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국제학석사학위논문

**Beauty, a Capital or a Corset? A Quantitative Analysis
of the Time Investment in Appearance by Females in
South Korea**

자본 혹은 코르셋: 한국 여성의 외모 시간 투자에 대한 양적 연구

2019년 2월

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**Beauty, a Capital or a Corset? A Quantitative Analysis
of the Time Investment in Appearance by Females in
South Korea**

By
Joohyun Lee

Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
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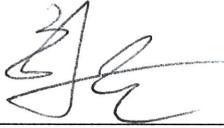
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Abstract

Beauty, a Capital or a Corset? A Quantitative Analysis of the Time Investment in Appearance by Females in South Korea

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The importance of beauty has significantly increased and continues to rise in the 21st century, its influence reaching across all social contexts and stages of life. Sociologist Catherine Hakim, building on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of capital, presents 'erotic capital' as the fourth personal asset, which is useful in conceptualizing beauty as a broader notion of attractiveness that is not only endowed but also actively cultivated. This study seeks to empirically verify Hakim's theory with respect to the marriage and labour markets in South Korea using time use survey data, the application of which is unconventional in beauty-related research. The population-based Korean Time Use Survey data from 2014 is analyzed using Stata 13 with a focus on women and special attention given to mothers. Results find meaningful variations in the time spent on an average day toward beauty across the categories of sex, marital status, employment status, and motherhood that corroborate the erotic capital theory. Time differentials are found significant after controlling for age, age squared, educational attainment, income, urban residence, number of unmarried children in the household, measures of subjective personal conditions including perceived time shortage, self-reported health, and life satisfaction, as well as paid and unpaid work times. However, the analysis also sheds light on how the beauty capital serves not as a means of empowerment but rather as a 'corset' for working mothers who must manage work, childrearing, and a well-groomed appearance.

Keywords: Hakim's erotic capital, physical attractiveness, beauty, appearance management, time allocation, time use survey data, South Korean females

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I. Introduction

1. Research Background

“Being pretty is everything.” A bold, catchy slogan once greeted the public outside the exit of Gangnam subway station, one of the busiest transport hubs frequented by more than 200,000 people per day. South Korea has made a name for its rigid and high beauty standards, long raising concerns for an unhealthy preoccupation with looks that is especially biased against women. An extreme example of a well-managed appearance taking priority being a leader tending to her hair in a time of national emergency. In a society steeped in patriarchal traditions, women, especially the younger generations, face multiple ordeals of having to prove their professional abilities, to be good mothers, and additionally maintain attractiveness as a female. The ‘Escape the Corset’ campaign which emerged in the summer of 2018 amid the #MeToo wave that swept across the country, was a reaction against the excessive prioritization of looks. However, the campaign also observed aggressive counterarguments raised by women in defense of the beauty culture which they argued was for their own self-development. That attractive appearance is an element of competitiveness is a readily accepted proposition in South Korea, the so called beauty capital of the world. Under the slogan of ‘self-management,’ women diligently engage in activities to maintain or enhance their appearance using make-up, skin care, weight control, clothes and other adornments.

Catherine Hakim’s theory of erotic capital offers a fresh perspective to explore the importance of beauty. In light of the growing interest in and significance of beauty across age, gender, and other characteristics in the modern, affluent societies of the 21st

century, Hakim developed the concept of erotic capital under which beauty is conceptualized as that which is not only acquired but actively developed (Hakim 2010). Rejecting the conservative feminist approach in viewing female beauty as a form of patriarchal oppression, Hakim suggests that beauty is an asset that can and ought to be actively exploited, especially by women who have an advantage over men given their greater interest and history of cultivating it. Given that empirical research that had examined the influence of appearance or physical attractiveness in the mating and marriage market (Buss 1985; Buss and Barnes 1986; Buss and Schmitt 1993; Sprecher et al., 1994) and in the labour market (Fletcher 2009; Hamermesh and Biddle, 1994; Harper 2000; Jeffes 1998; Pfann et al 2000) were mostly based on data from major Western societies and rather outdated, South Korea offers to be a rich testing ground to observe how beauty is serving women today in a highly competitive society.

2. Research Objective and Significance of Study

The objective of this study is to empirically verify Hakim's theory with respect to the marriage and labour markets in South Korea with a particular focus on women using time use survey data. To do this, the method of analysis will be designed to answer the following questions:

- *How does the time spent on an average day toward beauty vary across categories of sex, marital status, employment status, and motherhood?*
- *Does marital status and employment status predict time differentials with significance after controlling for relevant variables?*

This study endeavors to make the following contributions to the existing literature: first, an analysis based on average time use offers an alternative method to explore the importance of beauty as a capital. Time use survey data have been used to explore labor and leisure time, gender inequality, student time use and more (KOSTAT 2015a; 2015b; 2015c), but an application in beauty-related research has yet been made known. The 2014 Korean Time Use Survey (KTUS) data used in this study has the added benefit of being based on a large, nationally representative sample. Second, empirical support for the erotic capital theory is found in a country, outside of the usual Western context, whose society is economically advanced yet lives in extreme time poverty. Third, the study pays a special attention to motherhood in light of the serious challenges that working mothers face, to which Hakim's perspective highlighting women's choice remains overly optimistic and insensitive. Finally, with the examination of overall time allocation, this study sheds light on whether the time investment in beauty capital serves as a means to female empowerment or rather as a 'corset'.

Section II first reviews the theories that guide this study, along with major empirical research works that have explored the importance of beauty in the mating and marriage market and the labour market, respectively. Section III describes the 2014 KTUS data and method of analysis to be used. Section IV then presents the results of variations in average times spent toward beauty across select categories of interest, that are cross-examined against the allocation of time on other activities, and finally regressed to test for the statistical significance of time differentials. Section V discusses the findings, and section VI concludes with a brief summary, limitations, and recommendations for future research.

II. Literature Review

1. Beauty as a Capital

This study is theoretically guided by Bourdieu's concept of capital (1986) and Hakim's erotic capital theory (2010; 2011).

Bourdieu (1986) outlined the different forms in which capital can exist as power in the broader scheme of social interaction. According to Bourdieu, capital, a potential capacity to produce profits, exists not only in the form of economic capital, but also in the forms of cultural capital or social capital. Economic capital is all resources and assets that are immediately and directly convertible to money; cultural capital is possessed as personal dispositions or goods that reflect socially valued knowledge or education; and social capital is the sum of actual or potential resources that arise from a network of relationships or membership in a group. Both cultural and social capital are convertible, but not completely reducible, to economic capital, entailing certain conditions and costs in the process of transformation because they involve a specific type of labour, i.e. work on oneself, which conceals the efficacy of the capital. The gratuitous expenditure of time, attention, care, and concern put forth in the accumulation of capital other than economic capital are, in essence, investments that can reap profits in the long run (Bourdieu 1986).

Hakim (2010; 2011) builds on Bourdieu's theory of the forms of capital and raises the sociological importance of beauty to a new level of discussion. She develops the concept of erotic capital¹, argued as the fourth personal asset that can influence

¹ The term erotic capital or sexual capital has originally been used, somewhat loosely defined, in analyzing how sexual desire and behavior can be socially organized along the lines of culture, race, class, and other social hierarchies (Martin and George 2006).

outcomes in the mating and marriage markets and labour markets, as well as in the media, politics, advertising, sports, the arts, and everyday social interaction. There are six distinct elements to erotic capital: beauty, the central element, which largely pertains to facial attractiveness; sexual attractiveness, derived not only from one's physical figure but also from movement, speech, and demeanor; social skills that render one likeable, or desirable, to others; liveliness, or a sort of positive social energy; social presentation, such as the wearing of clothes, make-up, perfume, jewelry, and any other adornments and accessories that convey one's social status and identity; and sexual competence. Fertility, unique to women, is added as a seventh element in some cases. In sum, erotic capital is "a combination of aesthetic, visual, physical, social, and sexual attractiveness to other members of [the] society...in all social contexts" (Hakim 2010), and women in general have more erotic capital than men on account of the longer history and tradition of cultivating it.

The emphasis on and treatment of the sexual aspect of erotic capital especially in her later works (Hakim 2010; 2011) have raised much controversy, but the scope of erotic capital is not limited to sex appeal and Hakim recognizes the centrality of beauty in the narrower sense, namely, looks and appearance, among all other elements, in the power to yield benefits in various social contexts. The broad scope of erotic capital, on the other hand, could be subject to the criticism of being a catch-all theory, but Hakim defends the concept with precise distinctions made in terms of its constitutive elements and recommends that they be studied as to which elements carry most weight.

2. Importance of Beauty in the Mating and Marriage Market

A popular support with regards to the valorization of beauty in relation to mating and marriage comes from the field of evolutionary psychology. Notwithstanding the high tendency of assortative mating, or marriage between individuals who share similar characteristics, in human societies, the forces of sexual selection have led to the evolution of certain significant sex differences in mate preferences (Buss 1985; Buss and Schmitt 1993; Buss and Barnes 1986; Fisman et al. 2006; Miller 2000; Sprecher et al., 1994). In a sweeping cross-national survey of 37 cultures in five continents involving more than 10,000 participants, where urban and educated individuals were overrepresented, David Buss (1989) found that men in every culture placed high value on physical attractiveness and, in most, on fertility, among the 18 characteristics in a potential mate, while women preferred social stability and economic capability in men. Another seminal study by Susan Sprecher, Quintin Sullivan, and Elaine Hatfield (1994), based on a large, nationally representative sample of 13,000 single American adults, tested for sex differences in preferences on 12 possible assets or liabilities in a potential marriage partner and again found men to highly value attractiveness over women; the finding held true in a replication study conducted twenty years later (Sorenson and Pollet 2016). When surveying the preferences on short-term partners, both sexes emphasized physical attractiveness to be important (Buss and Schmitt 1993; Regan 1998), but men were additionally noted to dislike characteristics in women that signaled a lack of sexual interest (Buss and Schmitt 1993). Pamela C. Regan (1998) addressed the potential gap between what is ideally desired and what one may settle for in a potential mate, and

analyzed how the willingness to compromise on ideal selection standards varies as a function of sex, self-perceived mate value or relationship context; the study found that men exercise greater latitude than did women with regards to a number of attribute dimensions (i.e., intellect, interpersonal skill and responsiveness, age, interpersonal power, social status) but physical attractiveness, and are also more willing to compromise on all variables for a casual sex partner except on physical attractiveness. Put together, women are subject to meet the high standard of attractiveness, over most other personal attributes, whether for short-term or long-term relationships.

Results of research from other disciplines do not present as consistent and clear a picture. Many sociological studies have sought to analyze mate selection and marriage under the framework of exchange, whereby it was consistently found that women's beauty is traded for men's social status in the marital bargain (Davis 1941; Goode 1966; Waller 1937). "A woman is expected to use her attractiveness to gain certain legitimate ends such as recognition, status, and a husband. The family stands back of her and helps her to make a respectable bargain" (Davis 1949: 404). The impact of appearance on marriage is also partly examined from the economic perspective. When holding age and educational attainment equal, using U.S. and Canadian data, women's looks do not affect the probability of marriage, though below-average looks is related to the educational attainment of the husband (Hamermesh and Biddle 1994). With British data, however, there was evidence on beauty premia in the marriage market for attractive women and penalties for unattractive men, when controlling for social class, education, health, race, and region of residence. The economic cost of obesity was additionally explored, revealing significant results for women: those who are obese are 7 percent less likely

than the reference group to be married, and where married, partners earn 15 percent less (Harper 2000).

3. Importance of Beauty in the Labour Market

No few studies have confirmed that beauty matters in the labour market. Economists in particular have examined the relationship between wages and attractiveness (Fletcher 2009; Hamermesh and Biddle, 1994; Harper 2000); obesity (Cawley 2004); and height (Judge and Cable 2004). The work by Daniel S. Hamermesh and Jeff E. Biddle (1994) is one of the earliest works that examined the role of physical beauty in labour market outcomes, confirming the existence of both a ‘beauty premium’ and a ‘plainness penalty.’ More specifically, compared to people with average looks, better-looking people earn 5% more income for both men and women, and plain-looking people make 9% less for men and 7-9% less for women, controlling for age and education. However, there was no statistically significant asymmetry in the effects of looks or gender difference as would’ve been predicted. Barry Harper (2000) took up the task of testing the effects of looks exploring the relations with British data, and also found similar results.

The earning differentials associated with looks could be explained by the mechanisms of discrimination, self-sorting (or occupational crowding), i.e., individuals sorting into particular occupations where good looks is conducive, or individual attributes (Hamermesh and Biddle 1994; Liu and Sierminska, 2014; Kanazawa and Still 2017). Discrimination can arise from consumer discrimination, wherein good looks yield more productive interactions with customers or coworkers, or employer discrimination,

though it may be difficult to identify whether the employer rewards the better-looking employees on account of hidden productivity. Markus M. Mobius and Tanya S. Rosenblat (2006) decomposed the beauty premium in occupational settings where the required task is not directly related to physical attractiveness, and found that physical attractiveness improves wages by way of higher confidence, (misleading) appearance of higher competence, and better communication and social skills when interacting with employers.

The degree of influence of good looks can also vary depending on the occupation. “Employees are most likely to experience appearance-based discrimination in jobs in the following areas: modelling, acting, television anchoring, public and customer relations and sales, retail work, food service, in-flight service, hair styling and fitness training”—essentially, works that involve significant interaction with the public and “require the person to influence others to buy, watch, assist, return for another visit, etc.” (Jeffes 1998). Better-looking executives are also found to have higher revenues (Pfann et al 2000). Physical appearance is not only a salient factor in work which has an obvious visual element, but also relevant to a wide range of other occupations where display is not the primary reason that the job exists. The active exploiting of looks in labour forms a whole other strand of research, namely that on ‘aesthetic labour’ (Warhurst et al. 2012).

III. Methodology

1. Hypotheses

Based on previous research that corroborate the theory of erotic capital, and the close association between the gratuitous expenditure of time and accumulation of non-economic capital, this study develops and tests for the following basic set of hypotheses. Given the practical limits of measurement, the term beauty, or beauty capital, will be used in this study to refer to elements in erotic capital that mainly pertain to physical attractiveness (i.e., facial features, sexually attractive physique, and social presentation).

(1) Women will invest more time in beauty on average than men where beauty improves outcomes with respect to marriage and labour market outcomes, and the time differential within gender will also be greater among women than among men.

(2) Women without spouse, especially singles, will invest more time in beauty on average than married women, so to enhance their dating and/or marriage prospects.

(3) Women who are engaged in paid work will invest more time in beauty on average than women who are not, so to directly or indirectly improve outcomes at work; moreover, those who are employed for a position in which managing long-term interpersonal relations is more relevant to success at workplace will invest more beauty time than where less relevant.

A separate consideration must be made for women with young children, given the highly disruptive effect motherhood can have with regards to paid work. Notwithstanding the potential sharp drop in sexual interest women experience after having children and the

more certain rechanneling of available time and energy to their children (Hakim 2010), the relevance of beauty is likely to be sustained, if not increased, vis-à-vis maternal employment. Mothers face extreme difficulty in keeping or returning to their paid jobs after giving birth especially in a culture where women are expected to carry most of the childrearing and other unpaid work responsibilities. There is thus extra incentives for working mothers to polish their outward presentation to appear no less well-groomed than their own selves before giving birth or than other unmarried female coworkers, so to give the impression that their delivery at work is unaffected by the added role of motherhood.

(4) Working mothers with young children will make more time investment in beauty on average than stay-at-home mothers, and this time differential across employment status will be greater than that among women without young children.

2. Data, Variables, and Methods

2.1. Data

The Korean Time Use Survey (KTUS), conducted by Statistics Korea every five years since 1999, collects information on how individuals spend time on an average day along with demographic and other personal information from a nationally representative sample of the civilian population aged 10 and above. The rich details on the duration and period of time allotted to everyday activities provide for a useful raw material to understand the people's lifestyle and quality of life, widely utilized to inform

policymaking in fields such as labor, welfare, culture, and transportation and to promote relevant academic research (KOSTAT 2015a).

The 2014 KTUS data contains information on roughly 24,000 respondents from a total of 12,000 households, selected from the 2010 Population and Housing Census via two-stage sampling across three seasons in the months of July, September, and December. Each respondent was responsible for generating two time diaries over two consecutive 24-hour days, recording all primary activities, place and mode of transportation, accompanying persons, and simultaneous activities by 10-minute intervals. The activities, broadly classified as personal maintenance/care, work, or leisure, were then coded into 9 major categories, 42 intermediary categories, and 138 specific categories.

For the purpose of this study, the research scope is limited to the non-student² adult population who are of age 20 and above and in good health. Students regardless of age are dropped altogether from the data sample; not only is there a technical difficulty of controlling for the effects of characteristics such as educational attainment and income in regression analysis, but students in college or graduate schools vary greatly in terms of goals, commitments, and available resources such that sensible generalizations cannot be made about the use of time, including that invested in beauty.³ Also eliminated are persons who were not engaged in paid work on account of “illness or disability” or those whose health status was rated below fair on a five-point subjective scale, in which cases

² Non-students are defined as persons not currently enrolled at an educational institution, thus inclusive of those who are on a temporary leave from school.

³ For a simple comparison between the student and non-student population vis-à-vis times spent on an average day, see Appendix A.

beauty-related activities may have been cut short or lengthened against the respondents' interests due to unsupportive physical conditions.

To explore the female concern with beauty, the data is briefly observed in its entirety, consisting of 37,228 time diaries from adult respondents, and more thoroughly examined in a reduced scope, consisting of 19,142 time diaries from female adult respondents. When zooming in on females, women with young children but without spouse are cast aside owing to the relatively small sample size.⁴ The effect of motherhood on unmarried women vis-à-vis beauty time must be examined separately from that on married women given the difference in beauty interest and time use depending on marital status, but a cross tabulation of young household children and employment status for women without spouse—even when the single, the divorced, and the widowed are combined—yields cells sizes that are too small ($n < 30$) to allow for analysis. It should be noted that respondents with household children may be grandmothers, rather than mothers, but the distinction is not made available in the data. The weighted proportions by selected characteristics for the Korean adult population, and those for the target cohorts of interest among the female adult population, are shown in **Tables 1 and 2**, respectively.

⁴ This removes 329 observations (62 are single, 81, divorced, and 186, widowed) from the female data sample.

Table 1. Weighted proportion of Korean adults by selected characteristics, 2014 KTUS

Category		All (Percent)	Male (Percent)	Female (Percent)
Sex	Female	49.9	-	100.0
	Male	50.2	100.0	-
Employment status	Employed for pay – beauty more relevant	51.4	63.1	39.7
	Employed for pay – beauty less relevant	19.0	21.3	16.7
	Not employed for pay	29.6	15.6	43.7
Marital status	Single	17.6	19.8	15.3
	Widowed	7.1	3.2	12.1
	Divorced	3.6	2.2	4.1
	Married	71.7	74.9	68.5
Presence of household children	No household children under age 10	78.1	77.7	78.6
	Has household children under age 10 – youngest aged 0-2	9.8	10.0	9.0
	Has household children under age 10 – youngest aged 3-6	7.3	7.4	7.5
	Has household children under age 10 – youngest aged 6-9	4.9	5.0	4.9
Age	20 to 29 years	12.7	12.2	13.2
	30 to 39 years	20.9	21.3	20.5
	40 to 49 years	23.6	24.2	23.0
	50 to 59 years	21.4	22.1	20.7
	60 to 69 years	11.8	11.8	11.8
	70 and older	9.6	8.5	10.8
Educational attainment	Less than a high school diploma	20.9	15.6	26.3
	High school diploma, no college	36.6	37.9	35.4
	College or associate degree	15.3	14.8	15.7
	Bachelor's degree and higher	27.2	31.7	22.6
Monthly income	None	17.8	4.4	31.3
	Less than 0.5 million won	45.9	4.7	11.5
	0.5 to less than 1 million won	9.8	6.4	13.2
	1 to less than 1.5 million won	13.3	10.8	15.9
	1.5 to less than 2 million won	10.4	13.5	11.1
	2 to less than 2.5 million won	28.3	14.2	6.7
	2.5 to less than 3 million won	8.5	13.2	3.7
	3 to less than 3.5 million won	5.7	8.8	2.5
	3.5 to less than 4 million won	3.6	6.2	1.0
	4 to less than 4.5 million won	3.1	5.0	1.1
4.5 to less than 5 million won	1.8	3.1	0.4	
5 million won and higher	5.7	9.6	1.7	
Area of residence	Urban	85.3	85.3	85.3
	Rural	14.7	14.7	14.7
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0
Observations		37,228	17,757	19,471

Notes: Data refer to persons 20 years and older. With regards to employment status, those who are employed for pay are regrouped into two based on employee status: the importance of beauty to outcomes at work for those belonging to the first category—regular employees, temporary employees, and employers—can be assumed to be greater in general than for those in the second category—daily workers, own account workers, and unpaid family workers—on account of the longer-term social relations that must be managed with the employer, coworkers, customers, or some combination of the above.

Table 2. Weighted proportion of Korean female adults by selected characteristics, 2014 KTUS

Characteristic	Employment status			Total/ Observations
	Employed – beauty more relevant (Percent)	Employed – beauty less relevant (Percent)	Not employed (Percent)	
Single, no household children under age 10	72.5	7.1	20.4	100.0
Divorced, no household children under age 10	27.8	6.5	7.1	2,450
Widowed, no household children under age 10	55.3	25.5	19.2	100.0
Married, no household children under age 10	5.3	5.8	1.7	685
Married, youngest household child aged 0-2	18.5	16.3	65.1	100.0
Married, youngest household child aged 3-6	5.2	10.9	16.7	2,401
Married, youngest household child aged 6-9	35.5	21.9	42.6	100.0
Total	44.4	65.0	48.5	9,759
Observations	28.4	6.4	65.2	100.0
	6.5	3.5	13.5	1,648
	37.3	11.0	51.8	100.0
	6.4	4.5	8.1	1,336
	40.6	15.3	44.1	100.0
	4.4	3.9	4.4	863
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Observations	7,221	3,468	8,453	19,142

Notes: Data refer to female persons 20 years and older. Row percentage is indicated above column percentage. Women who are not married but with household children under the age of 10 are excluded from examination due to small cell sizes.

2.2. Variables

The time investment in beauty, the key variable to be explained in this analysis, is measured by what the KTUS codes under the broader category of personal maintenance⁵ as “self-care” time, or the sum of times spent on personal hygiene, appearance management, receiving beauty-related service, and other caring of the self that is not health-related. Self-care time under the KTUS thus essentially pertains to developing an individual’s physical appearance and social presentation. Maintaining personal hygiene serves an important health purpose, but it is also very much a social practice: being unclean or smelly is often found unwelcome or even unacceptable in social settings.

⁵ Personal maintenance comprises of four subcategories: sleep, meal/snack time, health care, and self-care.

Most skin/hair/body care routines (and products) in modern, prosperous societies are directed toward attaining desired looks than health benefits.

It is less obvious whether beauty objectives are as integral to sporting activities in general, for which there is also no strong basis to assume the regularity of occurrence. A one-time work out session, for example, can hardly be deemed a meaningful investment toward building one's beauty capital. The low proportion of respondents engaged in the activity⁶ adds to the reason for concern: in the full data sample, the weighted proportion of respondents engaged in a sporting activity on an average day was 35.4%, while that in beauty-related ("self-care") activity, 98.7%. While working out for weight loss or some idealized body shape is clearly one of the most popular and prevalent beauty-pursuing behaviors (Hwang and Yoo 2010; Kim 2017; Kim and Lee 2007; Lim and Paek 2016), it is regrettably not included in the calculation of beauty time as the KTUS cannot offer an adequate measure.

The analysis analyzes the effects of five predictor variables: sex, employment status, marital status, motherhood, and subjective time shortage. *Sex* is only briefly examined to test the existence of gender differences. *Employment status* is divided into three categories: 'employed for a paid position in which beauty is more relevant', 'employed for a paid position in which beauty is less relevant', and 'not employed for pay'. As the survey data do not offer a categorization of occupation that is useful for a research on beauty, employee status is used to determine the relative importance of beauty as a capital; 'regular employees', 'temporary employees', and 'employers' are

⁶ Specifically, this is the proportion of respondents who have reported engaging in a specified activity for 10 minutes, the basic unit of activity duration in the KTUS time diary, or more.

assumed to have more incentives to enhance their appearance at work compared to ‘daily workers’, ‘own account workers’, and ‘unpaid family workers’, given the greater significance of long-term social interaction with the employer or persons related to work, and, consequently, higher relevance of attractiveness as a capital (Jeffes 1998; Pfann et al. 2000). *Marital status* is divided into four categories: ‘single’, ‘divorced’, ‘widowed’, and ‘married’. The conventional division of married versus not married is too crude to capture the varying degrees of openness to dating or marriage among females with no spouse; specifically, it can be reasonably assumed that single women would have substantially greater interests in finding a mate than the widowed. The presence of young children in the household is used as a crude proxy for *motherhood*⁷, divided into four categories: ‘youngest children aged 0-2’, ‘youngest children aged 3-6’, ‘youngest children aged 6-9’, and ‘no children under age 10’. What must be noted with this variable is that no children under age 10 could mean that the respondent has no children altogether, or that she has children aged 10 and above. Of course, motherhood does not dissolve when children are 10 years old or older, but for the purpose of the study based on a time use analysis, motherhood here is used to refer to that associated with young children under the age of 10, thus engaged in heavy childcaring duty. Finally, subjective time shortage, originally rated on a four-point scale, is regrouped according to a two-category distinction for simplification: ‘busy’ and ‘not busy’.⁸

⁷ As mentioned earlier, the respondent could just as well be a grandmother.

⁸ The relevant survey question asked in the KTUS was phrased as follows: *Do you feel you are short of time in general* (on a scale of 1 = “always short of time” to 4 = “always at leisure”)?

To isolate the effects of the main predictors as much as possible, all other demographic, time, and personal factors that could have direct or indirect effects on the time invested in beauty, insofar as they are made available by the data, are held as control. These include continuous and categorical variables that measure for age (and its square), educational attainment, income, urban residence (rendered as a dummy variable), the number of unmarried children in the household, time spent on paid work, time spent on family work, subjective conditions⁹ of health status and life satisfaction (and time shortage, when not examined separately as a predictor).

The following activity category definitions are useful for understanding the break-down of time use on an average day.

- *Personal maintenance*: the sum of times used on sleep, meal or snack, health care, and self-care
- *Total work*: the sum of times used on paid work and family work
- *Paid work*: the time used on paid work
- *Family work*: the sum of times used on house work, childcare, elder care, spouse care, other family care, and related shopping
- *Free time*: the sum of times used on studying, religious activities, participation in organizations, attendance at events, social activities, sporting activities, hobby, watching tv, reading, listening to the radio, computer games, internet, doing nothing, and other

⁹ The relevant survey questions asked in the KTUS were phrased as follows: *How was your health condition on the day of time logging* (on a scale of 1 = “excellent” to 5 = “very bad”) *How satisfied are you with life in general* (on a scale of 1 = “excellent” to 5 = “very bad”)?

2.3. Methods

Analyses are done using the Stata software, version 13 (StataCorp, College Station, TX). Descriptive statistics are used to first review the variations in average beauty time across sex, employment status, marital status, and motherhood, after which variations in other major activity times are examined to understand beauty time against the more detailed context of overall time use pattern. Multivariate regressions are conducted with the aforementioned predictors and the added factor of subjective time shortage while controlling for all other major relevant variables to verify the effect of beauty as a capital, or, perhaps, as a corset. All numbers, proportions of respondents and estimates of time use, are weighted to represent the Korean adult population, unless stated otherwise.

IV. Results

1. Descriptive Statistics

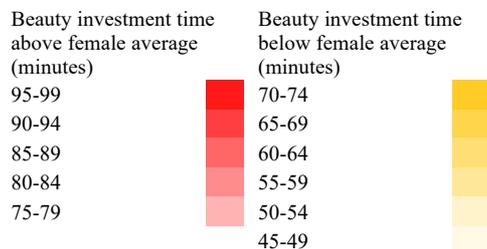
1.1. Time Investment in Beauty

Table 3 shows the average time spent on beauty across sex, marital status, presence and age of children under age 10, and employment status.

Table 3. Time spent on beauty for the adult population by sex, marital status, motherhood, and employment status, 2014 KTUS annual averages

Characteristics	Average time spent on beauty by adults (minutes)			
	(0) All	(1) Employed for pay – beauty more relevant	(2) Employed for pay – beauty less relevant	(3) Not employed for pay
Sex				
Total	72.9	75.7	71.8	68.7
Male	70.5	70.7	69.8	70.8
Female	75.3	83.8	74.4	67.9
Marital status, motherhood (females)				
Total	75.4	83.9	74.3	68.0
No spouse, no household children under age 10	85.4	94.0	81.6	75.4
(A) Single, no household children under age 10	95.4	96.9	89.6	91.9
(B) Divorced, no household children under age 10	91.0	95.5	84.8	86.2
(C) Widowed, no household children under age 10	72.3	82.5	75.3	68.7
(D) Married, no household children under age 10	75.8	80.6	74.4	72.5
Married, with household children under age 10	58.0	68.3	59.1	51.5
(E) Married, youngest child aged 6-9	65.7	73.0	59.6	61.1
(F) Married, youngest child aged 3-6	60.3	71.8	57.4	52.6
(G) Married, youngest child aged 0-2	52.5	61.7	60.7	47.7

Notes: Data refer to persons 20 years and older. The female subset as examined in the lower part of the table exclude unmarried women with household children under age 10. Cells pertaining to females are color-coded according to the following scheme:



Gender differences

Women spent 75 minutes on average beauty time, which is slightly more than the male average of 71 minutes. The considerably high amount of time men spent on an average day to tend to physical presentation indeed reflects the growing consciousness of looks among men, and the pertinence of beauty as a capital for both sexes (Hakim, 2010). A simple cross tabulation of sex and type of employment, however, reveals a greater variation within than across sex: for women, those employed for pay where beauty is more relevant spent 84 minutes, where less relevant, 74 minutes, and those not employed for pay, 68 minutes; the male counterparts spent 71, 70, and 71 minutes, respectively. When not employed for work, the aggregate mean of beauty time for females is actually less than that of males.

A more complex cross-tabulation adding marital status along with motherhood into the picture with a focus on women exposes a greater range of variation in beauty time. The highest average time is spent by singles without household children under 10 and employed where beauty has higher relevance (97 min.) and the lowest, by women who have at least one household child whose youngest age is 0-2 and not employed (48 min.), spending approximately half the beauty time.

Marital status

When compared across marital status, provided that there are no household children under 10, single women spent the highest mean beauty time (95 min.), closely followed by the divorced (91 min.), while the widowed spent as low an average time (72 min.) as

the married (76 min.). The difference between singles and the divorced is especially minimal if they are employed for pay where beauty is more relevant (97 vs. 96 min.; see cells A1-B1). Widowed women spent slightly more mean time than married women when belonging to the first category of employment (83 vs. 81 min.; see cells C1-D1); the gap is reduced to less than a minute when belonging to the second category (75 vs. 74 min; see cells C2-D2); and the relationship is reversed when not employed, with the widowed having spent less than the married (69 vs. 73 min; see cells C3-D3).¹⁰ Thus, rather than using the conventional division of not married versus married, it is more reasonable to compare how much more beauty time single and divorced women spend on average than the widowed and married women.

Employment status

As mentioned earlier, in general, women who are employed for pay where beauty is more relevant spent higher average beauty time (84 min.) than those employed for pay where beauty is less relevant (74 min.), who spent more than those not employed for pay (68 min.). Deviations are found among single and divorced women with no household children under 10, where the average times spent by women employed in the second category is marginally less than those of women not employed (90 vs. 92 min. for singles, 85 vs. 86 min. for the divorced; see cells A2-B3). The same pattern of deviation is observed for married women whose youngest household child is aged 6-9 (60 vs. 61

¹⁰ Despite having slightly higher average self-care times in each of the first two categories of employment type, widowed women without household children under 10 have a lower overall average than that of the married counterparts (see cells C0-D0) owing to the significantly larger proportion of those not employed for pay (65.1%, see Table 2).

min.; see cells E2-E3). The general rule is nonetheless held without exception for all other subgroups of married women, as well as the widowed without household children under 10.

Motherhood

Mean beauty time for married women (76 min.) drops below the overall female average of 75 minutes with the presence of household children, and by greater margins the younger the household child in general (66, 60, and 53 min. spent on average when age of youngest child is 6-9, 3-6, and 0-2, respectively). A curious aberration, however, is found among women employed for pay where beauty is less relevant: those whose youngest child is aged 0-2 spent slightly more time than those with youngest child aged 3-6 and also more, though marginally, than those with youngest child aged 6-9 (61 vs. 57, 60 min.; see cells E2-G2). For women in other categories of employment, the average beauty times are lowest when they are married with youngest child aged 0-2. This cohort of married women whose youngest household child is 0-2 (cell G2) turns out to have a distinctively high proportion of 50 to 59-year-olds (18.9%; see **Table 4**), who spent considerably higher beauty time than other age groups—when said age group is excluded from the cohort, the average beauty time comes down to 57 minutes. The estimation also relies on the least number of samples (n=113) among all examined means, given the small proportion of those employed in the second category (Table 4). While these might partially explain the aberration, a more convincing explanation is still wanting.

Table 4. *Weighted proportion for the Korean female adults with spouse and household children under age 10 by selected characteristics and employment status, 2014 KTUS*

Characteristics	Employment status		
	Employed for pay where beauty is more relevant (Percent)	Employed for pay where beauty is less relevant (Percent)	Not employed for pay (Percent)
Married, has household children under age 10, youngest aged 0-2			
20-29 years	15.7	16.3	17.6
30-39 years	73.7	54.6	70.1
40-49 years	8.1	7.8	4.7
50-59 years	1.4	18.9	3.6
60-69 years	1.0	2.4	3.7
70 years and older	0.2	0.0	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Observations	459	113	1,076
Married, has household children under age 10 youngest aged 3-6			
20-29 years	2.3	7.5	3.3
30-39 years	76.6	67.6	68.0
40-49 years	20.3	18.6	19.7
50-59 years	0.7	1.1	4.1
60-69 years	0.2	4.1	3.1
70 years and older	0.0	1.1	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Observations	497	167	672
Married, has household children under age 10, youngest aged 6-9			
20-29 years	1.5	1.3	0.0
30-39 years	47.7	52.2	47.7
40-49 years	47.8	42.4	46.7
50-59 years	2.7	3.5	4.1
60-69 years	0.4	0.6	2.4
70 years and older	0.0	0.0	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Observations	359	120	384

Note: Data refer to persons 20 years and older.

1.2. Overall Time Allocation

The overall time use on an average day by cohorts of interest are presented in **Tables 5-7**. Since there will likely be little discernible difference in the general organization of time excluding beauty activities between women employed for paid positions in which beauty is more relevant versus where less relevant, employment status in this sub-section is simply distinguished on the basis of being employed for pay versus not.

Gender differences

Given that the variation in beauty time is more pronounced within than across sex, it is more useful to examine the changes in time use depending on social context (employment status, for example) among men versus among women (Table 4). Men employed for pay engaged in much more work hours (paid and unpaid) than those not employed (8:11 vs. 1:54), having spent less on free time (4:37 vs. 10:15) and on personal maintenance (11:12 vs. 11:50) accordingly. The same is true for women: those employed for pay were occupied for longer total work hours (8:44 vs. 5:34), with reduced free time (4:03 vs. 6:52) and personal maintenance time (11:13 vs. 11:34). Employment meant less average time in personal maintenance for both men and women, but while employed men spent just a minute less than, or practically the same mean time as, not employed men (1:10 vs. 1:11), employed women spent more on beauty than their unemployed counterparts (1:21 vs. 1:08).

Table 5. Time spent in primary activities by sex and employment status, all adults, 2014 KTUS annual averages

Activity	Average time per day spent in primary activities by adults				
	Total	Male	Female		
Total	24:00	24:00	24:00	Total	
Personal maintenance	11:20	11:18	11:22		
Sleep	7:52	7:50	7:54		
Meal or snack	2:00	2:03	1:57		
Health care	0:03	0:02	0:04		
<i>Beauty investment</i>	1:13	1:11	1:15		
Total work	7:17	7:13	7:21		
Paid work	4:52	6:17	3:27		
Family work	2:25	0:55	3:54		
Housework	1:38	0:33	2:45		
Child care	0:24	0:10	0:38		
Free time	5:23	5:29	5:17		
Education	0:13	0:13	0:12		
Fitness	0:31	0:35	0:27		
Total	24:00	24:00	24:00		Employed for pay
Personal maintenance	11:12	11:12	11:13		
Sleep	7:45	7:46	7:44		
Meal or snack	1:59	2:02	1:55		
Health care	0:02	0:01	0:02		
<i>Beauty investment</i>	1:15	1:10	1:21		
Total work	8:24	8:11	8:44		
Paid work	6:50	7:23	5:59		
Family work	1:35	0:48	2:45		
Housework	1:05	0:26	2:03		
Child care	0:14	0:11	0:20		
Free time	4:23	4:37	4:03		
Education	0:04	0:04	0:05		
Fitness	0:24	0:27	0:18		
Total	24:00	24:00	24:00	Not employed for pay	
Personal maintenance	11:38	11:50	11:34		
Sleep	8:09	8:16	8:06		
Meal or snack	2:01	2:04	2:00		
Health care	0:06	0:06	0:07		
<i>Beauty investment</i>	1:09	1:11	1:08		
Total work	4:36	1:54	5:34		
Paid work	0:13	0:21	0:10		
Family work	4:23	1:34	5:24		
Housework	2:59	1:08	3:39		
Child care	0:46	0:05	1:00		
Free time	7:45	10:15	6:52		
Education	0:32	1:06	0:20		
Fitness	0:48	1:17	0:38		

Notes: Data refer to persons 20 years and older. A primary activity refers to an individual's main activity. Other activities done simultaneously are not included. All major activity categories, i.e. personal maintenance, paid work, family work, free time, include related travel time. For family work and free time, only the sub-categories that are of interest are listed. See Variables (Section III.2.2) for detailed activity category definitions.

Table 6. Time spent in primary activities by marital status and employment status, female adults without household children under age 10, 2014 KTUS annual averages

Activity	Average time per day spent in primary activities by female adults without household children under age 10					
	Total	Single	Divorced	Widowed	Married	
Total	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	Total
Personal maintenance	11:24	11:50	11:17	11:44	11:12	
Sleep	7:51	8:06	7:41	8:19	7:40	
Meal or snack	1:57	1:53	1:51	1:52	2:00	
Health care	0:04	0:02	0:04	0:10	0:04	
<i>Beauty investment</i>	1:20	1:35	1:31	1:12	1:16	
Total work	6:58	6:32	8:06	5:03	7:27	
Paid work	3:45	5:17	5:48	1:59	3:31	
Family work	3:13	1:15	2:18	3:04	3:56	
Housework	2:40	0:52	1:57	2:46	3:15	
Child care	0:04	0:00	0:02	0:01	0:06	
Free time	5:38	5:38	4:37	7:13	5:22	
Education	0:14	0:53	0:07	0:02	0:06	
Fitness	0:30	0:20	0:22	0:35	0:32	
Total	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	
Personal maintenance	11:13	11:46	11:12	11:12	10:59	
Sleep	7:42	8:00	7:40	7:49	7:33	
Meal or snack	1:54	1:53	1:49	1:50	1:56	
Health care	0:02	0:02	0:03	0:05	0:02	
<i>Beauty investment</i>	1:24	1:36	1:32	1:19	1:18	
Total work	8:33	7:36	9:05	7:51	8:59	
Paid work	6:09	6:34	7:08	5:10	6:00	
Family work	2:24	1:03	1:56	2:41	3:00	
Housework	2:01	0:42	1:41	2:26	2:33	
Child care	0:03	0:00	0:02	0:01	0:04	
Total work	4:14	4:38	3:44	4:57	4:02	
Education	0:06	0:17	0:03	0:03	0:02	
Fitness	0:19	0:16	0:16	0:21	0:20	
Total	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	Not employed for pay
Personal maintenance	11:40	12:08	11:40	12:01	11:29	
Sleep	8:04	8:29	7:46	8:35	7:51	
Meal or snack	2:01	1:49	2:00	1:52	2:05	
Health care	0:08	0:02	0:10	0:12	0:07	
<i>Beauty investment</i>	1:14	1:32	1:26	1:09	1:12	
Work	4:38	2:20	3:57	3:33	5:22	
Paid work	0:12	0:18	0:07	0:16	0:10	
Family work	4:25	2:02	3:50	3:16	5:12	
Housework	3:38	1:30	3:05	2:57	4:13	
Child care	0:05	0:00	0:04	0:00	0:08	
Free time	7:42	9:32	8:22	8:26	7:09	
Education	0:26	3:16	0:24	0:01	0:10	
Fitness	0:45	0:36	0:46	0:43	0:47	

Notes: Data refer to persons 20 years and older. A primary activity refers to an individual's main activity. Other activities done simultaneously are not included. All major activity categories, i.e. personal maintenance, paid work, family work, free time, include related travel time. For family work and free time, only the sub-categories that are of interest are listed. See Variables (Section III.2.2) for detailed activity category definitions.

Table 7. Time spent in primary activities by presence and age of household children under age 10, and employment status, female adults with spouse, 2014 KTUS annual averages

Activity	Average time per day spent in primary activities by female adults with spouse					
	Has household children under age 10				No household children under age 10	
	Total	Youngest aged 0-2	Youngest aged 3-6	Youngest aged 7-9		
Total	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	Total
Personal maintenance	11:12	11:11	11:16	11:08	11:12	
Sleep	8:04	8:14	8:00	7:48	7:40	
Meal or snack	1:57	1:52	2:01	2:02	2:00	
Health care	0:03	0:02	0:03	0:02	0:04	
<i>Beauty investment</i>	0:58	0:52	1:00	1:06	1:16	
Work, total	8:56	9:22	8:43	8:23	7:27	
Paid work	2:15	1:43	2:32	2:57	3:31	
Family work	6:41	7:39	6:11	5:26	3:56	
Housework	3:06	3:03	3:04	3:16	3:15	
Child care	2:49	3:52	2:17	1:29	0:06	
Free time	3:52	3:27	4:01	4:29	5:22	
Education	0:03	0:03	0:03	0:02	0:06	
Fitness	0:15	0:11	0:16	0:23	0:32	
Total	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	Employed for pay
Personal maintenance	11:09	11:03	11:15	11:09	10:59	
Sleep	7:56	8:00	7:57	7:48	7:33	
Meal or snack	1:55	1:51	1:56	1:59	1:56	
Health care	0:02	0:01	0:03	0:01	0:02	
<i>Beauty investment</i>	1:06	1:01	1:09	1:09	1:18	
Work, total	9:44	10:04	9:47	9:12	8:59	
Paid work	5:05	4:50	5:12	5:14	6:00	
Family work	4:39	5:14	4:35	3:59	3:00	
Housework	2:18	2:06	2:19	2:33	2:33	
Child care	1:50	2:38	1:42	0:59	0:04	
Free time	3:07	2:53	2:57	3:39	4:02	
Education	0:01	0:01	0:01	0:02	0:02	
Fitness	0:12	0:08	0:12	0:17	0:20	
Total	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	Not employed for pay
Personal maintenance	11:14	11:15	11:17	11:08	11:29	
Sleep	8:10	8:21	8:03	7:47	7:51	
Meal or snack	1:59	1:53	2:06	2:06	2:05	
Health care	0:03	0:03	0:03	0:02	0:07	
<i>Beauty investment</i>	0:51	0:48	0:53	1:01	1:12	
Work, total	8:19	9:00	7:43	7:21	5:22	
Paid work	0:03	0:03	0:03	0:04	0:10	
Family work	8:16	8:57	7:41	7:17	5:12	
Housework	3:43	3:34	3:45	4:10	4:13	
Child care	3:35	4:31	2:50	2:06	0:08	
Free time	4:26	3:46	5:00	5:31	7:09	
Education	0:03	0:03	0:04	0:02	0:10	
Fitness	0:18	0:14	0:19	0:31	0:47	

Notes: Data refer to persons 20 years and older. A primary activity refers to an individual's main activity. Other activities done simultaneously are not included. All major activity categories, i.e. personal maintenance, paid work, family work, free time, include related travel time. For family work and free time, only the sub-categories that are of interest are listed. See Variables (Section III.2.2) for detailed activity category definitions.

Marital status

Across marital status, the activity most visibly correlated to beauty time is family work, the rule held for both the employed and the not employed unless noted otherwise. When average beauty time generally decreases in the order of single, divorced, widowed, and married, family work hours generally increased in the same given order (1:15, 2:18, 3:04, 3:56, respectively). (Widowed women not employed for pay deviate from the pattern in both beauty time and family work hours.) Little semblance, however, can be traced in the time use on daily activities between single and divorced women, or between widowed and married women despite their relative closeness in mean beauty time. Meanwhile, meaningful observations are made with regards to the time use of single women. Compared to other women, singles not only did the least family work (1:03 amongst the employed, 2:02 amongst the not employed) but also spent the least combined hours of paid and unpaid work¹¹ (7:36 for the employed, 2:20 for the not employed), earning extra time that is distributed more or less across personal maintenance and free time. What draws attention here is the conspicuously, and invariably, high mean time spent on education: those who are not employed for pay spent 3:16 and those employed spent 0:17 (or 1:59 per week, compared to 0:21 for the divorced and widowed, and 0:14 for married women). The fact that single women without household children, while spending the most average time on self-development, also invested the most in beauty, makes a strong suggestion about the motive behind beauty.

¹¹ The overall average time for combined work hours for widowed women without household children under age 10 turns out to be lower than the single counterparts (5:03 vs. 6:32) because, again, well over half of the widowed subpopulation is not employed for pay, dragging down the overall mean time.

Employment status

With regards to females without household children under 10, several distinctions can be made in time use between the employed and the not employed aside from higher beauty time, a pattern held across marital status unless noted otherwise. Employed women had much more hours committed to paid work that despite doing less unpaid work, i.e. family work, than women not employed (2:24 vs. 4:25), the former were engaged in more work in total (8:33 vs. 4:38) on an average day. Consequently, they had much less free time (4:14 vs. 7:42) and are also seen to have spent somewhat less time on overall personal maintenance (11:13 vs. 11:40). However, average beauty time singularly increased, while time spent on all other specific personal maintenance activities decreased, i.e. sleep (7:42 vs. 8:04), meal (1:54 vs. 2:01), and health care (0:02 vs. 0:08). (The only exception is found among singles employed for pay, who spent 4 more minutes on average meal time than their unemployed counterparts.) To summarize, while women employed for pay enjoyed less free time on average and even spent less mean time on personal maintenance activities, including sleep, on account of the greater portion of the day being committed to work, there was no compromise on the average time spent on beauty.

Maternal employment

The presence of young household children brings a marked change to the time composition of an average day, as can easily be expected, in a like pattern for both the employed and the not employed unless noted otherwise. The lower the age of the

youngest child, the less time was spent on housework¹² to invest much more heavily in child care, ultimately spending more time on family work on the whole.¹³ Those employed for pay concomitantly cut back on paid work hours¹⁴, and the time input in total work, paid and unpaid, thus increases with the presence of household children under 10 and by greater margins the younger the children (9:22, 8:43, 8:23, 7:27, when youngest household child is aged 0-2, 3-6, 6-9, and when there is no children under age 10, respectively).

When considering the remaining time of the day: the rise in total work hours is correlated to the relatively proportionate fall in free time (3:27, 4:01, 4:29, 5:22, in aforementioned order), among which is fitness (0:14, 0:19, 0:31, 0:47, in the same order), but seemingly no clear correlation is observed in relation to overall personal maintenance time. For example, with the presence of household children under 10, women not employed for pay spend less time on average personal maintenance than their counterparts without young children (11:14 vs. 11:29), but the employed spend slightly more (11:09 vs. 10:59). Nonetheless, amongst the specific activities that comprise personal maintenance, average beauty time and sleep do change in consistent manners across employment status. Beauty time appears inversely related to total work (0:52,

¹² There is practically little difference in the average housework time when there is household children under 10 versus when the youngest child is aged 7-9 (3:16 vs. 3:15), but when women have younger children to care for, i.e. those aged 0-6, they must even cut back on housework time to carry the increased weight of child care.

¹³ Among the employed, mean family work times are as follows: 5:14, 4:35, 3:59, 3:00 (when youngest household child is aged 0-2, 3-6, 6-9, and when there is no children under age 10, respectively); among the not employed, mean family work times are as follows: 8:57, 7:41, 7:17, 5:12 (in aforementioned order).

¹⁴ Average paid work hours for employed women are as follows: 4:50, 5:12, 5:14, 6:00 (in aforementioned order).

1:00, 1:06, 1:16), while sleep actually changes linearly with total work (8:14, 8:00, 7:48, 7:40, though a deviation is found among women not employed for pay with no household children under 10 years old). To cap, with the presence of household children under 10, and, importantly, the lower the age of the youngest child, women spent less average time on housework and even paid work to concentrate more on child care, and were occupied for longer total work hours; in turn, they had less time for fitness and overall free time, and also had cut back on beauty time but slept more, possibly owing to the fatigue from child care.

2. Multivariate Regression Analysis

The relationship between beauty time and gender are examined using the full sample of adult respondents; the results for time investment in beauty as predicted by gender, interacted with marital status, employment status, and subjective time shortage are presented in **Table 8**. Women spend significantly more time toward beauty than men: there is a 17-minute ($p < 0.001$) difference after controlling for basic demographic variables, paid and unpaid work times, and self-reported conditions (column i). A more or less solid gender difference in terms of absolute beauty time is confirmed even after additionally controlling for marital status and employment status (columns ii and iv). Moreover, when interaction variables are additionally incorporated in the equations, the effects of the predictors unfold differently across the sexes (columns iii and v).

With respect to the effect of marital status, beauty time increases for singles compared to the married for both sexes as reasonably expected: a 6-minute increase

Table 8. The relationship between beauty investment and gender

Variable	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)
Female	17.09*** (0.57)	17.00*** (0.58)	14.07*** (0.71)	16.81*** (0.57)	12.65*** (1.12)	15.89*** (0.80)
Single		10.19*** (0.82)	5.97*** (0.93)			
Divorced		5.18*** (1.40)	-1.01 (1.53)			
Widowed		-1.74 ⁺ (1.05)	7.46*** (1.82)			
Married		Ref	Ref			
Female x Single			10.54*** (1.32)			
Female x Divorced			11.34*** (2.63)			
Female x Widowed			-9.61*** (2.09)			
Employed for pay – beauty more relevant				5.66*** (0.83)	1.40 (1.14)	
Employed for pay – beauty less relevant				3.76*** (0.83)	1.92 (1.19)	
Not employed for pay				Ref	Ref	
Female x Employed for pay – beauty more relevant					6.87*** (1.22)	
Female x Employed for pay – beauty less relevant					1.08 (1.41)	
Busy	1.02 ⁺ (0.52)	1.14* (0.52)	1.17* (0.52)	0.40 (0.53)	0.44 (0.53)	0.00 (0.65)
Female x Busy						1.97* (0.90)

Continued

Table 8. The relationship between beauty investment and gender (continued)

Variable	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)
Good or very good health	-0.24 (0.45)	-0.47 (0.45)	-0.39 (0.45)	-0.32 (0.45)	-0.29 (0.45)	-0.25 (0.45)
Satisfied with life	-1.36** (0.51)	-0.93+ (0.51)	-0.89+ (0.51)	-1.32** (0.51)	-1.28* (0.51)	-1.37** (0.51)
Neutral	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
Dissatisfied with life	-0.77 (0.59)	-1.16+ (0.59)	-1.22* (0.59)	-0.78 (0.59)	-0.88 (0.59)	-0.80 (0.59)
Paid work	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
Family work	-0.07*** (0.00)	-0.06*** (0.00)	-0.06*** (0.00)	-0.07*** (0.00)	-0.07*** (0.00)	-0.07*** (0.00)
Age	0.35*** (0.10)	0.87*** (0.11)	0.97*** (0.11)	0.30** (0.10)	0.35*** (0.10)	0.35*** (0.10)
Age ²	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
Less than a high school diploma	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
High school diploma, no college	3.20*** (0.71)	3.24*** (0.71)	2.93*** (0.71)	3.38*** (0.71)	3.10*** (0.71)	3.11*** (0.71)
College or associate degree	3.70*** (0.90)	3.90*** (0.91)	3.40*** (0.90)	3.85*** (0.91)	3.66*** (0.91)	3.60*** (0.90)
Bachelor's degree or higher	2.78*** (0.84)	2.74** (0.85)	2.21** (0.85)	3.09*** (0.85)	2.91*** (0.85)	2.70** (0.84)
Income	0.57*** (0.10)	0.73*** (0.10)	0.58*** (0.10)	0.29** (0.10)	0.32** (0.10)	0.57*** (0.10)
Urban residence	2.76*** (0.61)	2.37*** (0.61)	2.30*** (0.61)	2.95*** (0.62)	2.90*** (0.62)	2.77*** (0.61)
Number of unmarried children in household	-2.15*** (0.26)	-1.55*** (0.26)	-1.68*** (0.26)	-2.10*** (0.26)	-2.08*** (0.26)	-2.15*** (0.26)
Constant	69.42*** (2.41)	49.12*** (2.94)	49.10*** (2.93)	68.22*** (2.41)	69.87*** (2.46)	70.09*** (2.43)
Observations	37,228	37,228	37,228	37,228	37,228	37,228
R ²	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.07	0.07

Notes: Robust standard errors are shown in parentheses. The level of statistical significance is indicated as follows: + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. The dependent variable is time spent toward beauty on an average day.

($p < 0.001$) for men, and a 17 minute ($= 5.97 + 10.54$, $p < 0.001$) increase for women (column iii). As for the widowed, however, there is a 7 minute ($p < 0.001$) increase for men compared to the reference group, when women cut back on their beauty time by 2 minutes ($= 7.46 - 9.61$, $p < 0.001$). The case for women can be understood as widowed women having no more incentives to physically attract a potential mate than the incentives married women have to continue to appear attractive in the eyes of their spouses. As for men, it is counterintuitive to assume that the prospects and/or willingness to pursue a partner is higher for the widowed than singles; it is more likely that widowed men spent more beauty time than the married or even singles from having more time at hand, holding all else equal.

With respect to employment status, there is no significant difference in men's beauty time with paid work, but there is a significant increase of 7 minutes ($p < 0.001$) in beauty time between women not engaged in paid work and those employed for positions in which beauty is more relevant (column v). No increase with significance is found for women who are in paid positions but where beauty matters less. The different valuation of beauty by men versus women is also found in the examination of subjective time shortage as a predictor, interacted with the female variable (column vi). There is no significant relationship between time shortage and beauty time for men—even the regression coefficient is 0—whereas for women, 2 minutes ($p < 0.05$) are additionally spent toward beauty when they perceive themselves to be under time shortage. In sum, investment in beauty is significantly affected by the interests of appealing to potential or actual partners more so for women than for men; it is also affected by the interests to improve outcomes at work where managing long-term social relations are important for

women but not for men; and while beauty time is unrelated to time shortage for men, women invest more time when they are busy.

The relationship between beauty time and the two main predictors of marital status and employment status is examined in further depth with a focus on women, with regression results presented in **Table 9**. The data sample is restricted to female adults without household children under 10, who are entirely or relatively free from heavy child caring duty, as the effects of marital and employment status cannot be given proper assessment with the hugely disruptive effect of motherhood on overall time use pattern. The two predictors are first tested separately (columns i and ii), then together (column iii), and finally with added interaction variables to account for the possibly unequal effects of employment across marital status (column iv).

When the predictors are tested separately, the results generally accord to the hypotheses. Having no spouse, i.e., being single, divorced, widowed, and being employed for pay where beauty can be more relevant, all significantly predict an increase in beauty time; being employed for positions where beauty is less relevant is not significant (columns i and ii).

However, when marital status and employment status are tested together while accounting for their possible interaction, only the characteristic of being single holds out with significance (column iv). Singles spend 9 minutes ($p < 0.001$) more on beauty than married women, while the size and significance of the effects of being divorced or widowed fade. The effect of being employed in paid positions where beauty is more relevant will see a 3 minute ($p < 0.10$) increase in beauty time than when not employed, but its statistical significance is meek. The disappearance of the employment effect can

Table 9. The relationship between beauty investment, marital status, employment status

Variable	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)
Single	10.91*** (1.61)		10.67*** (1.61)	9.08*** (2.66)
Divorced	9.79*** (2.34)		9.73*** (2.33)	7.63+ (4.44)
Widowed	3.00* (1.38)		2.92* (1.38)	0.80 (1.80)
Married	Ref		Ref	Ref
Employed for pay – beauty more relevant		4.64** (1.42)	4.25** (1.42)	2.64+ (1.53)
Employed for pay – beauty less relevant		1.77 (1.36)	1.68 (1.35)	1.36 (1.55)
Not employed for pay		Ref	Ref	Ref
Single x Employed for pay – beauty more relevant				2.69 (2.58)
Single x Employed for pay – beauty less relevant				-2.67 (3.83)
Divorced x Employed for pay – beauty more relevant				5.76 (5.67)
Divorced x Employed for pay – beauty less relevant				-3.45 (5.56)
Widowed x Employed for pay – beauty more relevant				4.35 (3.01)
Widowed x Employed for pay – beauty less relevant				4.99+ (2.80)
Busy	1.65+ (0.90)	1.13 (0.91)	1.21 (0.91)	1.20 (0.91)

Continued

Table 9. *The relationship between beauty investment, marital status, employment status (continued)*

Variable	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)
Good or very good health	-0.19 (0.80)	-0.22 (0.80)	-0.21 (0.80)	-0.25 (0.80)
Satisfied with life	0.09 (0.91)	-0.37 (0.91)	0.06 (0.91)	0.04 (0.91)
Neutral	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
Dissatisfied with life	-0.11 (1.01)	0.62 (1.00)	-0.10 (1.01)	-0.05 (1.01)
Paid work	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
Family work	-0.05*** (0.00)	-0.06*** (0.00)	-0.05*** (0.00)	-0.05*** (0.00)
Age	1.03*** (0.18)	0.33* (0.15)	1.02*** (0.18)	0.97*** (0.19)
Age ²	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)
Less than a high school diploma	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
High school diploma, no college	3.60** (1.14)	3.03** (1.13)	3.69** (1.14)	3.82*** (1.15)
College or associate degree	4.32** (1.60)	3.72* (1.60)	4.36** (1.60)	4.44** (1.61)
Bachelor's degree or higher	4.53** (1.54)	4.39** (1.53)	4.74** (1.55)	4.87** (1.56)
Income	0.98*** (0.19)	0.84*** (0.20)	0.73*** (0.20)	0.79*** (0.20)
Urban residence	3.85*** (1.03)	4.36*** (1.05)	3.88*** (1.05)	4.01*** (1.05)
Number of unmarried children in household	-1.54*** (0.47)	-1.75*** (0.47)	-1.58*** (0.47)	-1.54** (0.47)
Constant	63.52*** (5.26)	86.03*** (3.79)	62.82*** (5.25)	64.36*** (5.35)
Observations	15,295	15,295	15,295	15,295
R ²	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.08

Notes: Robust standard errors are shown in parentheses. The level of statistical significance is indicated as follows: † $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. The data sample is restricted to female adults without household children under age 10. The dependent variable is time spent toward beauty on an average day.

be read in several ways: beauty might not be as significant a capital for those who are employed for pay than those who are not (perhaps except for those who are in paid positions where managing social relations is relatively more important); it might be that beauty is as important a capital for those who are not employed for paid work (as would be the case for job seekers, for example), hence the absence of statistically significant difference across employment status; or that beauty conceived in terms of better-looking physical attributes (which is not improved with additional time spending but rather by surgical means) is what it takes to influence outcome at work. In any case, it seems that women, when not burdened by childrearing, would increase everyday beauty investment more with a view to appearing attractive as a potential mate than for perhaps extra returns at paid work.

The relationship between female beauty time and motherhood, discerned here by the presence of young children, is examined to particularly extend the understanding of beauty capital as it applies to maternal employment; regression results are presented in **Table 10**. A different sub-sample is used, restricted to female adults who are married, so that the effects of marital status are not at play. Motherhood and employment status are each tested separately (columns i and ii), then together (column iii), and finally with added interaction variables to account for the presumably unequal effects of employment depending on the age of youngest children in the household, or the intensity of childcaring responsibility (column iv).

When the predictors are tested separately, again, the results generally accord to the hypotheses. Having children under age 10, whether the youngest is aged 0-2, 3-6, or 7-9, all significantly reduce beauty time by 5 to 8 minutes, while being employed for

Table 10. The relationship between beauty investment, motherhood, and employment status

Variable	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)
Youngest child aged 0-2	-8.12*** (1.62)		-7.94*** (1.62)	-8.06*** (1.99)
Youngest child aged 3-6	-6.73*** (1.60)		-6.68*** (1.59)	-9.39*** (2.26)
Youngest child aged 7-9	-4.93** (1.69)		-4.91** (1.70)	-3.98 (2.55)
No children under age 10	Ref		Ref	Ref
Employed for pay – beauty more relevant		4.30** (1.37)	3.98** (1.37)	3.33* (1.56)
Employed for pay – beauty less relevant		1.38 (1.38)	0.98 (1.38)	1.14 (1.57)
Not employed for pay		Ref	Ref	Ref
Youngest child aged 0-2 x Employed for pay – beauty more relevant				-0.99 (2.52)
Youngest child aged 0-2 x Employed for pay – beauty less relevant				3.06 (4.29)
Youngest child aged 3-6 x Employed for pay – beauty more relevant				7.16* (2.81)
Youngest child aged 3-6 x Employed for pay – beauty less relevant				-0.56 (3.54)
Youngest child aged 7-9 x Employed for pay – beauty more relevant				0.22 (3.39)
Youngest child aged 7-9 x Employed for pay – beauty less relevant				-7.06 (4.46)
Busy	0.19 (0.90)	-0.68 (0.91)	-0.14 (0.91)	-0.11 (0.92)

Continued

Table 10. The relationship between beauty investment, motherhood, and employment status (continued)

Variable	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)
Good or very good health	-0.10 (0.81)	-0.06 (0.81)	-0.07 (0.81)	-0.08 (0.81)
Satisfied with life	-1.49 ⁺ (0.90)	-1.56 ⁺ (0.90)	-1.49 ⁺ (0.90)	-1.52 ⁺ (0.90)
Neutral	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
Dissatisfied with life	-0.14 (1.10)	-0.27 (1.10)	-0.17 (1.10)	-0.23 (1.10)
Paid work	-0.02 ^{***} (0.00)	-0.02 ^{***} (0.00)	-0.02 ^{***} (0.00)	-0.02 ^{***} (0.00)
Family work	-0.07 ^{***} (0.00)	-0.07 ^{***} (0.00)	-0.07 ^{***} (0.00)	-0.07 ^{***} (0.00)
Age	1.51 ^{***} (0.26)	2.08 ^{***} (0.24)	1.50 ^{***} (0.26)	1.49 ^{***} (0.26)
Age ²	-0.02 ^{***} (0.00)	-0.02 ^{***} (0.00)	-0.01 ^{***} (0.00)	-0.01 ^{***} (0.00)
Less than a high school diploma	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
High school diploma, no college	5.30 ^{***} (1.23)	5.86 ^{***} (1.23)	5.30 ^{***} (1.23)	5.31 ^{***} (1.23)
College or associate degree	5.11 ^{***} (1.54)	5.07 ^{**} (1.55)	5.07 ^{**} (1.55)	5.00 ^{**} (1.55)
Bachelor's degree or higher	5.89 ^{***} (1.48)	5.91 ^{***} (1.49)	5.90 ^{***} (1.49)	5.84 ^{***} (1.49)
Income	0.94 ^{***} (0.18)	0.70 ^{***} (0.20)	0.68 ^{***} (0.20)	0.67 ^{***} (0.20)
Urban residence	2.42 [*] (1.02)	2.64 [*] (1.03)	2.41 [*] (1.03)	2.43 [*] (1.04)
Number of unmarried children in household	-1.40 ^{**} (0.52)	-2.27 ^{***} (0.50)	-1.44 ^{**} (0.52)	-1.43 ^{**} (0.52)
Constant	53.20 ^{***} (6.81)	36.55 ^{***} (6.07)	52.66 ^{***} (6.80)	53.33 ^{***} (6.81)
Observations	13,606	13,606	13,606	13,606
R ²	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.11

Notes: Robust standard errors are shown in parentheses. The level of statistical significance is indicated as follows: ⁺ p<0.10, ^{*} p < 0.05, ^{**} p < 0.01, ^{***} p < 0.001. The data sample is restricted to female adults with spouse (i.e., married). The dependent variable is time spent toward beauty on an average day.

pay where beauty can be more relevant significantly raises beauty time by 4 minutes; being employed for positions where beauty is less relevant is again not significant (columns i and ii).

An interesting finding is made in the last regression equation that tests for both motherhood and employment status along with the interaction variable; while having very young children (aged 0-2 or aged 3-6)¹⁵ continues to be significant, incurring an 8- or 9-minute cut on beauty time, more importantly, the predictive effect of employment status also retains significance. When employed for paid positions where beauty can be more relevant, women, whether with or without young children, spend an additional 3 minutes ($p < 0.05$) to beauty time compared to those who are not employed for pay—in fact, mothers raising children aged 3-6 would actually increase their beauty time by 7 minutes ($p < 0.05$) to manage a professional appearance. This lends weight to the hypothesis that employment effect is amplified for mothers with young children (provided they are not very young, that is, aged 0-2) because of the incentives to appear to be in control of work both outside and inside of home. It is worth remembering that motherhood entirely reorganizes women's time use pattern, especially when the children are of younger ages: a significant increase in child care and overall family work time leaves little time to spend on their own selves. While employment in paid positions for which beauty is more relevant has the same predictive effect for mothers with children aged 0-2 or 7-9 as for those without children under 10, the 3 minutes that are allocated

¹⁵ The significance of having a child aged 7-9 becoming no longer significant can be understood as mothers recovering the time for self-care and beauty with children attending primary school and thereby lessening the burden of child care.

to beauty carry a different weight against the context of motherhood. To conclude, while motherhood negatively affects the time invested in beauty, the incentives to manage good appearance when employed for paid work where managing social interaction is more relevant remains valid even for mothers with young children.

V. Discussion

An analysis of time use survey data has shown that the treatment of beauty as an important capital, as theorized by Hakim, can be captured in everyday time use (Hakim 2010; 2011). When beauty is conceptualized as that which is partly acquired but also actively managed or enhanced, the time spent on an average day tending to one's physical appearance, including skin care, hair styling, dressing, and more, can be taken as an investment toward beauty. Results revealed not only a significant gender difference, but, more importantly, considerable variations among women across marital status and employment status that accorded to the erotic capital theory. Holding all relevant variables constant, women will invest more time on average in beauty to improve outcomes in the marriage and labour markets than would men; women without spouse, especially singles, will invest more time on average than married women with a view to enhance their dating and/or marriage prospects; women who are engaged in paid work will invest more time in beauty on average than those who are not, so to directly or indirectly improve outcomes at work; and working mothers with children under 10 will make more time investment in beauty on average than stay-at-home mothers, and the employment effect will be equal to or greater than that on women without young children.

South Korea offers an interesting testing ground for the theory of erotic capital. It is an economically advanced and liberal society where women could have the opportunities to make diverse lifestyle choices according to their preferences (Hakim 1998) but situated well outside of the conventionally explored Western setting. It is also a society that suffers most heavily with the issue of time scarcity, which plagues modern societies around the globe. Nevertheless, the results find that women more-so than men,

and working mothers in particular, are shown to compromise less in the time used toward beauty than toward other activities. In fact, the time investment in beauty has been consistently on the rise over the years (see Appendix B), with the difference between the 1999 and 2014 averages amounting to 23 minutes. The time use survey data from other countries around 2009 also reveal that Korean females made the second to highest time investment in beauty (after Japan) while sleeping the least hours (see Appendix C).

This study also serves to show that women's choices to invest in beauty practices most often carry the motives to appear attractive to potential mate/marriage partners. The desire to enhance appearance surely can entail inward-driven motives such as for self-esteem and self-pleasure. Nonetheless, when all else are held equal including employment status and intense child care responsibility is ruled out, women will spend on average 9 more minutes toward beauty simply on account of being single than married. If women were keen on tending to their beauty purely for self-pleasure, married women ought to be observed as spending roughly the same time as single women. The time differential, however, suggests that married women in general are more lenient with their appearance or physical presentation as they have less incentives to attract a short-term or long-term partner. This corroborates the theory that well-managed beauty is a capital that can deliver outcomes in the marriage market.

With respect to maternal employment, statistical evidence confirms the efficacy of beauty capital, but the overall analysis strongly suggests that working mothers are wearing an appearance 'corset'. Results found that as would women without young children, women with children under 10 will spend 3 more minutes—or 7 minutes, if youngest child is aged 3-6—on average toward beauty just on account of being

employed, specifically, as regular employees, temporary employees, or employers, i.e., paid positions in which managing long-term social interactions at work is relatively more important. Considering that working mothers suffer severe time poverty—in both objective terms, as measured by the ratio of free time to total work time, and subjective terms, as measured by self-assessed time shortage—even more so than stay-at-home mothers, the 3 minutes that mothers with young children must additionally extract out of their time-strained schedule to appear presentable for work cannot be weighed equally as the 3 minutes that married women without children can more freely add to polish their looks for work. Maternal employment calls for mothers to not only manage the double burden of paid work and child caring, but also a well-groomed appearance. To the extent that the additional time investment in beauty made by mothers is found beneficial at workplace than at home, it is a capital that yields returns; however, the multiple burden that mothers must endure seriously raise the question on whether erotic capital serves to empower women as Hakim champions.

VI. Conclusion

The exploration of time investment in beauty using time use survey data verifies the efficacy of beauty as a capital for women in the marriage and labour markets of South Korea, providing empirical support to Hakim's theory of erotic capital. Time differentials across the categories of sex, marital status, employment status, and motherhood were found significant even after controlling for a number of demographic variables, including age (and its square), educational attainment, income, urban residence, and number of unmarried children in the household; measures of subjective personal conditions, including perceived time shortage, self-reported health, and life satisfaction; and work times (paid and unpaid). The effects of some categories lost statistical significance only when the predictors of interest and their interaction variables were tested together. However, the analysis also sheds light on how the beauty capital serves not as a means of female empowerment but rather as a 'corset' for working mothers who must manage work, childrearing, and well-groomed appearance.

The study has several limitations arising from the particular type of data, not conventionally used for research on beauty or appearance. First, investment in beauty can only be narrowly defined, not inclusive of the various forms of appearance management including but not limited to include more active forms of appearance management behaviors such as exercising for weight loss, shopping for cosmetics, clothes, and other appearance-enhancing commodities, and reading or watching materials to gather beauty-related information. Second, beauty investment as secondary activity is not examined, which would have yielded higher estimates for average beauty time. For example, it is not difficult to find women on the subway or bus making-up and

even styling their hair; in the ladies' room at workplace fixing make-up and changing into more appropriate attire ahead of dinner plans, or in front of the tv or computer screen, carrying out beauty routines like putting on facial masks or painting the nails. Third, the time distribution among the specific activities that comprise beauty investment is not reliably measured and can only analyzed as lumped under the larger category of self-care. The KTUS does have separate codes for 'personal hygiene', 'appearance management', 'receiving beauty-related service', and 'other self-care not related to health,' but a cursory examination of the original data revealed that most of the beauty time was concentrated on personal hygiene, with very low proportion of respondents engaged in the other activities. Given the nature of time use surveys, activities that take up less than 10 minutes or deemed not meaningful for separate logging are frequently lost in the process of recording, and activities that do not occur on a daily basis (e.g. getting a hair cut, shopping for basic apparel) are lost from sight in the process of calculating daily averages. The huge imbalance in times that compose the subcategories of beauty activity imply that at the stage of time-logging, respondents do not specify their activity to that level. Finally, the data relies on the method of time diary, highly prone to over- or under-reporting of activities on account of respondent bias (Brenner 2009; Van Ingen et al. 2009) or innocent memory failure.

Nonetheless, the data offer much rooms for further exploration. An analysis stratified by age groups would better reveal when beauty is most effective as a capital with regards to marriage and labour market outcomes. While this study analyzed the time duration of activities, examining the time of occurrence—namely, the time period of the day, and the activities that came before and after—can add much more context to

improve the interpretation of time used toward beauty. It is also worth extending the study to the male as well as the student population, to better place the time investment in beauty made by female adults into perspective.

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Appendix A

Comparison of average time use per day in primary activities for the female population by student status, 2014 annual averages

Activity	Average time per day spent on primary activities by females	
	Student	Non-Student
Total	24:00	24:00
Personal maintenance	11:20	11:15
Sleep	8:11	7:57
Meal or snack	1:45	1:56
Health care	0:02	0:07
Beauty	1:22	1:15
Work	0:30	2:47
Study	5:48	0:11
Housework	0:31	2:50
Family care	0:03	0:42
Organizational activities	0:02	0:03
Social and leisure activities	3:52	4:23
Travel time	0:57	2:25
Other	1:45	0:15

Source: Statistics Korea

Note: Data refer to persons aged 10 or above.

Appendix B

Time spent on personal maintenance activities, averages per day for the female population, annual averages for 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014

Activity	1999	2004	2009	2014
Personal maintenance	10:18	10:34	10:53	11:16
Sleep	7:44	7:47	7:50	7:59
Meal and snack	1:32	1:35	1:42	1:54
Health care	0:08	0:08	0:07	0:07
Beauty investment	0:53	1:04	1:13	1:16

Source: Statistics Korea

Note: Data refer to persons aged 10 or above.

Time spent on personal maintenance activities, averages per day for the female population by age, annual averages for 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014

Activity	1999	2004	2009	2014	Difference (1999-2014)
Female, 10 to 19 years					
Personal maintenance	10:20	10:38	10:51	11:20	1:00
Sleep	7:54	8:03	7:57	8:14	0:20
Meal and snack	1:26	1:27	1:33	1:44	0:18
Health care	0:01	0:02	0:01	0:01	0:00
Beauty investment	0:59	1:07	1:20	1:20	0:21
Female, 20 to 29 years					
Personal maintenance	10:27	10:47	11:10	11:36	1:09
Sleep	7:49	7:56	8:00	8:14	0:25
Meal and snack	1:31	1:32	1:40	1:49	0:18
Health care	0:03	0:02	0:02	0:03	0:00
Beauty investment	1:04	1:17	1:27	1:29	0:25
Female, 30 to 39 years					
Personal maintenance	10:04	10:19	10:40	11:10	1:06
Sleep	7:34	7:40	7:49	8:05	0:31
Meal and snack	1:35	1:38	1:43	1:56	0:21
Health care	0:04	0:03	0:03	0:03	(0:01)
Beauty investment	0:51	0:59	1:05	1:07	0:16
Female, 40 to 49 years					
Personal maintenance	9:52	10:10	10:25	10:51	0:59
Sleep	7:16	7:22	7:20	7:32	0:16
Meal and snack	1:34	1:37	1:45	1:59	0:25
Health care	0:07	0:05	0:05	0:04	(0:03)
Beauty investment	0:54	1:06	1:15	1:16	0:22
Female, 50 to 59 years					
Personal maintenance	10:06	10:24	10:43	11:02	0:56
Sleep	7:33	7:33	7:36	7:38	0:05
Meal and snack	1:32	1:37	1:47	1:58	0:26
Health care	0:13	0:11	0:08	0:07	(0:06)
Beauty investment	0:48	1:04	1:12	1:19	0:31
Female, 60 to 69 years					
Personal maintenance	10:58	11:05	11:27	11:37	0:39
Sleep	8:19	8:11	8:15	8:16	(0:03)
Meal and snack	1:32	1:35	1:44	1:55	0:23
Health care	0:28	0:25	0:22	0:16	(0:12)
Beauty investment	0:40	0:53	1:05	1:09	0:29

Source: Statistics Korea, highlighting and change over time added by author

Note: Data refer to persons aged 10 or above.

Appendix C

Country comparison of time spent on personal maintenance activities, averages for the female population, averages for 2009

Country	Time per day spent on personal maintenance activities			
	Total	Sleep	Meal and snack	Beauty investment ¹
Japan (2010)	10:19	7:24	1:39	1:16
Korea ²	10:07	7:51	1:02	1:14
Hungary	11:18	8:28	1:36	1:14
France	11:37	8:30	2:11	0:56
United States	10:30	8:43	0:52	0:55
Finland	10:49	8:37	1:19	0:53
Estonia	11:14	8:41	1:40	0:53
Italy (2008)	11:34	8:57	1:44	0:53
Spain	11:14	8:41	1:40	0:53
China (2008)	11:26	9:04	1:36	0:46
Canada (2010)	10:14	8:28	1:01	0:45

Source: Compiled using Multinational Time Use Survey (MTUS) data, China Time Use Survey 2008 Statistics (表2-1 按城乡和性别划分的综合分类活动平均时间), and Japan NHK's Time Use Survey 2010 Results (集計結果).

¹ The beauty investment variable is defined in MTUS as washing, dressing, and caring for self, but it also likely includes health care (e.g. taking medication, receiving therapy, etc.), for which no separate variable exists as in the KTUS.

² Slight differences were observed compared to the numbers provided directly by Statistics Korea (sleep – 7:50, meal and snack – 1:42, self-care – 1:13)

Notes: Data refer to persons 20 years and older and annual averages for 2009, except China, where averages are for persons aged 15 to 74. Weighted means are calculated using the weight variable (*propwt*) included in the harmonized MTUS data set or taken from published results in the cases of Japan and China.

Abstract (Korean)

자본 혹은 코르셋: 한국 여성의 외모 시간 투자에 대한 양적 연구

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미의 중요성은 21 세기 현대 사회에서 거듭 높아지고 있으며, 모든 사회적 맥락과 생애주기 단계에 이르러 영향을 미치고 있다. 사회학자 캐서린 하킴(Catherine Hakim)이 피에르 부르디외(Pierre Bourdieu)의 자본론에 기반하여 제 4 의 자산으로 주장하는 ‘매력 자본(erotic capital)’은 미에 대한 개념을 선천적으로 타고 나는 외모를 넘어 후천적인 노력으로도 가꾸어질 수 있는 개념으로 확장시킨다. 본 연구는 미와 관련된 기존 연구에서 활용되지 않았던 생활시간조사 자료를 이용하여 하킴의 이론을 결혼 및 고용 측면에서 실증적으로 검토하는 것을 목적으로 한다. 이를 위해 대한민국 통계청의 2014 년 생활시간조사자료를 여성에 초점을 맞추어 Stata 13 으로 분석한다. 분석 결과, 외모에 들어가는 하루 평균 시간은 성별, 결혼, 고용, 및 10 세 이하 자녀 유무의 구분에 따라 유의한 편차가 발생하였으며 전반적으로 매력 자본 이론을 뒷받침한다. 그러나 직장일과 육아에 더해 외모까지 관리해야 하는 유자녀 직장여성(워킹맘)의 경우, 매력 자본에 대한 시간 투자가 권익 향상이 아닌 코르셋으로 작용하고 있음을 확인할 수 있다.

주요어 : 캐서린 하킴, 매력 자본, 미, 외모 관리, 시간 배분, 생활시간조사, 한국 여성

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