ,  $t = 5.463$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), sexual orientation ( $\beta = 0.241$ ,  $t = 2.200$ ,  $p = 0.030$ ), and cultural consonance ( $\beta = 0.280$ ,  $t = 2.869$ ,  $p = 0.005$ ). Additionally, the two-way sexual orientation x cultural consonance interaction variable ( $\beta = -0.354$ ,  $t = -2.796$ ,  $p = 0.006$ ) and three-way university prestige x sexual orientation x cultural consonance interaction variable ( $\beta = 0.360$ ,  $t = 2.374$ ,  $p = 0.020$ ) were also related to disordered

eating. Model 4 explains 50.4% of the variance in risk for disordered eating, a 3.1% increase from Model 3, and a 22.4% increase over Model 1.

Table 17. Three-Way Interaction Effects for Multiple Regression of the EAT-26

Model 4**	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	0.248	0.106		2.331	0.022
BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )**	0.246	0.100	0.212	2.472	0.015
Male Body Attitudes Scale (MBAS)**	0.486	0.089	0.465	5.463	<0.001
Sexual Orientation*	0.615	0.280	0.241	2.200	0.030
University Prestige	-0.125	0.240	-0.055	-0.521	0.603
Cultural Consonance: Attractiveness**	0.300	0.104	0.280	2.869	0.005
University Prestige × Cultural Consonance: Attractiveness	0.060	0.265	0.030	0.226	0.822
Sexual Orientation × Cultural Consonance: Attractiveness**	-0.780	0.279	-0.354	-2.796	0.006
University Prestige × Sexual Orientation	0.532	0.424	0.153	1.255	0.213
University Prestige × Sexual Orientation × Cultural Consonance: Attractiveness*	1.039	0.438	0.360	2.374	0.020

N = 100, df = 90, R<sup>2</sup> = 0.504, p < 0.001

\*p < 0.05, \*\*p < 0.01

Therefore, disordered eating can be predicted according to the following equation, in which BMI stands for body mass index, MBAS stands for body dissatisfaction, CC:A stands for cultural consonance in attractiveness, UP stands for university prestige, and SO stands for sexual orientation:

$$\begin{aligned}
 EAT-26 = & 0.212(BMI) + 0.465(MBAS) + 0.280(CC:A) - 0.055(UP) + 0.241(SO) \\
 & + 0.030(CC:A \times UP) - 0.354(CC:A \times SO) + 0.153(UP \times SO) \\
 & + 0.360(UP \times SO \times CC:A)
 \end{aligned}$$

Figure 12 charts the interaction effects at values of one standard deviation above and below the mean of cultural consonance in attractiveness by sexual orientation and university

prestige as they predict disordered eating. In this chart, BMI and body dissatisfaction are assumed to be average (i.e., 0).

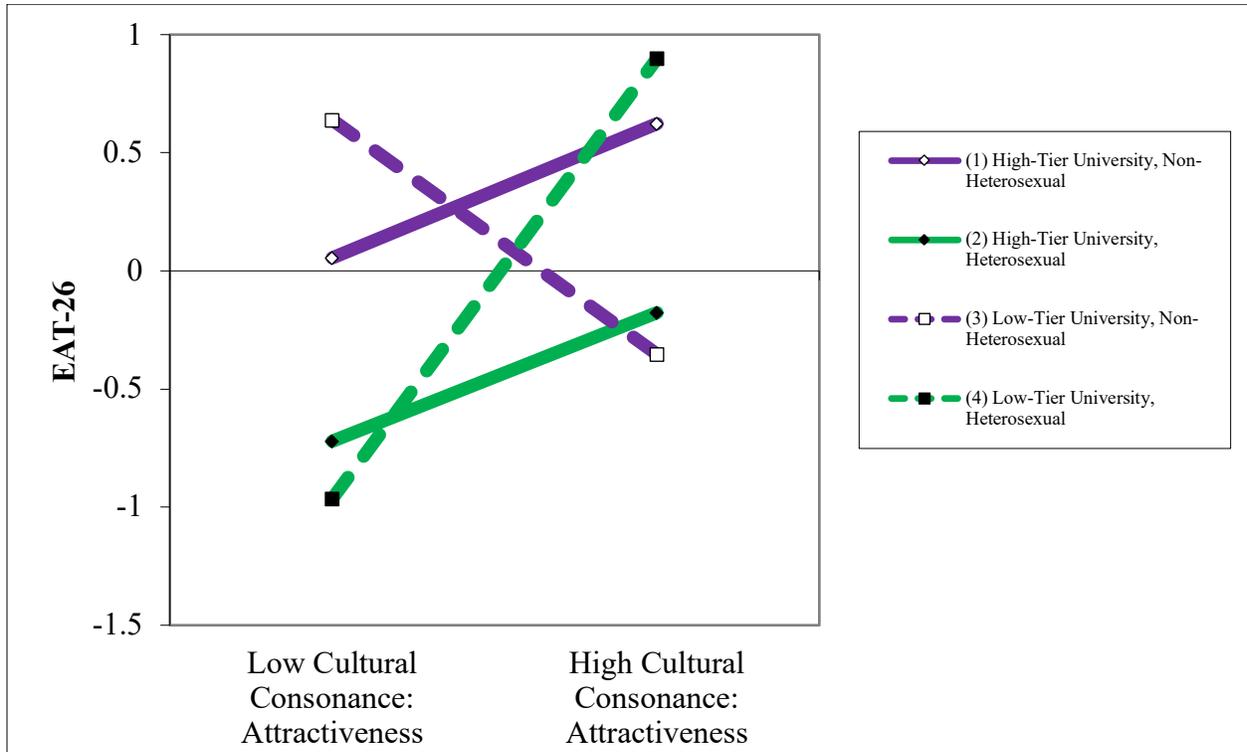


Figure 12. Three-Way Interaction of Cultural Consonance: Attractiveness, University Prestige, and Sexual Orientation on Disordered Eating

According to the equation, higher cultural consonance with the model of attractiveness increases men’s risk for disordered eating among heterosexual men (low-tier universities:  $n = 59$ ; high-tier universities  $n = 20$ ), as well as homosexual men attending high-tier universities ( $n = 10$ ). On the other hand, non-heterosexual men attending low-tier universities ( $n = 11$ ) exhibit reduced risk of disordered eating as their cultural consonance with the attractiveness model increases.

#### Cultural Consonance Analysis of the *Kkonminam* Model

While the cultural model of attractiveness and the model of the *kkonminam* overlap, the *kkonminam* represents a particular instantiation and configuration of features deemed both

attractive and unattractive. A three-way interaction was hypothesized to describe the effects of sexual orientation, university prestige, and cultural consonance in the *kkonminam* model with disordered eating behaviors.

As with the attractiveness dimension, the first model controlled disordered eating (EAT-26) by BMI and body dissatisfaction (MBAS) as in Table 14. Model 2 (Table 18) introduced the main effects of sexual orientation, university prestige, and cultural consonance with the *kkonminam* model. In Model 2, BMI ( $\beta = 0.270$ ,  $t = 3.005$ ,  $p = 0.003$ ), body dissatisfaction ( $\beta = 0.390$ ,  $t = 4.454$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), sexual orientation ( $\beta = 0.298$ ,  $t = 3.352$ ,  $p = 0.001$ ), and cultural consonance with the *kkonminam* model ( $\beta = 0.213$ ,  $t = 2.576$ ,  $p = 0.012$ ). With the cultural variables, Model 2 predicts 43.6% of the variance, an increase of 15.3% over Model 1.

Table 18. Main Effects of *Kkonminam* Consonance on Disordered Eating

Model 2**	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	0.196	0.107		1.833	0.070
BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )**	0.313	0.104	0.270	3.005	0.003
Male Body Attitudes Scale (MBAS)**	0.407	0.091	0.390	4.454	<0.001
Sexual Orientation**	0.762	0.227	0.298	3.352	0.001
University Prestige	-0.054	0.190	-0.024	-0.284	0.777
Cultural Consonance: <i>Kkonminam</i> *	0.226	0.088	0.213	2.576	0.012

N = 100, df = 94, R<sup>2</sup> = 0.436, p < 0.001

\*p < 0.05, \*\*p < 0.01

In Model 3 (Table 19), I introduced the two-way interactions of University × Cultural Consonance: *Kkonminam*, Sexual Orientation × Cultural Consonance: *Kkonminam*, and University × Sexual Orientation. In Model 3, BMI ( $\beta = 0.244$ ,  $t = 2.704$ ,  $p = 0.008$ ) and body dissatisfaction ( $\beta = 0.404$ ,  $t = 4.636$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) were significant predictors of disordered eating. None of the two-way interaction effect variables was statistically significant. However, with the

addition two-way interaction variables, Model 3 predicts 47.6% of the variance, 4% more than Model 2.

Table 19. Two-Way Interactions with *Kkonminam* Consonance

Model 3**	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	0.235	0.112		2.098	0.039
BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )**	0.283	0.105	0.244	2.704	0.008
Male Body Attitudes Scale (MBAS)**	0.422	0.091	0.404	4.636	<0.001
Sexual Orientation	0.589	0.303	0.230	1.944	0.055
University Prestige	-0.096	0.232	-0.042	-0.414	0.680
Cultural Consonance: <i>Kkonminam</i> *	0.155	0.110	0.147	1.419	0.159
University Prestige × Sexual Orientation	0.370	0.445	0.107	0.833	0.407
University Prestige × Cultural Consonance: <i>Kkonminam</i>	0.377	0.200	0.208	1.883	0.063
Sexual Orientation × Cultural Consonance: <i>Kkonminam</i>	-0.233	0.212	-0.114	-1.101	0.274

N = 100, df = 91, R<sup>2</sup> = 0.476, p < 0.001

\*p < 0.05, \*\*p < 0.01

In Model 4 (Table 20) I introduced the three-way interaction of University Prestige × Sexual Orientation × Cultural Consonance: *Kkonminam* to the analysis. In Model 4, BMI ( $\beta = 0.225$ ,  $t = 2.563$ ,  $p = 0.012$ ), body dissatisfaction ( $\beta = 0.450$ ,  $t = 5.182$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), sexual orientation ( $\beta = 0.286$ ,  $t = 2.437$ ,  $p = 0.017$ ), the two-way interaction Sexual Orientation × Cultural Consonance: *Kkonminam* variable ( $\beta = -0.362$ ,  $t = -2.549$ ,  $p = 0.012$ ), and the three-way interaction University Prestige × Sexual Orientation × Cultural Consonance: *Kkonminam* variable ( $\beta = 0.396$ ,  $t = 2.475$ ,  $p = 0.015$ ). Model 4 predicts 48.3% of the variance, an increase of 3.5% over Model 3 and 20.1% over Model 1.

Table 20. Three-Way Interaction with Cultural Consonance: *Kkonminam*

Model 4**	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error			
(Constant)	0.229	0.109		2.096	0.039
BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )*	0.262	0.102	0.225	2.563	0.012
Male Body Attitudes Scale (MBAS)**	0.470	0.091	0.450	5.182	<0.001
Sexual Orientation*	0.732	0.300	0.286	2.437	0.017
University Prestige	-0.224	0.231	-0.098	-0.967	0.336
Cultural Consonance: <i>Kkonminam</i> *	0.225	0.110	0.212	2.042	0.044
University Prestige × Cultural Consonance: <i>Kkonminam</i>	0.036	0.239	0.020	0.149	0.882
Sexual Orientation × Cultural Consonance: <i>Kkonminam</i> *	-0.741	0.291	-0.362	-2.549	0.012
University Prestige × Sexual Orientation	0.280	0.434	0.081	0.646	0.520
University Prestige × Sexual Orientation × Cultural Consonance: <i>Kkonminam</i> *	1.040	0.420	0.396	2.475	0.015

N = 100, df = 90, R<sup>2</sup> = 0.483, p < 0.001

\*p < 0.05, \*\*p < 0.01

Therefore, disordered eating can be predicted according to the following equation, in which EAT-26 stands for disordered eating, BMI stands for body mass index, MBAS stands for body dissatisfaction, CC:K stands for cultural consonance in the *kkonminam* model, UP stands for university prestige, and SO stands for sexual orientation:

$$\begin{aligned}
 EAT-26 = & 0.225(BMI) + 0.450(MBAS) + 0.212(CC:K) + -0.098(UP) + 0.286(SO) \\
 & + 0.020(CC:K \times UP) - 0.362(CC:K \times SO) + 0.081(UP \times SO) \\
 & + 0.396(UP \times SO \times CC:K)
 \end{aligned}$$

Figure 13 charts the interaction effects of at values one standard deviation above and below the mean of cultural consonance with the *kkonminam* model by sexual orientation and university prestige as they predict disordered eating. BMI and body dissatisfaction are assumed to be average.

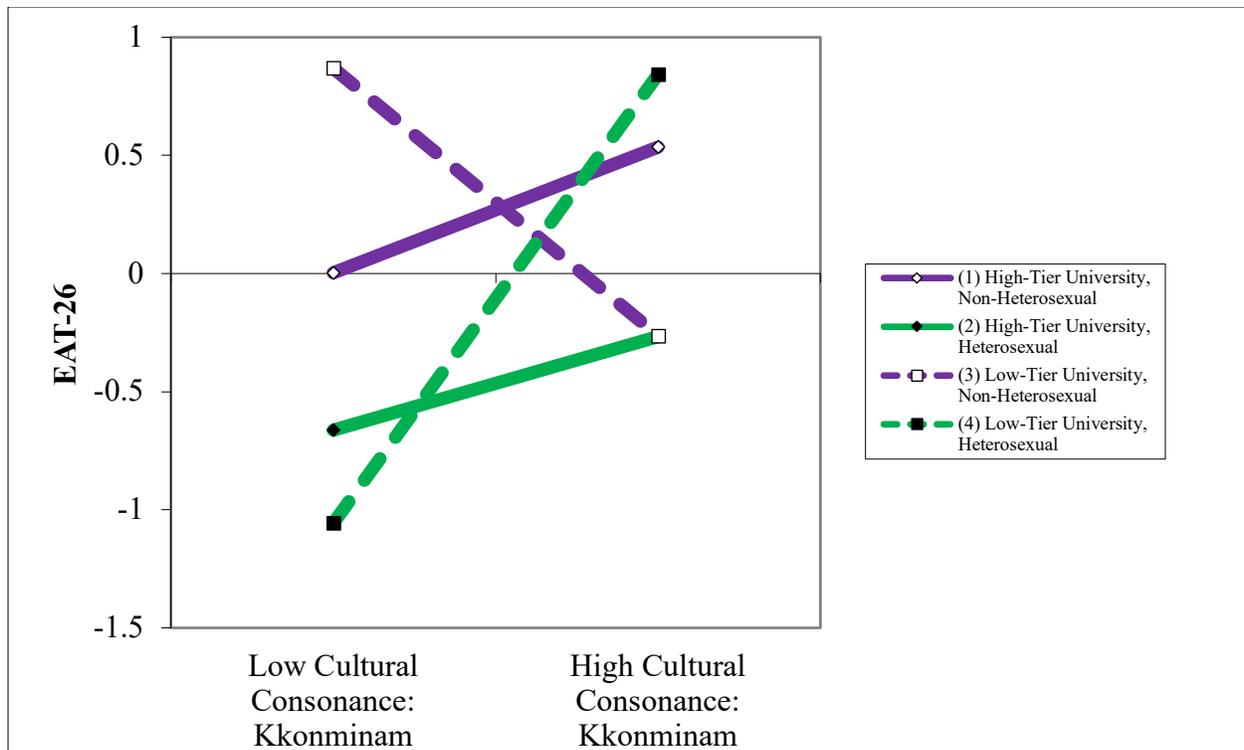


Figure 13. Three-Way Interaction of Cultural Consonance: *Kkonminam*, University Prestige, and Sexual Orientation on Disordered Eating

Like Cultural Consonance: Attractiveness, Cultural Consonance with the *Kkonminam* model exhibits a pattern in which male high-tier university students and heterosexual, low-tier university students exhibit higher disordered eating with increased cultural consonance with the flower boy dimension. Gay and bisexual men from low-tier universities exhibit lower disordered eating with increased cultural consonance with the flower boy dimension.

#### Cultural Consonance Analysis of the *Chimsŭngnam* Model

The cultural model of the *chimsŭngnam* overlaps far less with the models of the *kkonminam* or attractiveness; nonetheless the *chimsŭngnam* represents a particular instantiation and configuration of features deemed both attractive and unattractive, in many ways opposite of the *kkonminam*. A three-way interaction was hypothesized to describe the effects of sexual orientation, university prestige, and cultural consonance in the *chimsŭngnam* model with disordered eating behaviors.

As with previous regressions, the first model controlled disordered eating (EAT-26) by BMI and body dissatisfaction (MBAS) as in Table 14. Model 2 (Table 21) introduced the main effects of sexual orientation, university prestige, and cultural consonance with the *chimsŭngnam* model. In Model 2, BMI ( $\beta = 0.191$ ,  $t = 2.152$ ,  $p = 0.034$ ), body dissatisfaction ( $\beta = 0.442$ ,  $t = 5.039$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), sexual orientation ( $\beta = 0.342$ ,  $t = 3.949$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), and cultural consonance with the *chimsŭngnam* model ( $\beta = 0.282$ ,  $t = 3.232$ ,  $p = 0.002$ ). With the cultural variables, Model 2 predicts 43.3% of the variance, an increase of 5.1% over Model 1.

Table 21. Main Effects of *Chimsŭngnam* Consonance on Disordered Eating

Model 2**	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error			
(Constant)	-0.208	0.111		-1.881	0.063
BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )*	0.222	0.103	0.191	2.152	0.034
Male Body Attitudes Scale (MBAS)**	0.462	0.092	0.442	5.039	<0.001
Sexual Orientation**	0.873	0.221	0.342	3.949	<0.001
University Prestige	0.048	0.193	0.021	0.249	0.804
Cultural Consonance: <i>Chimsŭngnam</i> **	0.300	0.093	0.282	3.232	0.002

N = 100, df = 94, R<sup>2</sup> = 0.433, p < 0.001

\*p < 0.05, \*\*p < 0.01

In Model 3 (Table 22), I introduced the two-way interactions of University × Cultural Consonance: Kkonminam, Sexual Orientation x Cultural Consonance: *Chimsŭngnam*, and University × Sexual Orientation. In Model 3, body dissatisfaction ( $\beta = 0.442$ ,  $t = 5.063$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and Cultural Consonance: *Chimsŭngnam* ( $\beta = 0.317$ ,  $t = 3.095$ ,  $p = 0.003$ ) were significant predictors of disordered eating. The two-way interactions were not statistically significant. Nonetheless, Model 3 predicted 46.2% of the variance in disordered eating.

Table 22. Two-Way Interactions with *Chimsǔngnam* Consonance

Model 3**	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	-0.164	0.117		-1.406	0.163
BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )	0.181	0.104	0.156	1.741	0.085
Male Body Attitudes Scale (MBAS)**	0.462	0.091	0.442	5.063	<0.001
Sexual Orientation	0.551	0.290	0.215	1.900	0.061
University Prestige	-0.042	0.244	-0.018	-0.171	0.865
Cultural Consonance: <i>Chimsǔngnam</i> *	0.337	0.109	0.317	3.095	0.003
University Prestige × Cultural Consonance: <i>Chimsǔngnam</i>	0.121	0.234	0.056	0.516	0.607
Sexual Orientation × Cultural Consonance: <i>Chimsǔngnam</i>	-0.303	0.229	-0.135	-1.326	0.188
University Prestige × Sexual Orientation	0.516	0.434	0.149	1.189	0.237

N = 100, df = 91, R<sup>2</sup> = 0.459, p < 0.001

\*p < 0.05, \*\*p < 0.01

In Model 4 (Table 23), I introduced the three-way interaction of University Prestige x Sexual Orientation × Cultural Consonance: *Chimsǔngnam* to the analysis. In Model 4, body dissatisfaction ( $\beta = 0.463$ ,  $t = 5.378$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), Cultural Consonance: *Chimsǔngnam* ( $\beta = 0.371$ ,  $t = 3.590$ ,  $p = 0.001$ ), the two-way interactions of Sexual Orientation × Cultural Consonance: *Chimsǔngnam* ( $\beta = -0.288$ ,  $t = -2.363$ ,  $p = 0.020$ ) and University Prestige × Sexual Orientation variable ( $\beta = 0.271$ ,  $t = 2.013$ ,  $p = 0.047$ ), and the three-way interaction University Prestige × Sexual Orientation × Cultural Consonance: *Chimsǔngnam* variable ( $\beta = 0.344$ ,  $t = 2.191$ ,  $p = 0.031$ ) are all statistically significant. Model 4 predicts 48.7% of the variance, an increase of 2.8% over Model 3 and 20.5% over Model 1.

Table 23. Three-Way Interaction with Cultural Consonance: *Chimsǔngnam*

Model 4**	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error			
(Constant)	0.223	0.118		1.899	0.061
BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )	0.176	0.102	0.152	1.724	0.088
Male Body Attitudes Scale (MBAS)**	0.484	0.090	0.463	5.378	<0.001
Sexual Orientation	0.523	0.284	0.205	1.842	0.069
University Prestige	-0.194	0.249	-0.085	-0.780	0.437
Cultural Consonance: <i>Chimsǔngnam</i> **	0.394	0.110	0.371	3.590	0.001
University Prestige × Cultural Consonance: <i>Chimsǔngnam</i>	-0.266	0.289	-0.123	-0.920	0.360
Sexual Orientation × Cultural Consonance: <i>Chimsǔngnam</i> *	-0.645	0.273	-0.288	-2.363	0.020
University Prestige × Sexual Orientation*	0.941	0.467	0.271	2.013	0.047
University Prestige × Sexual Orientation × Cultural Consonance: <i>Chimsǔngnam</i> *	1.043	0.476	0.344	2.191	0.031

N = 100, df = 90, R<sup>2</sup> = 0.487, p < 0.001

\*p < 0.05, \*\*p < 0.01

Therefore, disordered eating can be predicted according to the following equation, in which EAT-26 stands for disordered eating, BMI stands for body mass index, MBAS stands for body dissatisfaction, CC:C stands for cultural consonance in the *chimsǔngnam* model, UP stands for university prestige, and SO stands for sexual orientation:

$$EAT-26 = 0.463(MBAS) + 0.371(CC:C) - 0.085(UP) + 0.205(SO) - 0.123(CC:C \times UP) - 0.288(CC:C \times SO) + 0.271(UP \times SO) + 0.344(UP \times SO \times CC:C)$$

Figure 13 charts the interaction effects of at values one standard deviation above and below the mean of cultural consonance with the *chimsǔngnam* model by sexual orientation and university prestige as they predict disordered eating. BMI and body dissatisfaction are assumed to be average.

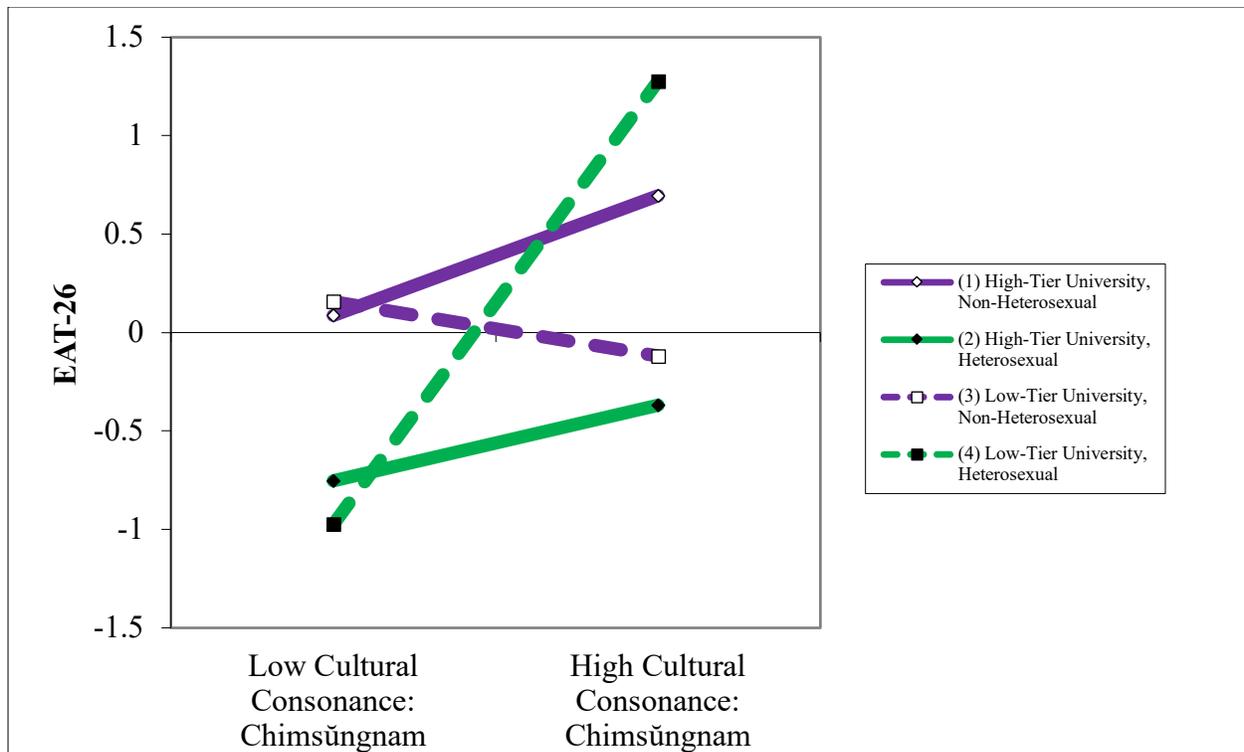


Figure 14. Three-Way Interaction of Cultural Consonance: *Chimsŭngnam*, University Prestige, and Sexual Orientation on Disordered Eating

Like Cultural Consonance: Attractiveness and Cultural Consonance: *Kkonminam*, Cultural Consonance: *Chimsŭngnam* model exhibits a pattern in which male high-tier university students and heterosexual, low-tier university students exhibit higher disordered eating with increased cultural consonance with the *chimsŭngnam* dimension. Heterosexual men from low-tier universities experience the greatest increase in disordered eating with increased cultural consonance in the *chimsŭngnam* dimension. Homosexual men from low-tier universities exhibit reduced disordered eating with increased cultural consonance with the beastly guy dimension.

#### Influential Cases

I performed influential case analyses using leverage values and studentized deleted residuals. No highly influential cases were detected in any of the three statistical analyses. Ethnographically, one case, a homosexual man from a low-tier university, reported both high cultural consonance and high disordered eating in contrast with the overall pattern for this

subgroup. He is also the only participant involved in the fashion industry, potentially contributing to his higher risk of disordered eating in relation to his other circumstances. Removing him did not affect whether the analyses were significant, but it did strengthen the analysis considerably.

### The Explanatory Power of Cultural Consonance

Because the homosexual men from low-tier universities appear to represent a special case of the data, potentially reducing the amount of variance that would be explained in the population more broadly, additional analyses were performed with this subgroup (n = 12) excluded. Table 24 presents the analysis of the EAT-26 controlled for BMI, body dissatisfaction (MBAS), sexual orientation, and university prestige without the low-tier university, homosexual men. BMI ( $\beta = 0.209$ ,  $t = 2.291$ ,  $p = 0.024$ ), body dissatisfaction ( $\beta = 0.391$ ,  $t = 4.228$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), and sexual orientation ( $\beta = 0.416$ ,  $t = 4.306$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) all predict disordered eating in this sample. The model is statistically significant ( $R^2 = 0.441$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), explaining 44.1% of the variance in the sample.

Table 24. Control Variables for Cultural Consonance Analysis (without Low-Tier University, Homosexual Men)

Model 1**	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error			
(Constant)	-0.080	0.111		-0.718	0.475
BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )*	0.238	0.104	0.209	2.291	0.024
Male Body Attitudes Scale (MBAS)**	0.405	0.096	0.391	4.228	<0.001
Sexual Orientation**	1.389	0.323	0.416	4.306	<0.001
University Prestige	-0.360	0.207	-0.167	-1.744	0.085

N = 88, df = 83,  $R^2 = 0.441$ ,  $p < 0.001$

\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$

The variable of cultural consonance in the model of attractiveness was then added to the analysis. Table 25 presents the multiple regression analysis of cultural consonance in attractiveness on the disordered eating controlled for BMI, body dissatisfaction, sexual orientation, and university prestige. Results show that BMI ( $\beta = 0.223$ ,  $t = 2.687$ ,  $p = 0.009$ ), body dissatisfaction ( $\beta = 0.443$ ,  $t = 5.208$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), sexual orientation ( $\beta = 0.371$ ,  $t = 4.203$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), and cultural consonance in attractiveness ( $\beta = 0.341$ ,  $t = 4.296$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) all predict disordered eating in this sample. The addition of the cultural consonance variable adds an additional 10.3% of explanatory power to the control variables, so that the model explains 54.4% of the variability in the sample.

Table 25. Effect of Cultural Consonance in Attractiveness on Disordered Eating (without Low-Tier University, Homosexual Men)

Model 2**	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error			
(Constant)	-0.152	0.102		-1.489	0.140
BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )**	0.254	0.095	0.223	2.687	0.009
Male Body Attitudes Scale (MBAS)**	0.458	0.088	0.443	5.208	<0.001
Sexual Orientation**	1.241	0.295	0.371	4.203	<0.001
University Prestige	-0.113	0.196	0.052	-0.573	0.568
Cultural Consonance: Attractiveness**	0.351	0.082	0.341	4.296	<0.001

N = 88, df = 82, R<sup>2</sup> = 0.544, p < 0.001

\*p < 0.05, \*\*p < 0.01

This analysis was repeated, replacing cultural consonance in attractiveness with cultural consonance with the *kkonminam*. Results show that BMI ( $\beta = 0.246$ ,  $t = 2.850$ ,  $p = 0.006$ ), body dissatisfaction ( $\beta = 0.414$ ,  $t = 4.746$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), sexual orientation ( $\beta = 0.359$ ,  $t = 3.895$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), and cultural consonance with the *kkonminam* ( $\beta = 0.280$ ,  $t = 3.483$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) all predict

disordered eating in this sample. The addition of the cultural consonance variable adds an additional 7.2% of explanatory power to the control variables, so that the model explains 51.3% of the variability in the sample (Table 26).

Table 26. Effect of Cultural Consonance with *Kkonminam* on Disordered Eating (without Low-Tier University, Homosexual Men)

Model 2**	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error			
(Constant)	-0.115	0.105		-1.099	0.275
BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )**	0.280	0.098	0.246	2.850	0.006
Male Body Attitudes Scale (MBAS)**	0.428	0.090	0.414	4.746	<0.001
Sexual Orientation**	1.198	0.308	0.359	3.895	<0.001
University Prestige	-0.195	0.200	-0.091	-0.978	0.331
Cultural Consonance: <i>Kkonminam</i> **	0.287	0.083	0.280	3.483	<0.001

N = 88, df = 82, R<sup>2</sup> = 0.513, p < 0.001

\*p < 0.05, \*\*p < 0.01

The analysis was repeated one final time, replacing cultural consonance with the *kkonminam* with cultural consonance with the *chimsŭngnam*. Table 27 shows that body dissatisfaction ( $\beta = 0.476$ ,  $t = 5.559$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), sexual orientation ( $\beta = 0.415$ ,  $t = 4.772$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), and cultural consonance with the *chimsŭngnam* ( $\beta = 0.379$ ,  $t = 4.471$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) all predict disordered eating in this sample. BMI ( $\beta = 0.246$ ,  $t = 2.850$ ,  $p = 0.006$ ) was not statistically significant in this analysis once cultural consonance with the *chimsŭngnam* was added. The addition of the cultural consonance variable adds an additional 10.9% of explanatory power to the control variables, so that the model explains 55.0% of the variability in the sample.

Table 27. Effect of Cultural Consonance with *Chimsŭngnam* on Disordered Eating (without Low-Tier University, Homosexual Men)

Model 2**	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error			
(Constant)	-0.168	0.102		-1.647	0.103
BMI (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )**	0.155	0.096	0.136	1.617	0.110
Male Body Attitudes Scale (MBAS)**	0.492	0.089	0.476	5.559	<0.001
Sexual Orientation**	1.388	0.291	0.415	4.772	<0.001
University Prestige	-0.072	0.197	-0.034	-0.367	0.715
Cultural Consonance: <i>Chimsŭngnam</i> **	0.389	0.087	0.379	4.471	<0.001

N = 88, df = 82, R<sup>2</sup> = 0.550, p < 0.001

\*p < 0.05, \*\*p < 0.01

### Conclusions

In this chapter, I outlined the method by which I calculated cultural consonance scores from collected data. The three dimensions of cultural consonance considered were attractiveness, *kkonminam*, and *chimsŭngnam*. Items were included in a scale if those items met the criteria based on their method of calculating their respective cultural answer keys. Scores were calculated as the sum of participants' ratings of the degree to which each of the relevant items was represented in their own bodies.

Then, using multiple regression analysis, I examined the effects of cultural consonance on risk for disordered eating. Ethnographic observation, informal conversations with interlocutors, and the anthropological literature on body image suggested that variables such as university prestige and sexual orientation would also be relevant, with men at intersections of these variables experiencing the consequences of cultural consonance on their mental health in different ways. A three-way interaction of cultural consonance in attractiveness, university

prestige, and sexual orientation predicted disordered eating beliefs and behaviors among South Korean men, in addition to known risk factors like body dissatisfaction and BMI. With each cultural consonance dimension, an additional 20.5% (*chimsŭngnam*) to 22.4% (attractiveness) of the variance in disordered eating was explained beyond BMI and body dissatisfaction. As a main effect, cultural consonance explains an additional 7.6% (*kkonminam*) to 10.9% (*chimsŭngnam*) of variance beyond controls.

The interaction effects show that heterosexual men from low-tier universities—who make up the majority of young men in South Korea—tend to be the most negatively affected by cultural consonance, exhibiting the sharpest increase in EAT-26 scores in each of the models. Homosexual men from high-tier universities were the next-highest consistently across the models. Heterosexual men from high-tier universities exhibited greater EAT-26 scores in relation to higher cultural consonance with the attractiveness and *kkonminam* dimensions, while they were relatively unaffected by cultural consonance with the *chimsŭngnam* dimension. Finally, homosexual men from low-tier universities exhibited greater EAT-26 scores in relation to greater cultural consonance with the *chimsŭngnam* dimension, and appeared protected against disordered eating by higher cultural consonance in the desirability and *kkonminam* dimensions. I explain these findings in greater detail in Chapter 10.

## CHAPTER 9

### FOUR CASES

#### Introduction

In the previous chapter, it was demonstrated that among these young Korean men, cultural consonance in the cultural model of male body ideals led to higher risk of disordered eating. Ethnographic observations and conversations led to the investigation of potential variation within this trend, based on an understanding of the importance of education to economic and social success in South Korea and a recognition of the stigmas and pressures which gay and bisexual men navigate in its conservative society. A three-way interaction of cultural consonance, sexual identity, and prestige of educational institution was found to predict disordered eating in Korean men beyond the effects of body dissatisfaction. Four sub-configurations of the relationship between cultural consonance in male body ideals and men's risk for disordered eating were identified. These included (1) low cultural consonance and low disordered eating, (2) high cultural consonance and high disordered eating, (3) low cultural consonance and high disordered eating, and (4) high cultural consonance and low disordered eating. In this chapter, I draw on interviews and interactions with four young South Korean men who are representative of each of these four quadrants: Changsup, Jaewoo, Hyunjoon, and Youngwon.<sup>54</sup> Through these cases, I show varied ways in which men's intersections of

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<sup>54</sup> All names are pseudonyms. Any overlap with names of actual participants is incidental and should not be connected to those participants.

educational background and sexual orientation come to bear on their experiences of their body image.

#### Changsup: Low Cultural Consonance, Low Disordered Eating

Changsup is a 175 centimeter tall heterosexual man weighing 69 kilograms. His cultural consonance with the model was on the lower end, and I disagreed with some of his self-assessment. In fact, when I told him I was surprised at how he responded to the cultural consonance questions in the survey he said,

Thinking about my ideal body, I would pick one that is slim and nevertheless has just a little bit of muscle. Right now, I am satisfied because I don't have very much fat. I don't know... My physique and an idol's body type are pretty close, and I'm satisfied because I can tell that I am getting closer.

His responses to the cultural consonance questions hinged on two ideas: First, he did not consider himself to be tall, just average height, since he was below 180 centimeters, and he interpreted many of the items in terms of their proportions in relationship to height (e.g., small head, *p'aldüngsin*). Second, he considered his body as "in process." What was important to him was not *being* culturally consonant with the model of the ideal male body, as that would require desiring something either impossible (like changing his height) or cosmetic surgery, which he was not against in principle but had little interest in for himself. Rather, it was important to him to *perform* self-management (*chagi kwalli*) with the model as his referent. As a result, he did not have bad self-image, he knew that people thought he was handsome, and his self-presentation reflected his engagement in self-management activities. Because his body was "in process," he felt that he could not score himself higher.

Changsup came from a middle class family. His parents were both highly educated, his mother being a pharmacist and his father having a graduate degree from a university in the US, which solidified their class status. He grew up in a neighborhood in Seoul known for its highly competitive elementary, middle, and high schools from which many students entered SKY universities.

Changsup himself did not study at a SKY university; his university was neither notable for being good nor was it unknown. When I asked what characterized students at his university, he remarked that his university was one of those where students who, by luck of the draw or fractions of points in applications, missed acceptance to a prestigious university. So, according to Changsup, their main characteristic was disappointment at barely missing the opportunity for the clout and cultural capital that a SKY university education endowed.

Changsup was studying to be a broadcast journalist. He had no passion for this profession, but ever since he was young adults told him that his face and his well-behaved demeanor were well-suited for a job that requires public trust. The relationship between looks and behavior is reflected in the phrase *ölgulgap handa*. *Ölgulgap* literally translates to “the value of the face,” and to say *ölgulgap handa* about a man means that one is as morally upright or well-behaved as he is handsome. More common is to hear *ölgulgap mothanda*, which translates to “you’re wasting your face,” meaning that one’s behavior is not commensurate with one’s looks.

Changsup was recommended to study to be a newscaster because he was handsome (*ölgulgap handa*), his looks inspiring trust in the people watching him that what he was reporting was truthful and accurate. However, his real interest was in interacting with customers and making them happy. When we met, he was working two part time jobs in café chains in order to

learn about the restaurant business and save up the money to open his own. He said that, by 2021, he would have had enough money to get a loan to start a restaurant in his neighborhood. He wanted to change the fact that his neighborhood lacked a place for people to conveniently come together, have decent food, and interact with each other. Due to the ongoing coronavirus pandemic, however, he has put this dream on hold.

Changsup also engaged proactively in self-maintenance practices. Our language exchange was one of these, as English proficiency is one of the cardinal markers of self-maintenance. The other was exercise. He went to the gym four times per week since it not only helped to relieve stress but also put him on track to approximate his aforementioned ideal body.

To Changsup, the small muscle ideal was his preference because it was the most acceptable body type in South Korea. For clothes and hairstyles, he liked the “dandy” look: clean-cut, neat, and simple but well-fit clothes. He described a body with large muscles as *kwahada* (excessive) and, citing his mother’s perspective, *ching’gūropta* (repulsive). In Changsup’s opinion of large-muscled men:

I admire them for their bodies, they worked hard, but I don’t want it myself.

Guys with big muscles have misplaced priorities. I think many guys with big muscles also use steroids...Even though I go to the gym most days, I lift weights ‘low-weight-high-rep’ so my muscles tone without getting too big.

He generally followed a “low-weight-high-repetitions” routine because he wanted to develop *chan’gūnyuk* (“small muscle”), but eventually changed to a medium-weight-medium repetitions routine because the results were too slowly appearing.

Another motivation for approximating the small muscle look was his best friend from childhood. They were *purul ch’in’gu* (lit. “testicle friends”), meaning that they were extremely

close and had been since they were basically babies. This friend had gotten very into fitness in recent years, and had a well-defined small muscle physique that Changsup wanted to emulate to impress him. He said that, because they were both busy since going to university, they only got together twice a year. But whenever they reunited,

My friend will, like, put his hands in my shirt and feel my muscles, my chest, my abs, my arms. And he'll say like, "Oh Changsup, your arms got bigger from last time. Changsup, your abs are coming in. Changsup, if you want your pecs to get bigger you should do these exercises." And he gives me advice to improve my body.

Changsup placed a lot of value in these interactions. Not only did they reaffirm his efforts by way of an opinion he highly valued, but these interactions also reaffirmed their friendship through *skinship*.

Skinship refers to the deepening of relationships through touch and is very common for Korean boys and young men to engage in with their close friends. Skinship indexes the degree of emotional intimacy that men share, although there are many men who, especially as they get older, do not like skinship with their male friends and see it as something they should reserve for their girlfriends. That said, unless they have body image issues like Hyunjoon or Jaewoo, they are generally comfortable being naked around their close friends, going to the bathroom together, showering at a gym, or bathing at a *tchimjilbang* (sauna). It is not uncommon to see young men walking down the street hanging off one another's neck, sitting shoulder-to-shoulder, embracing from behind watching one another play video games in an arcade, or placing their hands on each other's inner thigh. I have even seen a group of young men in the gym locker room come out of the showers together, and one of them repeatedly try to tap the other's penis with his foot. In

another instance on the subway, one teenager wearing sweatpants spontaneously got an erection and his friends playfully batted at it. When I told some friends about these observations, they said that it was inappropriate, but also that they must have been close friends. Changsup agreed that he would be extremely uncomfortable if anyone other than his very, *very* close friend did that to him.

#### Jaewoo: High Cultural Consonance and High Disordered Eating

Jaewoo stands over 180 centimeters tall with a thin frame and a “small” head, perfectly representing the *p’aldŭngshin* (eight-head body) proportions widely valued among Koreans. He dresses well, and wears makeup on special occasions to enhance his features without being ostentatious. In fact, his cultural consonance with the model of attractiveness is among the highest of all the participants. So is his EAT-26 score.

Jaewoo used to be “chubby” as a child. His mother, an ambitious small business owner, was busy working when he was younger, so he often stayed with his grandparents who doted on him and fed him a lot. To his grandmother, a large male body signified vitality, wealth, and having been loved. In fact, his grandmother considered Kang Ho-dong, who first rose to fame as a one of the top *ssirŭm* athletes and is now a popular comedian and reality show host, to be one of the most handsome male celebrities. *Ssirŭm* is Korea’s traditional style of wrestling. It bears similarities to Japanese *sumo*, in terms of it being performed in a ring and favoring larger bodies in its athletes, although *ssirŭm* athletes do not get as large as *sumo* wrestlers. According to Jaewoo and others, their grandparents’ generation commonly favors this body type as ideal for men.

At school, however, Jaewoo said he was bullied mercilessly for being fat and somewhat effeminate:

Even in elementary school, students are stressed because they have to study so much. I was stressed as well because of that. But also, I was a bit chubby, and they called me feminine, so other students bullied me and teased me. Students talked about what celebrities people looked like, or what animal people looked like. The other kids would say *kom* (bear) or *twaeji* (pig) when they saw a fat person. It's extremely common... Even teachers will point out students who are too fat or too skinny or short.

This reminded me of Kim, Yun, and Kim's (2016) study of bullying among Korean adolescents which found that overweight male students were more likely to physically bully and to be physically bullied than other students, while boys and girls could be protected from verbal and relational bullying if they had higher socioeconomic status. He said that he agreed that that was usually the case, but in his case most of the bullying he experienced was not physical, but verbal. He believed that he was particularly targeted because his mother's business was so successful that he was also one of the wealthiest students in his school. He felt that his classmates targeted his weight and effeminacy to bring him down due to their own senses of inferiority, since they made for easy targets.<sup>55</sup> Middle and high school were largely the same, with teachers and other students using "bear" and "pig" to refer to the fat students.

To Jaewoo, these contradictory messages were profoundly confusing. For his grandparents, who lived through the devastation of the Korean War and the abject poverty which followed it, his robustness was symbolic of their rapid social and economic advancement. However, he was born in the beginning of the democratic era with the first civilian president, the

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<sup>55</sup> Jaewoo's story makes a case for intersectional analysis in bullying research to ask how different axes of experiences in varied cultural settings lead to different styles of bullying across contexts.

ability to travel freely internationally, and a strong economy. He said, “In my grandparents era, there was a lot of poverty, so a chubby body meant you lived well. But when I was young, Koreans were already living well, so a chubby body didn’t have that meaning anymore.” Instead, he said, he was growing up in the nascence of the *kkonminam* (flower boy). Rather than the robust Kim Ho-dong, he looked up to the members of TVXQ who were valued for their pretty features and “small-muscled” physiques. Even to the present he compares himself to celebrities, in particular Kim Seok-jin (known as Jin) from BTS because, “In our generation, [Jin] receives a lot of love.”

By the time he entered one of the SKY universities, he realized that he was gay but had toned down his outward effeminacy by carefully attending to his speech and gestures. He trained his voice to be steady and deep, and he practiced his laugh to a room-pervading boom. Because of physical training during his military service, especially the two-mile runs, he said he lost a lot of weight and even gained a bit of muscle. He said, as a result of the training, he “became a bit prouder of his body and gained a bit more self-confidence.”

Returning to civilian life, however, continuing that exercise schedule was difficult. Due to his responsibilities for his coursework, school clubs, and internships, he was unable to devote time to exercise and eventually lost his muscle. He mentioned that sometimes he wished he could return to his military body once again and gain back that self-confidence, especially as he felt that he was starting to put on weight.

Jaewoo then confessed that he did not lose his weight primarily because of military service, but rather through strict dieting and running that he began prior to it. His calorie restriction helped him lose weight rapidly. He noted that his family was predisposed to obesity and felt that if he did not strictly regulate his food intake he would become fat again. Because he

is fearful of gaining weight, he thinks about food constantly. However, through dieting he can avoid weight gain more passively, that is, without having to devote too much time and money to a gym membership. He also generally avoided gluten- and lactose-containing foods because he had heard that they could make his skin break out in acne.

One night when we had dinner, Jaewoo mentioned that he had recently joined a gym near his studio apartment. Many of the gyms in Seoul offer free training sessions for new members, and he had scheduled a session with a female trainer. Laughing, he told me about the experience:

First she measured my height, and then she told me to step on a scale. The scale also read my heart rate and body fat percentage. Then she looked at the results at her desk, and she asked how am I even alive! *[laughs]* She told me that I'm not allowed to do cardio anymore, only lift weights, but I still do the cycling machine.

Because his weight and body fat were so low for his height, his trainer was worried about his health. However, she did not know how to address his disordered eating and exercise behaviors, so she only tried to guide him in strategies to gain weight. However, he said that he felt that he needed to resist these directions because he was afraid of gaining too much muscle. All he wanted was "small muscle."

At this time, Jaewoo was also suffering from pain in his abdomen. After getting an ultrasound, the doctor said that his gallbladder was obstructed by large gall stones, and the whole thing needed to be surgically removed. According to Jaewoo, the doctor said that his gall stones probably formed as a result of his rapid weight loss. A few weeks following his surgery, we met at a Starbucks where he handed me a small wooden case.

He took it back and poured the contents into his hand: three green stones the size of peas sat in his palm. “These are my gall stones,” he said. “They are the embodiment of all my self-hate.” He said that he asked the surgeon to save them for him. He felt that he was not ready to lose that part of himself just yet. To Jaewoo, these gall stones, being the result of his rapid weight loss, tied him to his past body, holding the memories and the traumas of the bullying he faced due to his weight. However, being in the case rather than in his body, he could choose when to engage with them again.

In Jaewoo’s case, he was intensely fearful of becoming fat again for reasons pertaining not only to his own health, but also due to the ways in which he was treated when he was fat. Because of the mismatch between how he should have expected to have been treated due to his family’s wealth and the bullying he actually experienced due to his weight, he felt compelled to be thin to ensure he was not bullied in the future. By being thin, his intelligence and status—received both from his family background and his academic accomplishment of attending a SKY university—would not be overlooked by others. Rather, they would recognize that he was involved in self-maintenance strategies that kept his appearance aligned with his status. Establishing his competence through maintaining his appearance would also potentially buffer him from the negative repercussions of being found out as gay. His story of his experience with the trainer can also be seen as his negotiation of Korean lookism and neo-Confucianism (i.e., wanting to have “small muscle” and being afraid of being too large) with healthism (Crawford, 1984), especially in regard to his fear of fatness and the strategies he employed to avoid it.

## Hyunjoon: Low Cultural Consonance, High Disordered Eating

Hyunjoon<sup>56</sup> is 171 centimeters tall and weighs 65 kilograms. His cultural consonance in Koreans' model of male body ideals was below average, but his disordered eating was high.

Like Jaewoo, he was gay and considered himself to have been a fat kid. Unlike Jaewoo, Hyunjoon grew up in a not well-off working-class family, his parents' small business involving manual labor.<sup>57</sup>

Throughout his teenage years, Hyunjoon was a binge eater. He says that it was instilled in him at a young age that eating could solve all of his problems. Especially when he was a child, he said no one questioned his eating and weight gain because the adults assumed that it would translate into height during puberty.

Hyunjoon attributed his binge eating to the stresses of loneliness, which in his mind, was overdetermined by his family's lack of wealth. One reason related to their housing situation. Despite living in Gangnam, where many of the upper-middle- and upper-class families lived when he was growing up,<sup>58</sup> he says that he lived in the "slums" of Gangnam. Moreover,

In Korea, you could be the owner of your apartment, or you could be on a lease. Eventually, people start to recognize the difference, and they pass those attitudes onto their children. Parents who own their apartments flat out tell

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<sup>56</sup> Hyunjoon preferred to participate in interviews using English, both because he wanted to practice English, and he did not like my Korean. His responses are not translated, but they have been edited slightly for clarity.

<sup>57</sup> According to Lett (1998), small businesses in Korea are "classed" in the same way that families are more generally, within *mun-mu* logics. That is, small businesses that provide luxuries or services, like boutiques or cafes, are middle- and upper-class small business, while small business that involve physical labor, like drycleaners or mechanics, are considered working-class businesses. Even if a "working-class" business is more economically successful than a "middle-class" business, the working-class business will often still be treated with disdain.

<sup>58</sup> Gangnam literally refers to the district "south of the [Han] river," which was the center of the real estate boom in the 1980s and 1990s after the government moved the best schools to the area. In 2020, however, an upper-class informant once told me that "If someone's introduces himself saying that he lives in Gangnam, I just write him off. It doesn't mean anything anymore. There are lots of slums in Gangnam. Now, if someone says they live in Yeouido [the financial district] I pay more attention."

their kids not to hang out with the kids whose parents only lease, even if they live in the same building.

Hyunjoon felt that he was often excluded from social experiences and friendships because his family could only afford to rent their apartment.

In school, too, he was taught that the most important thing, especially in elementary school, was not learning, but fitting in. However, Hyunjoon struggled to fit in, in part because he was shy, but also because his family could not afford the popular school supplies and expensive clothing brands that formed the basis of intramural status games. And while he said that he was not specifically targeted for bullying himself, he harbored great resentment toward his peers for allowing it to occur. While he wanted to intervene, he felt that it would potentially cause even more financial hardship for his parents if he did or mark himself as a target. So, he felt that he had to ignore his moral compass as well.

As a result, school was extremely lonely and stressful for him. Then, when he would return home from school, the house was often empty because both his parents had to work long hours at their small business, adding to his loneliness. Speaking of a typical day, returning to an empty apartment, he said:

During all my teenage years, I felt like I hated everyone at school. Then, after I would get home from school—it's not even a tough day, nothing specifically tough happened, I just hated the whole day—I get home, I'm really stressed. And when I'm really stressed I boil three—*three*—packs of *ramyŏn*. And I would add like three eggs. And I would finish that. With rice, too. [emphasis original]

This was contrasted in his mind with what was expected in a typical middle-class family, the mother being at home with snacks for her children to prepare to do their homework, study, and attend *hagwŏn*. For him, food was the only thing that seemed to ease his loneliness:

When you are in a room alone by yourself, after a day in school, to me, [food] was the only good thing. The only thing that I could hold onto. Not my parents, not other people. Nobody could keep me away from bingeing. A kid alone after a day at school like that? First thing? Bingeing. Last thing? Bingeing. Nothing else helped.

He knew that this behavior was unhealthy, but “It was all your instinct talking. It was your body taking control of your mind. You realize every day that it’s not a good thing, but you do it.” He saw bingeing as part of a vicious cycle in which he substituted human relationships with food, making himself fatter and making it harder to make friends in “lookist” Korea, which exacerbated his loneliness and binge eating to compensate.

I asked Hyunjoon if any of his peers ever commented about his weight or appearance. He responded that he could not remember anything specific that they said to his face, but he did note that middle-aged women (*ajumma*) had no qualms about teasing him about his body. He recalled:

Especially *ajumma*, they just don’t hesitate. Like, some people just don’t hesitate to talk about anyone’s appearance... They comment about skin, especially if a man’s skin is better than a woman’s. And also, they could say out of nowhere, “You’re very handsome,” as a compliment... [But], when I was younger, there was an *ajumma* who commented about my boobs. Yeah,

because I was a big kid, she would joke that my boobs were bigger than hers.

In his 20s, Hyunjoon went to university to study English, but also had to pick up part-time employment to help pay for tuition and pocket money. These jobs were typically at cafes and restaurants and added to his stress. At one point, he found an import market near his home that sold boxes of dry pasta, something that he considered a luxury food, and boiled and ate an entire box of it during one of his binges. This resulted in his intestines “shutting down,” which he attributed to “Asian guts” less efficiently breaking down gluten compared to those of European descent.

Hyunjoon said that this experience led to him attempting to turn his life around. His primary goal was to find a romantic relationship, and the first step in pursuit of a romantic relationship was improving his appearance. He got braces because he “wanted a big, beautiful smile,” and began losing weight. He cut out junk foods, which he considered to be hamburgers, pizza, and *ramyŏn*, tried incorporating more fruits and vegetables into his diet, and overall started eating less. He started running, and quickly worked his way up to running four hours per week. He also wanted to start lifting weights to healthily slim down, but a shoulder injury he sustained at one of his restaurant jobs remained untreated for financial reasons.

His running and dieting had two unanticipated results. First, he lost a lot of weight very quickly, leaving him with sagging skin that he views as extremely unsightly. This has been a persistent frustration to him. He told me that he had been dating a foreign man whom he really liked, and one night they had sex. Hyunjoon had been nervous about being naked in front of him, with his skin, but his date convinced him to do it. They had a good night, and Hyunjoon felt happy, but then the man never responded to any of his text messages again, which Hyunjoon attributed to his sagging skin.

Second, he damaged his knees. His knees and other joints, damaged from carrying his previous weight, finally started to give out under this increased stress. Because of his calorie restriction and overexercise, he said that his muscles wasted and were unable to sufficiently support his intense exercise at the higher weights. He lamented not trying to lose weight by swimming prior to running, since it would have been less stressful on his joints, but he was too afraid to show his body at a pool. He had gotten surgery on his knees a few weeks before we met and was still painfully recovering over eighteen months later when I left Seoul, making running impossible. Further, once he scrounged enough money together to join a gym hoping at least to try working on his upper body—difficult because he was getting paid a pittance working with abusive staff at a non-profit for his alternative military service—the coronavirus pandemic hit.

Hyunjoon sees his body as constantly thwarting his attempts at making himself worthy of a relationship. His body “takes over” his mind during poverty-induced-loneliness-induced binge-eating episodes, which make him gain weight, which makes him feel increasingly unlovable. His fat further thwarts his efforts at finding love by giving him sagging skin, making him even less attractive to sexual partners, and damaging his joints thereby preventing further engagement in physical self-improvement practices. He views his body—pained, fat, unattractive to a partner, and unable to present in a way commensurate with what he sees as normal—as a barrier to his happiness, for which he now compensates with binge drinking.

Youngwon: High Cultural Consonance, Low Disordered Eating

Youngwon is 180cm tall, weighs 67 kilograms, and identifies as gay. He attends a lower-tier university, and studies engineering for its job prospects. His parents are both government workers. They are middle-class. He reports high cultural consonance and low disordered eating, in line with trends demonstrated by the gay and bisexual men who attend low-tier universities.

Youngwon was content just to fit in. He learned from a young age

If one acts differently from the crowd or behaves differently from one's peers, it's easy to be teased and ostracized from others. Therefore, I was more worried about being different from others than my appearance, because childhood is all about making friends... Children who are short, fat, or skinny are teased a lot from a young age... when I was young, I was afraid of becoming that sort of person.

And, generally, he was able to fit in.

Especially when he was younger, his classmates were the biggest influence on his body ideals since he spent the most time with them. From time-to-time, Youngwon would get jealous of the peers whom he thought were more handsome than he was:

For example, during the school days, the most handsome boys received a lot of gifts and letters, especially on special occasions. Sometimes, students from other schools would even come to visit our school just to see them. When I was young, I felt deprived of such situations, and I felt inferior.

He often tried to emulate these more popular men, whether in hairstyles or clothing brands, again out of a desire to fit in. But he also learned to be careful about how much care he put into his appearance in doing so. Growing up in a rural area, he said that people tended to be more conservative, and when he showed an inordinate amount of interest in his appearance he would be chastised by adults or teased by his peers for being "girly." Standing out due to his attention to his appearance would call attention to his potential homosexuality, so he became most concerned with being inconspicuous for any reason, good or bad.

As Youngwon got older, he became more satisfied with his looks. During puberty, he grew to the ideal height (180 centimeters), and as a result he generally did not feel particularly deficient to his peers in any way he could control. He recognized that cosmetic surgery was common and acceptable, but he personally did not consider it a valid way for him to change his appearance, so he learned to accept the features of his face and frame that he did not like. While he was not personally as concerned with his appearance as he once was, as he was able to present himself acceptably in society fairly easily with the body he grew into, he still understood that others' opinions mattered in South Korea:

[South Korea] is an environment where people easily judge and gossip about others. With this in mind, I am very conscious of the opinions of others, and therefore care about my appearance. I think of “What will other people think of me?” and I instinctively think about my weaknesses. One must find the parts one does not like or does not meet social standards. One has no choice but to care about it.

He noted that this was true not only for gay men, but increasingly for heterosexual men as well. People increasingly recognized that “the more handsome you are, the more social you are, and the more friends you have.” Being handsome made it easier to fit in, and especially to find a boyfriend considering that he viewed gay men as being significantly more superficial than heterosexual men. Being handsome also garnered him special treatment. For example,

[If you are handsome,] neighbors easily develop good feelings toward you, and feel *chǒng* (affection, attachment, rapport). For example, the *ajumōni* (a respectful term for a middle-aged woman) who is my landlady favors me over

other her other tenants. Because of this situation, I feel a sense of relief.

Reflexively, he also acknowledged the extent to which social expectations bled into his personal preferences. In describing his personal style, he said that he did not intentionally follow any particular trends, but

I buy what I want to buy and wear what I like to wear. But whether what I like is really what *I* like, or whether it is the result of being conscious of other peoples' gaze, I really don't know. Still, in my opinion, it is important to consider what one likes when one buys something rather than only whether it is a fashion or luxury good. [emphasis original]

Youngwon constantly balanced his desire to follow his own desires while acknowledging the social need not to stand out. Because he was naturally tall and slim, had a handsome natural face, and took what he considered to be adequate care of his dress and grooming, he felt free to explore his own interests in self-presentation. He was less interested in impressing people than he was in getting by, accepting certain benefits for the cultural consonance he did express naturally, but putting little more than the standard amount of expected effort into his appearance. He understood how his appearance placed him in social hierarchies, but was not inordinately invested in cultivating his appearance beyond what allowed him to fit in.

He explained that, as a result, he feels very little motivation to work on his body as it is already "good enough." He tried lifting weights before, but he had no real concrete goal and thus quickly lost the motivation. He said that lifting weights required a "strong will," "persistence," and "sincerity/diligence" to exercise consistently enough and diet appropriately in order to see results, and that he did not possess those qualities. He saw it as extra work for which he did not have time. Instead, to maintain his health, he participates in leisure sports, preferring hiking,

skiing, surfing, and rock climbing. While they require some practice, they are activities which he felt he could pick up and do as he desire, without commitments beyond his own interests.

## Discussion

In this chapter, I explored four cases of men representative of four different relationships between cultural consonance and disordered eating. The typical associations were with low cultural consonance and low disordered eating (Changsup) and high cultural consonance and high disordered eating (Jaewoo). Gay men who did not attend prestigious universities demonstrated their own, opposite association: low cultural consonance and high disordered eating (Hyunjoon) and high cultural consonance and low disordered eating (Youngwon).

Hyunjoon's case—low cultural consonance and high disordered eating—exemplifies what happens under the intersectional condition of “multiple material otherness” (McClure, 2020)—here, being gay, being poor, and having an undesirable body. If this multiple material otherness is considered as cultural domains in which he demonstrates low cultural consonance, and cultural consonance is understood here to refer to the “conventional standard of decency” per Veblen (1899), Hyunjoon falls below this standard in multiple domains: lifestyle due to his family's economic status, education in attending a lower-tier university, and potential chrononormativity<sup>59</sup> (Cho, 2020b) from being gay. To him, a broader sense of cultural consonance is a kind of “aspirational normalcy” (Berlant, 2007) to which there are multiple avenues in Korean society, all of which feel unavailable to him due to his economic status and the parts of his appearance over which he has no control. This lack of cultural consonance in multiple domains—his “multiple material otherness” embodied in his poverty, sexual orientation,

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<sup>59</sup> Chrononormativity refers to the organization of the sexual life into stages: dating, marriage by a certain age, owning a home, and having one's own children at specific times of life. Post-1990s gay men in Korea typically do not typically get married or have children, leading to barriers to professional and social advancement, shame for themselves and their families, and questions of their responsibility or ability.

and body shape—leads both to an alienation from others and to an alienation from himself.<sup>60</sup> In Hyunjoon’s case, his lack of cultural consonance with the model of the ideal male body was one of several compounding factors leading to his body-self unembodiment (Laing, 1990), the unembodiment of the mismatch between his understanding of his body-self and others’ understandings of him (McClure, 2020), and from the Korean body politic more broadly. If only his body were more acceptable, he believes, he would not be as lonely.

Youngwon, representative of the homosexual and bisexual men whose high cultural consonance in the model of the ideal male body led to low levels of disordered eating, is under a different set of circumstances despite his sexuality and educational background being similar to Hyunjoon’s. Being middle-class, employable, passively attractive (i.e., he does not put special effort into his body), and secure in his ability to hide his sexual orientation when he needs to, Youngwon experiences no real barriers to the “conventional standard of decency”—namely, enmeshment in the social fabric of South Korea—in his present life. At the time of these interviews, he even had a boyfriend. As Cho (2020b) has suggested, being gay in Korea creates a significant barrier to living a normal life. However, for Youngwon, his cultural consonance in his body—which eased his way into friendships and a romantic relationship and ensured that he was treated well by others and was not ignored or overlooked for his appearance—meant that he did not need to aspire to normalcy, he was living a version of sufficient normalcy.

Changsup, being a heterosexual man who did not attend a high-tier university, represented the conditions under which most Korean men were living.<sup>61</sup> He was well-groomed and engaged in self-improvement activities in line with the expectations for public self-

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<sup>60</sup> Throughout our interviews, Hyunjoon would speak of his experiences in the first person except when he spoke about binge eating or being fat, in which he would switch to the third person (including the third-person ‘you’).

<sup>61</sup> Sexual minority men without a prestigious university background are not a particularly large demographic in Korea.

presentation in South Korea. In viewing his body as in-process, he was less concerned with approximating the cultural model fully, viewing it as the purview of celebrities and therefore unattainable (see also Kim, 2014), than he was in demonstrating that he was involved in the activities that would directly result in the aspects of it over which he had control. Edmonds and Mears (2017) have likewise argued that the value of symbolic body capital often comes less from the body itself than from the ways in which a body demonstrates a moral commitment to engaging in the practices that result in an ideal body in a given social field. Despite not *being* culturally consonant, his performance of the self-maintenance practices themselves constitute meaningful internalization of the model.

Jaewoo's case, while in terms of details is more specific to the experiences of gay men attending high-tier universities, is also emblematic of the overall trend in highly culturally consonant men having high disordered eating. In Jaewoo's case, it is related to his history of being bullied and ostracized for his weight, a buffer against further ostracism that could occur if he is found out to be gay, and the assertion of his status as alumnus of an elite university deserving of the same respect and opportunities afforded to any other SKY alumnus. The overall theme of this quadrant is overinvestment in the body as compensation for a lack of cultural consonance in other domains of Korean life. This is particularly important as the Korean job market becomes increasingly competitive; the appearance also being evaluated during the interview process means that men who are more culturally consonant with this model may have a competitive edge. As a result, the body can make up for perceived deficiencies in other areas of one's resume. For heterosexual men without SKY university credentials, investment in appearance can sometimes account for deficiencies in educational background. For heterosexual men with SKY university credentials, it provides a leg-up on their peers and projects their social

and class status. For homosexual and bisexual SKY university students, investment in the body both asserts class status—important for being set up with men with similar backgrounds—and affords a personal sense of value that social mores surrounding homosexuality undermine. For these men, cultural consonance with the ideal male body under these conditions may be less reflective of the “conventional standard of decency” than of something conceptually akin to “conspicuous consumption.”

### Conclusion

These data suggest that young men in South Korea engage in disordered eating under two conditions. First, under conditions of multiple material otherness (in this context, being non-heterosexual, poor, deficient in educational prestige, and perceiving oneself as unattractive), disordered eating behaviors reflect responses to the stresses of those conditions and strategies for overcoming them to achieve a conventional standard of decency. Being more attractive can alleviate some of these stresses.

Second, under conditions of social normalcy and personal ambition, disordered eating behaviors are engaged as a strategy for improving one’s appearance to impart competitive edge in the professional, romantic, and social marketplace as a form of conspicuous consumption that asserts one’s social status. Those men who are “low” in cultural consonance under these conditions may be content with their appearance in relation to their position. On the other hand, those “high” in cultural consonance may be exploiting their appearance to “get ahead.”

Recalling the differences between the SKY students and the non-SKY heterosexual students in Chapter 9, ambitious heterosexual men who lack the social and cultural capital advantages afforded by a SKY education must invest more in their bodies to get ahead, thus increasing their risk of disordered eating.

## CHAPTER 10

### DISCUSSION

#### Introduction

In the previous chapters, I presented the results of the cultural domain analysis (Chapter 8), cultural consensus analysis (Chapter 9), and cultural consonance analysis (Chapter 10). In Chapter 8, I showed how I used freelisting to populate the elements of the cultural domain of male body ideals and pilesorting to explore how young South Koreans cognitively organize these elements in relationship to one another. I also used correspondence analysis and cultural consensus analysis to examine what features are largely considered to be *chalsaenggyōtta* (handsome), as well as validity of two hypothesized South Korean models of ideal male bodies: the *kkonminam* (flower boy) and the *chimsūngnam* (beastly guy). Then, in Chapter 9, I used PROFIT analysis to examine whether and how the *kkonminam* and *chimsūngnam* models, as well as a dimension of “attractiveness” (*maeryōkchōkida*), underlie their cognitive organization.

These data show that there is, in fact, an overarching cultural model of male body ideals among young South Koreans. In other words, young South Koreans tend to conceptualize and talk about male body image using the same array of associations between potential features. I focus on three dimensions by which this organization appears to occur.

Further, I demonstrated that individuals’ abilities to approximate these models affect their risk for developing disordered eating. In this chapter, I explicate the major findings of these chapters by contextualizing them within the literature on body image and the structures organizing young South Korean men’s lives.

The first dimension, attractiveness (*maeryŏkchŏkida*), arranges items on a continuum from very unattractive to very attractive. Both the pilesort data and the dimension of attractiveness replicated findings of previous research (Monocello, 2017, 2020; Monocello & Dressler, 2020). The previous study sought to examine similarities and differences in cultural models of male body ideals of young white American and South Korean students living and studying in the Southeastern United States. The data showed that, on the semantic level, white Americans and South Koreans generally agreed about which features were attractive and which were not. However, closer examination of the pilesorts and the residual agreement showed that they were configuring the relationships between features in culturally particular ways. In pilesorts, white Americans configured male bodily features on dimensions of attractiveness, the ability to control their presence, and a model of bodily topography that separates the body into above- and below-the-neck sectors. On the other hand, South Koreans configured male bodily features on dimensions of attractiveness and the extent to which they represented different subtypes of ideal male bodies—namely, the *yŏsŏngsŭroun*<sup>62</sup> (feminine\*) flower boy and the *namjadaun*<sup>63</sup> (masculine\*) beastly guy. Likewise, the residual agreement evidenced a greater appreciation of “feminine” male features—such as thinness and “small muscle”—among South Koreans than among white Americans.

The data from this research replicates those findings among South Koreans living in the Seoul Capital Area. The configuration of the pilesorts remains the same, with clusters referring to “flower boy”/soft masculinity, “beastly guy”/hard masculinity, unattractive features, and a set that did not cluster, consisting of body hair, beards, and tanned skin. This is further evidenced by PROFIT analysis of the dimensions of beastly guy and flower boy running directly through their

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<sup>62</sup> *Yŏsŏngsŭroun* is the noun-modifying form of *yŏsŏngsŭropta* (to be feminine\*)

<sup>63</sup> *Namjadaun* is the noun-modifying form of *namjadapta* (to be masculine)

respective clusters. Moreover, in the residual agreement analysis of the “attractiveness” model answer key, intracultural variation occurs in the emphasis placed on features respectively typical of flower boy and beastly guy presentations; further, in PROFIT analysis, the dimension of attractiveness runs directly in between the flower boy and beastly guy dimensions, demonstrating that the South Korean cultural model of attractiveness in men draws on both strategies of presentation.

In this chapter, I reintegrate these findings into their ethnographic context. I start by situating South Koreans cultural models of male body ideals within the larger cultural context. I then explain the overall relationship between cultural consonance and disordered eating among these South Korean men. With this data, I then draw on a synthetic perspective informed by theories of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) and embodiment (Csordas, 1990) to explain the ways in which the embodiment of Korean male body ideals can be alternatively salutatory or damaging to mental health depending on intersections of sexual orientation and education.

#### Male Body Ideals in South Korea

Height was consistently the most important item to which people referred when talking about a man’s appearance, whether *kkonminam* or *chimsŭngnam* in orientation, with tallness (*k’iga k’ŭda*) being seen as very attractive and shortness (*k’iga chakta*) as very unattractive. In interviews, men said that their parents—particularly their mothers—worried about their height the most as they were growing up. Growing up tall would ensure that their son would be seen as handsome and healthy, and that mothers would not have to defend their son’s height against the oblique ridicule of her peers. Schwekendiek et al. (2013) note that parents invest in human growth hormone and traditional herbal tonics to make this a reality. Some participants also noted

that their mothers would physically stretch them by pulling on their feet in order to stimulate growth.

Mentions of “tall” (*k’iga k’ūda*) were often followed by “at least 180 centimeters” (*180 sench’i isang*). This reference to 180-centimeter height for men derives from a 2009 episode of the program *Minyŏ-ūi Suda* (Eng. *Beauty Chat*, lit. “Beautiful Women’s Chatter”) on the Korean Broadcasting Service (KBS) in which a female university student controversially said “I am 170 centimeters tall, so I want a man who is at least 180 centimeters tall... Height is competitive. I think short men are losers”<sup>64</sup> (Korean Broadcasting Service, 2009). These remarks led to a controversy known as the “Losers’ Revolt” (*rujŏūi nan*), marked by widespread condemnation by Korean netizens, a lawsuit brought by short men seeking damages for mental harm due to derogation, and the eventual dissolution of the program altogether (Hö, 2009). While largely invoked as a joke over a decade later, the concept is still a source of anxiety in a lot of men to whom I spoke, as the average height of Korean men in the age groups I studied is between 174.5 and 175.1 centimeters (KOSIS, 2021b).

Other than tallness, the only other feature common to both the *kkonminam* and *chimsŭngnam* models, according to the correspondence analysis, was thick eyebrows (*nunssŏpi chinhada*). They specified that eyebrows should be like Tchang’gu (짱구), a popular children’s cartoon character with big, thick eyebrows. For men who did not have thick eyebrows, it was considered reasonable to fill them in with an eyebrow pencil. One very upper-class participant talked about how he and his male friends often exchanged makeup advice, particularly regarding eyebrow pencils. Another option is to get *nunssŏpmunsin* (eyebrow tattoos). Although it is legally considered a medical procedure that must be performed by a licensed dermatologist or

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<sup>64</sup> “Nae k’i 170cm-rasŏ 180cm isang-ūi namjarūl wŏnhanda... K’inūn kyŏngjaengnyŏgida. K’i chakūn namjanūn rujŏrago saenggak’anda.” Translation mine.

cosmetic surgeon, a burgeoning underground of non-physician tattoo artists—estimated at 5,000 in 2017, only 10 of whom were physicians performing them legally (Joo, 2020)—offer tattooing services without much government intervention.

Neither the *kkonminam* nor *chimsŭngnam* included features like small eyes, a flat nose, glasses, dressing poorly, having thinning hair, acne, fatness, and the stomach coming out. These features are generally considered to be unattractive, hence their exclusion from either configuration.

The finding that the South Korean cultural model of attractiveness in men draws on both *kkonminam*- and *chimsŭngnam*-related elements of presentation has been suggested in other work as well. This work has typically been situated in what Connell (2005) refers to as the theory of “masculinities.” The theory of masculinities calls attention to the multiple ways in which societies recognize ways of doing-“being a man.” This does not mean that these recognized models of masculinity are all socially accepted. Rather, there are prototypes that are accompanied by a variety of positive and negative connotations, hierarchized, and practiced to varying extent in different social settings. For example, Jung (2011) describes a “versatile” masculinity typically performed on variety shows in the late 2000s by *chimsŭngnam* idols like singer Ok Taecyeon, who juxtapose their muscular embodiment against their performance of *aegyo* (performed cuteness, typically associated with children and young women’s behaviors and also employed by young, *kkonminam* types), cross-dressing, and mimicry of female groups’ songs and dances for comedic effect. Anderson (2014) argues that *chimsŭngnam* masculinity performed in K-Pop hybridizes Korean *kkonminam* aesthetics with Western—particularly, African American—physicality and dance styles in order to counteract narratives of emasculation thrust on Asian men by hegemonic Western discourse on their bodies.

However, Jung's (2011) and Anderson's (2014) work rely heavily on their interpretations of media and the perspectives of international female fans on the performances and performers they describe, interested more in the reasons why K-Pop has so rapidly increased in global popularity than in Korean men's experiences of these body ideals. However, these Western-centric interpretations of Korean masculinities as "hybrid" and "disrupt[ive]" (Anderson, 2014, p. 128) fail to account for the embodied experiences of Korean men more broadly (or, for that matter, Western social/cultural dominants' experience of viewing them. Moreover, non-East Asian-descended members of K-Pop fandoms<sup>65</sup> are hardly considered to be social dominants—or even socially well-adjusted—in the US).<sup>66</sup> For Korean men, stylistic decisions are made within an established and institutionalized framework of acceptable male presentation. The decision to adopt a *kkonminam* aesthetic is not intended to challenge white masculinity in the way that, for example, Western goth culture does. In fact, most Korean men with whom I spoke were surprised to hear that their standard appearance-maintenance practices—like using moisturizer, wearing sunscreen, and caring about their accessories—would call into question their masculinity and sexuality in other cultural settings.

### *Kkonminam*

To Korean men, the extent to which they embody *kkonminam*, *chimsŏngnam*, or some combination of these ideals is not experienced or pursued as a deliberate challenge to Western discourses about Asian men's bodies. Rather, they—and the *kkonminam* more so than the

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<sup>65</sup> a.k.a "Koreaboos"

<sup>66</sup> That is not to say that Asian-North American men have not benefited from the growing popularity of K-Pop, with the rise of acts like BTS disrupting American stereotypes of the unattractiveness and sexual ambiguity of East Asian-descended men (Fung, 2005; Han, 2015). However, a cursory examination of the ways in which younger Asian-American men identify with Asian-descended celebrities suggests that they gravitate more toward images like those of Chinese-Canadian actor Simu Liu, who projects his muscled body as strong-but-happens-to-look-good in ways legible within the dominant US framework of masculinity and men's bodies as instrumental.

*chimsŭngnam*—lie squarely in the realm of the masculinities understood as available for Korean men to embody. Putting effort toward projecting at least some of the features associated with *kkonminam* presentation—particularly the attention to clear skin, neat hair, and being dressed in accordance with current trends—is widely viewed as the bare-minimum requirement for participation in the public sphere, an indication of one’s commitment to self-maintenance practices (*chagi kwalli*). Anything less would be embarrassing to the people with whom one associates, because self-maintenance is as much about getting oneself in order as it is performing one’s commitment to the comfort of others (*sinkyŏngŭl ssŭda*).

Among Koreans, the *kkonminam* model is more widespread as a goal than the *chimsŭngnam* model, as evidenced by the photographs presented in Figure 1 depicting the most referenced “attractive” men by the participants in the freelist exercise. They are all tall, thin, lean men with styled hair, big eyes, “high” noses, light skin, and V-line jaws. Presently, *minam* (lit. “pretty guy”) is a more popular way of describing the look.

Women often prefer the *minam* style, and male protagonists (*namja chuin’gong*)<sup>67</sup> in popular dramas and *manhwa* (comic books) lean “pretty.” Furthermore, billboards featuring products from luxury brands with male celebrity representation depict lithe and soft-featured men, suggesting that cultural refinement and *minam*-style go hand-in-hand. Importantly, Koreans widely recognize celebrities’ images as manufactured, and their appearances as both surgically improved and a product of their access to the products and services that maintain their skin and bodies (Kim, 2014). Outside of the entertainment industry, the kinds of careers that would provide enough of an income to sustain that lifestyle are prototypically only attainable through success in the education system: studying hard enough throughout middle- and high-school to

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<sup>67</sup> A common index of *kkonminam* body ideals used by my respondents during freelists was *namja chuin’gong kat’a* (like a male protagonist/hero).

score highly enough on the *sunǔng* to enroll in a SKY university to graduate into a stable job with high earning potential (Seth, 2002).

My observations and conversations suggested that these ideas are further tied with a notion that attractiveness is correlated with the number of people one is permitted to represent: the more people one represents, the more attractive one is expected to be. This is particularly true in K-Pop and applies to performers of both genders. Since K-Pop idols are seen as representing all of Korea to the rest of the world, anything less than a perfect appearance is often met with significant criticism. This criticism came out particularly of female performers, like the members of Mamamoo, who are thought to be better at singing than for their visuals, and former 2NE1 member CL<sup>68</sup> for refusing to undergo plastic surgery. However, the global popularity of boy band BTS confuses many Koreans for the same reason. For example, Changsup once said, “Their music is kinda weird, and there are much more handsome groups. Like, why are *they* speaking at the UN?” (emphasis original).

For non-entertainers, the role of representative remains relevant as well. For these men, the embodiment of *minam*-related features translates easily and unthreateningly into high-status private and public-sector careers. There are many intersecting reasons for this: for one, more handsome men tend to be thought of as better behaved, due to their perceived accordance with self-maintenance practices, with their looks automatically bringing ease to client meetings or presentations, and therefore as safe for being a representative of a firm, club, or brand. This was evidenced by Hyunwoo’s account of being told that he was “wasting [the value of] his face” (*ōlgulgap mothanda*) when he misbehaved in school and that he was elected to school club

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<sup>68</sup> Men would often semi-joke with me never to tell a Korean woman that she “look[s] like CL.” They said that while women will often say that they think CL is pretty, if you then follow that up with “You look like CL,” they will hit you.

positions and hired to his previous job due less to his (considerable) credentials than his handsomeness, as well as Changsup's being recommended to become a newscaster due to his good-looks and demeanor making him a prime candidate for such a public-facing career. Another reason refers to the association between *kkonminam* aesthetic practices and self-maintenance: approximations of the *kkonminam* model also indicate an eye for detail, a diligent attitude, and an organized and put-together mind. This in mind, cosmetic surgery is therefore widely recognized as a valid method by which a person can try to "get ahead" among an increasingly competitive pool of applicants to a diminishing number of jobs (Holliday & Elfvig-Hwang, 2012). In other words, there is a responsibility not only to maintain one's position within the social order, but also to cultivate oneself in such a way as to be an acceptable representative of its members; to simultaneously be embodied within and also embody individually the Korean body politic.<sup>69</sup>

This connects *kkonminam* aesthetics to the *mun-mu* (literary-martial) hierarchy, which places the scholar over the soldier within the social order and establishes the rejection of the body in favor of enlightenment—practiced by the Confucian scholar-officials of the Chosŏn era—as the pinnacle of masculinity and morality (Jung, 2011; Louie, 2014; Śleziak, 2013). Under this mindset, "martial" men are often admired for their contributions and abilities, but only accomplished scholars are considered fit to lead the country (Louie, 2012). Physical activity and sports were viewed by the *yangban* nobility as the purview of commoners (M. Cho, 2017), and nobility were at one point legally barred from participation in sports (Chang, 2002). Even though the *yangban* were dissolved following the end of the Chosŏn dynasty, and the military dictatorship (1961-1987) attempted to flip this narrative by instating mandatory military service

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<sup>69</sup> This is not unlike what Geertz (1973, p. 114) describes as ritual being both of and for society. Within Confucian cosmologies, the body may in fact be considered a ritual object that works to maintain harmony within the universe.

for all Korean men and through propaganda designed to valorize the physically strong, brash, violent, blue-collar image as the protector of the family and nation (Jung, 2011), the *mun-mu* hierarchy has retained its significance as a goal-schema (D'Andrade, 1992) among Koreans.

With literacy rates nearing 100% and rates of participation in tertiary education at 80% (Arita, 2014), the distinction between the literati and the laborers has collapsed in some ways, although it still exists. However, with more people attending university than not, self-comparisons often occur at the level of the relative prestige of the university attended. Changsup, who grew up with relatively wealthy parents in an area of Seoul known for the competitiveness of the academics described the stereotype of the students at his non-top tier university as being jaded and disappointed in themselves because they scored highly on the *sunŭng* (university entrance exam), but not highly enough to attend a SKY University.

With the number of people pursuing postsecondary education being so high, the result being that the prestige of one's university becomes extremely important to class mobility or reproduction, Korean families pay a premium for their children's pre-university exam training (Park & Abelmann, 2004). In fact, students from wealthy areas of Seoul, particularly the Gangnam region (south of the Han River which bisects Seoul), are ten times as likely to get into Seoul National University than students from any other area of Korea (KEDI, 2001 in Kim & Byun, 2014). In Korea, this largely manifests through "shadow education activities"—those which occur outside the formal school setting (Stevenson & Baker, 1992)—particularly in the form of cram schools (*hagwon*) and private tutoring (Byun, 2014; Kim & Byun, 2014). According to the Korean National Statistical Office, most households making 7,000,000 Korean won (~6,000 USD) per month place their children in multiple forms of shadow education, while fewer than half of households making 1,000,000 Korean won (~800 USD) were able to place

their children in even one (KNOS, 2011 in Byun, 2014). In other words, the education system reproduces social and economic inequalities by providing access to the top universities—as well as their social prestige and alumni networks—available only to those who can pay for the shadow education services necessary to achieve requisite scores on the *sunŭng*. These same people are those with access to the goods and service that make approximating the *kkonminam* aesthetic possible.

The *kkonminam* model does deviate from the overall model of attractiveness in a few notable ways. A prototypical *kkonminam* has brightly dyed hair, like KPop idols, but people tend to be ambivalent on its acceptability in general, and view it as patently unacceptable in serious, corporate settings. He also may not have abs, befitting a more *sŭllim* (slim) style. Finally, the extent to which a *kkonminam* wears makeup may be considered excessive, depending on whether it is more natural and ‘enhancing’ or easily noticeable and potentially ostentatious.

### *Chimsŭngnam*

As opposed to the widely accepted *kkonminam* model, the *chimsŭngnam* model inhabits a more ambivalent space in Korean society. Unlike the thin and pretty *kkonminam*, the *chimsŭngnam* has larger muscles and, according to the cultural model elaborated in Chapter 9, focuses more on instrumental aspects of the body than ornamental ones, like being strong. This marks a departure from media depictions of *chimsŭngnam* K-pop idols, like Ok Taecyeon and other members of the group 2PM, who combine lean (culturally defined as large) muscularity and aggressive habitus with a refined sense for fashion trends and hairstyles (Anderson, 2014; Jung, 2011).

Many men, even those who personally work toward approximating the *kkonminam* model, say that they admire the dedication that *helch’ang* (gym-whore) men put into their bodies.

Yet, they also view the dedication as indicative of misplaced priorities: all the time spent in the gym cultivating muscles could be better spent cultivating the mind, job skills, or professional relationships necessary for career stability and advancement (*sŭp'ek'ŭ* ["specs" or "specifications"]; Cho, 2015). This attitude recalls the neo-Confucian precepts of the Chosŏn-era which established *sŏnbi* masculinity as the hegemonic masculinity of the period, that is, that the height of masculinity involves devoting oneself to philosophy and eschewing the mundane (Jung, 2011; Louie, 2012; Moon, 2002). Bourdieu (1984[1974]) notes that the ways in which men engage in and with sports and physical activity are class-based—in the case of Korea, there were periods historically when men of the upper classes were legally prohibited from participating in sports altogether (Chang, 2002). Therefore, those who exhibit more martial aspects of the *mun-mu* hierarchy (Śleziak, 2013) exist within a subordinated masculinity.

These ideas are reflected in men's ambivalent attitudes toward compulsory military service. Every able-bodied and mentally capable Korean man must serve in the military for 21 months, sometime between the ages of 18 and 35. Military service is a basic expectation of Korean male citizenship, is an important component of job applications, and encapsulates a great deal of sociality post-service (Moon, 2005). Those who pursue tertiary education usually interrupt their studies after the first or second year to serve in the military. There are, of course, exemptions to this rule. In the case of physical or mental illness,<sup>70</sup> an individual may be exempt from service. The other form of exemption is for those men who make considerable contributions to Korea's image abroad through the arts and sports. Winning a gold medal in an international musical competition or the Olympics or World Cup exempts those artists and

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<sup>70</sup> Korean military law regards transgender identity as a mental illness (Na, 2014).

athletes from military service.<sup>71</sup> There are also “alternative military service” options, which involve working for public service entities, security, and police services. Men with certain physical disabilities and students pursuing graduate degrees in STEM, medical, or legal fields at highly ranked universities can also perform an equivalent of their military service through three years of research or service to the government in their field of study. In these alternative military service options, these soldiers still engage in basic training, but the graduate and professional students at elite universities often have higher ranks and usually live away from the military bases. Participants, some of whom were about to start basic training as part of this latter group, spoke of the academic, legal, and medical personnel as being comparatively coddled to the rank-and-file soldiers. They described it as being subjected to discipline and strict schedules, but not drilled as hard, and not given live ammunition with which to train. Two of the academic personnel described it as a three-week, fitness-oriented vacation from the stresses of their research positions.

While military service is an important aspect of Korean manhood, it is also seen as more of a burden than a source of pride. Many of the young men to whom I spoke explained that interrupting their university studies for almost two years caused them to struggle to adjust back to university life, remember their previous studies, and finish their degrees. In fact, several of the male participants were still undergraduates in their late 20s. Those who waited until after graduation, including the lawyers and physicians, faced putting their careers and earning potentials on hiatus for the three-year duration of their service.

In this way, mandatory military service can be described as a rite of passage to Korean manhood, with the military base as “liminal space” (Turner, 1964). Their heads are shaved

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<sup>71</sup> K-Pop is not considered “art” in the same vein as classical music, so despite the global popularity of BTS, the members are expected to serve in the military.

(which most Korean men, who put significant effort into their haircare, describe as humiliating), they are separated from their families and friends, SKY University students are treated the same way that those who never attend university are and they are often traumatized with hazing, bullying, and physical, emotional, and even sexual abuse. It is a period of suspension of the rules of the world outside with which they are familiar, replaced with military rules, regulations, and hierarchies. This military rite of passage becomes a time in which Korean men come to embody the nation as well as kindle their relationship with instrumentality.

The military's focus on the instrumental body also served as a point of contention. Moo-hyun, for example, attributed his active rejection of weightlifting and running post-military specifically to his military service experience, which required him to hike up and down a tall mountain daily while also engaging in physical training. Others, such as Ju-seong and Jin-hee, said that they found their love of physical fitness and bodybuilding through their military service and the mentorship of a *sōnbae* who took them under his wing. Ro-Un, a gay man, reminisced about the body he had as a soldier, and lamented its loss as he re-entered the unstructured world outside the military. As a result of military service, some, like Moo-hyun, despise bodily instrumentality. Ju-seong and Jin-hee embrace it. Many more, like Changsup and Youngwon, come to appreciate instrumentality as mainly appropriate to the liminal space of the military. As a result, many who pursue certain kinds of physical fitness post-military emphasize the ornamental goals of their efforts.

For example, some men who lifted weights without the intention of building large muscles noted concerns—both their own and, particularly, their mothers'—about getting too-large muscles and people thinking that they were bad at studying or a bad employee. They said that, when they were high schoolers, those who were bad at studying tended to spend more time

playing sports, thereby building their muscles instead. Upon seeing groups of male high schoolers playing soccer or basketball in the park, some friends would mutter that these boys would probably never amount to anything, since they were not studying for the *sunŭng*. Others said that it was impossible to have a conversation with muscular men—personal trainers in particular—because all they know is how to exercise.

Moreover, the temporal and dietary requirements of building muscle absorb time that society-at-large prescribes for building specs and inhibit the maintenance of social and professional relationships. “I only eat chicken breast” is invoked like a mantra among men pursuing large, lean musculatures. However, social and professional relationships are often built and maintained commensally, particularly in eating fatty meats like pork belly (*samgyŏpsal*) cooked by a compatriot on a grate or a hot cast iron while drinking large volumes of beer and soju. When done with work colleagues, this is known as *hoesik*. Several people noted specifically that not eating *samgyŏpsal* and drinking beer posed a serious problem in maintaining friendships with men who wanted larger muscles, and men who attempted to balance the demands of the *chimsŭngnam* aesthetic with their responsibilities to attend *hoesik* would be known to starve themselves prior to the dinner in order to balance out their caloric accountancies.

On a more extreme end, some Koreans even view men with large muscles as “scary,” causing them to think that muscular men must be involved in gang activity. At the very least, descriptions of muscular men carried an undertone of violence: one skinny but handsome man<sup>72</sup> noted that he never wore short sleeves in public because he was afraid that his arms would make him a target of violence by large-muscled men jealous of the attention he got from women.

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<sup>72</sup> This observation is based on his own self-assessment and corroborated in his cultural consonance score. He talked about several times throughout his life—in classrooms, church choir, and university club settings—being singled out in group settings as the most handsome man in the group.

Others talked about muscularity as a defensive response to trauma related to physical abuse<sup>73</sup> or bullying. Men recalled that victims of bullying in elementary, middle, and high school were predominantly weak-looking boys, which would be made obvious by their arms and overall frames.

As a result, men who continue to develop large muscles post-military service are often viewed as low-class and unable or unwilling to engage in the practices designated as appropriate for being a proper Korean man (i.e., a noble scholar). Large muscles index poor studying habits, misplaced priorities, and a degree of “brokenness” due to traumatic experiences. They are often associated with oversexualization (*yahada*), due to personal trainers’ gym advertisements featuring them scantily clad and suggestively posed and are considered to be *yōjaga manūn paramdung-i* (playboys with a lot of women).

The *chimsūngnam* model also included several features that were considered unattractive. The ambivalent meaning of big muscles has already been described above. Tanned skin is probably the most acceptable of these in the case of the *chimsūngnam*, versus a standard manual laborer, because the tanning is not generally pursued for the purpose of having a dark-skinned look and does not result from working outside. Rather, these men tan in order to deepen the contrasts between the light and shadow that make muscle definition and striations more prominent. Korean YouTubers who publish series about their journeys to a *padi p’ūrop’ail* (body profile) photoshoot sometimes include a few trips to the tanning salon, with desired results being hardly noticeable. The other two features associated with the *chimsūngnam* were having a beard and body hair. The word for body hair is the same as for fur (*t’ōl*). Therefore, these “hairy”

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<sup>73</sup> A few men talked about experiencing physical abuse by their fathers when they were younger, around the same time that the IMF crisis threw the Korean workforce into turmoil at every level.

features were both more literal interpretations of the “beastly guy” moniker, opposed to the civilized and refined flower boy aesthetic.

### *Helch’ang*

Analysis of trends in search terms through Google and Naver (the most popular search engine in Korea) shows that the concept of *helch’ang* began to emerge in late 2018-early 2019. Some men and women noted that an emerging term *helch’ang* (gym-whore), derived from *helsŭjang* (gym) and *ch’angnom* (manwhore), better describes the ways in which some of the more muscular men increasingly try to combine elements of *kkonminam* aesthetic practices—like skincare, hairstyling, and use of cosmetics—with bulky muscularity. This phenomenon also appeared to bear out in the data, in which cultural consonance in the *kkonminam* model and cultural consonance in the *chimsŭngnam* model were correlated at  $R = 0.55$ , despite sharing few items (i.e., tallness). It appears that the respondents who scored highly in cultural consonance with the *chimsŭngnam* model also tended to score highly in cultural consonance with the *kkonminam* model.

According to many of my interlocutors, participating in both kinds of aesthetic practices simultaneously was not feasible for most men. Rather, it is mainly attainable solely by men in service careers that require physical strength—like personal trainers, physical therapists, and fitness models—allowing them frequent access to gym facilities in professional settings. At the gym of which I was a member pre-COVID pandemic, all the male trainers engaged in beauty practices to a varying extent, from making sure that their hair was neat and styled and their athleticwear represented appropriate brands to one who would meticulously fix his makeup in the locker rooms between training appointments.

Korean fitness models on Instagram regularly post clips from their photoshoots and travels, presenting themselves wearing luxury brands, using expensive skincare and makeup products, and vacationing in expensive hotels at beautiful locations. Through their online presentation, they disrupt narratives of large-muscled men being relegated to low-status, low-income jobs and suggest that a lifestyle of luxury can also be achieved through bodybuilding.

Bodybuilding is uniquely situated to disrupt Korean masculinities in that it is globally legible as a prototypically (Western) masculine practice yet also extremely localized in the ways in which it is interpreted. For example, bodybuilders in the Western world also practice bodybuilding as a largely ornamental effort, but acknowledge that much of the prestige they garner from their practice draws on popular notions of health, fitness, and the instrumental value of strength in men (Monaghan, 2014), even when bodybuilders may not be particularly healthy or physically fit on an instrumental level compared to more traditional athletes. In the case of *helch'ang*, there appears to be little illusion of instrumentality in their presentation whatsoever. I never heard men at the gym talking about how much they lift, and one self-identified *hellini* (*helsŭjjang* + *orini* [child], an aspirant *helch'ang* who has yet to put on the muscle or developed the habits to be a *helch'ang*) was visibly confused when I asked him how much weight he lifted, despite hiring multiple personal trainers to teach him how to exercise. The one conversation I did have about how much weight I lifted with Changsup involved him trying to figure out how to change up his workouts from a low-weight-high-rep routine to a medium-weight-medium-rep routine, since he was dissatisfied with the results he was currently getting but was afraid of getting too muscular. Bodybuilders' Instagram posts might show them in the process of exercising, but the emphasis would be on their form and appearance, rather than on the amount of weight or number of repetitions.

The de-emphasis of the instrumental strength component of bodybuilding among Koreans makes muscle legible and acceptable to Korean audiences, who view ornamental masculinities as aspirational and instrumental masculinities as low-status. Moreover, their commitment to *kkonminam*-oriented beauty practices resists narratives of a lack of refinement and a disregard for social norms. Future research should consider the emergent and changing pragmatics of muscle in South Korea, exploring the ways in which muscle communicates values and mindsets in varied communities (e.g., global, general Korean, generational, university, gym, etc.).

#### Cultural Consonance, Symbolic Body Capital, Intersectionality, and Disordered Eating

Multivariate analysis indicates how a three-way interaction of cultural consonance in models of the ideal male body, sexual orientation, and university prestige leads to different outcomes in terms of disordered eating at each of these intersections. However, as McClure (2020) argues, the process of getting from the inputs of these intersections to health and behavioral outputs is treated as a “black box” often left unexamined. She notes that “[c]onsignment of disparities’ embodiment to well-worn risk assessments linking race and health conflates the categorization of health-status differences by race with the mechanisms that produce those differences” (McClure, 2020, p. 6). In other words, identified risk factors/intersections may frame the analysis, but do not themselves constitute the answer. She posits that synthesizing intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) and embodiment theories (Csordas, 1990, 1993) orients body image research to the processes by which outcomes of interest manifest.

McClure (2017) extends intersectionality theory to body image research, demonstrating that young African American women as cultural nondominants are not monolithic in the ways in which fatness comes to (or not) bear on their self-worth, but rather vary at intersections of race

and class to experience their bodies in unique ways. Likewise, in my results multivariate analysis also showed that cultural consonance affects men differently at varied intersections of sexual orientation and university prestige, as accounted for in the three-way interaction effect found in each of the cultural models. Following McClure (2017), the following sections examine Korean men's body image at intersections of sexual orientation and university prestige.

In the previous section, I described some of the major models of the male body as communicated by young South Koreans. However, understanding the content of these models of desirable male bodies necessitates investigation of how these models come to be enacted in men's own bodies, and the effects of that enaction on mental health. This section focuses on body dissatisfaction as measured by the Male Body Attitudes Scale (Tylka et al., 2005) and disordered eating as measured by the Eating Attitudes Test (Garner et al., 1982; Rhee et al., 1998) as measures of mental health as they interact with the cultural domain of body ideals.

Results from this research indicate that, overall, increased cultural consonance with cultural models of ideal male bodies is related to increased disordered eating among South Korean men. Cultural consonance refers to the extent to which individuals, in their beliefs and behaviors, are able to approximate in their own lives the cultural models of the communities they inhabit. In other words, the more a man embodied the features of the cultural model of the ideal male body, the greater the degree of eating pathology he tended to exhibit. This remained true for the overall model of desirability, as well as the *kkonminam* and *chimsŭngnam* models elaborated below. Moreover, these effects remained independent of MBAS scores: there was no relationship between cultural consonance and dissatisfaction in this sample. Rather, the multivariate analysis demonstrated that cultural consonance explained variation in disordered eating independent from and in addition to the MBAS's measure of body dissatisfaction.

Here, cultural consonance with male body ideals can be viewed as a measure of symbolic body capital (Anderson-Fye & Brewis, 2017). Symbolic body capital refers to “the meanings and norms of the body as a potential tool for upward mobility or socioeconomic advantage” (Brewis, 2017, p. 6). In other words, symbolic body capital conceptualizes the ways in which people leverage their bodies (capital) within cultural systems and their constituents (the market) toward furthering their status (Lester & Anderson-Fye, 2017). Cultural consonance with male body ideals, as a measure of how a man’s own body (capital) compares to the cultural model of male body image endorsed in South Korea (market), operationalizes symbolic body capital as a tool for understanding the situational and intersectional (McClure, 2017) exchanges men make among their body, educational, and sexual capitals.

In South Korea, gay and bisexual men are stigmatized, social nondominants who hide their identities and interact with one another largely outside of the public eye. Moreover, bi-/homosexuality is considered to be a risk factor for eating disorders in men, although they occur in men of all sexual orientations (Blashill, 2010). University attendance, as a proxy for upward mobility, has also been identified as a risk factor for body image-related concerns and mental illnesses (Anderson-Fye et al., 2017; Katzman et al., 2004). Because approximately 70% of South Koreans aged 25-34 have completed some tertiary education (OECD, 2020), and because of discrepancies in the ways in which graduates of SKY and non-SKY universities are regarded in South Korea, I instead examined the prestige of the university attended as a risk factor and proxy for social class.

Results indicate that heterosexual men from low-prestige universities experienced the strongest increase in disordered eating along with increased cultural consonance. Straight and gay/bisexual men from high-prestige universities experienced about equal increases in disordered

eating based on their cultural consonance. On the other hand, gay and bisexual men from low-tier universities experienced *decreased* disordered eating with increasing cultural consonance on the overall desirability and *kkonminam* models, and a negligible decrease in disordered eating on the *chimsŭngnam* model.

Typically, higher cultural consonance results in reduced physical and mental illness, a finding replicated across multiple cultural backgrounds, geographical locations, historical power relations, and illness experiences (e.g., Andrews, 2019; Copeland, 2018; Dengah, 2014; Dressler, 1996, 2012, 2018; Dressler et al., 2008; Gravlee et al., 2005; Reyes-Garcia et al., 2010). Combining perspectives from intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; McClure, 2020), embodiment (Csordas, 1990; Leder, 1990), symbolic body capital (Anderson-Fye & Brewis, 2017), and cultural kindling (Cassaniti & Luhrmann, 2014; Luhrmann et al., 2015), the following pages examine the specific factors that affect each group's change in vulnerability to disordered eating over increased cultural consonance (summarized in Table 28).

#### Heterosexual Men from High-Prestige Universities

Heterosexual men from high-prestige universities are advantaged in both the romantic marketplace and in available career opportunities post-graduation compared to graduates of lower-prestige universities. In fact, a few of my participants at high-prestige universities receive phone calls and emails about joining the rolls of high-tier matchmaking services for people with similar *hakbŏl* (academic clique). These are people on his social level who share ties to the particular university—or universities with similar levels of prestige—which he attends or from which he graduated. In terms of the romantic marketplace, a man's pool of potential romantic partners is felt to be circumscribed by his *hakbŏl*. An important aspect of being a man in Korea involves having children—especially sons—in order to carry on the family line. Marrying well—

ensuring solid genetic foundation,<sup>74</sup> the future wife’s ability to successfully rear the children and take care of the household, and therefore maintaining or increasing class status—is integral to this aspect of life goals. Having an impressive *hakyŏn* is an indispensable aspect of one’s romantic and occupational capital.

Table 28. Intersectional Engagements of Men's Body Image and Culture

	<u>High-Tier University</u>	<u>Low-Tier University</u>
<u>Heterosexual</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• University affiliation (<i>hakbŏl</i>) grants access to powerful career networks</li> <li>• High-tier university graduates have considerable social, cultural, and economic capital</li> <li>• Appearance contributes to status <i>maintenance</i></li> <li>• Romantic marketplace prioritizes status</li> <li>• High cultural, social, and economic capital</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Appearance is part of one’s resume</li> <li>• Job market is extremely competitive</li> <li>• Stable, well-paying jobs favor high-tier university graduates</li> <li>• Appearance contributes to status <i>mobility</i></li> <li>• Romantic marketplace values appearance</li> <li>• Low-moderate cultural capital, Moderate social and economic capital</li> </ul>
<u>Gay/Bisexual</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• University affiliation grants access to powerful career networks, but “outing” can compromise them</li> <li>• Appearance contributes to status <i>maintenance</i> and romantic partnerships</li> <li>• Romantic marketplace can prioritize status or appearance, depending on partners one pursues</li> <li>• High cultural and economic capital, moderate social capital</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Appearance is important to establishing any connections (<i>chŏng</i>), but <i>especially</i> romantic ones</li> <li>• Homophobia challenges family, friend, and professional relationships</li> <li>• No professional advantages for university affiliation</li> <li>• Unable to fulfill filial piety/chrononormative expectations</li> <li>• Low-moderate cultural and economic capital, precarious social capital</li> </ul>

As such, high-tier universities tend to be a site of class reproduction for members of the upper echelons of Korean society, with most of their students drawing from the richest areas of the Kangnam district, with parents who are physicians, lawyers, professors, and successful business executives. Why, then, does their risk for eating disorders also rise with increased cultural consonance in the models of the ideal male body?

<sup>74</sup> Grinker and Cho (2013) describe that discourses connecting autism and genetics in South Korea lead to stigmas against families with autistic members making it difficult for the autistic person’s siblings and cousins to marry for fear of faulty genes in the family line. As a result, parents tend to hide their autistic children, or refuse diagnoses of autism in favor of discredited “refrigerator mother” narratives, finding social condemnation of the mother’s behavior more tolerable than the indictment of an entire branch of the family.

A friend once shared a comic strip with me in which two *Kangnam ōnni*—a slang term that refers to the women in the plastic surgery capital of Korea, the Kangnam district, who all have the same surgically altered face—make fun of a short, fat, bespectacled and unfashionably dressed man with a typical, low-effort *taendi*-style haircut as he walked past them in a parking lot. They do not make fun of him to his face, but his apparent irritation suggests that their conversation is audible and pointed enough to be clearly about him. In the final frame, the man opens the door to an expensive car and gets into the driver’s seat. The women are then shown to be immediately attracted to him. While the intended moral of the comic combines a “don’t judge a book by its cover” message with an antifeminist/incel *kkotbaem* (lit. “flower snake”, gold-digger) narrative through its characters, it also points out a more subtle understanding that men’s appearance is constantly under public scrutiny, and a failure to conform to models of the ideal male body invites public ridicule regardless of one’s socioeconomic status.

In other words, while *hakyōn* (and the social and economic status it [re]produces) provides an advantage in the job and romantic marketplaces, it does not inoculate men to the pressures of living in a system that continuously demands adherence to such cultural models. Having a degree from Seoul National University does not permit one to be a slob; if anything, it raises expectations for the kind of lifestyle one can afford to project. While the cosmetics, fashions, procedures, and services that make approximating the model possible are easier for them to access, they are still subject to the model. Their ease of access merely reduces the anxieties of acquiring the means to approximate the model, which may account for the smaller increase in their disordered eating as compared to heterosexual men from low-prestige universities.

## Heterosexual Men from Low-Prestige Universities

Heterosexual men from low-prestige universities make up the largest percentage of the sample of young men in this study, as well as in South Korea more broadly. This makes sense because most people are heterosexual, and a university's prestige is drawn in part from its exclusivity. In other words, this intersection of experience is probably what is recognizable to the vast majority of young Korean men.

As has been previously noted, the lens of lookism (Lee, 2016; Monocello, 2020) shows that Koreans are widely aware that one's looks are often part of one's job application, particularly in the service industry or when one's position requires taking on roles representing a firm to others. Lacking the privileges afforded to graduates of high-prestige universities in terms of hiring decisions, these men internalize appearance-maintenance attitudes and employ such techniques to increase the viability of their applications compared to other men in similar circumstances. Thus, cosmetic surgery is viewed less as a result of pathology or dishonesty and more as a strategy to increase one's competitiveness on the job hunt (Holliday & Elfving-Hwang, 2012; Lee, 2016), and thus one's earning power.

Since the 2000s, the job market has only increased in competitiveness, with higher numbers of men and women pursuing tertiary education and graduating into an economy with fewer jobs. On top of that, highly educated women are increasingly opting to remain in the workforce following marriage, reversing historical trends in which they would resign in order to raise their children. Due to their mandatory military service, men enter the workforce at a minimum of two years behind their women colleagues (supposing that they do not struggle upon their abrupt reintegration into university life following their service) and are no longer legally awarded extra "points" on their applications for their veteran status. As a result, many of my

participants reported significant anxieties about their ability to compete in the job market, disadvantaged by far less work experience than women of the same age, potentially accounting for their higher investment in their appearance.

Attractive men—who, in Korea, approximate cultural models of the ideal male body constructed for women’s consumption (Maliangkay, 2013)—tend to be more successful in the romantic marketplace as well. Women tend to be more interested in the *kkonminam* types, since they are viewed as more considerate and as sharing common interests in fashion and beauty with a potential girlfriend. The ways in which they care for their bodies as seen to translate into the diligence and organization with which they approach their studies and their careers.

As a result, a man’s appearance takes on increased importance in the pursuit of other kinds of social, economic, and romantic capital. At the same time, men in this group tend to be more flexible in terms of the body ideals they can pursue. For instance, the body ideals associated with the *chimsŭngnam* are most associated with men in this group, although *kkonminam* are also present here as well. Considering the *mun-mu* mentality, it is likely that a more granular investigation of non-SKY university prestige and major field of study would reveal a continuum of *kkonminam-chimsŭngnam* predilections in relation to the extent to which the participant’s academic trajectory is expected to result in a more white-collar, blue-collar, or service-oriented occupation. For example, those men on a more business-, academic-, or service-oriented trajectory may opt for a more *kkonminam*-style appearance, while men going into tertiary-educated fields requiring physical engagement, such as physical therapy or personal training, may tend toward *chimsŭngnam*-style bodies.

Heterosexual men from low-tier universities face dual pressures from the career and romantic marketplaces, which can exacerbate focus on the appearance, objectification of the

body, and the risk of developing an eating disorder. Cultural consonance and disordered eating then become mutually reinforcing. Disordered eating leads to an increased ability to approximate body ideals, leading to increased social acceptance and a need to maintain the body using practices shown to work toward that end.

### Homosexual/Bisexual Men from High-Prestige Universities

While heterosexual men from high-tier universities benefit from the romantic marketplace provided through their prestigious *hakyōn*, homosexual men and the bisexual men interested in men have a more complicated relationship with it. Homosexuality remains heavily stigmatized throughout Korea, and most men are secretive about it (J. S. P. Cho, 2009; Cho, 2020a). Relationships may be pursued through the use of apps, like Tinder, Grindr, or Jack'd, but homosexual men—and especially men at top-tier universities—often do not disclose the university they attend. This can be for privacy purposes: words, and rumors, spread fast, and being “outed” can hurt oneself as well as one’s family and friends. For men at these high-prestige institutions, many intend to enter high-status careers, and they say that they fear if they are “outed” as gay that no one will want to work with them. Moreover, the considerably more homophobic older men who make hiring decisions would be reticent to hire them.

While there are some gay men from high-prestige institutions who limit their sights to other men of their rarefied status, the secrecy in which they live often limits their ability to meet one another to blind dates set up by trusted mutual friends. Seok-jin, a gay man at a SKY university, broke up completely with his on-again-off-again boyfriend—who was a student at SNU, as well as emotionally abusive and frequently cheated on him—during the research. After the final breakup, he said that he tolerated his ex’s behavior and kept going back because he was enamored of the aesthetic of having a boyfriend from SNU.

For those who cast a wider net, other gay men are largely uninterested in a potential partner's *hakyōn* compared to their appearance. In a conversation about my research with Jong-in, a gay man who had two degrees from SNU, I asked whether he felt that other gay men were interested in him because of his success at fulfilling such a highly regarded role in Korean society. He responded, "Nah, I'm not successful, just a nerd cunt... No gay man has *ever* been impressed by my degrees" (emphasis original). After Seok-jin's story, I was surprised to hear that Jong-in felt his *hakyōn* meant nothing to potential partners. However, another participant suggested that SNU students' and graduates' intelligence could even be too intimidating to gay men outside of the SKY bubble. Seok-jin's and Jong-in's different perspectives suggest that the kind of partners these men pursue affects the extent to which their *hakyōn* influences their romantic options, and the ways in which they experience their bodies in relationship to the expectations of their respective pools of potential partners. Much like the heterosexual men from low-prestige universities may invest differently in their bodies depending on the types of careers their academic trajectory will let them pursue, homosexual men from high-prestige universities may invest in their bodies (mostly in relation to *kkonminam* models) to different extents based on the pools from which they seek to draw romantic partners.

#### Homosexual/Bisexual Men from Low-Prestige Universities

Gay men from low-prestige universities lack the career privileges afforded by a high-prestige university education and exist within a larger cultural system that derides their existence. While men at low-prestige universities should not be regarded as unemployable, the job market's increasing competitiveness is undeniably a source of considerable anxiety for them. For example, one gay man, a graphic designer, freelanced for years and worked part-time at a convenience store to make up the difference in his living expenses, until he landed a salaried position at a

successful firm. He sometimes joked that, now that he had a full-time job, he could not use lack of money as an excuse not to have a girlfriend. Another gay man, an office employee, lamented that in order to stop his coworkers from trying to set him up with women, he had to cultivate an image of being uninterested in relationships as he focused on his career; at the same time, he felt forced to attend impromptu *hoesik* and sometimes cancel planned dates with men in order to maintain the credibility of his excuse for denying offers to be set up.

For gay men, as with their high-tier university counterparts, they are unable to both live comfortably as themselves and fulfill their role in reproducing the family line. Cho (2009) describes another strategy by which LGBT+ Koreans attempt to fulfill expectations of filial piety: *kyeyak kyölhon* (contract marriages) in which a gay man and a lesbian woman marry, and sometimes even have children in order to fulfill their duties to their parents to have children (although they usually feign infertility instead) and the expectations from their bosses that they marry in order to be promoted.

An important difference between low-prestige university-attending gay and straight men's attitudes toward body ideals should be noted. As has been argued elsewhere, fat stigma—in Goffman's (1963) sense of stigma as deriving a "spoiled identity," of being bad and abjectable from society—is not widely present among Koreans. Rather, fat is seen as a detriment to one's appearance that can be mitigated through effort in other areas of self-presentation. Under "lookism" more generally, attractive people are treated better than average, but less attractive people are not necessarily treated without dignity in ways one would expect under conditions of stigma (Monocello, 2020). Heterosexual men tend to exist within this framework in South Korea.

The same cannot necessarily be said for homosexual men and bisexual men who pursue men. When dating and searching for hookups, these men tended to use internet café sites for

gay/bisexual men or apps like Tinder, Grindr, and Jack'd, like Jong-in. There are also clusters of gay bars in Chongno and the It'aewon street known as "Homo Hill." They did not mention being set up by friends to whom they were "out" as an option, although it probably happens sometimes. These apps in particular rely on visual cues, and people are given attention or ignored based on profile photographs—often, topless torsos with their faces cropped or blurred out—or those sent within messages for those attempting to remain more anonymous. (Except for the *chimsŭngnam* and *helch'ang* types, most heterosexual men do not present themselves online in this way, nor do they feel particularly pressured to do so). Thin or lean men, as well as those with "large muscle" body types tend to garner the most attention, depending on the *isanghyŏng* (ideal type) of the men looking at the profile pictures. Fatter men have a much more difficult time on these apps, often being outright rejected, blocked, and ignored.

While a lot of focus is placed on the body in terms of initiating contact through these apps, the concept of *momwanŏl* ("the body's completion is the face") maintains the connection. The next step in these interactions often involves sharing pictures of the face. If not deemed attractive enough, one may be immediately blocked or ignored. However, if there is a mutual decision to meet, there is always the potential that the other person may arrive, see you, turn around, and leave, as one man said has happened to most of the gay men he knows, including himself. Or, like Hyunjoon, they might date, have sex, and then get blocked unceremoniously, leaving him to ruminate on what went wrong (and conclude that it was due to his body).

As a result, for homosexual and bisexual men from lower-prestige universities the body takes on the responsibility of the major avenue of social integration. Without the buffer of university prestige and with the virtual requirement of lean and small-muscled torsos to achieve social success within the gay community, cultivating the body takes on increased importance in

finding jobs and, especially, partners. Under these conditions, in which men rely on their symbolic body capital to engage with their authentic gay selves, cultural consonance with body ideals becomes the avenue by which gay and bisexual Korean men from low-prestige universities establish and maintain their connections with others, relieving the anxieties that invite disordered eating.

### Symbolic Body Capital

These four intersections illustrate the varied and situational ways in which young Korean men's body capital comes to bear on their mental health, particularly in relation to disordered eating. For heterosexual men, symbolic body capital is exchanged on the labor marketplace as a means of access to higher-status employment and the sexual marketplace as a means of access to girlfriends, spouses, and fulfilling their filial duties to procreate, creating an environment under which men engage disordered eating behaviors to maintain their economic advantages and social ties. Anne Becker writes of a similar situation in Fiji, in which young women use traditional purgatives to simultaneously eat a lot, in line with traditional Fijian sociality, while maintaining slimmer, cosmopolitan figures that retain their access to economic capital (Becker, 2017).

For men educated at high-tier institutions, their *hakkböl* assists in this regard by lowering the barrier to gainful employment and circumscribing their access to partners who may be less interested in more granular assessments of a man's appearance than of his pedigree and access to generational wealth. While engaging in appearance maintenance behaviors is still necessary, both for the projection of social status and for indicating respect for one's social ties, *hakkböl* can be exchanged in place of body capital in the occupational and sexual marketplaces, for both heterosexual and bi-/homosexual men. If *hakkböl*, the social capital conferred in South Korea by education at a high-prestige university, is viewed as a proxy of cultural consonance in life goals,

Dressler et al.'s (2012) finding of an association between higher cultural consonance in lifestyle and lower waist circumference in Brazilian men serves as an instructive parallel. It may be that a typical person with a high-prestige *hakkböl* has access to the products, services, occupations, and lifestyles that reduce stresses related to appearance maintenance, and thus somewhat mitigate otherwise increased levels of disordered eating.

How do bi-/homosexual men without the protection of a high-prestige *hakkböl* find themselves protected against disordered eating with higher cultural consonance/investment in body capital unlike men at the other three intersections? I suggest that, in lacking the educational capital of their high-prestige *hakkböl* counterparts, and in understanding their identity as stigmatized, investing in their symbolic body capital creates opportunities for the development of social capital they would otherwise lack. Gay/bisexual men with low cultural consonance in body ideals have more difficulty in establishing social ties that validate—or, at least, are not compromised by—their identity, creating stress that manifests as disordered eating.

#### Cultural Consonance, Intersectionality, and Embodiment

This analysis suggests that Korean men's engagement with their cultural models of body ideals shows that the pursuit of cultural consonance with body ideals has at least as much to do with individual body satisfaction as it does with one's relationship to cultural norms surrounding it, and the framework of symbolic body capital overall provides a useful conceptual guide for understanding how young Korean men's concordance with body ideals relates to their vulnerability to disordered eating. However, its ability to describe the experience of the young bi- and homosexual men who do not have the high-prestige *hakyön* is less satisfying. What is needed, then, is an explicit engagement with the cultural—particularly the ways in which men

come to embody culture—so that the particularities of these relationships can be better understood.

Young Korean men’s embodiment of male body ideals reflects Tu’s (1992) argument that Confucian philosophy presupposes the embodiment of the universe—the notion that harmony and discord in the cosmos, Heaven, nature, society, and the individual body-self are intimately bound up and inextricable from one another. This is not dissimilar from a biocultural approach to the body, which recognizes that the body and the social, cultural, and physical world are continually feeding into one another. The concept of cultural consonance (Dressler, 2007, 2018), in particular, demonstrates that the constructed cultural models, shared and distributed among a given group of people, through which one engages the world also construct the physiological responses one has to the inputs of the universe. The ways in which a set of cultural models is organized can be described by the theory of connectionism, that is, that cultural models reflect the neural connections occurring within the brain itself. Cassinini and Luhrmann’s (2014; 2015) concept of “cultural kindling” can be said to suggest that these connections develop in culturally and individually varied ways due to the formal and informal, embodied modes of learning humans experience by virtue of living among others.

The concept of “unembodiment” (Laing, 1990; McClure, 2020) becomes instructive here as a useful tool for understanding relationships between cultural consonance and disordered eating at intersections of sexual orientation and educational prestige. Unembodiment refers to the discontinuity between the body and the self, the condition of the self viewing the body as an object rather than inextricably bound in each other’s existence. This is opposed to the more typical conditions of embodiment, under which the body and self are viewed as continuous, the body being the seat of experience. However, under conditions of unembodiment, the body

becomes an object of the self, rather than part of it. The self observes the body in the world but does not participate in it.

McClure (2020) extended the concept of unembodiment to explore, from an intersectional lens, how “multiple material otherness” increases African American girls’ propensity for discontinuity between their bodies and their selves, as well as discontinuities between their own self-perceptions and others’ views of them. Particularly, McClure examined how intersections of gender expression, class, and body size as racialized African American females led to unembodiment between the individual body-self and what Mary Douglas (1966) and Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987) called the “social body” that is, the shared meanings of bodies. Specifically, McClure was concerned with the disruptions between individuals’ understandings of the meanings of their bodies and the meanings others ascribed to their bodies.

Uses of the words *ōlgulgap* and *momgap* draw attention a particularly Korean instantiation of the form of unembodiment McClure describes. *Gap* (갭) means “price” or “value,” while *ōlgul* means “face” and *mom* means “body” – literally, “the value of the face/body.” When Hyunwoo was told that he was “wasting his face” (*ōlgulgap mothanda*), the teacher was saying that he was too handsome to be acting in that way, that he was not living up to his looks in his behaviors. In other words, his teacher pointed out a discontinuity between his body and his behavior in an attempt to encourage their reintegration. Conversely, Changsup noted that, due to the concordance between his general good looks and well-behaved demeanor, adults pressured him to study performance and journalism so that he could be a news anchor. Such a position could only be taken by a well-behaved, handsome person (*ōlgulgap handa*) whom the community could trust to truthfully report the news.

Moreover, young South Korean men's experiences call attention to another form of unembodiment: the discontinuity between the individual body-self and the body politic (see: Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987). This understanding is based on an expansion of the idea of the body politic to encompass not just government bodies and their enforcements on the governed, but also the ways in which power is decentralizedly exerted in microinteractions throughout daily life (Butler, 1997), especially in the contexts of the norm circles (Elder-Vass, 2010) in which cultural knowledge is continuously re-co-constructed (de Munck & Bennardo, 2019). Moreover, an embodiment perspective reminds us that, ultimately, embodied people intersubjectively and intercorporeally promulgate these power structures. To be embodied in the body politic—to be a subject of the body politic—is to be part of those who enact its precepts.

The Korean concept of *chǒng* (情) has instructive overlaps with this idea. *Chǒng* can be roughly translated as “attachment,” “rapport,” or “affection,” and can be directed toward people and objects (Lee, 2018). This is aligned with the “embodiment of the universe” recognized by Tu (1992), which means a continuity between oneself and the people and environments with whom one interacts. For example, the laid-off factory workers interviewed by Kwon (2015) described their relationship with the factory—the building, the machines, the repetitive movements—as *chǒng*. It is even possible to have *chǒng* with someone one hates (*miunjǒng* – “hate-rapport”), a deep, mutual understanding formed over multiple arguments or conflicts.

Koreans consciously and highly value being embodied in and embodying the community. As a result, Korean men often talked about not wanting to “draw attention” (*chumokpatta*) whether for good or bad reasons, among their peers, and this discourse extended to their bodies. They often spoke about this in relation to “caring about others” (*shin'gyǒng ssūda*). They felt a dual pressure to present themselves well enough so as not to embarrass their associates with an

unkempt appearance (related to self-maintenance or *chagi kwalli*), but not so well that their friends would be embarrassed by an apparent attempt to show them up or risk the body-politic unembodiment of being conceived of as gay for caring too much about the appearance.

Sometimes, however, standing out was unavoidable. Hyunwoo spoke of a relevant experience in this regard. In his school, female students would post lists of the most handsome boys in their class next to the chalkboard, and the male students would do the same for the prettiest girls. One time, Hyunwoo was on the list, and felt so proud that he bragged about it. Soon, his friends stopped talking to him, and when the subsequent list was posted, he was no longer included: the social sanctioning of his behavior by the body politic of his classmates taught him the importance of not “drawing attention.” Having learned from this experience, as an adult when he is singled out from any group in which he is a member as the most handsome, he demurs so as not to appear haughty and avoiding excision—unembodiment—from others (even if he privately agreed with the assessment). In another example, a married Korean woman once told me that she bought her husband nice and fashionable clothes which he never wore. When, frustrated, she asked why he never wore the nice clothes he said, “I’m an engineer. If I wore nice clothes what would my coworkers think of me?” It appears that Koreans conceive of “drawing attention” as a form of “dys-appearance” within the body politic. Calling attention to oneself, or not managing attention from others, disrupts social harmony and exposes one to social sanction and potential removal from the body politic, a severing of the *chǒng*—an unembodiment—between one and one’s community. Therefore, more handsome men feel a particular responsibility to manage others’ perceptions about them, and that stress may exacerbate their disordered eating; lower, or more average, culturally consonant men bear those embodied responsibilities far less.

On the other hand, bi- and homosexual men start from a position of precarious *chǒng*, feeling that they must choose between being true to themselves—embodying the body-self—and remaining embodied in the body politic. This must be understood within Neo-Confucianism which, while not institutionally enforced in Korean society *per se*, is structurally embedded in their day-to-day lives. Foundational to Neo-Confucianism is a focus on social harmony achieved through a deference to hierarchies and attention to interpersonal relationalities. Related are the concepts of filial piety (*hyo*) and ancestor worship (*chosang sungbae*)—rituals (*chesa*) through which filial descendants care for their ancestors.

For homosexual Korean men, filial piety can underlie much of their anxiety. For one, even if a homosexual man accepts his sexual orientation as valid, he recognizes that society more broadly does not, and as such he does not want to subject his parents to the ridicule and social censure they would experience were he to be “out.” Because there is no anti-homosexual legislation (outside of military law) in South Korea (Na, 2014; Seo, 2001), and gay men do not fear physical violence as a result of their homosexuality (Bong, 2008), the consequences of being “out” manifest on a social level.

Another reason pertains to reproduction. Having children is not only a way to realize filiality; it is also understood as a full male citizen-subject’s duty to the nation (Na, 2014). This attitude is outlined in an interview with a young K-Pop idol about rumors that he was gay. In his response, he neither confirms nor denies his sexuality, but he says that the rumors are hurtful

because he is the only son in his generation and is expected to carry on his bloodline.<sup>75 76</sup> Some gay men in my research voiced a lack of concern with responsibilities to procreate; however, all but one of these men had brothers who could bear that responsibility themselves.

John Song Pae Cho documents some methods by which gay Korean men have attempted to negotiate the contradictions between sexual orientation and larger social expectations to be filial and get married and procreate. Some men never “come out” and marry and procreate with heterosexual women while having sex and relationships with men in secret, also known as “weekend gays.” Others engage in *kyeyak kyŏlhon* (contract marriages), in which a gay man and a lesbian agree to take on the legal, social, and financial status as husband and wife, with the expectation that they are free to live out their homosexual relationships. Many of these contract marriages involve an agreement that one of them would claim infertility to explain the lack of children (J. S. P. Cho, 2009). Others remain single and attempt to compensate for their perceived lack of filiality by buying their parents homes or supporting their siblings’ business ventures (J. S. P. Cho, 2017).

Some Korean gay men who have “come out” to male friends indicate that these friends, some of whom they have known since childhood, immediately cut ties with them (Kwon, 2021). If these men are *pural ch’in’gu* (“testicle-friends”), or close enough to engage in certain kinds of *sŭk’inship* (“skinship”: physical touching that is not necessarily sexual when conducted between

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<sup>75</sup> While it is unseemly to speculate on a celebrity’s sexual orientation, note that in Korea it is often thought of as career-ending for a celebrity to be openly gay. Though not the idol in the interview referenced here, Jo Kwon, a former member of the popular boy group 2AM, is one of the more prominent examples of this. Jo advocates on social media for LGBT+ rights, performs in LGBTQ+ theater productions (like *Everybody’s Talking about Jamie* and *Priscilla: Queen of the Desert*), and while Jo has recently come out as “genderless” (Lee, 2020), and obliquely refers to their sexuality on social media, Jo has never publicly confirmed or denied it.

<sup>76</sup> Lee (2020) was conducted and published in Korean. Korean language lacks gendered pronouns in speech, so Jo Kwon’s English-language pronouns are unspecified.

close male friends),<sup>77</sup> this kind of severing of intercorporeal *chǒng* can be particularly devastating. It can lead to physical ailment (Kwon, 2015), and even suicide (Han, 2021).

Some men who have “come out” to their mothers note that their mothers accept their sexuality, due to the special relationship between Korean mothers and their sons, but also told them not to tell their fathers or other family members, who would not understand and may be hurt by the revelation. Those who have come out to their fathers said that their fathers pretend like it never happened, suggesting that these men’s fathers feel that they must choose between recognizing their son’s sexuality and having a relationship with him, and choosing the latter. Others have reported staying in the closet to prevent damage to their parents’ relationships with others. In other words, they choose between living in accordance with their true selves, disappearing in and being unembodied from the body politic—potentially affecting their families’ relationships as well—and being unembodied on the level of the self and retaining *chǒng* with the body politic.

When I asked heterosexual men if they knew any gay people or had any gay friends, all except one said that they did not. Although it is impossible to know whether these men in fact did not know that some of their friends were not heterosexual (as I sometimes did) or were just trying to protect their friends, I suspect the former to be the case. The one who said he did know a gay man said he was part of his high school friend group, but they no longer spoke as they had grown apart since graduating. When I asked whether this friend had come out to him, surprised that he admitted to knowing a gay man, he said, “He never came out. But I could tell because

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<sup>77</sup> The possibility of “male-male” skinship between close heterosexual friends was hotly debated among Korean men with whom I spoke. Some said that skinship was reserved solely for interactions between male-female lovers, while other heterosexual men said it was natural for close male friends, especially *pural ch'in'gu*, to frequently touch each other’s bodies, and that that is rightly called skinship. Those in the former group sometimes got angry if I referred to “skinship” in the way that the latter group would, but the latter group would refer to such behaviors as “skinship” without me ever mentioning it to them previously. Both groups said that close female-female friendship dyads did not engage in skinship.

when we would shadowbox with our friend group in high school, he would swing like this,” which he demonstrated by making a fist and performing a limp-wristed swatting motion.

Most of the gay and bisexual men with whom I interacted did not have many, or any, gay friends, either. They also referred to an expectation that, when entering a new relationship, one cuts off their old ones, meaning that friendships based on similar sexual orientations would be incredibly difficult for them to maintain. This was also due in part to the secrecy with which most gay men lived their lives, meaning that there was no easy way to find each other outside of hookup apps or gay bars. In other words, to make connections with other gay men—to create an environment in which a gay man could simultaneously live authentically (body-self embodiment) and feel *chǒng* (body-politic embodiment), even briefly—effectively required engaging in visual media.

This is why Hyunjoon, a gay man attending a non-prestigious university, was convinced that improving his body was the key to being happy. During interviews, he repeatedly said, “It’s about having relationships.” He said that throughout his school days, he always felt estranged from others, first due to the relative lack of wealth of his parents (one of the major reasons for which Korean schoolchildren are bullied [Kim, et al. 2016]), later as he realized that he was gay, and finally due to his fatness that resulted from overeating to compensate for his loneliness. He said that he decided to lose weight because his fat had become a barrier to him finding a relationship; losing weight would make him more likely to find a partner. He started running, and quickly lost a great deal of weight; however, he also damaged his knees in the process, requiring surgery, and the quick weight loss left him with sagging skin. He attributes the reason that he got ghosted after he had sex with a man he dated to his sagging skin and is deeply depressed due to ways in which his pursuit of relationships—a lasting, non-precarious *chǒng*—

has been thwarted by his body. In other words, he is experiencing both an unembodiment from his own body (like that described by Moss, 1992), as well as an unembodiment from the body politic, which is the reason for his disordered eating.

Hyunjoon's case illustrates why the experiences of non-heterosexual men who attend non-prestigious universities work in reverse from what would be expected by the other intersecting identities in the model. For heterosexual men, body-self integration is doxatic and embodiment in the community is a given, something to lose through inappropriate, chosen behaviors. For gay and bisexual men, body-self connections and self-community connections are precarious and felt to be mutually exclusive. While gay men with prestigious *hakkböl* can leverage their educational capital toward social successes in other realms, and selectively use social networks to find people who understand their circumstances, those without it are left with visual media as their primary means of establishing *chǒng* with others and themselves simultaneously. Thus, for men in this latter group, the body is not just another form of capital to exchange for upward mobility, but the primary avenue for more fundamentally realizing a coherent place in society. Drawing on Berlant (2007) and Veblen (1899), they use the body not so much to "get ahead" but to achieve a conventional standard of affective decency (*chǒng*).

## Conclusions

The case of South Korea underscores the necessity and difficulty of seriously engaging culture in the study of body image and eating disorders, and that biocultural approaches to health provide particularly effective frameworks for engaging the complexities of the body-self-community relationships in which these phenomena are embedded. Drawing on theories of cultural models, cultural consonance, symbolic body capital, intersectionality, and embodiment provides a pathway for understanding the biocultural embodiment of social inequalities (Gravlee,

2009; Krieger, 2004; McClure, 2020). Recognizing that the body is both biological and cultural underscores the ultimate indivisibility of the oft-conceptualized-as-separate domains. The ways in which one's experiences hold up against one's own, as well as every other member of the group's, expectations have serious effects on one's physical and mental wellbeing (Dressler, 2018), even when the day-to-day processes of embodiment are subtle or invisible. Moreover, attending to the ways in which people continuously scale themselves against these cultural models, as metaindexes of larger and local social, economic, and political chronotopes (Pritzker & Perrino, 2020), enlightens researchers to the complex ways in which body image, health, and culture are inextricably intertwined.

The first step involves co-constructing the cultural models of male body ideals with which one is working through cultural domain analysis and cultural consensus analysis. The next step involves operationalizing the model through the theory and method of cultural consonance. This is followed by connecting individual men's cultural consonance in the model of male body ideals to outcomes like body satisfaction, with which there was no relationship, and disordered eating, with which the relationship differed according to intersectional identities.

These embodied processes connecting cultural consonance to disordered eating occur variably at different intersections of cultural consonance in the model of male body ideals, prestige of one's educational institution, and sexual orientation. For most Korean men—heterosexual men, as well as those homosexual men who attend high-prestige universities—the relationship between increased cultural consonance and increased disordered eating relates to a theory of symbolic body capital. In this theory, disordered eating is associated with aspirations for upward mobility (Anderson-Fye et al., 2017; Katzman et al., 2004); however, men with high-prestige university educations can exchange their educational capital for upward mobility or

class maintenance, meaning that the stress of maintaining body capital, while present, is lighter than for men without that buffer.

However, the fourth group's situation—that of homosexual men with low-prestige university educations—calls attention to deeper themes of embodiment and, particularly, unembodiment (Laing, 1990; McClure, 2020). For these men, higher cultural consonance in male body ideals leads to reduced disordered eating. Due to intense social stigmas against homosexuality in South Korea, young gay and bisexual men exist in secrecy, having to choose between being authentically themselves and being embodied in the community. As a result, achieving cultural consonance in male body ideals has less to do with engaging one's body as a medium for class mobility and more to do with recognizing the body as a means of creating a space in which men can both be authentically themselves (body-self embodiment) and enmeshed in at least one other person (body-politic embodiment) simultaneously. However, the nature of the primary medium through which gay and bisexual men can meet each other is visual, and places primacy on specific body types (whereas those gay men with high-prestige university *hakyŏn* can leverage their networks to set up blind dates), meaning that higher cultural consonance with male body ideals provides access to an integrated body-self-society schema taken for granted by heterosexual men.

In summary, for most Korean men, increased cultural consonance leads to increased disordered eating due to the stresses associated with connections between appearance-maintenance and upward mobility/class-maintenance. For sexual minority men who lack access to high-prestige social networks, cultural consonance in male body ideals provides access to a more fundamental sense of coherence through the simultaneous embodiment of the body-self and

the body politic, meaning that those men who have lower cultural consonance in male body ideals bear the stresses of that incoherence, leading to greater disordered eating.

## CHAPTER 11

### CONCLUSIONS

#### Summary of Research

Overwhelmingly, research into body image and eating disorders has struggled to productively engage culture as a factor beyond the categorical and maleness through its culturally specific models of gender. In other words, culture was treated as a nominal variable and used to hand-wave away observed variation in results in cross-cultural studies of body image and eating disorders, and men's experiences of these have been neglected across the board.

Over the last three decades, anthropologists have increasingly argued for the necessity of studying culture itself in cross-cultural body image and eating disorders research. These anthropologists have insisted that a deep ethnographic understanding of the communities in question was necessary to understand *why* cultures appeared to vary in their body ideals, body dissatisfaction, and disordered eating. Like Lester (2004), they argued that the ability to describe variation in terms of cultural group was not an answer but an invitation to explore what about culture led to these variations. As such, anthropologists have demonstrated that psychological cross-cultural research is often lacking in "emic validity" (Dressler & Oths, 2014), and that ethnographic engagement with body image and eating disorders helps to frame methods and results within frameworks meaningful among non-WEIRD populations.

Because body image and its results have been popularly viewed as relevant only to women, men's experiences are wildly underrepresented in this literature (Murray et al., 2016), and what is in the literature has sometimes been called into question due to measurements'

(Stanford & Lemberg, 2014a) and treatment protocols' (Bunnell, 2021) lack of relevance to men's experiences. Anthropologists have also not deeply engaged with men's experiences of body image and eating disorders, likely due both to individual interests and the relative rarity with which men in most locations tend to experience them compared to women. However, as it is increasingly recognized that men experience eating disorders and with quickly rising rates (Mitchison & Mond, 2015), it is imperative that men be included in cross-cultural body image research endeavors.

Therefore, McClure (2017), Anderson-Fye (2018), and others have argued that there is need for deeper engagement with intersectionality in body image research, which attends to varied interactions of (non-exclusive) experiences of age, culture, gender, racialization, ethnicity, class, and sexual orientation. However, Anderson-Fye (2018) has also recognized that ethnography is time-consuming and expensive, and therefore not feasible for every research project outside of anthropology. Moreover, quantitative researchers, who make up the majority of body image researchers, are often deeply skeptical of qualitative data and do not know how to interpret it. The question then becomes, how can proponents of deep engagements with emically valid and ethnographically rich understandings of culture demonstrate its importance to body image research (or, any human research) while maintaining conversation with stakeholders who perform most of this research?

In this dissertation, I proposed the use of the theories and methods associated with cultural models to bridge this divide. Understanding culture as whatever one needs to know in order to survive within a social group (Goodenough, 1957), I conceptualized "male body ideals" as a cultural model, a shared but individually variable understanding of what ideal male bodies look like in South Korea. Using cultural domain analysis, I elicited the words

and phrases which comprise the model (its individual components) and validated their shared cognitive structure. I was then able to examine the effects of peoples' ability to recognize (cultural consensus and cultural competence; Romney et al., 1986) the cultural model and approximate it in their own bodies (cultural consonance; Dressler, 2018) on outcomes like body dissatisfaction (Tylka et al., 2005) and disordered eating (EAT-26; Garner et al., 1982; Rhee et al., 1998).

I found that, overall, cultural consonance with the model of the ideal male body—that is, one's ability to approximate the ideal in one's own body—was positively correlated with disordered eating in young Korean men. Moreover, this effect was unrelated to body dissatisfaction. In a multiple regression analysis, cultural consonance explained variation in disordered eating *in addition to* body dissatisfaction. This means that culture plays a role in disordered eating beyond the psychological level.

Following McClure (2017, 2020), I then examined the effects of intersections of cultural consonance, prestige of one's educational institution (a form of social and cultural capital), and sexual orientation, as these were judged through theoretical background, ethnographic interviews, and participant-observation to be important components of experience that affect the ways in which men's bodies are made meaningful in Korean society. I found that most men followed the pattern described above; however, homosexual and bisexual men without connections to prestigious educational institutions demonstrated an opposite relationship. That is, they had lower risk of disordered eating at higher levels of cultural consonance.

Based on in-depth interviews with four total men, one from each of the outcomes (high cultural consonance, high disordered eating; low cultural consonance, low disordered eating; low cultural consonance, high disordered eating; and high cultural consonance, low disordered

eating), as well as ethnographic observations, interviews, and conversations with other Korean men and women, two factors appeared to motivate disordered eating behaviors in relation to cultural consonance.

One motivating factor was economic. Attractive men's bodies are not only understood as having sexual capital on the romantic marketplace, providing them easier access to fulfillment of chrononormative expectations of Korean manhood. Cultural consonance with male body ideals was also a means of garnering symbolic body capital (Anderson-Fye & Brewis, 2017). Good-looking men are viewed as more trustworthy, better behaved, and more reliable in terms of engaging in self-maintenance and self-improvement practices to the benefit of an employer. As such, ambitious men, by investing in their body image, could then exchange their symbolic body capital for economic capital through easier access to increasingly rare stable and lucrative employment opportunities. This can also explain why the men with high-prestige university educations expressed less severe associations between increased cultural consonance and increased disordered eating: the social and cultural capital engendered in their university cliques (*hakböl*) spoke for their competence in the career marketplace, meaning that their bodies—while still important markers of their character—held less responsibility for their success in finding a good, stable job.

The other motivating factor was *chǒng*, the sense of rapport and attachedness with other people, which I have also described as embodiment in the Korean body-politic. Korean men widely recognized that more attractive men were treated better and more popular, because people wanted to share *chǒng* with more attractive men (and men with more cultural capital in the form of their *hakböl*). Men also bore the responsibility of presenting themselves well in society so as not to embarrass themselves or their connections (families, friends, coworkers, employers), or

cause dissonance between their looks and behaviors (i.e., “wasting one’s face” *ǒlgulgap mothanda*). In heterosexist Korea, homosexual and bisexual men understand their *chǒng* to be precarious, that is, if others found out about their sexual identity there was a good chance that even their closest relationships could be severed. However, being attractive meant not only that it was easier to establish *chǒng* with others, but it was also easier to establish non-precarious *chǒng* in the form of a romantic relationship with a boyfriend. Gay men who could easily establish even non-romantic *chǒng* due to their attractiveness noted that they felt relief as a result; gay men who were not attractive described intense isolation due to a lack of *chǒng* with others, considered their bodies as barriers to their happiness. They developed disordered eating as means of coping with stress and loneliness and in their attempts to approximate the model.

What does this contribute to larger theory? First, related to the notion of cultural kindling (Cassaniti & Luhrmann, 2014), it shows how these cultural models have been shaped by historical cultural processes and chronotopes that emerge in the present through embodiment of body ideals and its consequences. Second, related to the concept of symbolic body capital (Anderson-Fye & Brewis, 2017), it provides an emically valid means of measurement which then points to the ways in which cultural consonance can be exchanged for other forms of social, economic, and cultural capital. Third, in conversation with intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; McClure, 2020), it is a means by which intersectional engagements with a cultural model can be identified and connected with larger social processes and outcomes. Fourth, it provides a formalized lens into the processes and consequences of the embodiment of cultural models. Further, it indexes the ways in which (un)embodiment of the social body and (un)embodiment in the body-politic come to bear on health and well-being in specific social contexts.

## Limitations/Invitations for Further Investigation

This research has several limitations. One limitation is to its generalizability since I did not use a representative sample, but rather employed snowball and respondent-driven sampling strategies. That said, the sample is diverse in terms of sexual orientation, class, educational background, and body type. Moreover, findings mesh with the literature and larger discourses I encountered during my fieldwork.

Another limitation is that the bulk of this data was collected during the COVID-19 pandemic. For one, the pandemic inhibited people's ability to engage in physical and social activity, as gyms and indoor meetups were considered unsafe, and may have exacerbated body image concerns (Jaewoo told me that his body image concerns worsened since he responded to the survey at the beginning of the pandemic, as inactivity, stress, and social isolation led to weight-gain). Another reason is that I could not as easily meet people to build rapport and engage in more in-depth interactions about the cultural models and survey instruments with larger numbers of respondents. Replicating this study in a post-(or, at least, managed-)COVID world is advisable. That said, cultural models tend to be very stable (D'Andrade, 1992), so differences would likely have to do with the severity and breadth of disordered eating rather than the underlying, embodied cultural models that lead to it.

A third limitation is that this study applies only to young men in the university years and immediately afterward. These data and meanings may not be applicable to older men more established in their careers (e.g., Elfving-Hwang's [2021] study of middle-aged men's understandings of their bodies demonstrates different concerns).

Future research should also examine how exchanges of cultural consonance in different domains relates to eating disorders and other physical and health outcomes. These should include

lifestyle models, as have been employed in Dressler's (2018) work, as well as emic measures of masculinity (see Blashill, 2011) to engage the suggested relationships more deeply between modes of establishing *chǒng* and eating disorders.

### Conclusion

Overall, this study demonstrated the necessity of a deep understanding of culture in interpreting the results of cross-cultural body image research. Particularly, it advocates for attention to the intersectional ways in which individual instantiations of belief and behavior come to bear on disordered eating beyond traditional, individual-level psychological measures like body dissatisfaction. By attending to the cultural elements of body image and eating disorders, cross-cultural male body image research is better equipped to examine and address the conditions under which eating disorders manifest.

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APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY OF KOREAN TERMS

Hangŭl	Korean (McCune-Reischauer Romanization)	English
180 센치 이상	<i>180 sench'i isang</i>	at least 180 centimeters
아저씨	<i>ajössi</i>	middle-aged man
아줌마	<i>ajumma</i>	middle-aged woman
아주머니	<i>ajumöni</i>	middle-aged woman
알바	<i>alba</i>	part-time job
안경을 쓰다	<i>an'gyöngŭl ssüda</i>	wears glasses
안방	<i>anbang</i>	inner room (women's quarters)
안채	<i>anch'ae</i>	inner wing
안주인	<i>anchuin</i>	inside master
안닐	<i>annil</i>	inside labor
아르바이트	<i>arŭbait 'ŭ</i>	part-time job
친구	<i>ch'in'gu</i>	friend
재벌	<i>chaeböl</i>	family-owned conglomerates
자기 관리	<i>chagi kwalli</i>	self-maintenance
작은 집	<i>chagŭn chip</i>	little house (younger sons' inheritances)
잘생겼다	<i>chalsaenggyötta</i>	handsome
자매	<i>chamae</i>	sister (general), esp. Christian
잔근육이 있다	<i>chan'gŭnyugi itta</i>	small muscle
창놈	<i>changnom</i>	man-whore
자르다	<i>charüda</i>	to sever
제사	<i>chesa</i>	ancestor worship rituals
짐승남	<i>chimsŭngnam</i>	beastly guy
징그럽다	<i>ching'gŭropta</i>	repulsive, disgusting
족보	<i>chokpo</i>	family genealogy
전라	<i>Chölla</i>	Jeolla
전도교	<i>Chöndogyo</i>	Jeondogyo (a Korean nationalist religion)

정	<i>chǒng</i>	attachment, rapport, affection
정든 일토	<i>chǒngdūn ilt'o</i>	place of attachment
전민	<i>chǒnmin</i>	"base" or "despised people"
전세	<i>chǒnse</i>	key money
조상 숭배	<i>chosang sungbae</i>	ancestor worship
조선	<i>Chosǒn</i>	Joseon Dynasty
주목받다	<i>chumokpatta</i>	to draw attention
중인	<i>chǒng'in</i>	middle class
중산도	<i>Chǒngsando</i>	Jeungsando (a new religious movement)
학원	<i>hagwǒn</i>	cram school
학벌	<i>hakbǒl</i>	academic clique
학연	<i>hakyǒn</i>	academic network
할머니	<i>halmǒni</i>	paternal grandfather
할아버지	<i>harabǒji</i>	paternal grandmother
헬창	<i>helch'ang</i>	gym-whore
헬리니	<i>hellini</i>	a novice bodybuilder
헬스장	<i>helsǔjang</i>	gym
회식	<i>hoesik</i>	company dinners
후배	<i>hubae</i>	junior
화장하다	<i>hwajanghada</i>	Wears makeup
환웅	<i>Hwanung</i>	Hwanung (the sky-god in Korea's creation myth)
화랑	<i>hwarang</i>	Silla-era flower boys, poet-warriors
화려한 염색한 머리	<i>hwaryǒhan yǒmsaek'an mǒri</i>	Colorfully dyed hair
효	<i>hyo</i>	filial piety
현대병	<i>hyǒndaebyǒng</i>	illnesses of modernity
형	<i>hyǒng</i>	older brother of a male
형제	<i>hyǒngje</i>	brother (general), esp. Christian
이반	<i>iban</i>	homosexual, lit. "second-class citizen"
이가 고르다	<i>iga korūda</i>	straight teeth
이모	<i>imo</i>	aunt, mother's sister
이목구비가 뚜렷하다	<i>imokkubiga tturyǒthada</i>	well-defined features
이상	<i>isang</i>	at least
이상형	<i>isanghyǒng</i>	ideal type
카이스트	<i>K'aisūtū</i>	KAIST

키가 작다	<i>k'iga chakta</i>	short
키가 크다	<i>k'iga k'ūda</i>	tall
코가 낮다	<i>k'oga natta</i>	flat nose
코가 높다	<i>k'oga nopta</i>	high nose
큰집	<i>k'ūn chip</i>	big house (eldest son's inheritance)
캥가루족	<i>k'aeng'garuchok</i>	Kangaroo Tribe
갈보	<i>kalbo</i>	homosexual
강남	<i>Kangnam</i>	Gangnam
강남 언니	<i>Kangnam ōnni</i>	a woman in the Gangnam area who has a lot of cosmetic surgery
갈 염색한 머리	<i>kar yōmsaek'an mōri</i>	brown-dyed hair
기생	<i>kisaeng</i>	female entertainers
깔끔하다	<i>kkaḡūmhada</i>	clean and neat
꽃미남	<i>kkonminam</i>	flower boy
꽃뱀	<i>kkotbaem</i>	flower snake (gold-digger)
고구려	<i>Koguryō</i>	Koguryō
고조선	<i>Kojosōn</i>	Kojosōn
곰	<i>kom</i>	bear
공주	<i>Kongju</i>	Gongju
건장하다	<i>kōnjanghada</i>	burly
고려	<i>Koryō</i>	Koryō
고려대학교	<i>Koryō taehakkyo</i>	Korea University
고시원	<i>kosiwōn</i>	cheap, dormitory-style housing
근육이 많다	<i>kūnyugi mant'a</i>	big muscles
구릿빛 피부가 있다	<i>kuritbit p'ibuga itta</i>	tan skin
굿	<i>kut</i>	shamanic ritual
과하다	<i>kwahada</i>	excessive
계약 결혼	<i>kyeyak kyōlhon</i>	contract marriage
경쟁력이다	<i>kyōngjaengnyōkida</i>	competitive
매력적이다	<i>maeryōkchōkida</i>	attractive
많다	<i>manda</i>	many
만화	<i>manhwa</i>	comic books
만신	<i>mansin</i>	shamaness (respectful)
미남	<i>minam</i>	pretty man
민중	<i>minjung</i>	proletariat
미녀	<i>minyō</i>	beautiful woman

미운정	<i>miunjöng</i>	hate-rapport
몸값	<i>momgap</i>	value of the body
몸완얼	<i>momwanöl</i>	the body's completion is the face
머리가 작다	<i>möriga chakta</i>	Short hair
무반	<i>muban</i>	military nobility
무당	<i>mudang</i>	shamaness
문무	<i>mun-mu</i>	literati-military distinction
문반	<i>munban</i>	literati, civil officials
내	<i>nae</i>	my
남자 주인공	<i>namja chuin'gong</i>	male protagonist
남자답다	<i>namjadapta</i>	masculine
남자다운	<i>namjadaun</i>	masculine (noun-modifying form)
날씬하다	<i>narssinhada</i>	thin
누나	<i>nuna</i>	older sister of a male
눈이 작다	<i>nuni chakta</i>	small eyes
눈이 크다	<i>nuni k'üda</i>	big eyes
눈썹이 진하다	<i>nunssöbi chinhada</i>	thick eyebrows
눈썹문신	<i>nunssöbmunsin</i>	eyebrow tattoo
외모상주의	<i>oemojisangju üi</i>	lookism
어깨가 넓다	<i>ökkaega nölda</i>	wide shoulders
얼굴값	<i>ölgulgap</i>	value of the face
얼굴값하다	<i>ölgulgap handa</i>	one's behavior is commensurate with one's looks
얼굴값못하다	<i>ölgulgap mothanda</i>	to waste one's face
얼굴이 작다	<i>ölguri chakta</i>	Small face
언니	<i>önni</i>	older sister of a female
오피스텔	<i>op'isüt'el</i>	officetel, a studio-style apartment that can be rented as a living or office space
오빠	<i>oppa</i>	older brother or boyfriend of a female
오리니	<i>orini</i>	child
옷을 잘 입다	<i>osül chal iptä</i>	dresses well
옷을 못 입다	<i>osül mot iptä</i>	dresses poorly
팔등신	<i>p'aldüngsin</i>	eight-head body
피부에 잡티가 없다	<i>p'ibuë chapt'iga öpta</i>	flawless skin
피부가 하얗다	<i>p'ibuga hayat'a</i>	white skin
바디프로필	<i>padi p'ürop'il</i>	body profile

배가 나오다	<i>paega naoda</i>	stomach comes out
백제	<i>Paekche</i>	Baekje
백정	<i>paekchǒng</i>	untouchables
밖안닐	<i>pakkannil</i>	outside labor
밖앗주인	<i>pakkat chuin</i>	outside master
밖앗채	<i>pakkatch'ae</i>	outside wing
박수	<i>paksu</i>	male shaman
방탄소년단	<i>pangt'ansonyōndan</i>	BTS (lit. bulletproof boyscouts)
바람둥이	<i>paramdung-i</i>	playboy
보갈	<i>pogal</i>	prostitute (extremely vulgar)
보조개가 있다	<i>pojogaega itta</i>	Dimples
복근이 있다	<i>pokkūni itta</i>	Abs
번섹스	<i>pǒnseksū</i>	lightning sex, anonymous hookup
부대찌개	<i>pudaetchigae</i>	budaejjigae (army base stew)
불알 친구	<i>purāl ch'in'gu</i>	testicle friends
부산	<i>Pusan</i>	Busan
병신	<i>pyǒngsin</i>	cripple
라면	<i>ramyōn</i>	ramyeon, ramen, instant noodles
루저	<i>rujǒ</i>	loser
루저의 난	<i>rujǒ ūi nan</i>	Loser's Revolt
사촌	<i>sach'on</i>	cousin
샐러리맨	<i>saellorimaen</i>	salaryman
삼강오륜	<i>Samgangoryun</i>	Three Doctrines and Five Relationships
삼겹살	<i>samgyǒpsal</i>	pork belly
생각한다	<i>sang'gakhanda</i>	to think
상민	<i>sangmin</i>	common people
사랑방	<i>sarangbang</i>	men's social room
센치	<i>sench'i</i>	centimeter
시험 지역	<i>sihǒm chiōk</i>	examination hell
신라	<i>Silla</i>	Silla
신경을 쓰다	<i>sinkyōngŭl ssūda</i>	to care about others
선배	<i>sōnbae</i>	senior (in a role)
선비	<i>sōnbi</i>	Confucian scholars
성인병	<i>sōnginbyōng</i>	adults' diseases
성균관대학교	<i>Sōngkyunkwandaehakkyo</i>	Sungkyunkwan University
손이 크다	<i>soni kūda</i>	big hands

서울대학교	<i>Sŏul taehakkyo</i>	Seoul National University
쌍꺼풀이 있다	<i>ssangkkŏp'uri itta</i>	double eyelids
씨름	<i>ssirŭm</i>	traditional Korean wrestling
수다	<i>suda</i>	to chatter
스킨십	<i>sŭk'insip</i>	skinship
슬림	<i>sŭllim</i>	slim
수능	<i>sunŭng</i>	college entrance exam, CSAT
스펙	<i>sŭp'ek'ŭ</i>	spec, specifications, résumé lines
스타일한 머리가 있다	<i>sŭt'ailhaŋ mŏriga itta</i>	styled hair
수염이 있다	<i>suyŏmi itta</i>	beard
탈모가 있다	<i>t'alмога itta</i>	thinning hair
탕	<i>T'ang</i>	Tang Dynasty
털	<i>t'ŏr</i>	fur, body hair
털이 많다	<i>t'ŏri mant'a</i>	body hair
튼튼하다	<i>t'ŭnt'ŭnhada</i>	Strong
대백 백두산	<i>Taebaek Paektusan</i>	Baekdu Mountain
대구	<i>Taegu</i>	Daegu
대정교	<i>Taejong'gyo</i>	Daejonggyo (a Korean shamanistic religion)
댄디	<i>taendi</i>	"dandy" style
대순 진리회	<i>Taesun Chinrihoe</i>	Daesun Jinrihoe (a new religious movement)
단군	<i>Tan'gun</i>	Dangun (the father of all Koreans)
다리가 길다	<i>tariga kilda</i>	long legs
짱구	<i>Tchang'gu</i>	Janggu (a popular child's cartoon character with thick eyebrows)
찜질방	<i>tchimjilbang</i>	Korean sauna
동생	<i>tongsaeng</i>	younger sibling
뚱뚱하다	<i>ttungttunghada</i>	fat
돼지	<i>twaeji</i>	pig
운동	<i>undong</i>	movement; exercise
V 라인이 있다	<i>V-raini itta</i>	V-line jaw
월세	<i>wŏlse</i>	monthly rent
원한다	<i>wonhanda</i>	to want
야하다	<i>yahada</i>	sexual, pornographic
양반	<i>yangban</i>	Chosŏn-era elite scholar-officials
양민	<i>yangmin</i>	"good people," Chosŏn-era elites
여드름이 있다	<i>yŏdŭrŭmi itta</i>	acne

여자	<i>yŏja</i>	woman
연세대학교	<i>Yŏnse taehakkyo</i>	Yonsei University
여성스럽다	<i>yŏsŏngsŭropta</i>	feminine
여성스러운	<i>yŏsŏngsŭroun</i>	feminine (noun-modifying form)
유교	<i>yugyo</i>	Neo-Confucianism

APPENDIX B

PHASE I SURVEY (KOREAN)

자유롭게 서술하세요 (Freelisting) 아이디어:

성별	[ ] 남 [ ] 여 [ ]	생년월일	
		출생지	
신장 (cm)		전공	
체중 (kg)		대학교	
관계 상태	[ ] 독신 [ ] 사귀 [ ] 결혼	직업	
부모님의 직업		병역 ( 부터—까지 )	[ ] 끝난 [ ] 미래 [ ] 중인 [ ] 면제되는
성적지향			
		면제되면, 설명해드립니다	

해외에 간 적이 있습니까? [ ] 네 [ ] 아니요

어디에 가셨습니까?

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왜 해외에 가셨습니까? [e.g., 초등학교, 중학교, 고등학교, 대학교, 대학원, 여행, 병역]

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얼마나 해외에서

지내셨습니까?

언제부터 언제까지 해외에서 시간을 지내셨습니까?

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한국에서 제일 잘생긴 남성 유명 인사들은 누구입니까?

왜

---

\_\_\_\_\_ 왜 \_\_\_\_\_

한국에서 아주 잘생기지 않은 남성 유명 인사들은 누구입니까?

\_\_\_\_\_ 왜 \_\_\_\_\_

저한테 사람들은 한국에서 무슨 남성 외모에 대한 단어와 구를 말해봐 주십시오. 잘생기고 못생긴 것에 대한 단어들 다 괜찮습니다.

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APPENDIX C

PHASE I SURVEY (ENGLISH)

Freelisting (Freelisting)

ID: \_\_\_\_\_

Gender	<input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F <input type="checkbox"/>	Date of Birth	
		Place of Birth	
Height (cm)		Major	
Weight (kg)		University	
Relationship Status	<input type="checkbox"/> Single <input type="checkbox"/> In a Relationship <input type="checkbox"/> Married	Occupation	
Parents' Occupation		Military Service ( From—Til )	<input type="checkbox"/> Finished <input type="checkbox"/> Upcoming <input type="checkbox"/> In Progress <input type="checkbox"/> Exempt
성적지향			
		If Exempt, please explain:	

Have you ever gone abroad?  Y  N

Where did you go? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Why did you go abroad? [e.g., Elementary school, middle school, high school, university, graduate school, travel, military service]  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

How long were you abroad? \_\_\_\_\_  
 From when until when were you abroad?  
 \_\_\_\_\_

In Korea, who are the most handsome male celebrities?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ why? \_\_\_\_\_



APPENDIX D

PHASE II SURVEY (KOREAN)

아이디 번호: \_\_\_\_\_

a. [이번 행동이 연습입니다]. 이 단어들을 어떤 기준에 따라 눌러 끌로 분류해 주세요..  
옳고 그른 답이 없습니다. 빈칸 10개 있는데 2개이상 이상의 더미를 만들어야 한다는  
규칙만 있습니다. 단어들을 모두 분류해 주세요.

1. 딸기 2. 포도 3. 귤 4. 체리 5. 바나나 6. 사과 7. 참외 8. 수박 9. 감 10. 산딸기 11. 배 12. 복숭아 13. 매실 14. 블루베리 15. 땡유자	더미1	더미2	더미3
	더미4	더미5	더미6
	더미7	더미8	더미9
	더미 10		

더미들을 왜 이렇게 만든 이유들을 잠시 설명해 주십시오. (더미를 안 만들었으면  
“○○”를 적어주세요.)

더미 1: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 2: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 3: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 4: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 5: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 6: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 7: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 8: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 9: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 10: \_\_\_\_\_

b. 이 단어들을 어떤 기준에 따라 눌러 끌로 분류해 주세요. 옳고 그른 답이 없습니다. 빈칸 10개 있는데 2개이상 이상의 더미를 만들어야 한다는 규칙만 있습니다. 단어들을 모두 분류해 주세요.

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 키가 크다</li> <li>2. 코가 높다</li> <li>3. 키가 작다</li> <li>4. 어깨가 넓다</li> <li>5. 피부가 하얗다</li> <li>6. 눈썹이 진하다</li> <li>7. 얼굴이 작다</li> <li>8. 팔등신/칠등신</li> <li>9. 눈이 크다</li> <li>10. 눈이 작다</li> <li>11. 다리가 길다</li> <li>12. 코가 낮다</li> </ol>	더미1	더미2	더미3
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>13. 180셀치 이상</li> <li>14. 옷을 잘 입다</li> <li>15. 쌍꺼풀이 있다</li> <li>16. 이목구비가 뚜렷하다</li> <li>17. V라인 있다</li> <li>18. 날씬하다</li> <li>19. 머리가 작다</li> <li>20. 이가 고르다</li> <li>21. 구릿빛 피부</li> <li>22. 안경을 쓰다</li> </ol>	더미4	더미5	더미6
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>23. 옷을 못 입다</li> <li>24. 탈모</li> <li>25. 여드름이 있다</li> <li>26. 복근이 있다</li> <li>27. 근육이 많다</li> <li>28. 스타일링한 머리</li> <li>29. 털이 많다</li> <li>30. 피부에 잡티가 없다</li> <li>31. 잔근육 있다</li> </ol>	더미7	더미8	더미9

32. 짝금하다 33. 손이 크다 34. 수염이 있다 35. 보조개가 있다 36. 건장하다 37. 뚱뚱하다 38. 튼튼하다 39. 배가 나오다 40. 화려한 염색 머리 있다 41. 갈염색머리 있다 42. 화장하다 (42)	더미 10	
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더미 1: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 2: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 3: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 4: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 5: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 6: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 7: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 8: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 9: \_\_\_\_\_

더미 10: \_\_\_\_\_

Q6 이제 개인적인 의견 말고 평범한 한국 사람의 일반적으로 이 단어들에 대해 생각을 알려주세요. 예를 들면, 평범한 한국 사람들은 “키가 크다”라는 것이 잘생기다고 생각하는 편이라면, 그 빈칸을 선발해주세요. 그리고 “키가 크다”라는 것은 또 꽃미남과 짐승남의 특징이라면 그런 것에서도 선발해주세요. 복수 응답은 괜찮습니다. 예외 말고 전형적인 관계에 대해서 생각해주세요.

	잘생겼다	못생겼다	귀엽다	꽃미남	짐승남
1. 키가 크다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
2. 코가 높다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
3. 키가 작다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
4. 어깨가 넓다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
5. 피부가 하얗다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
6. 눈썹이 진하다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
7. 얼굴이 작다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
8. 팔등신/칠등신	<input type="checkbox"/>				
9. 눈이 크다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
10. 눈이 작다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
11. 다리가 길다	<input type="checkbox"/>				

12. 코가 낮다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
13. 180 셀치 이상	<input type="checkbox"/>				
14. 옷을 잘 입다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
15. 쌍꺼풀이 있다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
16. 이목구비가 뚜렷하다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
17. V 라인 있다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
18. 날씬하다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
19. 머리가 작다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
20. 이가 고르다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
21. 구릿빛 피부	<input type="checkbox"/>				
22. 안경을 쓰다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
23. 옷을 못 입다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
24. 탈모	<input type="checkbox"/>				

25. 여드름이 있다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
26. 복근이 있다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
27. 근육이 많다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
28. 스타일링한 머리	<input type="checkbox"/>				
29. 털이 많다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
30. 피부에 잡티가 없다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
31. 잔근육 있다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
32. 갈금하다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
33. 손이 크다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
34. 수염이 있다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
35. 보조개가 있다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
36. 긴장하다	<input type="checkbox"/>				
37. 뚱뚱하다	<input type="checkbox"/>				

38. 튼튼하다

39. 배가 나오다

40. 화려한 염색  
머리 있다

41. 갈염색머리  
있다

42. 화장하다

Q9 성별

남 (1)

여 (2)

기타 (3) \_\_\_\_\_

Q10 생년월일

\_\_\_\_\_

Q11 출생지

\_\_\_\_\_

Q12 신장 (cm)

\_\_\_\_\_

Q13 체중 (kg)

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Q14 전공

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Q15 대학교

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Q16 관계 상태

독신 (1)

사귀 (2)

결혼 (3)

기타 (4) \_\_\_\_\_

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Q17 직업

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Q18 부모님의 직업

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Q25 성적지향

- 이성 (36)
  - 양성 (37)
  - 동성 (38)
  - 기타 (39) \_\_\_\_\_
- 

Q20 병역

- 끝난 (1)
- 미래 (2)
- 중인 (3)
- 면제되는 (4)

Q21 병역 (○○년부터 ○○년까지)

- 년부터 (1) \_\_\_\_\_
- 년까지 (2) \_\_\_\_\_

Q22 면제되면, 설명해주세요

- \_\_\_\_\_

Q23 해외에서 살았습니까? (여행 말고 다른 나라의 생활을 경험했습니까?)

- 네 (1)
- 아니요 (2)

Q24 해외에서 살았을 때, 어디서 살았습니까 (모두 열거해주세요)? 거기에서 얼마나 살았습니까?

[예를 들면: 스페인, 6 개월, 2015]

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APPENDIX E

PHASE II SURVEY (ENGLISH)

ID Number: \_\_\_\_\_

a. [This activity is practice]. Please classify the following words using whatever criteria you see fit. There is no right or wrong answer. There are 10 blanks, but the only rule is that at least 2 piles must be made. Please classify all the words.

1. Strawberry	Pile 1	Pile 2	Pile 3
2. Grape	Pile 4	Pile 5	Pile 6
3. Mandarin Orange			
4. Cherry	Pile 7	Pile 8	Pile 9
5. Banana			
6. Apple			
7. Chamoe	Pile 10		
8. Watermelon			
9. Persimmon			
10. Raspberry			
11. Pear			
12. Peach			
13. Apricot			
14. Blueberry			
15. Yuzu			

Please explain your reasons for making each pile. (If you did not make a pile, write “○ ○” in the blank.)

Pile 1: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 2: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 3: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 4: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 5: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 6: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 7: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 8: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 9: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 10: \_\_\_\_\_

b. Please classify the following words using whatever criteria you see fit. There is no right or wrong answer. There are 10 blanks, but the only rule is that at least 2 piles must be made. Please classify all the words.

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Tall</li> <li>2. High nose</li> <li>3. Short</li> <li>4. Wide shoulders</li> <li>5. White skin</li> <li>6. Thick eyebrows</li> <li>7. Small face</li> <li>8. 8-/7-head body</li> <li>9. Big eyes</li> <li>10. Small eyes</li> <li>11. Long legs</li> <li>12. Flat nose</li> <li>13. At least 180 cm tall</li> <li>14. Stylish clothes</li> <li>15. Double eyelid</li> <li>16. Angular features</li> <li>17. V-line jaw</li> <li>18. Thin</li> <li>19. Small head</li> <li>20. Straight teeth</li> <li>21. Tan skin</li> <li>22. Glasses</li> <li>23. Wears clothes poorly</li> <li>24. Balding</li> <li>25. Acne</li> <li>26. Abs</li> <li>27. Big muscles</li> <li>28. Styled hair</li> <li>29. Body hair</li> <li>30. Flawless skin</li> <li>31. Small muscle</li> <li>32. Neat</li> <li>33. Big hands</li> <li>34. Beard</li> <li>35. Dimples</li> <li>36. Robust</li> </ol>	Pile 1	Pile 2	Pile 3
	Pile 4	Pile 5	Pile 6
	Pile 7	Pile 8	Pile 9

37. Fat 38. Chubby 39. Stomach comes out 40. Colorfully dyed hair 41. Brown-dyed hair 42. Makeup	Pile 10	
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Please explain your reasons for making each pile. (If you did not make a pile, write “○ ○” in the blank.)

Pile 1: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 2: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 3: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 4: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 5: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 6: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 7: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 8: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 9: \_\_\_\_\_

Pile 10: \_\_\_\_\_

Q6. Now, rather than your personal opinion, tell me what ordinary Koreans think about these words. For example, if ordinary Koreans think “tall” is handsome, select that. And if “tall” is also a characteristic of “flower boy” and “beastly guy,” select those as well. Selecting more than one is fine. Please think about typical relationships rather than exceptions.

	Handsome	Ugly	Cute	Flower Boy	Beastly Guy
1. Tall	<input type="checkbox"/>				
2. High nose	<input type="checkbox"/>				
3. Short	<input type="checkbox"/>				
4. Wide shoulders	<input type="checkbox"/>				
5. White skin	<input type="checkbox"/>				
6. Thick eyebrows	<input type="checkbox"/>				
7. Small face	<input type="checkbox"/>				
8. 8-/7-head body	<input type="checkbox"/>				
9. Big eyes	<input type="checkbox"/>				
10. Small eyes	<input type="checkbox"/>				
11. Long legs	<input type="checkbox"/>				

12. Flat nose	<input type="checkbox"/>				
13. At least 180 cm tall	<input type="checkbox"/>				
14. Stylish clothes	<input type="checkbox"/>				
15. Double eyelid	<input type="checkbox"/>				
16. Angular features	<input type="checkbox"/>				
17. V-line jaw	<input type="checkbox"/>				
18. Thin	<input type="checkbox"/>				
19. Small head	<input type="checkbox"/>				
20. Straight teeth	<input type="checkbox"/>				
21. Tan skin	<input type="checkbox"/>				
22. Glasses	<input type="checkbox"/>				
23. Wears clothes poorly	<input type="checkbox"/>				
24. Balding	<input type="checkbox"/>				

25. Acne	<input type="checkbox"/>				
26. Abs	<input type="checkbox"/>				
27. Big muscles	<input type="checkbox"/>				
28. Styled hair	<input type="checkbox"/>				
29. Body hair	<input type="checkbox"/>				
30. Flawless skin	<input type="checkbox"/>				
31. Small muscle	<input type="checkbox"/>				
32. Neat	<input type="checkbox"/>				
33. Big hands	<input type="checkbox"/>				
34. Beard	<input type="checkbox"/>				
35. Dimples	<input type="checkbox"/>				
36. Robust	<input type="checkbox"/>				
37. Fat	<input type="checkbox"/>				

38. Chubby

<input type="checkbox"/>				
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39. Stomach comes out

<input type="checkbox"/>				
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

40. Colorfully dyed hair

<input type="checkbox"/>				
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

41. Brown-dyed hair

<input type="checkbox"/>				
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

42. Makeup

<input type="checkbox"/>				
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

Q9 Gender

M (1)

F (2)

Other (3) \_\_\_\_\_

Q10 Date of Birth

\_\_\_\_\_

Q11 Place of Birth

\_\_\_\_\_

Q12 Height (cm)

\_\_\_\_\_

Q13 Weight (kg)

---

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Q14 Major

---

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Q15 University

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Q16 Relationship status

Single (1)

In a relationship (2)

Married (3)

Other (4) \_\_\_\_\_

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Q17 Occupation

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Q18 Parents' Occupation

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Q25 Sexual orientation

- Heterosexual (36)
  - Bisexual (37)
  - Homosexual (38)
  - Other (39) \_\_\_\_\_
- 

Q20 Military Service

- Finished (1)
- Upcoming (2)
- In Progress (3)
- Exempt (4)

Q21 Dates of Military Service

- Year Started (1) \_\_\_\_\_
- Year Finished (2) \_\_\_\_\_

Q22 If exempt from military service, please explain

- \_\_\_\_\_

Q23 Have you lived abroad? (Other than travelling, have you experienced daily life in another country?)

- Y (1)
- N (2)

Q24 해외에서 살았을 때, 어디서 살았습니까 (모두 열거해주세요)? 거기에서 얼마나 살았습니까? When you lived abroad, where did you live (explain all of them)? How long did

you live there?

[For example: Spain, 6 months, 2015]

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APPENDIX F

PHASE III SURVEY (KOREAN)

받은 아이디 번호

(아직 아이디 번호를 수령하지 못하셨으나 상기한 기준을 충족하여 참여 의사가 있으신  
분께서는, 래리 모노셀로  
[카카오톡 아이디:larrytm]에게 연락 부탁드립니다.)

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Q8 성별

남

여

기타 \_\_\_\_\_

Q10 생년월일 (yyyy.mm.dd)

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Q12 출생지

---

Q14 신장 (cm)

---

-----  
Q16 체중 (kg)

\_\_\_\_\_

-----  
Q18 전공

\_\_\_\_\_

Q20 대학교

아래에 다닌/다니고 있는 대학교를 적어주세요

\_\_\_\_\_

저는 대학교 안 다녔다

-----  
Q22 관계 상태

독신

사귀

결혼

기타 \_\_\_\_\_

-----  
Q24 직업

\_\_\_\_\_

-----

Q26 부모님의 직업

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Q28 성적지향

이성

양성

동성

기타 \_\_\_\_\_

-----

Q30 병역

끝난

미래

중인

면제되는

Q32 병역 (○○년부터 ○○년까지)

○○년부터 \_\_\_\_\_

○○년까지 \_\_\_\_\_

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Q55 응답자의 병역에 몇 달 남습니까?

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Q34 면제되면, 설명해주십시오

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Q36 해외에서 살았습니까? (여행 말고 다른 나라의 생활을 경험했습니까?)

- 네
  - 아니요
- 

Q38 해외에서 살았을 때, 어디서 살았습니까 (모두 열거해주세요)? 거기에서 얼마나 살았습니까?

[예를 들면: 스페인, 6 개월, 2015]

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Q1 한국 문화에 대한 응답자의 지식에 비추어, 한국 사람들이 남성의 외관 중 어떠한 특징에 관하여 주의를 기울인다고 생각하십니까?

	매우 많이	많이	다소	거의 관심 없음
1. 키가 크다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. 코가 높다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. 키가 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. 어깨가 넓다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. 피부가 하얗다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. 눈썹이 진하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. 얼굴이 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. 팔등신/칠등신	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. 눈이 크다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. 눈이 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. 다리가 길다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. 코가 낮다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. 180 셀치 이상	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. 옷을 잘 입다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. 쌍꺼풀이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
16. 이목구비가 뚜렷하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

17. V 라인 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. 날씬하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
19. 머리가 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
20. 이가 고르다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
21. 구릿빛 피부	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
22. 안경을 쓰다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
23. 옷을 못 입다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
24. 탈모	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
25. 여드름이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
26. 복근이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
27. 근육이 굵직하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
28. 스타일링한 머리	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
29. 털이 많다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
30. 피부에 잡티가 없다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
31. 잔근육 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
32. 깔끔하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

33. 손이 크다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
34. 수염이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
35. 보조개가 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
36. 긴장하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
37. 뚱뚱하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
38. 튼튼하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
39. 배가 나오다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
40. 화려한 염색 머리 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
41. 갈염색머리 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
42. 화장하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Q52 한국 문화에 대한 응답자의 지식에 비추어, 응답자께서는 각 특징에 대해 얼마만큼 주의를 기울입니까?

	매우 많이	많이	다소	거의 관심 없음
1. 키가 크다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. 코가 높다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. 키가 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. 어깨가 넓다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. 피부가 하얗다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. 눈썹이 진하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. 얼굴이 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. 팔등신/칠등신	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. 눈이 크다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. 눈이 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. 다리가 길다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. 코가 낮다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. 180 셀치 이상	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. 옷을 잘 입다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. 쌍꺼풀이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
16. 이목구비가 뚜렷하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

17. V 라인 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. 날씬하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
19. 머리가 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
20. 이가 고르다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
21. 구릿빛 피부	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
22. 안경을 쓰다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
23. 옷을 못 입다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
24. 탈모	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
25. 여드름이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
26. 복근이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
27. 근육이 굵직하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
28. 스타일링한 머리	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
29. 털이 많다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
30. 피부에 잡티가 없다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
31. 잔근육 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
32. 깔끔하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

33. 손이 크다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
34. 수염이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
35. 보조개가 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
36. 건장하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
37. 뚱뚱하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
38. 튼튼하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
39. 배가 나오다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
40. 화려한 염색 머리 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
41. 갈염색머리 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
42. 화장하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Importance

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Start of Block: Desirability



Q3 답변자의 한국 문화에 대한 인식에 비추어, 일반적인 한국인들이 아래 기재된 남성의 외관 특징들에 대해 어떻게 생각한다고 보십니까?

	매우 매력적인'	매력적인	매력적이지 않은	매우 매력적이지 않은
1. 키가 크다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. 코가 높다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. 키가 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. 어깨가 넓다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. 피부가 하얗다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. 눈썹이 진하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. 얼굴이 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. 팔등신/칠등신	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. 눈이 크다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. 눈이 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. 다리가 길다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. 코가 낮다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. 180 센치 이상	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. 옷을 잘 입다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. 쌍꺼풀이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

16. 이목구비가 뚜렷하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
17. V 라인 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. 날씬하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
19. 머리가 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
20. 이가 고르다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
21. 구릿빛 피부	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
22. 안경을 쓰다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
23. 옷을 못 입다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
24. 탈모	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
25. 여드름이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
26. 복근이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
27. 근육이 굵직하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
28. 스타일링한 머리	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
29. 털이 많다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
30. 피부에 잡티가 없다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
31. 잔근육 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

32. 깔끔하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
33. 손이 크다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
34. 수영이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
35. 보조개가 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
36. 건장하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
37. 뚱뚱하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
38. 튼튼하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
39. 배가 나오다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
40. 화려한 염색 머리 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
41. 갈염색머리 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
42. 화장하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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Q54 답변자의 한국 문화에 대한 인식에 비추어, 아래 기재된 외관 특징들에 대한 답변자 본인의 견해는 어떠한가요?

	매우 매력적인	매력적인	매력적이지 않은	매우 매력적이지 않은
1. 키가 크다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. 코가 높다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. 키가 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. 어깨가 넓다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. 피부가 하얗다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. 눈썹이 진하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. 얼굴이 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. 팔등신/칠등신	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. 눈이 크다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. 눈이 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. 다리가 길다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. 코가 낮다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. 180 센치 이상	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. 옷을 잘 입다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. 쌍꺼풀이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

16. 이목구비가 뚜렷하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
17. V 라인 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. 날씬하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
19. 머리가 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
20. 이가 고르다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
21. 구릿빛 피부	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
22. 안경을 쓰다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
23. 옷을 못 입다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
24. 탈모	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
25. 여드름이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
26. 복근이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
27. 근육이 굵직하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
28. 스타일링한 머리	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
29. 털이 많다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
30. 피부에 잡티가 없다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
31. 잔근육 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

32. 깔끔하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
33. 손이 크다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
34. 수영이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
35. 보조개가 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
36. 건장하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
37. 뚱뚱하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
38. 튼튼하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
39. 배가 나오다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
40. 화려한 염색 머리 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
41. 갈염색머리 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
42. 화장하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Desirability

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Start of Block: Consonance



Q5 아래에 기재된 외관 특징들 중에, 얼마나 많은 특징을 본인이 보유하고 있다고 다른 사람들이 생각할 것으로 보입니까? 가급적 진솔한 답변을 부탁드립니다.

	매우 보유하고 있다	보유하고 있다	다소 보유하고 있다	보유하고 있지 않은 것 같다
1. 키가 크다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. 코가 높다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. 키가 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. 어깨가 넓다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. 피부가 하얗다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. 눈썹이 진하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. 얼굴이 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. 팔등신/칠등신	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. 눈이 크다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. 눈이 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. 다리가 길다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. 코가 낮다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. 180 센치 이상	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. 옷을 잘 입다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. 쌍꺼풀이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

16. 이목구비가 뚜렷하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
17. V 라인 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. 날씬하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
19. 머리가 작다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
20. 이가 고르다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
21. 구릿빛 피부	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
22. 안경을 쓰다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
23. 옷을 못 입다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
24. 탈모	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
25. 여드름이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
26. 복근이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
27. 근육이 굵직하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
28. 스타일링한 머리	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
29. 털이 많다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
30. 피부에 잡티가 없다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
31. 잔근육 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

32. 깔끔하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
33. 손이 크다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
34. 수영이 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
35. 보조개가 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
36. 건장하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
37. 뚱뚱하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
38. 튼튼하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
39. 배가 나오다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
40. 화려한 염색 머리 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
41. 갈염색머리 있다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
42. 화장하다	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

남성의 몸에 대해 한국 사람은 일반적으로 너무 날씬하다고 생각하는 그림들을 모두 선택해주시요.

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남성의 몸에 대해 한국 사람은 일반적으로 너무 뚱뚱하다고 생각하는 그림들을 모두 선택해주시요.

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응답자는 응답자의 외모처럼 보이는 그림을 선택해주시오.

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9

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응답자는 응답자의 이상적인 외모처럼 보이는 그림을 선택해주시오.

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9

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어떤 특징 때문에 이번 그림을 선택하셨습니까?

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남성의 몸에 대해 한국 사람은 일반적으로 너무 날씬하다고 생각하는 그림들을 모두 선택해주시요.

- 1
- 2
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- 8
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남성의 몸에 대해 한국 사람은 일반적으로 너무 근육질이라고 생각하는 그림들을 모두 선택해주시요.

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응답자는 응답자의 외모처럼 보이는 그림을 선택해주시오.

- 1
- 2
- 3
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- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9

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응답자는 응답자의 이상적인 외모처럼 보이는 그림을 선택해주시오

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9

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어떤 특징 때문에 이번 그림을 선택하셨습니까?

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Q39 얼마나 자주 아래와 같이 생각합니까? 아래와 같은 느낌이 드는 경우, 그러한 빈도를 체크하여 주십시오.

	전혀 그러하지 않는다.	거의 그러하지 않는다	아주 가끔 그렇다.	종종 그렇다.	일반적으로 그렇다.	항상 그렇다
1. 나는 매우 적은 근육을 가지고 있다고 생각한다.	<input type="radio"/>					
2. 나는 내 몸이 더 날씬해야 한다고 생각한다.	<input type="radio"/>					
3. 나는 내 팔이 좀 더 튼튼했으면 좋겠다.	<input type="radio"/>					
4. 나는 뚜렷한 복부 근육에 만족감을 느낀다.	<input type="radio"/>					
5. 나는 내 다리에 충분히 근육이 있다고 생각하지 않는다.	<input type="radio"/>					
6. 나는 내 가슴이 좀 더 넓어야 한다고 생각한다.	<input type="radio"/>					
7. 나는 내 어깨가 지나치게 좁다고 생각한다.	<input type="radio"/>					

8. 나는 내  
뱃살이 매우  
치진다고  
생각한다.

9. 나는 내  
팔에 좀 더  
커야(근육이  
있어야)  
한다고  
생각한다.

10. 나는  
전반적으로 내  
몸의 형태에  
대해 불만족을  
느낀다.

11. 나는 내  
종아리가 좀  
더  
커야(근육이  
있어야)  
한다고  
생각한다.

12. 나는 좀 더  
키가 컸으면  
좋겠다.

13. 나는 내  
몸에 지방이  
너무 많다고  
생각한다.

14. 나는 내  
복부 근육이  
충분히 얇지  
않다고  
생각한다.

15. 나는 내  
등이 좀 더  
크고 뚜렷해야  
한다고  
생각한다.      ○      ○      ○      ○      ○      ○
16. 나는 내  
가슴이 좀 더  
크고 뚜렷해야  
한다고  
생각한다.      ○      ○      ○      ○      ○      ○
17. 내 팔이  
뚜렷하다는  
점에 대해서  
만족감을  
느낀다.      ○      ○      ○      ○      ○      ○
18. 나는 내  
몸의 사이즈와  
형태에 대해  
만족감을  
느낀다.      ○      ○      ○      ○      ○      ○
19. 나는 내  
키에 대해  
만족감을  
느낀다.      ○      ○      ○      ○      ○      ○
20. 단 음식,  
케이크 등  
칼로리가 높은  
음식으로 인해  
본인이  
똥똥하다거나  
약하다고 느낀  
적이  
있습니까?      ○      ○      ○      ○      ○      ○

21. 몸의  
형태가  
과도하게 크게  
동그랗다(예를  
들어  
똥똥한)고  
느낀 적이  
있습니까?

22. 본인의  
신체 사이즈나  
형태에 대해  
창피함을 느낀  
적이  
있습니까?

23. 거울에  
비친 본인의  
모습으로 인해  
본인의 신체  
사이즈나  
형태에 대해  
부정적인  
감정을 느낀  
적이  
있습니까?

24. 본인의  
신체 사이즈나  
형태에 대한  
우려 내지는  
걱정으로  
인하여  
다이어트를  
해야겠다고  
느낀 적이  
있으십니까?

Q40 아래에 식사와 관련된 문항들을 제시해 놓았습니다. 각 항목들을 주의 깊게 읽어 보시고 자신의상태를 가장 잘 나타낸다고 생각되는 문항 하나를 골라 해당 란에 ✓표로 표시해 주십시오. 하나도 빠뜨리지 말고 반드시 한가지로만 답해주시기 바랍니다.

	항상 그렇다	거의 그렇다	자주 그렇다	가끔 그렇다	거의 그렇지 않다	전혀 그렇지 않다
1. 살 찌는 것이 두렵다.	<input type="radio"/>					
2. 배가 고파도 식사를 하지 않는다.	<input type="radio"/>					
3. 나는 음식에 집착하고 있다.	<input type="radio"/>					
4. 억제할 수 없이 폭식을 한 적이 있다.	<input type="radio"/>					
5. 음식을 작은 조각으로 나누어 먹는다.	<input type="radio"/>					
6. 자신이 먹고 있는 음식의 영양분과 열량을 알고 먹는다.	<input type="radio"/>					
7. 빵이나 감자 같은 탄수화물이 많은 음식은 특히 피한다.	<input type="radio"/>					
8. 내가 음식을 많이 먹으면 다른 사람들이 좋아하는 것 같다.	<input type="radio"/>					
9. 먹고 난 다음 토한다.	<input type="radio"/>					
10. 먹고 난 다음 더 심한 죄책감을 느낀다.	<input type="radio"/>					

- |  |                       |                       |                       |                       |                       |                       |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 11. 자신이 좀더<br>날씬해져야겠다는<br>생각을 떨쳐 버릴 수<br>없다.       | <input type="radio"/> |
| 12. 운동을 할 때<br>운동으로 인해<br>없어질 열량에 대해<br>계산하거나생각한다. | <input type="radio"/> |
| 13. 남들이 내가 너무<br>말랐다고 생각한다.                        | <input type="radio"/> |
| 14. 내가 살이 너무<br>쪘다는 생각을<br>떨쳐버릴 수가 없다.             | <input type="radio"/> |
| 15. 식사시간이 다른<br>사람보다 더 길다.                         | <input type="radio"/> |
| 16. 설탕이 든 음식은<br>피한다.                              | <input type="radio"/> |
| 17. 체중조절을 위해<br>다이어트용 음식을<br>먹는다.                  | <input type="radio"/> |
| 18. 음식이 나의<br>인생을 지배한다는<br>생각이 든다.                 | <input type="radio"/> |
| 19. 음식에 대한<br>자신의 조절능력을<br>과시한다.                   | <input type="radio"/> |
| 20. 다른 사람들이<br>나에게 음식을<br>먹도록 강요하는 것<br>같이 느껴진다.   | <input type="radio"/> |
| 21. 음식에 대해 많은<br>시간과 정력을<br>투자한다.                  | <input type="radio"/> |

- |  |                       |                       |                       |                       |                       |                       |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 22. 단음식을 먹고<br>나면 마음이 편치<br>않다.        | <input type="radio"/> |
| 23. 체중을 줄이기<br>위해 운동이나 다른<br>것을 하고 있다. | <input type="radio"/> |
| 24. 위가 비어 있는<br>느낌이 있다.                | <input type="radio"/> |
| 25. 새로운 기름진<br>음식 먹는 것을<br>즐긴다.        | <input type="radio"/> |
| 26. 식사 후 토하고<br>싶은 충동을 느낀다.            | <input type="radio"/> |

APPENDIX G  
PHASE III SURVEY (ENGLISH)

Received ID number:

---

Q8 Gender

M

F

Other \_\_\_\_\_

---

Q10 Date of Birth (yyyy.mm.dd)

---

---

Q12 Place of Birth

---

---

Q14 Height (cm)

---

---

Q16 Weight (kg)

---

---

Q18 Major

---

Q20 University

Write your university name below

---

I did not attend university

---

Q22 Relationship status

Single

In a relationship

Married

Other 

---

---

Q24 Occupation

---

---

Q26 Parents' Occupation

---

Q28 Sexual Orientation

- Heterosexual
  - Bisexual
  - Homosexual
  - Other \_\_\_\_\_
- 

Q30 Military Service

- Finished
- Upcoming
- In Progress
- Exempt

Q32 Dates of Military Service

- Date Started \_\_\_\_\_
  - Date Finished \_\_\_\_\_
- 

Q55 (If currently serving) How many months of military service remain?

\_\_\_\_\_

---

Q34 If exempt from military service, please explain

\_\_\_\_\_

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Q36 Have you lived abroad? (Other than for travel, have you experienced daily life in another country?)

Y

N



Q38 When you lived abroad, where did you live? For how long?

[For example: Spain, 6 months, 2015]

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Q1 In light of your knowledge of Korean culture, how much attention to Koreans pay to the following characteristics in men?

	Very much	A lot	A little	None
1. Tall	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. High nose	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Short	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Wide shoulders	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. White skin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Thick eyebrows	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Small face	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. 8-/7-head body	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. Big eyes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. Small eyes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. Long legs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. Flat nose	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. At least 180 cm tall	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. Stylish clothes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. Double eyelid	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
16. Angular features	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

17. V-line jaw	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. Thin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
19. Small head	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
20. Straight teeth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
21. Tan skin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
22. Glasses	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
23. Wears clothes poorly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
24. Balding	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
25. Acne	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
26. Abs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
27. Big muscles	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
28. Styled hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
29. Body hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
30. Flawless skin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
31. Small muscle	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
32. Neat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

33. Big hands	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
34. Beard	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
35. Dimples	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
36. Robust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
37. Fat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
38. Chubby	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
39. Stomach comes out	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
40. Colorfully dyed hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
41. Brown-dyed hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
42. Makeup	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Q52 How much attention do you pay to each characteristic?

	Very much	A lot	A little	None
1. Tall	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. High nose	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Short	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Wide shoulders	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. White skin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Thick eyebrows	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Small face	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. 8-/7-head body	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. Big eyes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. Small eyes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. Long legs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. Flat nose	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. At least 180 cm tall	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. Stylish clothes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. Double eyelid	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
16. Angular features	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

17. V-line jaw	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. Thin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
19. Small head	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
20. Straight teeth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
21. Tan skin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
22. Glasses	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
23. Wears clothes poorly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
24. Balding	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
25. Acne	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
26. Abs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
27. Big muscles	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
28. Styled hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
29. Body hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
30. Flawless skin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
31. Small muscle	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
32. Neat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

33. Big hands	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
34. Beard	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
35. Dimples	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
36. Robust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
37. Fat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
38. Chubby	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
39. Stomach comes out	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
40. Colorfully dyed hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
41. Brown-dyed hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
42. Makeup	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q3 Based on your knowledge of Korean culture, how attractive are the following characteristics of men's appearance?

	Very attractive	Attractive	Unattractive	Very unattractive
1. Tall	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. High nose	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Short	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Wide shoulders	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. White skin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Thick eyebrows	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Small face	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. 8-/7-head body	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. Big eyes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. Small eyes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. Long legs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. Flat nose	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. At least 180 cm tall	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. Stylish clothes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. Double eyelid	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
16. Angular features	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

17. V-line jaw	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. Thin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
19. Small head	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
20. Straight teeth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
21. Tan skin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
22. Glasses	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
23. Wears clothes poorly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
24. Balding	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
25. Acne	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
26. Abs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
27. Big muscles	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
28. Styled hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
29. Body hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
30. Flawless skin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
31. Small muscle	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
32. Neat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

33. Big hands	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
34. Beard	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
35. Dimples	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
36. Robust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
37. Fat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
38. Chubby	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
39. Stomach comes out	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
40. Colorfully dyed hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
41. Brown-dyed hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
42. Makeup	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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Q54 What is your own opinion of the attractiveness of each of the following features?

	Very attractive	Attractive	Unattractive	Very unattractive
1. Tall	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. High nose	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Short	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Wide shoulders	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. White skin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Thick eyebrows	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Small face	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. 8-/7-head body	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. Big eyes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. Small eyes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. Long legs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. Flat nose	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. At least 180 cm tall	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. Stylish clothes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. Double eyelid	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
16. Angular features	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

17. V-line jaw	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. Thin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
19. Small head	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
20. Straight teeth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
21. Tan skin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
22. Glasses	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
23. Wears clothes poorly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
24. Balding	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
25. Acne	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
26. Abs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
27. Big muscles	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
28. Styled hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
29. Body hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
30. Flawless skin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
31. Small muscle	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
32. Neat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

33. Big hands	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
34. Beard	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
35. Dimples	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
36. Robust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
37. Fat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
38. Chubby	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
39. Stomach comes out	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
40. Colorfully dyed hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
41. Brown-dyed hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
42. Makeup	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Desirability

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Start of Block: Consonance

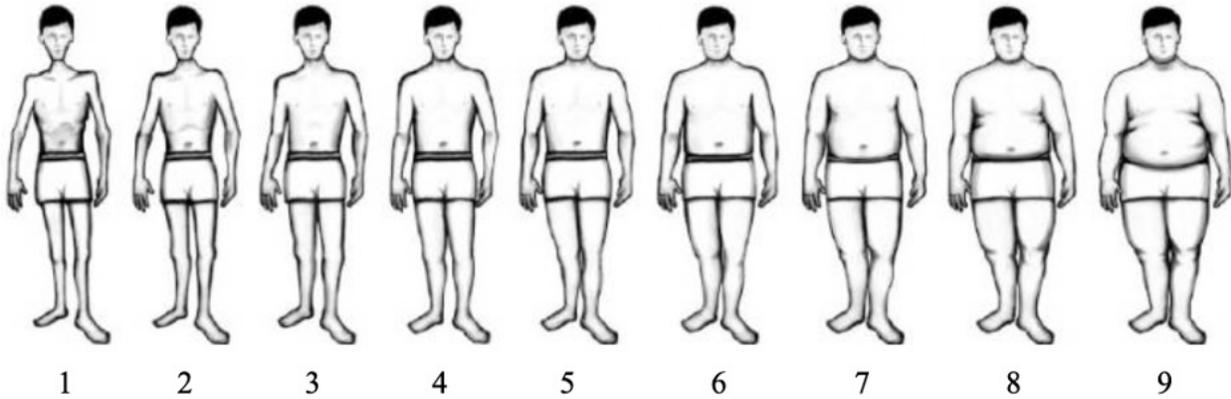


Q5 To what extent do you think other people would say you have each of the features listed below. Please be as sincere as you can.

	I definitely have it	I have it	I kind of have it	I do not have it
1. Tall	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. High nose	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Short	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Wide shoulders	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. White skin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Thick eyebrows	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Small face	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. 8-/7-head body	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. Big eyes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. Small eyes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. Long legs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. Flat nose	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. At least 180 cm tall	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. Stylish clothes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. Double eyelid	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
16. Angular features	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

17. V-line jaw	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. Thin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
19. Small head	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
20. Straight teeth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
21. Tan skin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
22. Glasses	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
23. Wears clothes poorly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
24. Balding	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
25. Acne	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
26. Abs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
27. Big muscles	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
28. Styled hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
29. Body hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
30. Flawless skin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
31. Small muscle	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
32. Neat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

33. Big hands	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
34. Beard	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
35. Dimples	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
36. Robust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
37. Fat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
38. Chubby	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
39. Stomach comes out	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
40. Colorfully dyed hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
41. Brown-dyed hair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
42. Makeup	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Please choose all the pictures that Koreans generally think are too slim for men's bodies.

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9

---

Please choose all the pictures that Koreans generally think are too fat for men's bodies.

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9



Please select the picture most like your own body.

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

---

Please select the picture most like your ideal body.

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

---

Why did you select this?

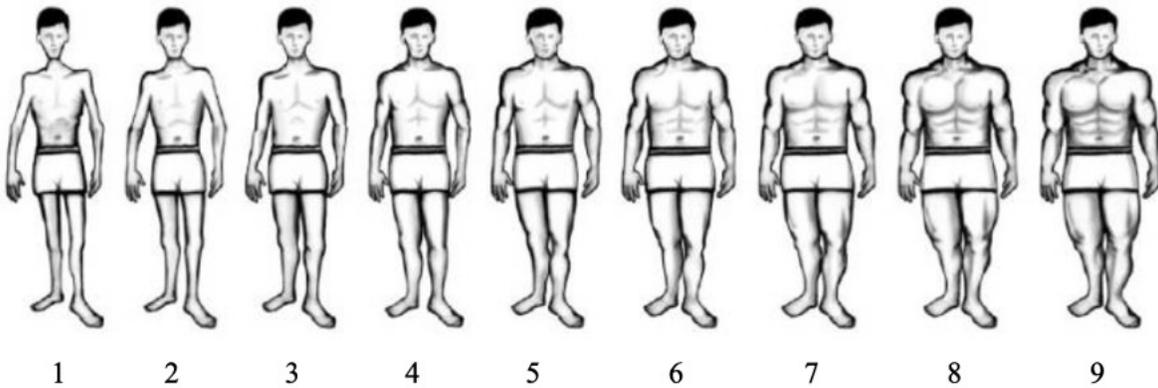
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Please choose all the pictures that Koreans generally think are too slim for men's bodies.

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9

---

Please choose all the pictures that Koreans generally think are too muscular for men's bodies.

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9



Please select the picture most like your own body.

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

---

Please select the picture most like your ideal body.

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

---

Why did you choose that picture?

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Q39. How often do you think about the following? Please indicate below.

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Usually	Always
1. I think I have too little muscle on my body.	<input type="radio"/>					
2. I think my body should be leaner	<input type="radio"/>					
3. I wish my arms were stronger	<input type="radio"/>					
4. I feel satisfied with the definition in my abs	<input type="radio"/>					
5. I think my legs are not muscular enough	<input type="radio"/>					
6. I think my chest should be broader.	<input type="radio"/>					
7. I think my shoulders are too narrow.	<input type="radio"/>					
8. I am concerned that my stomach is too flabby.	<input type="radio"/>					
9. I think my arms should be larger (i.e., more muscular).	<input type="radio"/>					
10. I feel dissatisfied with my overall body build.	<input type="radio"/>					
11. I think my calves should be larger (i.e., more muscular).	<input type="radio"/>					
12. I wish I were taller.	<input type="radio"/>					

13. I think I have too much fat on my body.
14. I think my abs are not thin enough.
15. I think my back should be larger and more defined.
16. I think my chest should be larger and more defined.
17. I feel satisfied with the definition in my arms.
18. I feel satisfied with the size and shape of my body.
19. I am satisfied with my height.
20. Has eating sweets, cakes, or other high calorie food made you feel fat or weak?
21. Have you ever felt excessively large and rounded (i.e., fat)?
22. Have you felt ashamed of your body size or shape?

23. Has seeing your reflection (e.g., in a mirror or window) made you feel badly about your size or shape?

24. Have you been so worried about your body size or shape that you have been feeling that you ought to diet?

Q40 Questions related to meals are presented below. Please read each item carefully and for each question select one response that you think best represents your condition by marking it with a ✓ mark in the corresponding column. Don't miss any questions and only make one mark per question.

	Always	Usually	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
1. I am terrified of being overweight	<input type="radio"/>					
2. I avoid eating when I am hungry.	<input type="radio"/>					
3. I find myself preoccupied with food.	<input type="radio"/>					
4. I have gone on eating binges where I feel that I might not be able to stop.	<input type="radio"/>					
5. I cut my food into small pieces.	<input type="radio"/>					
6. I am aware of the calorie contents of the foods that I eat.	<input type="radio"/>					
7. I avoid foods with a high carbohydrate content, such as bread and potatoes.	<input type="radio"/>					
8. I feel that others would prefer if I ate more.	<input type="radio"/>					
9. I vomit after I eat.	<input type="radio"/>					
10. I feel extremely guilty after eating.	<input type="radio"/>					
11. I am preoccupied with a desire to be thinner.	<input type="radio"/>					
12. I think about burning up calories when I exercise.	<input type="radio"/>					
13. Other people think that I am too thin.	<input type="radio"/>					

- |   |                       |                       |                       |                       |                       |                       |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 14. I am preoccupied with the thought of having fat on my body. | <input type="radio"/> |
| 15. I take longer to eat my meals than others.                  | <input type="radio"/> |
| 16. I avoid foods with sugar in them.                           | <input type="radio"/> |
| 17. I eat diet foods.   | <input type="radio"/> |
| 18. I feel that food controls my life.                          | <input type="radio"/> |
| 19. I display self-control around food.                         | <input type="radio"/> |
| 20. I feel that others pressure me to eat.                      | <input type="radio"/> |
| 21. I give too much time and thought to food.                   | <input type="radio"/> |
| 22. I feel uncomfortable after eating sweets.                   | <input type="radio"/> |
| 23. I engage in dieting behaviors.                              | <input type="radio"/> |
| 24. I like my stomach to be empty.                              | <input type="radio"/> |
| 25. I like to try new and fatty foods.                          | <input type="radio"/> |
| 26. I have the impulse to vomit after meals.                    | <input type="radio"/> |

## APPENDIX H

### IRB APPROVAL

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA | Office of the Vice President for  
Research & Economic Development  
Office for Research Compliance

May 30, 2019

Lawrence Monocello  
Anthropology  
College of Arts & Sciences  
Box 870210

Re: IRB # 19-OR-140-ME "Culture, Body Ideals, and Eating Disorders among Men in South Korea"

Dear Lawrence Monocello:

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has granted approval for your proposed research. Your application has been given expedited approval according to 45 CFR part 46. Approval has been given under expedited review category 7 as outlined below:

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies

The approval for your application will lapse on May 29, 2020. If your research will continue beyond this date, please submit the Continuing Review to the IRB as required by University policy before the lapse. Please note, any modifications made in research design, methodology, or procedures must be submitted to and approved by the IRB before implementation. Please submit a final report form when the study is complete.

Please use reproductions of the IRB approved informed consent form to obtain consent from your participants.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,

Carpanito 1. Myles, MSM, CIM, CIP  
Director & Research Compliance Officer