How is culture represented in textbooks? – “marriage” in Korean language textbooks used in English-speaking countries

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Abstract: This paper aims to analyse the text and images of marriage culture in Korean textbooks used in English-speaking countries to reveal the underlying social values, beliefs and ideology. I will analyse what Korean textbooks select as a “traditional and formal marriage” culture, how they describe it (who is being highlighted or excluded), and whose viewpoint is represented. According to the analysis, Korean textbooks’ marriage culture involved the “Confucian patriarchal ideology” centred on male adults, which is one of Korea’s major ideologies, and the “romantic love ideology” to conceal the fact that modern materialism has a stronger influence on marriage than love. This tendency is still marked by patriarchal ideology, and often a patriarchal ideology appears with a romantic love ideology. Through these ideologies, textbooks describe the values of happiness and successful marriage; however, this paper discovered the other side of marriage, where women, poorer and less advantaged people are alienated and materialism is valued.

Subjects: Korean Studies; Korean Culture & Society; Language & Education; Language Teaching & Learning; Languages of Asia; Korean

Keywords: Textbook analysis; Korean education; marriage; ideology; culture; culture education; language

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PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT

Numerous text and images of textbooks are thought to convey neutral knowledge. However, they are selectively chosen, and they also convey biased values and beliefs. Therefore, it is important to look at what ideologies the textbook imply and how they are embedded. For this purpose, this research investigates the ideologies by analysing the text and images of “marriage” culture in Korean textbooks used in English-speaking countries. According to the analysis, descriptions of the marriage culture in Korean textbooks interweave patriarchal ideology, romantic love ideology and materialism. These ideologies accentuated the objects to be noticed and covered up the objects to be excluded. This research is used to lead research about other language-speaking countries and will be used to cultivate a critical view rather than simply being conveyed the meaning that is constructed selectively in the textbook.
1. Introduction
Fundamentally, textbook material is a meaning-constitutive entity composed of texts and images selected from certain viewpoints. Although a textbook appears to convey neutral, objective knowledge, it usually carries the dominant ideology and social norms of the upper and middle classes. In other words, a textbook is not a product of unbiased knowledge but part of a larger social process and ideological product reflecting the prominent ideas of elite and popular culture approved of by society (Apple, 2012; Curdt-Christiansen, 2017). Apple (2012) emphasized the fact that the selection of contents and publication of textbooks takes place within the context of social relationships and reflects the viewpoint of a particular group. Most editorial decisions dealing with which texts should be published and which disciplines should count as legitimate content that students should receive as “official knowledge”, are made by individuals with specific characteristics (p.158).

As Apple (2012) mentioned, by selecting and organising knowledge appropriate to a curriculum guideline and passing the content through government screening, a textbook produces “official knowledge”. Also, the ideological content of a textbook will affect learners’ acceptance and practice of the knowledge. Through this process, the dominant group’s ideology is maintained, propagated and strengthened.

Williams (1989) proposes the concept of “selective tradition”, explaining that certain meanings and practices are emphasised, while other groups are excluded through the selection of specific meanings and practices in a particular culture. Williams also noted that the result of selection by and for a specific class is considered “tradition”.

Therefore, in a Korean textbook context, it is expected that Korean textbooks will also focus on showing the most “official” or “traditional” cultural aspects of the process of content selection and publishing. More specifically, in the composition of textbooks, all elements of the textbooks, such as the topics and situations presented in the dialogues and the vocabulary and images in the pages, not to mention the themes explicitly presented, are derived from the choices that reflect the interests of the dominant class. This selective construction of textbooks is commonly found in national language textbooks as well as foreign language textbooks. It is therefore crucial to investigate culture encountered through foreign language textbooks; in particular, the “underlying meaning of the culture presented”.

In this regard, this study aims to explore critically the cultural representation of Korea. More specifically among the various cultural themes covered in Korean textbooks, the study will focus on “marriage”. In “the standard model of cultural items in the Korean textbooks among the 3–4 grade” (Ryu Hyun-jeong, 2017), the subject of marriage is seen six times, which shows the highest frequency among the contents of a “standard model” in terms of “information culture” type. Marriage is not only a special and important event that exists in every culture but it is also an influential social convention in which social norms, values, beliefs and ideologies are embedded; for example, marriage is influenced by materialism, which can be seen in social norms such as the “marriage market”. Marriage is usually assumed to be an outcome of love between the marrying parties; however, in Korea, people tend to commercialise themselves in the marriage market to achieve marriage. Just as goods are exchanged in the goods market, individuals’ material conditions are exchanged in the marriage market (Yong-Hak Kim & Ho Young Yoon, 2013). Such materialism may lead to economic conditions or educational background being highlighted in marriage, and due to the influence of Western individualism, there may also be a change in the role and influence of family in marriage. It is also possible to compare the past with the present, to confirm the value of happiness and a successful marriage over time. In other words, looking into the culture of marriage can reveal the conventional beliefs and ideologies of different times.

The textbooks I analysed do not cover all aspects of marriage in detail. Certain aspects of marriage are selected and integrated into the textbooks and, by analysing which parts of marriage
are introduced and depicted as official and traditional Korean marriage culture, this project will establish what is defined as a successful and happy marriage in mainstream Korean society. This study will critically analyse the aspects of marriage portrayed in Korean textbooks, revealing how Korea’s marriage culture is represented, the social norms, values and beliefs that are embedded, and what ideologies (and for whose benefit) are being produced by analysing the Korean textbooks used in English-speaking countries.

2. Cultural education and Korean textbooks in Korean language education

Kramsch (2013) quotes the concept of “social semiotic” used by Halliday (1978) to explain the rigidity of language and culture. Language represents social reality, expresses social and cultural identity, and reflects as a metaphor what we call culture. In other words, “Without language and other symbolic systems, the habits, beliefs, institutions, and monuments that we call culture would be just observable realities, not cultural phenomena (p.62).” In this regard, in language education, Byram (1988) says that foreign language education is more than “linguistic”. This study explains that learning a foreign language involves more than simply coding a learner’s experience into a foreign language and that learning and using a foreign language means entering into a different way of life, a different way of behaving. Language learning is not just the language itself but also the culture of the language, and the worldview and lifestyle of the group using the language are learned at the same time (Kim Jung-sook, 1997; p.130). Because language and culture are intertwined, elements of the specific culture are embedded in the language (Brooks, N., 1968); it is therefore imperative to teach about the specific culture in the foreign language classroom.

Thus, studies have been conducted on the impact of cultural topics such as “perceptions, motivations, teaching methodologies, attitudes, and social identities” on learning a language, particularly the relationship between teaching of the culture alongside the foreign language (Byram, 2008). Learning about Korean culture has become very important in the learning of the Korean language, and researchers have actively conducted a study into what should be included (Kang, 2011) (“How to teach culture in Korean language education” (Kim & Ra, 2011; Yeo-Tak Yoon, 2013)). In the discussion on teaching methods, the main topic is which auxiliary materials should be used to provide cultural education, and which cultural competences should be cultivated during teaching of the Korean language (National Institute of the Korean Language, 2010; Oh Ji-hye, 2013). Yet they missed ideologies are embedded in texts and images in the textbooks, so it is crucial to look into the contents themselves. However, few scholars themselves have critically analysed the cultural content of Korean language education, and this lack of critical analysis of cultural content could in fact lead to a limited set of learning goals in cultural competencies.

In Kang (2011), the cultural content of Korean education was listed as “achievement culture, informational culture and behavioural culture” in accordance with the classification of Hamerly (1986). The list also considered “student and teacher preference, research appearance frequency, and textbook appearance frequency” to select cultural items. However, producing a list of cultural items based on preferences, and textbook and research appearance frequency, means that these results are considered as neutral and objective knowledge, which is why there is no critical consideration of the adequacy of the content itself. Scholars such as Lee (1996) and Luke (1988) insist that there is no neutral and legitimate knowledge which is free from ideology. It is therefore important to investigate critically whose views and whose interests (specific groups) are reflected in the preferences, and the frequency of cultural items appearing in research and in the textbooks. Moreover, it is crucial to determine whose views and ideologies are reflected or side-lined in the textbooks by scrutinising the cultural items and content.

Yeo-Tak Yoon (2013) discussed how to teach culture in Korean language education and set-up teaching material with the narrative related to “mother” and applied it to an actual class. In this study, culture was defined as “achievements culture”, “behaviours culture”, and “ideas culture” by Tomalin and Stempleski (1994, p.7) and learning content was set for each of the different culture types. Particularly with regard to “ideas culture”, the study explored an understanding of the
cultural background, such as patriarchal ideology. In the narrative, the patriarchal ideology of mother being alienated and father being superior is revealed through a description of mother and father, and is treated as a teaching content of the “ideas culture”; however, despite the inclusion of this ideology as a content in “ideas culture”, the gender aspect of the patriarchal ideology was not addressed. The focus is more on verifying the cultural aspects, not on the underlying background. Kim and Ra (2011) used music videos under the theme of “father.” “Father” is a major ideological keyword that plays a central role under Confucian patriarchal ideology in Korean society; however, no consideration has been given as to how the father is portrayed or to the Korean values that are emphasised.

As such, discussions on the selection of cultural items for textbooks in Korean language education and the supplementary materials for use in teaching do not take into account the cultural implications behind the selection decisions. In language education, textbooks in language teaching methodology generally provide a very rudimentary view of cultural factors in teaching and learning and, if it is addressed at all, culture is often identified by reference to customs in learners’ native cultures (Hinkel, 1999). This approach can make it difficult for language learners to understand the specific culture embedded in the specific foreign language.

As we have seen, it is a problem that cultural content in language learning is too narrow and superficial. The next issue we will explore relates to the definition of culture and cultural competence covered in Korean textbooks.

There are also problems in setting goals for cultural education in Korean education. The standard curriculum of Korean language education (National Institute of the Korean Language, 2010) presents the content of culture domains and sets cultural competence as a goal of Korean language education at basic, intermediate, and advanced level. The following are aspects of “culture” in Korean language education according to this standard. The basic level courses include “Understanding the basic daily life activities-related culture”. The intermediate level courses include “Understanding public and formal Korean culture such as traditional culture, which is the basis of everyday life”, and the advanced courses include “Understanding public and formal Korean culture and the Korean way of thinking”, and “Comparing it with their own cultures”, and “Understanding the culture of accomplishments such as art, music, and literature”. One of the difficulties in the description of cultural competence is that the courses only deal with the aspects of “understanding” (not ability to perform) Korean culture; however, cultural competence goes beyond mere understanding of Korean cultural knowledge and encompasses critical thinking and the ability to perform practices in the foreign culture (Oh Ji-hye, 2013). In addition, there is no further explanation of the definition of “public and formal Korean culture”. If these are the goals of cultural competence, it is necessary to verify what is recognised as “public and formal culture” in Korea, as the choice of “public and formal culture” depicted in Korean textbooks is a product of a deliberately selective process which offers historical and cultural ratification of a contemporary order (Williams, 1989, p.59).

Therefore, the aim of this research is to highlight and expand on the ideologies contained in Korean textbooks used in English-speaking countries, through critical questions such as “What marriage culture do textbooks depict as official and traditional in Korean culture?” and “How do textbooks describe the popularity of marriage in traditional Korean culture?”—that is, for whose benefit and for what motivation? In this case, it is necessary to scrutinise the values, social ideas, and ideologies that are integrated in the description of marriage, and how marriage is represented as an example of a critical analysis of Korean culture.

3. Methods
Texts and images used in textbooks were influenced by a large socio-cultural context beyond the textbooks. From a socially critical perspective, as education is considered a part of social institutions and value structures, it is important to understand whose knowledge is taught and reproduced through education (Apple, 1985, 2014). Traditionally, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is
concerned with the practice of discourse that is formed and transformed from the exercise of domination or inequality, concealment, justification, and reproduction. In particular, Fairclough (1995) explained that “language” is a part of society, a social process, and a socially conditioned process. This suggests that when analysing the discourse, it should include textual analysis as well as a customary practice for interpretation, in addition to social conditions and contexts governing the practice.

Fairclough (1989, p.110–112) presented a list of ten questions that could be raised in terms of text analysis based on vocabulary, grammar, and text structures. In this study, I modified Fairclough's questions of text analysis by looking into words which are ideologically contested, then rewording or over-wording. In terms of grammar, I will analyse the use of transitivity (active and passive voice) and mood in the texts. Lastly, I will also explore the larger scale of the text as a text structure. The purpose of analysing the vocabulary, grammar, and structure of the text is to discover the ideology that the text implies. In other words, it is the aim of the CDA through the analysis to identify who is being alienated or focused on and reproduced, and by whom.

In visual analysis, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) point out that the meta-function of systematic linguistics suggested by Halliday (1978, 1994) can be used to analyse the content, form and social meaning of visual images. As Halliday explained, the grammar of the language in the setting of social context seeks to analyse the grammar of visual images in terms of social meaning. While Halliday (1994) analysed language expressed through the selection of a part of speech and clause, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) analysed images expressed through the selection of colour or image composition. More specifically, visual grammar explains how to construct a screen of elements such as people, places and objects. Thus, we can find social ideology reflected in an image through character depiction (the person’s expression, movement, gaze and size), layout and colour; therefore, visual analysis can explore power relations and ideological messages’ (Lee, 1996) as well as explain how visual resources are used and with what further intention (Lee, 2016). Therefore, I will investigate the value contained in the visual image.

In this paper, I will analyse how text and image are presented in textbooks, with what specific intention, and in whose interests in regard to marriage issues.

4. Data sources
In this paper, Integrated Korean by Hawaii Press was selected as an English-language textbook for English-speaking countries, since Integrated Korean of the University of Hawaii in the USA is the most frequently used teaching material (Byon, 2015; National Korean Language Institute, 2010). Also, “marriage” was chosen as the subject of analysis. It is possible to look at both traditional and modern Korean cultural aspects represented in Korean textbooks through the theme of “marriage”.

For analysis, representative texts and images related to the marriage were selected (one prose, four dialogues, two exercises, and one image). The prose deals with traditional and modern Korean marriages. Several dialogues deal with the conditions of marriage and modern views of traditional marriage.

5. Korea’s dominant ideology of marriage: patriarchal ideology and romantic love ideology
Before analysing textbooks, it is necessary to examine what sociocultural discourses have been combined with Korean marriage. Marriage itself is a concept that allows ideological formulae. Marriage ideology frames the image of marriage for individuals and groups. It can create social norms in the minds of people regarding the values surrounding marriage and their choices, such as the conditions of marriage (individual gender, appearance, personality, academic affairs, occupation and the role of a family, even the meaning of marriage.) In this sense, this discourse of sociocultural context related to marriage is acting in a sophisticated way. Thus, rituals such as marriage
are not free from power relations because they are the order of life established through a particular world view of women and men, and morals and values (Kim Hyeon Mi, 2001; p.163).

There are two main ideologies which affect marriage in Korea. First of all, the ideology that has the greatest influence, from traditional marriage to modern marriage, is a “patriarchal ideology”. This can be considered as a dominant ideology based on Confucian culture, allowing the domination of father in the family, and the domination of elder over youth (young person) and male over female (Yeon-Ju, 2008, p.339). Confucian governing ideology, which has continued from Korea’s Chosun society has created a father and family-centred environment; a male-centred value system which results in the discrimination of women in the family and social gender inequality. Thus, “patriarchal ideology” can strongly suggest and reflect the power relations of gender. Also, “patriarchal ideology” has created inequality by giving power to the elders. In this context, patriarchal ideology influences marriage as follows: marriages are arranged by the father or adults or male-dominated figures such as grooms, and the aspect of considering the family background as a condition of marriage.

In modern times, a new ideology has been added to the Confucian patriarchal ideology, which has strongly implicated power relations based on gender. This is called “romantic love ideology”, which aims to justify the sacrifice of women or conceal mammonism by emphasising the individual’s opportunity of making an autonomous choice in love. The romantic love ideology that conceals the fictitious desires and falsehoods of modernity is the ideology that has the greatest influence on the changing view of marriage in modern society by applying the frame that the marriage is the independent choice of the “mental value of romantic love”. According to Giddens (2013), the connection between the concept of romantic love and marriage is related to the emergence of modern society. The ideal of romantic love has separated marital relations from kinship and has made marriage itself imply a special meaning. This led to the birth of a nuclear family and “family” in the modern sense, and the relationship between parents and children has changed as well. Particularly in Korea, Confucian ideology has been compounded, and the modern construction of motherhood based on women’s heavy emotional labour and domestic work has been established. Giddens believes that this ideologiocal complex strengthens a fixed model of the sexual role of a woman, as a wife and a mother (Giddens, 2013; Kim & Lee, 2005). Therefore, through the romantic love ideology, we can identify the conservativeness of the patriarchal ideology, such as the image of an objectified and otherised woman.

In the context of marriage, the focus of power in patriarchal ideology is on the male elders of the family, which causes the objectification and exclusion of the females. In the romantic love ideology, the emphasis is placed on the individuals’ possibility of choosing mutual authentic love, which puts the mental value at the forefront to cover the pursuit of sexual inequality and material value. In Korean textbooks, patriarchal ideology and romantic love ideology are combined and used for emphasising public and formal Korean marriage culture.

According to Williams (1989, 2016), culture should be read as a constitutive social process in a historical context. He mentioned that certain cultures are presented as “tradition” through selected processes where specific cultural meanings and practices are highlighted or excluded. There is a complex ideological tendency that contains the dominant culture, the residual culture, and the emerging culture of the time. To apply these streams to Korean ideologies, patriarchal ideology is very powerful; it still has an underlying background force, and it also affects romantic love ideology by coexisting with romantic love ideology. Furthermore, “traditional, public and formal” marriage cultures are selected and imply social beliefs and values through these processes. In this context, texts in Korean textbooks will be intertwined with a combination of dominant, residual, and emergent cultural ideologies. It is easy to infer that marriage (cultural theme) and the content contained in the text of Korean textbooks, known as “representative”,

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“official” or “traditional,” were deliberately selected to continue to be inherited by these ideologies, which are chosen by the most popular and elite groups of Korean society.

6. Analysis
Marriage-related texts and images in Korean textbooks contain both a patriarchal ideology and a romantic love ideology; however, it is patriarchal ideology that is especially evident in the text and images. In particular, images of gender in marriage are typical, and the family (especially, the adult male) is very influential. A total of eight data sets were analysed; three out of the eight were patriarchal and romantic love ideologies combined together; three texts and images were about patriarchal ideology; and romantic love ideology emerged from two. When dealing with marriage in Korean textbooks used in English-speaking countries, patriarchal ideology prevailed, and six out of the eight texts evidenced this fact.

7. Patriarchal ideology and romantic love ideology (together)
Texts and images analysed in “Unit 13. Marriage” of a Korean textbook used in English-speaking countries are as follows. The first text to be analysed is a dialogue between a Korean (Minji) and a foreigner (Mark Western) who attended a Korean wedding. The main dialogue in the table area is about “the beauty of the bride, the personality of the bride and groom, and how they met each other.”

It seems that the conversation takes place through a third person perspective (Minji and Mark) and focuses on the bride and the bridegroom. However, if we look more closely at the ways in which the bride and bridegroom are treated in the images, we can see that the bride, who is a woman, is produced with a specific image that is selectively depicted and customised.

Text A: The Wedding Dress Looks Really Good on Her (p. 120–121 in Unit 13)
(Today is the wedding day of Soobin and Hyunwoo. Minji and Mark met each other at the wedding)

Mark: Soobin is really beautiful today. And the wedding dress looks really good on her.
Minji: It’s because Soobin takes after her mother. Her mother is a beautiful woman.
Mark: Oh, really? I see. Soobin takes after her mother.
Minji: I think their personalities are very similar, too. Her mother is also calm and quiet.
Mark: Oh, really? Now that I think of it, the groom and the bride have completely opposite personalities. Hyunwoo is outgoing and kind of impatient, you know.
Minji: Yeah, I hear they used to fight sometimes, when they were dating, because of their different personalities.
Mark: By the way, have you heard how they met each other?
Minji: They met when they were college freshmen, through their friend. And they fell in love at first sight.
Mark: I see.
Minji: By the way, what did you get for their wedding gift?
Mark: I didn’t know what to get, so I just gave them a department store gift card. What do people usually get for a wedding gift in Korea?
Minji: People usually give a monetary gift, but I think many people also give household goods to their close friends.

As described above, in the content of the dialogue, it can be confirmed that the bride and bridegroom being married are the main focus. However, in this short conversation, a number of social values and ideologies are involved. First, the conversation started with an external evaluation that she (the bride) is “beautiful”, which is not to imply the criticism that they praise “appearance” rather than the “inside” of the bride. The appearance of the bride was mentioned first. The bridegroom’s appearance was not mentioned, and it can be inferred from this that appearance, especially the bride’s appearance, is considered a priority for marriage. In Korea, many marriage consulting companies have begun to emerge since 1985 (Ha Jae-Kyung, 2007), and these companies are accustomed to receiving and providing quantified information of the marital conditions, by item. In some marriage consulting companies, only women’s cases are
divided into grades in appearance, and the value placed on appearance is eight times greater than on other conditions (Lee, 2008). Against this background, praising the bride’s appearance as beautiful implies that she has a “good condition” in marriage. At the moment when her appearance in marriage is regarded as a positive “feminine resource”, she becomes shaped as a person who has already become a gendered individual rather than an independent individual.

Other interesting points in the dialogue are that the appearance and personality of the bride resemble those of her mother (described by the Korean (Minji)). In the sentence, the appearance and character of the bride Soobin, but in terms of expression, her mother is more the focus. The main subject of Mark’s comments is Soobin, while Minji continues to focus on Soobin’s mother as the subject of her sentences. Here, the aspect of the blood tie-centred society of Korea can be seen, and it is emphasised that both the mother’s and daughter’s generations are beautiful and that the daughter has inherited her beauty from her mother. Also, along with the perception that there are an increasing number of people undergoing plastic surgery in Korea, there may be an intention to place greater value on the beauty that is not based on plastic surgery (natural beauty). Furthermore, the stated calm and quiet personality of both mother and daughter is a typical characteristic of the passive and pliable (submissive) women’s image which was considered positively in “patriarchal ideology”. On the other hand, the husband is described as being outgoing and rather impatient, contrasting with the nature of the women.

The next point is about how the bride and groom met, which we are able to work out as a romantic love ideology. They are said to have “fallen in love at first sight”. As mentioned earlier, romantic love ideology makes marriage “special”. This is because it is a “happy” marriage, for free individuals who have taken the initiative in choosing love. However, combined with the patriarchal ideology of “beautiful”, and “calm and quiet” woman in the preceding context, the woman in the marriage will be subject to the dual charges of romantic love-linked emotional labour, and labour required by the traditional family system (patriarchal ideology). Furthermore, in Korea, the term “marriage market” has become so important that the “conditions” of marriage are also regarded as being very important. Even though this presents a real problem, as seen through the above dialogue, the text implies that it is possible to get an “idealistic successful” marriage example, in which a couple fell in love at first sight.

Lastly, Minji and Mark are talking about wedding gifts. In Korean wedding culture, the hosts of the guests are the parents of the bride and groom, and in Korean society, where honour is valued (especially that of the father), wedding gifts are extremely important (Cho & Byun, 2014). Looking at the conversation, Koreans “usually” give a monetary gift, and “many” people “also” give household goods. In today’s Korean society, it is common to give a monetary gift; however, as the conversation shows, there is also a growing tendency among close friends to give wedding gifts. This is influenced by Western culture, where gifts are more customary.

Following the dialogue’s words, grammar, and text structure, we can see that formal and successful marriage is dealt with in the Korean textbook with at least two conditions. One is “a calm and quiet, and also beautiful bride from generation to generation”, and the other is “love at first sight”. This brings patriarchal ideology and romantic love ideology together. Along with the continuing pattern of the marriage culture in Korean society, where the father’s influence prevails, one can also identify that wedding gift culture is changing under Western influence.

The text of the second analysis is a brief introduction to the arranged marriage, conventional wedding, and pyebaek, under the theme of “Marriage Culture in Korea”.

**Text B: Marriage Culture in Korea (p. 143 in Unit 13)**

In the past, it was very common for people to marry partners chosen for them by their parents, without them taking time to date and getting to know each other. This is what is
known as an “arranged marriage”, where the parents decide what kind of family they want their children to be married into. They took into account factors such as economic class, level of education, and other background details. As time went on, more and more people started weighing their own wants more heavily when it came to marriage; the main factor being mutual love. People began to date for extended periods to make sure they got to know each other. However, this does not mean that arranged marriages have completely disappeared; there are still people who marry partners chosen for them by their parents.

People used to have a conventional wedding in the Korean traditional costume, hanbok, but these days, they usually have their wedding at a wedding hall, church or hotel; however, the wedding still includes a part of the traditional wedding, called pyebaek. During the pyebaek ceremony, the groom and the bride bow deeply to the elders in their family, and the elders bless the newlyweds.

In the prose above, the hybrid tendency of patriarchal ideology and romantic love ideology continues. The text is prose with the title “Marriage Culture in Korea”. It tells the story by comparing the marriage culture of “in the past” and “as time went on”.

The old Korean marriage culture is described as “arranged marriage”, which is marrying a partner “chosen by their parents”. Under the Confucian patriarchal ideology, the marriage process by the elderly parents is to typify their children, who should be the subject of true marriage. Parents decide what kind of “family” is married “into” their child through economic class, level of education, and other background details of the family. In the expressive aspect of the sentence, “They” which appears twice (underlined) describes the marriage culture. Here, “They” refers to “parents”, and it can be confirmed that the parents have the critical power in the marriage.

This prose also explains that the traditional marriage culture of pyebaek still remains in the modern age, and introduces it as a culture that is blessed by the householder. This shows that the marriage culture of Korea is not only the marriage entity but also the relationship with the “adult”. Furthermore, the impressive part is the explanation of pyebaek. The prose explains that, in this ceremony, the groom and bride give deep bows to the elders; however, originally, pyebaek was a “traditional ceremony to pay respect to the bridegroom’s family by the bride after their wedding.” Although much is omitted in modern times, this ceremony is integrated in the prose. The textbook describes it as the simplified greetings of the bridegroom and the bride towards their elders. Not only does this show that patriarchal ideology remains in Korea, but it also shows the intention (implied) that the culture that emphasises family members in marriage is sustainable now and in the near future.

Text C: Practice the following model dialogue (p. 140 in Unit 13)

A: What do you think about arranged marriage?
B: I think arranged marriage is also fine.
A: Are you sure? Why do you think so?
B: These days, everyone is busy, so there is not much chance of dating. And after graduating from school, it is not easy to meet people. Also, if a family member or relative introduce someone, you can trust it.

This dialogue begins with the question of “what do you think about arranged marriage?” This question makes us think about the advantages and disadvantages of arranged marriages. But B replies that arranged marriage is “also” fine. It presupposes that arranged marriages are already positive. In response, A expressed doubt by asking “Are you sure?” which indicates that A was aware of the negative aspects of patriarchal ideology in an arranged marriage. A also implies that arranged marriage is out-of-date. Moreover, B’s final answer supports and promotes a patriarchal ideology, which is the core ideology of arranged marriage. This idea is to continue “arranged marriage” under the patriarchal ideology as something of value to modern times. The authors of
the textbook give the impression that many people ("everyone") use arranged marriage “these days”, and they also use the term “trust” to highlight the credentials of arranged marriages. This view also diminishes the perceived drawbacks of the previous “arranged marriage.”

8. Patriarchal ideology

The first dialogue between Minji and Mark, as described above, contains an illustration. When seeing the left as “the Given” and the right as “the New”, the familiar and obvious are placed on the left, which, in other words, can be seen as “common and natural”. In contrast, on the right side, new information is provided (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996). The above image (Image 1) is illustrated in the dialogue between Mark and Minji, and these two characters are primarily presented. Their dialogue is presented here as “new information”, which contains educational content. There are two areas that need particular attention in this image. One is that the bride is placed in the background on the right side. In the dialogue, the story of the bride, including her beauty and her mother’s appearance and personality, account for almost the entire dialogue introduction, while the bride in the image is not the subject of attention. Her mother does not appear either. The next highlight is the left side of the image. On the left side, the groom, standing in an almost rigid position, greets the “elder” who has come with the “groom’s father” to celebrate his marriage. The actors who are showing the most dynamic action in this image are these “elderlies”. The bride, who should be the subject of the marriage, is not the object of focus in the image. On the other hand, the bridegroom is welcoming the guests, and the father of the groom (an adult of the groom’s family) welcomes the main guests to the wedding. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that it implies a reflection of the “culture of the past” by drawing a small picture on the left side. However, the image implies the influence of patriarchal ideology, in which the parents (particularly the father) play the most prominent role in marriage, and the power is concentrated on the males (male groom here).

Text D: Grammar example (p. 123 in Unit 13)

A: When Suzie gets married, she has to live with the bridegroom’s parents.
B: Uh, the bridegroom must be the eldest son.
A: Yes, the eldest son still takes care of parents these days.
In this grammar example, we find a Confucian culture that supports the bridegroom's parents after marriage. In Korea, influenced by Confucian values, it is considered right for children to take care of their parents; in particular, that the “eldest son” should serve his parents after marriage. However, it was, in fact, the eldest son's wife who took care of his parents, because of the custom that women are primarily responsible for domestic affairs. The most frequently mentioned words in the conversation are the “bridegroom” and “eldest son”, but the fact that the subject of the first sentence is “Suzie” implies that the person who will serve the in-laws is the bride. This is where patriarchal ideology is very evident, as the auxiliary verb “has to” is used in the sentence to depict the patriarchal ideology of living together with the bridegroom’s parents. Also, given that exclamation is a language expression that directly reveals the speaker's feelings, the exclamation “uh” shows that it naturally evokes the cultural schema that B already had of the patriarchal ideology (the eldest son must take care of his parents). Furthermore, the phrase “still … these days” implies negative nuance rather than positive because there are many people who do not follow this culture today, but in the case of “Suzie”, it shows that she has to follow the traditional culture. Moreover, the most important thing to notice in this dialogue is that it is the bridegroom's parents that must be taken care of; there is no mention of the bride's parents.

Here, we can assume that the influence of Confucian patriarchal ideology, still deeply related to a family (such as in-laws) is widespread in Korea, even though Westernisation and the advent of the nuclear family have progressed in the modern age. This text serves for the male-dominant patriarchal ideology by omitting who looks after Suzie's parents.

Text E: Grammar example (p. 131 in Unit 13)

A: Why has Kim not been married yet, even though he is in good condition?
B: Yeah. He has a good academic background and good family.

This grammar example deals with the conditions of an ideal marriage, especially the conditions of an ideal groom. First, the emphasis on the good academic background can be seen as an influence of modern materialism. Speaking of a “good family” can also be seen as being influenced by Korea's Confucian patriarchal system. The emphasis on family background maintains the Confucian ideology that highlights the family, which derived from the political, economic and social solidarity and exclusiveness (Cho Kwan Yan, 1999) of the family for strengthening power, which has continued from Korea's Chosun Dynasty. Also, ideal marriage conditions are presented differently based on gender: a beautiful appearance and quiet and calm personality were considered as ideal traits for women for marriage (Text A), and a good academic background and good family were considered as ideal traits for men for marriage.

9. Romantic love ideology

Text F: Learning activity: new expression (p. 134 in Unit 13)

People who have a love marriage are happy.
On the other hand, people who have an arranged marriage are not happy.

By using the contrasting expression “on the other hand”, the text above explains that “arranged marriage is not valued, while love marriage is valued”. This statement separates love marriage from arranged marriage. Therefore, comparing a love marriage with an arranged marriage with a value of happiness is ostensibly critical of the perception that material conditions take precedence; however, in reality, it promotes the ideologies of romantic love. As in the preceding analysis, Korea's romantic love ideology is strongly influenced by materialism as well as patriarchal ideology; however, in this text, by placing love marriage as the antithesis of arranged marriage, it embodies the negative aspects of patriarchal ideology and materialism in arranged marriages. Also, this hides love marriage, which is considered the result of romantic love, as if it was outside the influence of patriarchal ideology and materialism. Although arranged marriages of the present age are strongly influenced by materialism, love can appear in the process of arranged marriage; however, in this text, love
marriages and arranged marriages are divided into opposites, hiding other possibilities to date and find love, for example, by using a marriage company.

Nevertheless, throughout the textbooks, mutual love as a condition of marriage being replaced by material conditions can be seen as follows.

**Text G: Exercise 4 (p. 139–140 in Unit 13)**

Age: Born in 1984

Gender: Male

Occupation: Lawyer

Academic Background: Graduated UCLA Law School

Personality: Sincere and responsible. Always reliable and works hard, but not too much. Very healthy mentally and physically

Appearance: Normal, 178 cm height

Desired Woman: Healthy, bright and warm. A woman who works hard in her major field

Contact: Please write your self-introduction and fax together with your contact details. All content is confidential.

**Text H: Exercise 5 (p. 140 in Unit 13)**

You want to put an advertisement on a dating service. Write an article about yourself describing your personality as illustrated in [Exercise 4] above.

Materialism, which was hidden under the romantic love ideology of modern times, is revealed by the strengthening of its influence. In Exercises 4 and 5, although it seems that the independent and active choice of the individual is emphasised in marriage; through this combination of materialism and romantic love ideology, we can feel the dominance of materialism. For example, these “personal ads” for wedding companies look like “hunting ads” for “romantic love”, which commercialise an individual. People not only have to include their age, occupation, academic background, personality and appearance in their “personalities,” but also list the conditions that will benefit their marriage and wait to be evaluated. Due to the influence of materialism, there is a belief that romantic love and guaranteed marriage can be safely and comfortably gained through advertisements. A more detailed analysis of the conditions shown in ‘Exercise 4’ will help us identify the husband’s conditions that are promising or standard in Korean society. Presenting a person’s age shows the culture of Korean society, which is relatively sensitive to age differences compared to Western cultures, and lawyers with a good academic background are preferred jobs in Korean society. In terms of personality, there is an ideal condition for men to work hard, but not too hard so as not to care about housework (i.e. men who are not too patriarchal). We can also see requested the condition “healthy, mentally and physically”. This poses the risk of excluding those who do not have these preferred conditions from the possibility of a happy marriage. Furthermore, unlike the emphasis on women’s appearances, men’s appearances are referred to as “normal.” Furthermore, the man presented as an example in this text can be seen as an elite, and the type of women these men want is the ideal elite woman. As well as dealing with the marital conditions of the ideal bridegrooms and brides, which are considered positive by ideology, Korean language textbooks mainly describe the upper class of society.
10. Conclusion

Korean textbooks reflect the ideologies of the elite and upper classes for emphasising the values and beliefs (Apple, 2012) presumed to be official or standard for Korea. Based on these perspectives, and in order to answer research questions on how the marriage culture of Korea is treated in the textbook, it must be clarified what kind of ideology is concealed and highlighted.

According to the analysis, descriptions of the marriage culture in Korean textbooks interweave patriarchal ideology, romantic love ideology and materialism. In the case of patriarchal ideology, there was a tendency to alienate women. The textbook presents as the ideal and traditional condition for a bride, that she should be, ‘A woman of beautiful appearance (natural beauty/not plastic surgery), quiet and calm, bright with a warm character, who has a professional job (Text A, Text G). On the other hand, the ideal conditions for a groom refer to good academic background, good family background, and jobs (law school) (Text E). Also, a woman is portrayed as the person who has to serve the groom’s parents (Text D). Moreover, patriarchal ideology emphasises the influence of parents (especially fathers) in marriage. Parents are selecting a marriage partner for their children (Text B), and the father of the groom (particularly) is portrayed as the host of the wedding guests (Image 1). Patriarchal ideologies use the value of “trust” to conceal parental influence (Text C), and the arranged marriage, conducted under patriarchal ideology, conceals previous negative connotations of arranged marriage by expressing the value of “trust” in modern times.

In the case of romantic love ideology, there is a tendency for material conditions to be wrapped up in choosing love, and also hiding gender inequality. The textbook describes getting married after falling in love at first sight (Text A), and says that marriage achieved through romantic love is happier (Text F). This expresses the opinion that an ideal marriage is only achieved through romantic love. At the same time, however, materialistic factors such as age, appearance, academic background and occupation are listed as conditions for marriage, and it is a reverse romantic love ideology that materialism of this intensity can lead to a happy marriage (Text G, Text H).

According to the analysis, the text that patriarchal ideology and romantic love ideology presented at the same time was the most frequent. Based on the frequency, patriarchal ideology was the most prevalent, and next was patriarchal ideology and romantic love ideology, coming together.

Through analysing marriage culture in Korean textbooks, it can be seen that “patriarchal ideology” (the most representative and traditional Confucian ideology in Korea) is dominant. This is followed by “romantic love ideology” intermingled with patriarchal ideology. Moreover, Korea’s patriarchal ideology and romantic love ideology influence marriage culture in combination.

In addition to being influenced by patriarchal ideology and romantic love ideology, the general tendency of how marriage is depicted in Korean textbooks was also confirmed; most notably, the aspects of marriage described in Korean textbooks all portrayed elite and upper-class groups. As a result, poorer and less advantaged people were excluded from the marriage descriptions.

Also, the textbooks only deal with the arranged marriages of the elite. In Korea, low-class males unable to find a partner may marry women of other nationalities, such as Vietnam, by arranged marriage. Although the phenomenon of multiculturalism is deepening through international marriages (Kim, Kyungmin, 2018), this is not revealed.

There was also a great difference in the way men and women are described. Compared to men, women are rarely portrayed or described in a way that produces the image that dominant groups want to portray (especially influenced by patriarchal ideology). In other words, the lower-class groups, immigrants and women are disregarded in the textbooks. Moreover, in textbooks, marriage is so idealised that it doesn’t allow for other opportunities to find love (such as wedding
companies). As in the preceding analysis, the possibility of achieving love and enjoying a happy and enduring marriage through an arranged marriage is not described, nor is the possibility of people with physical or mental deficits having happy marriages.

The texts and images depicting marriage in Korean textbooks introduce and convey elements valued in marriage in Korea. In the text, marriage is described as ideal and formal; however, this description reflects the customs and beliefs of the dominant Korean group and is selectively edited to show only what they want to show. In the future, analysing how culture is portrayed in Korean textbooks used in Chinese or Korean-speaking countries, and comparing the culture with the ideologies included, will help to generalise the description of the Korean marriage culture in Korean textbooks and suggest the direction in which Korean language education can move forward as cultural education.

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