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ABSTRACT
                   Since the 1960s Korean society has been influenced by a
variety of Western cultures, resulting in considerable changes in the roles
assumed by women, especially related to their increasing employment. However,
less than 3% of all managers or administrators are women. The Attitudes
Toward Women scale and questionnaires concerning other gender-related
variables (e.g., smoking, drinking, dating, sex) were administered to 833
adolescent Koreans (420 males and 413 females) who ranged in age from 15 to
23 years. The sex variable was found to be the dominant explanatory variable
for the attitudes toward women. Results suggest that male Korean adolescents
in the 1990s still hold very traditional views concerning the rights and
roles of women. (EMK)

Attitudes toward Women in Adolescent Korean Sample[*]

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<Abstract>

The attitudes toward women scale and questionnaires concerning other gender-related variables (e.g., smoking, drinking, dating, sex) was administered to 833 adolescent Koreans (420 males and 413 females) who ranged in age from 15 to 23 years. The variable sex was found to be the most dominantly explanatory variable for the attitudes toward women. Results suggest that male Korean adolescents in the 1990s still hold very traditional views concerning the rights and roles of women.

Historically the conspicuous change in human consciousness occurred in Korea with the advent of Buddha and Confucius. In fact, most pioneering leaders of Korea from the 14th century until the early 20th century were followers to Confucianism. According to its doctrines, men and women have distinctly separate functions, abilities, duties, and roles to perform. That is, since man is paramount over all things, woman should yield to him. In this context she must obey her father or older brother before her marriage, obey her husband when married, and follow her son after her husband's death (Legge, 1982).

In such a male-dominated society, a woman was basically regarded as an instrument who gave birth to a son or sons for her husband's family. If she did not give birth to a son she could be divorced. In addition, her sexual behavior had been limited to the confines of marriage for the only purpose of procreation for several centuries. Thus, if she was found to have committed any premarital or extramarital sexual acts, she was punished by her father, brother, or husband because the affair would spoil her family's reputation. However, a man was allowed to have premarital or extramarital affairs with prostitutes in most cases. Furthermore, he could acquire more wives or concubines, depending upon his financial situation (Koo, 1985).

Korean society began to modernize very quickly from the 1960s. During the past three decades the society has been influenced by a variety of western cultures, resulting in considerable changes in the roles assumed by women, especially related to their increasing employment (Youn, 1991). According to the Korean Bureau of Statistics (1994), the percentage of women participating in economic activities increased from 28.4% in 1960 to 47.3% in 1992. Also, both the numbers of married female workers and women in management positions have been increasing due to changes in cultural norms concerning the role of

women. Nevertheless, it is true that less than 3% of all managers or administrators in the early 1990s were women. Men are still predominant.

Recently, a research project on sex role attitudes was designed with Korean adolescents as the sample. A Korean translation of the Attitudes toward Women Scale (AWS) was used in the study, and a significant difference in attitudes between males and females was found (Youn, 1991). The AWS, originally devised by Spence and Helmreich (1972), has been widely used to measure contemporary attitudes toward women or sex roles. The AWS consists of 55 items about the rights and roles of women in a comprehensive range of areas such as education, occupations, intellectual activities, etiquette, and dating behavior (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1973). Each item contrasts traditional vs. liberal views concerning the rights and roles of women. From the 55-item scale, Spence et al. (1973) developed a short version of the AWS which consists of 25 items. Parry (1982) used the 25-item scale with a British sample, while Stanley, Boots, and Johnson (1975) used it with an Australian sample.

Of the 25 AWS items, 15 items were simplified by Spence and Helmreich (1978) while 22 items were selected by Parry (1982). Youn (1991) translated Parry's version of the AWS for the Korean sample and developed the Korean version of the AWS (AWS-K). Several items were eliminated in order to increase the relevance of the scale to the sample. The AWS-K of 17 items was used to assess the effect of sexuality education on sex role attitudes in the study (Youn, 1991). The scale was administered twice to about 300 college students who took the sexuality education course; once at the beginning and again at the end of the course. The mean scores for both the males and for the females increased significantly, but the scores for the males after taking the course were significantly lower than those for the females before taking the course.

The sex difference, as a sign of the existing double standard between sexes, might result from the traditionally assumed attitudes toward sex roles. Admittedly, a variety of conservative attitudes toward women's status, roles, and rights still exist in the Korean society. To put it more concretely, most Koreans consider smoking and drinking habits more indecent for women than for men. They also consider the initiation of any dating or sexual interaction by females as undesirable. Thus, the major purpose of this study is to show the degree to which attitudes about the gender-appropriateness of drinking and smoking habits, dating and sexual interactions, and sex, are related to traditional attitudes toward women in general, within an adolescent sample. These findings should be useful for reshaping unequal sex roles into egalitarian sex roles.

Method

Respondents

The sample consists of 833 Korean students from several high schools and colleges in the Kwangju metropolitan area in Korea. Their mean age was 18.6 years (SD = 1.8; $Range$ = 15.2-23.5). In the sample, 420 were men (Mage = 18.5 years; SD = 2.0) and 413 were women (Mage = 18.6 years; SD = 1.6), so there were no significant age differences across sexes. All respondents in the sample had never been married. Of those sampled, high school students numbered 351 (216 men and 135 women; Mage = 16.9 years, SD = 0.7).

Instruments

Two questionnaires were used in this study; one for the dependent measure, the other for the independent variables. The dependent variable of interest in this study was attitudes toward women, as measured by the AWS-K (Table 1). Because it is the measure used most often in research on sex role attitudes, and because no better alternatives were available in Korea, it was used in the current study as well. Reliability of the AWS-K was determined by use of

item-total correlations. As for the 17-item AWS-K, Cronbach Coefficient α for Standardized variables was .86 and corrected item-total correlations for the sample (n = 833) ranged between 0.24 and 0.65 (see Table 1).

Insert Table 1 about here

Here, two items (i.e., item numbers 3 & 6) that showed less than .30 of the item-total correlations were deleted. After deleting the two items, the corrected item-total correlations of the 15-item AWS-K ranged between .34 and .66, and the Cronbach α was .87. The item response format was 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*) for each of the statements. Scores ranged from 15 to 75, with lower scores reflecting predominantly traditional attitudes toward women and their roles.

The other questionnaire, selected by the author in order to assess relationships with the AWS-K in this study, consisted of 13 open-ended, multiple choice, and Likert scale items. The items were designed to elicit information about demographic variables, descriptions of dating and sexual relationships, smoking and drinking habits and extent of sexual knowledge and attitudes toward sexuality. The questionnaire, except an item asking about marital status, can be seen in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

Procedure

The two questionnaires were administered to respondents in same-sex groups ranging from 1 to 20 students. All respondents were insured that the information would be kept strictly confidential. Participation was voluntary and

the questionnaires were filled out anonymously in their own classrooms or homes after school hours. After filling out the questionnaires which were designed to take approximately 15 minutes to complete, the respondents were asked to place them in a sealed envelope that was collected by the interviewer.

Results

The mean score of the 15-item AWS-K for the sample (n = 833) in this study was 55.30 (SD = 8.48; n = 833), and the cut-off points for the upper 25 and the lower 25 percentile scores were 61.2 and 49.2, respectively. The mean of the AWS-K for the males was 49.9 (SD = 7.3; $Range$ = 15-69), while that for the females was 60.8 (SD = 5.6; $Range$ = 43-74), resulting in a significant sex difference [F = 572.49, p < .001]. The percentages of the respondents who were in the upper 25.3 percentile scores (61 points out of 75) were 6.2% of the males and 50.1% of the females, while those in the lower 24.2 percentile scores (49 points out of 75) were 45.5% of the males and 2.7% of the females.

No statistical association was found between the AWS-K and the ages of the respondents. Respondents were distributed fairly equally among SES (16.6% were lower class; 67.9% were middle class; 15.4 % were upper class), but no statistical association between SES and sex was found. However, an association between the AWS-K and the SES was significant for the males (r = .16, p < .001), meaning that a higher SES was related to more traditional sex-role views. Such a relationship was nonexistent for the females.

There was no gender difference in dating frequencies during the past three months, and no statistical association was found between these frequencies and the AWS-K scores. About 19.1% of the respondents answered to have dated at least once a week, while 41.3% of them claimed never to have dated during the period. The percentages of respondents who currently have a steady dating partner were 30.7% for the males and 28.3% for the females.

There was a sex difference in responses for the item that asked about a woman's intention to have coitus when she initiated a date with a man who was a stranger to her (F = 108.68, p < .001). That is, the males (M = 2.98; SD = .79) were more likely to interpret her intention as wanting to have coitus than the females (M = 3.51; SD = .66). The correlation between this item and the AWS-K scores was insignificant for females (r = .05), but significant for males (r = .15, p < .01). This means that men who were more likely to answer that women who initiate dates intend to have coitus also held more traditional attitudes toward women.

As for the item that asked about a woman's intention to have coitus with a dating partner when she initiates a date with a male acquaintance, the results were about the same as the former item that asked about a stranger. The mean score for the item was 3.06 (SD = 0.74) for the males and 3.46 (SD = 0.67) for the females, resulting in a significant sex difference [F = 67.01, p < .001]. The correlation between this item and the AWS-K scores was again significant only for the males (r = .15, p < .01).

The prevalence of students who reported to have had coitus was 15.1% (20.2% of the men and 9.9% of the women) for the sample. About 4.0% of the men (n = 19) and 0.9% of the women (n = 4) reported at least 4 coital partners in the past. One male claimed 40 previous coital partners whereas the highest number for females was 5. The mean numbers of coital partners was 0.71 (SD = 3.01) for the males and 0.16 (SD = 0.58) for the females, respectively, resulting in a sex difference [F = 13.19, p < .001]. The statistical associations between the number of coital partners and the AWS-K were significant for the sample (r = -.15, p < .001), meaning that the more reported coital partners, the more traditional the attitudes toward women.

The majority of female respondents (94.2%) vs. about 64.8% of the males

were reported nonsmokers, whereas less than 1% of the females vs. about 15.0% of the males reported smoking more than a half pack of 20 cigarettes a day. The correlation between smoking frequencies of the respondents and the AWS-K was significantly high ($r = -.32$, $p < .001$), showing that the heavier smoking habits are positively correlated with more traditional attitudes toward women.

The majority of the respondents (86.9% of the males and 95.9% of the females) reported themselves as either nondrinkers (10.7% of the males and 20.8% of the females) or social drinkers who have had less than one drink a week. The drinking frequencies were a little higher than the smoking frequencies for the adolescents, and were significantly related to the AWS-K ($r = -.13$, $p < .001$). It also showed that heavier drinking habits are related with more conservative attitudes toward women.

As for the item related to attitudes about sex, the mean score (2.88; $SD = 1.02$) for males was significantly lower than that (3.29; $SD = 1.00$) for females [$F = 34.10$, $p < .001$]. The correlation between the item and the AWS-K was somewhat significant for the whole sample ($r = .09$, $p < .01$). That is to say, females answered more traditionally about sex in general than males did, and the persons who responded to have more liberal attitudes toward sex tended to show more traditional attitudes toward women.

For the question asking about knowledge of sex, no one rated his/her general sexual knowledge as "very poor." Males tended to respond that they had more knowledge on sex than females ($\chi^2 = 34.78$, $p < .001$). That is, males rated their knowledge very superior (5.7%) or superior (25.5%) as compared to females, very superior (1.9%) or superior (16.2%). A significant relationship between this item and the AWS-K scores was found for the entire sample ($r = .12$, $p < .001$), showing that the more knowledge they claimed to have the more

traditional were their attitudes toward women.

A number of the aforementioned variables showed high relationships with the AWS-K. That is, higher numbers of coital partners, heavy smoking or drinking, liberal attitudes toward sex, and better knowledge of sex were related to traditional attitudes toward women. However, the characteristics of traditional attitudes toward women tended to be reflected by the males' responses. Thus, regression analysis was performed in order to ascertain the relationships between most of the items mentioned in the former section and the AWS-K.

All the variables were used as predictors of attitudes toward women in the initial regression. The two variables SEX and DST (i.e., the item asking if he/she has a steady date) were included as dummy variables in the analysis. This analysis permitted me to identify the relative influence of several variables. In the first regression, all 12 independent variables were entered simultaneously. With this procedure, the obtained β weights for each variable reflect the predictive influence of that variable when the variance from all other factors is removed. Table 3 shows the β weight and other results from the first regression analysis. The overall R^2 value indicates that about 44% of the AWS-K variability was accounted for by the 12 predictors, with the five factors showing a significant influence on the AWS-K.

Insert Table 3 about here

For a second analysis, variable SEX was omitted to examine the impact of other factors when it was not a covariate. The second equation in Table 3 shows the results from the analysis. Clearly, SEX is revealed to be the most dominantly explanatory variable for the AWS-K. When it is omitted, the multiple regression accounted for a much smaller variance in the AWS-K (R^2

= .186). That is, SEX accounted for over 25% of the variance in AWS-K scores. Since SMK (smoking) was the most significant factor for predicting AWS-K in the second analysis, it was also omitted in a third analysis. From the third analysis, smoking accounted for about 4.7% of the variance in the AWS-K scores. In the third analysis, interestingly, the variables AGE and NCP (number of coital partners) were found as two of the six significant predictors of the AWS-K, while KOS and DST variables were never significant at any of the three steps of the analysis.

Discussion

By today's social norms in Korea, drinking and smoking habits for adolescents and females are not rewarded. The socially acceptable age in Korea for smoking and drinking is just after graduation from high school (Youn, 1996). Thus, smoking and drinking are considered inappropriate behavior for high school students, but almost never for college students. However, these behaviors are not considered as appropriate even for adults, if they are committed in front of persons who are older. If a college student is smoking in front of his father or professor, he is considered as a bad person. Similarly premarital coital intercourse, even when dating in a serious way, is discouraged at the high school level in Korean society. There is not much dating until college. In the Korean cultural milieu, adolescents are expected, especially by their parents, to devote most of their time to studying and academic achievement in order to enter colleges.

Nevertheless, a number of Korean adolescents have pursued smoking, drinking, dating, and coital relationships (Youn, 1996). Most Koreans somewhat tolerate this disobedience in male adolescents, but are very intolerant of the same behavior by in female adolescents (Youn, 1991). Due to such a double standard, it is expected that males show higher rates of those behaviors than

females. The results in the study showed that the males reported higher rates of lifetime alcohol consumption and smoking than the females (35.2% vs. 5.8% and 89.3% vs. 79.2%, respectively). Although there was no sex difference in dating frequencies, there was a big sex difference in experiencing coitus (20.2% vs. 9.9%). Among those who reported to have coitus, in general, men are likely to have a greater number of premarital coital partners than women (Simon, 1989). The sex difference would be due to both the fact that in Korea as in other cultures a woman's virginity is still considered a treasure to be kept until marriage, and the fact that a number of male respondents might meet sex trade professionals (Youn, 1996).

There was no significant correlation between the AWS-K and the ages of the respondents in this study. After reviewing a number of studies, Deaux (1985) suggests that traditional attitudes are more likely to be held by those who are older, less educated, lower in income, and higher in church attendance. Generalizability is questionable since all of the findings in this study were just from the adolescent Korean sample, but the double standard would be prevalent for the adolescent sample (Philliber & Tatum, 1982). Then, the variable sex should be the most dominant factor to determine attitudes toward the roles, rights, and responsibilities of women and men in Korea, as did in other studies (e.g., Bailey, Less, & Harrell, 1992; Orlofsky, Cohen, & Ramsden, 1985).

In conclusion, the results of this study imply that in the 1990s Korean male adolescents still hold very traditional views concerning the rights and roles of women. However, several studies in several cultures have indicated a trend toward more egalitarian attitudes and a corresponding movement away from beliefs in traditional roles for women and men (e.g., Helmreich et al., 1982). Due largely to the feminist movement, women's rights have become a paramount social issue in Korea, especially since the late 1980s. It is hoped that substantial

changes in Korean society may occur to alter and perhaps equalize sex roles. The egalitarian sex-role norms may contribute to the elimination of the double standard.

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Table 1. Item-total correlations of AWS-K items and sex differences

	r^a	r^b	Male (n=420)	Female (n=413)	t^c
1. There should be more women leaders in important jobs in public life, such as politics.	.59	.60	3.1 (1.0)	4.3 (0.7)	21.22
2. It is all right for men to tell dirty jokes, but I don't think women should tell them.	.46	.46	3.4 (1.0)	4.1 (0.9)	11.26
3. It is worse to see a drunken woman than a drunken man.	.24	–	2.3 (1.1)	2.6 (0.9)	4.27
4. If a woman goes out to work her husband should share the housework; such as laundry, dishes, cleaning and cooking.	.52	.52	3.6 (1.0)	4.4 (0.7)	14.16
5. Woman should have completely the same opportunities in getting jobs and promotion as men.	.65	.66	3.9 (1.0)	4.7 (0.5)	17.41
6. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.	.27	–	4.1 (0.7)	4.1 (0.7)	0.49
7. Women should worry less about being equal with men and more about becoming good wives and mothers.	.57	.57	2.5 (1.1)	3.5 (1.1)	14.91
8. Women should not be bosses in important jobs in business and industry.	.61	.62	4.0 (0.9)	4.7 (0.5)	16.18
9. Women should be able to everywhere a man goes, or do everything a man does, for example, going into pubs alone.	.49	.47	3.0 (1.1)	3.8 (1.0)	11.76
10. Daughters in a family should be encouraged to stay on at school and go to college as much as the sons in a family.	.48	.48	4.3 (0.8)	4.8 (0.5)	11.32
11. It would be ridiculous for a woman to drive a train or for a man to sew on shirt buttons.	.45	.45	3.4 (1.1)	4.0 (0.9)	9.93
12. In general, the father should have more authority than the mother in bringing up children.	.36	.35	2.6 (1.1)	3.3 (1.2)	9.77
13. A woman's place is in the home looking after her family, rather than following a career of her own.	.52	.51	2.5 (1.1)	3.5 (1.1)	13.46
14. Women are better off having their own jobs and freedom to do as they please rather than being treated like a lady in the old-fashioned way.	.34	.34	3.5 (1.0)	3.9 (1.0)	6.91
15. Women have less to offer than men in the world of business and industry.	.62	.63	3.4 (1.0)	4.4 (0.7)	17.81

(to be continued)

16. Girls should have as much opportunity to do apprenticeships and learn a trade as boys.	.49	.48	3.8 (0.8)	4.2 (0.8)	7.74
17. Girls nowadays should be allowed the same freedom as boys such as being allowed to stay out late.	.52	.52	2.9 (1.1)	3.8 (0.9)	15.39

Note. Each item was cored on a 5-point scale with 1 = *strongly disagree* and 5 = *strongly agree.*
Items 2, 3, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, and 15 are scored reversely.
a   item-total correlations with the 17-item scale
b   item-total correlations with the 15-item scale (after deleting items 3 & 6)
c   all *t* values were significant at *p* < .001 except it for item 6 (*n.s.*)

Table 2.   Items for the Independent Variables

Variable	Item Content [Response Format or Range]
SEX	[male (0); female (1)]
AGE	[15.2 to 23.5 years]
SES	how would you rate your SES compared to your peer group? [very much higher (1) to very much lower (5)]
DFR	how often did you have a date during the 3 months preceding this interview? [almost daily (1); 2-3 times a week (2); once a week (3); 2-3 times a month (4); once a month (5); once or twice during the period (6); never (7)]
DST	do you have a steady date? [yes (0); no (1)]
DSQ	if a woman initiates a date with a man who she does not know well, how much do you think she has an intention of sexual coitus with him? [very much (1) to not at all (5)]
DAQ	if a woman initiates a date with a man who she knows well, how much do you think she has an intention of sexual coitus with him? [very much (1) to not at all (5)]
NCP	how many coital partners of the opposite sex have you had? [0-40]
SMK	how often do you smoke? [never (0); less than once (1); less than 5 times (2); between a quarter and a half pack of 20 cigarettes (3); between a half pack and a pack of 20 cigarettes (4); more than a pack of 20 cigarettes (5)]
DRK	how often do you have drinks containing alcohol? [never (1); less than twice a year (2); 3-6 times a year (3); once a month (4); 2-3 times a month (5); once a week (6); 2-4 times a week (7); almost daily (8)]
KOS	how would you rate your knowledge of sex compared with your peers? [very superior (1) to very poor (5)]
ATS	what is your general attitude towards sex? [very liberal (1) to very conservative (5)]

Table 3. Contributions of sex and other variables to attitudes toward woman

Variables	Equation 1		Equation 2		Equation 3	
	b	β	b	β	b	β
AGE (15.2–23.5)	.013	.003	.258	.055	.397	.085*
SES[a] (1–5)	.905	.065*	.187	.013	.246	.018
SEX[b] (0–1)	10.158	.599***	not entered		not entered	
DST[c] (0–1)	.019	.001	.734	.039	.742	.040
DFR[d] (1–7)	.042	.009	-.580	-.129**	-.440	-.097*
NCP[e] (0–40)	-.198	-.051	-.104	-.027	-.355	-.092*
SMK[f] (0–5)	-.611	-.094**	-1.698	-.261***	not entered	
DRK[g] (1–8)	.286	.066	-.236	-.054	-.622	-.143***
DSQ[h] (1–5)	.735	.067*	1.879	.173***	2.176	.199***
DAQ[i] (1–5)	.654	.057	1.495	.130***	1.640	.143***
ATS[j] (1–5)	-.613	-.074*	-.250	-.030	-.282	-.034
KOS[k] (1–5)	-.182	-.015	.262	.021	.587	.048
	R^2 = .440		R^2 = .186		R^2 = .139	
	N = 833		N = 833		N = 833	

Note. Fs for the first, second, and third equations were 53.63, 17.08, 13.30, respectively, and all significant at $p < .001$.

   * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

a   SES = Socioeconomic status [very much higher (1) to very much lower (5)]
b   SEX = Gender [male (0), female (1)]
c   DST = Asking if he/she has a steady date [yes (0), no (1)]
d   DFR = Dating frequency [almost everyday (1) to never (7)]
e   NCP =   Number of coital partners
f   SMK = Smoking frequency [never (0) to more than a pack a day (5)]
g   DRK = Drinking frequency [never (1) to almost everyday (8)]
h   DSQ = Female initiated date with a stranger [very much (1) to not at all (5)]
i   DAQ = Female initiated date with an acquaintance [very much (1) to not at all (5)]
j   ATS = Attitudes to sex [more liberal (1) to more traditional (5)]
k   KOS = Knowledge of sex [very superior (1) to very poor (5)]

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