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Reading with an Eye to Gender
: An Analysis of the Illustrations in Korean Literature Textbooks

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I. Study Background and Purpose

Many of the literature textbooks with which this study's author has taught and learned from have not been "sexually" appropriate. Even without this personal insight, much research exists on gender framing regarding authors, works, and theoretical depictions in literary textbooks. Although some works by female writers are taught in Korea, authoritative writers or groups of writers have had the "default male" voice. Some works bestow a "potential range of appropriate actions" upon men and women, such that being "manly" or "womanly" can only exist when a person's actions are carried out within these ranges.

There are no known examples of prior work analyzing illustrations in Korean literature textbooks with an eye to gender. However, the illustrations within literature textbooks should be important objects of literature and gender education studies for the following reasons. First, it is widely known that teenage learners with strong media literacy have experienced increasing difficulty reading long texts. As such, they rely on illustrations for a large portion of text comprehension. Despite a growth in textbook illustration quality, students still criticize them as unhelpful, and their learning is still disrupted (Park, 2015). Contributing to this is the fact that many illustrations in lit-

erature textbooks perform their roles poorly; in particular, literature textbook illustrations may have the dangerous outcome of promoting unconscious gender framing. Second, the popularity of narrative-style textbooks, in which characters who guide the learning process appear frequently, has risen. Character guides may perform the role of spokesperson for the writer, or function as a friend or narrator for the learner. These characters often implicitly enact specific gender roles. The friendliness and influence of these characters may make it such that the gender roles that they enact start seeming natural to learners. Third, in illustrations within literature textbooks, especially those accompanying novels, there is a diverse range of male and female characters; as such, their frequency of appearance, their form, and their symbolism must be analyzed.

Despite the influence of illustrations on learners, textbook selection regulations do not provide many guidelines on illustrations. Unlike in foreign textbooks, in which illustrators may be introduced on similar levels as writers, illustrators of Korean literature textbooks are "faceless" (Jeong, 2005, p. 360). This study aims to conduct an in-depth analysis on the work of these faceless illustrators, from the premise that gender politics regarding gender roles are perpetuated in the space of literature textbook illustrations. The results of this study will inform directions in gender education that should be followed by future literature textbooks illustrators.

II. Methodology

1. Analytic Framework

This study utilizes qualitative analysis of textbook content. All illustrations appearing in Literature (Kim et al., 2013) and containing characters with either male or female indicators were analyzed. Photos and images were regarded as performing the role of illustrations

and as such were included in the analysis. Duplicates were excluded. A total of 132 illustrations met these criteria and were numbered for analysis in order of their appearance.

Analyses of textbook illustrations for gender education purposes are usually quantitative in nature. In fact, the Korean Ministry of Education has identified and modified quantitative imbalances in response to past research. However, a quantitative approach may lead to the misleading conclusion that literary textbooks have changed to achieve "balance between men and women." This study utilizes the analytic framework of narratology to carry out an in-depth analysis of illustrated characters. In narratology, character analysis focuses on biological, social, psychological, and external indicators of character, and dynamically approaches how such indicators are related to other characters, and the entire work. The age and sex (biological indicator), occupation, status (social indicator), appearance, clothing, facial expression, posture, distance (external indicator), psyche, thought processes and emotions (internal indicators) of characters are used to identify the narrative functions and meanings of a character. In this study, we adopted the following analysis categories from narratology:

- Biological characteristics: sex, age
- Social characteristics: occupation
- Internal characteristics: appreciation, emotion, judgment
- External characteristics: appearance (hair length, clothing, facial expression), distance, posture

2. Coding

Data coding was carried out using NVivo11. The 132 selected illustrations were coded iteratively for the aforementioned criteria as follows: each illustration was described; attributes were assigned for each illustration; these descriptions and attributes were then individually coded. Meaningful sentences or paragraphs were segmented into

blocks, and this content was divided into nodes, which are words or sentences that characterize their content (Bogdan & Biklen, 2010). Thirty-two free nodes were formed. This list of free nodes was then analyzed such that similar nodes were grouped and classified in a bottom-up fashion to structure the data. This process formed three categories and nine tree nodes or subcategories. In addition, the coding for the illustrations was followed by the letter I, which is the abbreviation of Image, and the numbers in the order of appearance of the corresponding illustrations in the whole textbook.

III. Results

The gender framing descriptions of the 132 analyzed illustrations fell into three main categories: (1) biological, social characteristics; (2) internal characteristics; and (3) external characteristics. Frequencies for each category and subcategory are shown in Table 1.

table 1. Node trees resulting from the data analysis

Main category	Lower category Number of codings	Number of codings	Frequency
Depicted biological, social characteristics	sex: too few women, too many men	33	≒10.7
	occupations: men leaving home, women returning home	12	≒3.9
	age: young men and women as mothers	41	≒13.3
Depicted internal characteristics	appreciation: appreciating men versus women being appreciated	12	≒3.9
	emotions: men void of sadness, women full of only sadness	10	≒3.2
	judgment: men making judgments, women caring and obeying	72	≒23.4
Depicted external characteristics	appearance: hair as litmus (identifier)	55	≒17.9
	distance: the Confucian principle of how a boy and a girl should not sit together after they have reached the age of seven	14	≒4.5
	posture: women's tendencies to be reduced, men's tendencies to expand	59	≒19.2
Total		308	100

1. Depicted biological, social characteristics

1) Sex: too few women, too many men

Table 2 shows the number of characters in the 132 illustrations, broken down by sex. A total of 546 characters appeared in the 132 illustrations. Excluding characters with no indicated gender, there were 377 male characters and 159 female characters. The ratio of male to female characters is 2.4:1. These results are similar to those found by Kortenhaus and Demarest (1993), who showed that even the children's books winning the Caldecott Medal had a ratio of 2:1 male to female characters (Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993).

The clear imbalance in gender representation begins on the textbook cover (I-4). The cover of Literature features a total of nine characters, eight of whom are male poets/novelists, and only one of whom is a female novelist (Wansuh Park). Wansuh Park regularly appears in textbooks, along with the Chosun-era gisaeng (a Korean geisha) Hwang Jini. When Hwang Jini is featured, it is for poems that are meant to seduce men; when Wansuh Park is featured, it is for novels that emphasize the greatness of motherhood. This "obsession with assortment" is indicated in the cover illustrations. In order to access a single space amidst an imbalance of 8:1, the female artist must write about women in a traditionally feminine manner.

Illustration I-82 is particularly noteworthy. This illustration depicts refugees of the Korean War, participants in the 19 April Revolution, and fighters of the 18 May Democratic Uprising. Though this illustration depicts many people, it contains only one woman. Therefore,

table 2. Number of male and female characters in illustrations and their frequency

Sex	Number of characters	Frequency
Male	377	≒69.0
Female	159	≒29.1
No gender	10	≒1.8
Total	546	100

in depicting the three incidents that mark critical turning points in modern Korean history, all the characters, except one, are male. Such a depiction is sufficient to promote the misconception that only men were present at events that drove changes in the Korean history.

In addition to those depicted in historical contexts, characters in illustrations of philosophy and literature are also depicted as masculinized. For example, I-13 covers two pages, and features characters conversing around a student dressed in a school uniform and reading a book. This illustration appears to convey that the wisdom of humankind can be found in books. However, the characters that represent "humankind" are all male: they are Confucius, Einstein, Kant, Socrates, and Descartes. Thus, this illustration represents the education of men, by men, and for men.

In the case of I-44, women are excluded from the illustration, despite the fact that it refers to The Peaceful World, a text that features a large number of female characters. Illustration I-44 depicts the conflict between an angry father and an awkward son. Women in the background are only implied by illustrations of their feet, although even puppies are fully depicted within this illustration.

The issue is not simply that there are many men. What is more problematic is that the characters who introduce larger chapters, or those that represent the writers, are all male. Of the six writers of this textbook, five are male professors, and only one – a high school teacher – is female. Such a writer make-up is standard among other texts as well. In general, the voices that embody writers, as well as the sender and recipient of the forward, tend to be male. The core message to the younger generation in the foreword of Literature tells them to solve life problems by communicating with literature. It is interesting to note that the sender of such an important message is depicted as a male teenager (I-5). This is similar to the case of I-67, which is an illustration used to introduce the tradition and characteristics of Korean literature.

Figure 1 (I-67) depicts two male characters: one is a teenage stu-

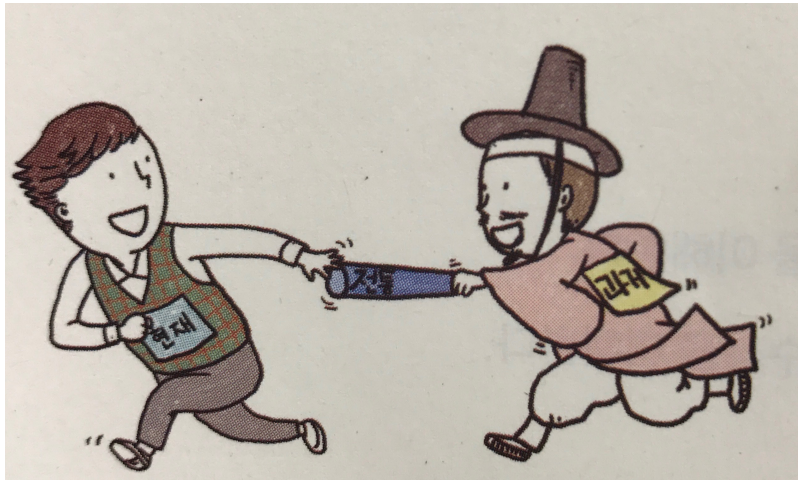

Figure 1. I-67

dent and one is a middle-aged Confucian scholar (see Figure 1). On the chest of the male student is the word "Present," the scholar's chest says "Past," and the baton is labeled "Tradition." Why should the past and the present of Korea, Korean literature, and Korean culture be depicted through male characters? Learners often correlate an action performed by someone like them as meaning that they can do that thing (Reid, 1995). If the male in a textbook illustration is doing something, this may be interpreted as representing the overall capability of the male character. Learners who come across textbooks full of illustrations of men overwhelming women implicitly learn that men engage in certain activities in the tangible world, whereas women support men in the intangible world.

2) Occupations: men leaving home, women returning home

In the category of occupation, men tended to have social roles outside of the home, whereas women were subordinated, or expected to return, to spaces called home. The first illustration (I-1) of the textbook is of Jumong (the first King of Goguryeo), who has grabbed

his horse's neck and decided to leave home. Jumong leaves home and establishes the foundation of a country, while his teary mother remains at home. This visualization of "a leaving man" is reminiscent of Lukacs's remarks in which he classified epic literature as the "genre of men" (Lukacs, 1998, p. 96), whereas women in such stories are merely side stops to help men grow. Women are objectified and depicted as not being main actors with their own stories of growth. For comparison, women could be regarded as the variable x: they are only utilized to solve equations and their roles end after the answer is obtained. As such, they are treated as being without form; they are incomplete by themselves. Men leave home to produce groundbreaking changes in history and society; on the other hand, women leave home only to return, or else they are kicked out.

Females are often represented in textbooks as supplementary beings who toil for men, rather than having professions of their own. They may also be persons left behind, waiting for loved ones who have left for unknown reasons. An example of the former case is the illustration of the Princess Bari myth in I-68 and I-69. Despite being a princess, she was abandoned for being a girl. The labor that she faces is not simply physical in nature, but also sexual. To obtain medicine for her parents who had abandoned her, she completes tasks such as "three years of delivering water," "three years of making fire," "three years of cutting trees," and "giving birth to seven sons of the Almighty Hermit." While the illustration of Bari engaging in such bizarre work appears akin to that of an epic, it excludes her giving birth to the seven sons. After finishing this set of tasks, which are almost akin to suicide, Bari obtains the medicine, returns to her parents, and is recognized as a "real daughter." Even after she is recognized, however, she does not become a queen who leads a country, but a goddess that helps the dead.

When women are illustrated as queens, these illustrations tend to be inserted into songs and poems. Novels on the other hand are adorned with illustrations of women who wait for their loved ones or

endure a life of suffering. In the case of I-74 in Sokmiingok, though the writer of the lyric is Chul Jeong, a male, the illustration only depicts women. It shows a woman waiting passively and without hope; the learning activity associated with this illustration assumes that the narrator of this work is a woman and explains that similar works use a female narrator to explain mournful feelings. However, it is rather challenging to include illustrations of females for all poems dealing with the mournful psyches of those who have been abandoned. This is because the "female voices" utilized in the poem and songs of Korean literature were choices of men.

Such visualizations of females as supplementary beings, or as beings that have been left behind, have limited the representation of females in the tradition of Korean literature. The Princess Bari illustration is placed in the mini-chapter, "Traditions and Characteristics of Korean literature," whereas the Sokmiingok illustration is placed in the "Universality and specificity of Korean literature" chapter. In other words, illustrations in literature textbooks dichotomously classify men and women, public and private life, society and home, reality and imagination, and science and poetics, respectively, and they consider such classifications to be traditional concepts in Korean literature and in nationalistic contexts.

3) Age: young men and women as mothers

The narrative of merging a father's bloodline and a mother's care to produce a young man whose actions save the nation can be found in many illustrations. In I-102, six young men are portrayed as leaders who laid the foundation of modern Korean literature. On the other hand, women are often shown with their children (I-116), and are sometimes depicted less elaborately compared to their children. In I-124, women are portrayed as silhouettes holding children. They have noses, lips, and hands that hold their children. I-112 also portrays women whose faces are covered with handkerchiefs with sleeping children on their backs. I-3 is an illustration portraying seven

middle-aged housewives. They are crouched or bent over in uncomfortable postures while cooking; they have tied-up long hair, or short hair with permanent waves, and are wearing hanbok (a traditional Korean costume) in ivory or reddish-hues.

The mother-female representation occurs in other forms throughout Literature, such as a woman breastfeeding a child that is not hers (I-129), a woman climbing a mountain while holding her child (I-79), and a woman whose husband had died early and is now raising four children (I-88). The childbearing also continues when women have become grandmothers. In I-126, from the novel Delivery Gourd, a white-haired woman is singing a lullaby while stroking a child's head. In I-120, from the novel Torrential Rain, grandmothers are depicted praying with their hands clasped and bidding farewell to a snake. This illustration depicts the classic Korean woman who has endured suffering and sought support from shamanism. In other words, women are beings who transcend history through folk myths.

In I-49, which portrays a young mother and three teenage children, the mother is putting her arms around her children. However, this illustration is not located in a literary piece about motherly love; in fact, it is irrelevant to the text in its vicinity. This illustration is a standalone that was placed in the introduction, titled "Concept and Scope of Korean literature." The mother in the illustration is depicted as saying, "We are one family in 'National Literature'!" This shows that everyday literature is equated with the concept of family (blood relatives). In Japanese textbooks, which share the lineage of East Asian Confucian cultures, mothers are often depicted as nationalistic symbols. Mothers with aprons smile beautifully, cook for the head of the household, and have their daughters (but not sons) help them (Lee, 2013). The hierarchy of control-obedience is clear between the paternalistic father and the beautiful and obedient mother. As asserted by Bourdieu, this relationship of control is established through cultural and emotional relationships (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 53). Purity and nation are two standard concepts that codify this relationship of control in

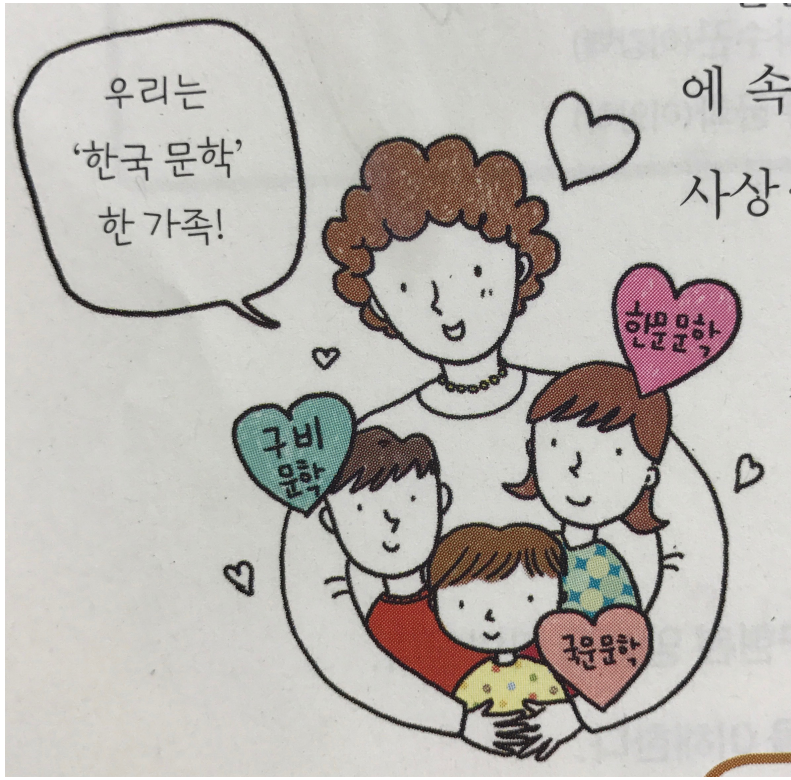

Figure 2. I-49

Korean literature, and the transcendental medium for these concepts is the mother-female. The illustration in Figure 2 is a blatant representation of the Korean language/Korean literature/state concept, and its context suggests that Korean literature is obsessed with the concept of equal identity and bloodlines.

2. Internal characteristics

1) Appreciation: appreciating men versus women being appreciated

The most pronounced trend in this subcategory was that the action of appreciatively gazing was performed by males, whereas the

object of this sight was females. In other words, "men act and women show themselves" (Berger, 2008, p. 56). Men wear high gats (Korean traditional hats made of bamboo and horsehair), dress in blue robes, read poetry on a mountaintop (I-118), look at a mad woman (I-28), and look at old gisaeng (I-83). In these depictions, women are regarded as akin to still-life paintings. It is important to note that women in hanbok (Korean traditional costume) are often depicted as targets of "appreciation."

Illustrations that have no relevance to the surrounding text also tend to contain an overabundance of women wearing hanbok. I-66 illustrates the peculiar connection between objectification of women and nationalism or orientalism. The singing woman and the drummer are only seen from the back and side, and are surrounded by a foreign audience. The woman has her hair tied up, and wears a flowery skirt and dress while she sings; however, as she is only seen from behind, her facial expression cannot be determined. Her audience is composed of mainly middle-aged foreign men. Most are in suits and white dress shirts. The Korean woman viewed by the Western eye is a symbol of our state. This woman provides a sense of attraction to the unfamiliar for the Western world, while also stimulating a sense of protection of the nation for Korean men. Nationalism is a gendered process. In other words, men create nations while women symbolize nations (Hogan, 2009). Often, females are illustrated in traditional dress and are thus objectified as "indicators of racial or nationalistic differences" (Yuval-Davis & Anthia, 1989, p. 7).

The problem with such illustrations is their influence on the objectification of women. The experience of sexual objectification oppresses women, as women internalize the perspectives of viewers as their own. Through repeated experiences of sexual objectification then, women may develop the tendency to self-objectify (Son, 2006). Additionally, since women give life to castration anxiety, according to psychoanalytic theory, men regard them as objects. In the traditional play, Bongsan Mask Dance, the illustrations portray a woman – Dul-

meorijib – as being beautiful, silent, and passive; the active woman – Miyal – is ugly and talkative. Dulmeorijib seduces an old man using actions and silence, which leads the old man to kill Miyal, who was much too talkative and annoying (Huh, 1997). The illustrations in Bongsan Mask Dance perpetuate the "male-centric fantasy where the ideal woman is mute" (Huh, 1997, p. 531) and thus create intricate dynamics of sexual discrimination.

2) Emotions: men void of sadness, women full of only sadness

Texts relating to the emotions of loss, sadness, and sorrow tended to contain illustrations that feature female characters. As a result, learners are taught that females are the bearers of negative emotions. This trend in illustrations is related to the tradition of the cheoppangmyeong ("the story of a suffering woman"), which is a cornerstone of East Asian literature.

Women who convey the sadness of their sorrowful lives are prevalent throughout Literature. I-72, by Soo-Geun Park, features a woman wearing hanbok and sitting in front of a basket. The rough surface of the illustration emphasizes the woman's sorrowful life. In I-80 from Tendong-Eumi Whajeonga, sad women are portrayed as faceless and with their backs turned; they are either crouching or have their heads bowed. I-6 also features such a woman; in reality, the work from which this illustration is taken, Manjeonchoonbyeolsa, does not provide any text-based evidence to suggest the narrator's gender. Moreover, the writer and the writer's gender are also unknown. Despite this fact, the textbook introduces Manjeonchoonbyeolsa as a "folk song of the Goryeo Dynasty that faithfully conveys feelings of love for him" (Kim et al., 2013, p. 25) and thereby characterizes the narrator as female.

Like the manner in which Chosun-era gentry literature used female narrators to reveal emotions, the illustrations in Literature also employ a formula that equates sadness with the female sex. Moreover, in contrast to "sadness = female," it also uses a formula of "criticism/

satire/knowledge = male." As also seen in I-42, an illustration from The Peaceful World, aggressive satire on social conditions is only possible through male representations; women are represented as soft and accepting of the teachings of men.

3) Judgment: men making judgments, women caring and obeying

In this category, the most pronounced trend was that males were represented as determining and innovating, while females cared for others such as men. In this process, caring becomes a core capability of femininity. In I-111, the male character holds an ax and destroys an egg that is titled "discrimination." From the broken egg, "understanding" flies out with its wings widespread. Similar to this illustration, male characters point forward and urge on (I-119), cry out slogans (I-125), create literary works of art (I-116, I-137, I-194), represent a group of artists through their presence (I-124, I-128, I-141), engage in philosophical thoughts (I-140), race (I-150, I-167), or engage in violence against women (I-157). On the other hand, female characters either respond or add to statements made by male characters (I-104), follow them passively (I-119), become objects of rescue (I-125), give birth and care (I-127), mediate reconciliations (I-114), breastfeed (I-129), care for men (I-120, I-129), or provide water for cats and trees (I-189, I-128). They are also touched (I-190), apologize (I-150), are questioned (I-151), speak vaguely (I-173), or are subject to violence by men (I-190).

This clear contrast in meaning is prevalent throughout Literature. In I-125, located in a mini-chapter, "Consideration for the society's weak," containing the works Shinsun Jaegone and Delivery Gourd, a male character stands tall and cries out a slogan. In other words, the society's weak are the disabled and women; the giver of goods is the male character, who is determined to save them. On the other hand, women engage in petty arguments, and fight and make amends, as seen in I-15. Meaningful acts are thus done by men, and the rest – what remains after the meaningful acts are completed – are per-

formed by women. The most valuable of such insignificant acts is the ability to care for life.

I-89, in the introduction of the section "Understanding Value" in the chapter "Understanding and Internalizing Value," portrays a young woman with a smile full of pity, feeding milk to a kitten. The female student in I-128 is also watering a tree called "coexistence." This image of caring women expands to the concept of mother earth, who is even able to breastfeed a child that is not her own (I-129). Femininity is only secured when she reproduces or breastfeeds continuously. Based on the above analysis of illustrations, the virtues of women are coexistence, mutual survival, and pity; conflict and determination are virtues assigned to men.

This situation does not appear to be isolated to modern-day literary textbooks. Often regarded as unofficial ethics textbooks, New Elementary School Language Arts Textbook (1908) and Elementary School Language Arts Textbook: New Compilation (1909) explain the words "mother" and "father" through illustrations (Cho, 2015, p. 443). The illustration of the father shows a man holding a book in his hand and educating his son; the illustration of the mother shows her sewing under candlelight with her daughter, or holding her daughter's hand and looking at her lovingly. Additionally, according to Yoon (2008), Chinese textbooks also repeat this dichotomy of the sacrificial and obedient women and the successful and determined men. Moreover, through case studies, Yoon addresses concerns about the ways in which masculinity and femininity are presented to readers. A significant issue is that the textbooks that blatantly reveal and encourage such gender stereotyping do not engage in reviews or attempts to interpret such statuses.

3. Depicted external characteristics

1) Appearance: hair as litmus

The most pronounced trend in this category was the implication

that long, straight hair symbolizes innocent women. According to a character visualization trend study for kindergarten students (Park, Ahn, & Cheon, 2001), the pattern of depicting men with short hair and women with long hair begins around age five. Yang (2016) has analyzed the differences in hair length and clothing between characters appearing in English textbooks in Hong Kong, and found that the illustrated women more often have long hair than short hair and wear dresses more often than pants, and that the illustrations associated pink with femininity and blue with masculinity.

Similar trends are also pronounced in Korean literary textbooks. Women tended to keep long, straight brown hair covering their backs (I-101, I-103), tied in a clean manner (I-116), tied into a ponytail (I-104), or tied into twin tails, resembling a young girl (I-128). When their hair lengths were not sufficiently long (for a woman), they often donned red bows, as a marker to clarify their gender (I-104). In perhaps an obsession with proof, girls with this red bow appear five times in illustrations without context (I-19, I-48, I-89, I-98, I-104); this frequency is not something to be ignored. Only a few illustrations in Literature have no context, and it is these illustrations that clearly exposed stereotypical male/female representations. In I-89, the girl giving milk to a baby cat has a rare instance of short hair; however, she has a red bow on her hair, her knees are covered by her school uniform dress and her ankles are covered with long socks. Unlike men, who sometimes appear without shirts, women do not expose skin aside from their faces. Male representations sometimes don glasses; however, no female characters have glasses.

This is in clear contrast with the short hair that male characters have. Among the four young male scholars in I-102, some are wearing hanbok and some are wearing suits; however, they have uniform hairstyles. They all don short hairstyles thick with pomade. This short hair is further abstracted into a hairstyle that resembles the tip of a pen; this character appears five times in total (I-34, I-38, I-41, I-119, I-125) and has a large role in the textbook, to the extent that he practically

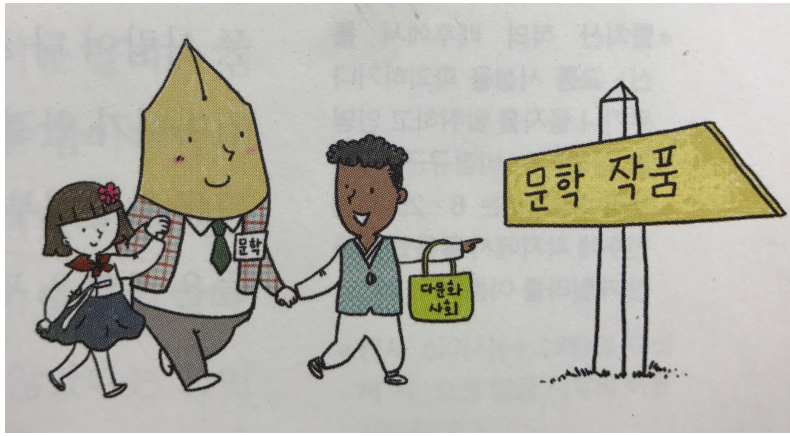

Figure 3. I-119

becomes the textbook's protagonist. The book's protagonist first appears in I-34, where he symbolizes literature; a musical note-haired female student symbolizes music; and a paintbrush-haired male student symbolizes art; the main word bubble, "we have had active exchanges throughout our growth," points to the pen-tip haired male student. The pen-tip haired male student appears again in the mini-chapter "Literature and Humanities" (I-38), and continues to appear as a large character (I-41). In I-119, this character appears as a national symbol, the representation of a united Korea and a multicultural society, and he leads a North Korean girl and a foreign man, again with a confident smile. The male with the pen-tip hair becomes an even more active doer in I-125, which appears under the subheading "Consideration for the weak of the society" in the chapter "Literature and Community." He has two picket signs touting the need for gender equality and protecting the weak of the society. In other words, this male student acts as a character that represents the spirit of literature and humanities, the nation and the majority. On the other hand, the North Korean girl has a red flower in her hair, and wears a smile and a white hanbok, representing the white-clad folk.

2) Distance: the Confucian principle that boys and girls over seven should not sit together

This category represents a social expectation in Korea that is a remnant of Confucian culture. I-9 is an illustration of a discussion between two men and women. The composition of this photograph, which appears to have been taken with real students, is quite interesting. The male students are sitting beside each other, and there is clear distance between them and the female students, who are sitting across from them. The distance between students of the same gender is closer, compared to the distance between students of different genders.

These four students appear again in I-30. They are unable to touch each other, as the male and female students are separated and facing each other. Instead, they are able to teach and learn from each other. It is clear that the ethical idea of a "healthy and moderate" relationship between men and women is that of mutual education; this idea is attributed to Kwang-soo Lee's Mujung, in which a dating relationship is akin to a teacher-student relationship. Despite the fact that it would be difficult for the males and females in I-30 to make physical contact, books are placed between them to prevent any accidental contact. In I-31 and I-23, there are also piles of books between the male and female students.

This avoidance of contact appears not only between male and female students, but also between a female teacher and male students in I-14, in which a female teacher is shown intervening in a conflict between a male and a female student. The female teacher is smiling and makes amends between the two students; at this point, the distance between the female student and the teacher is shorter than that between the teacher and the male student. The teacher embraces the female student while touching her arm, but she avoids skin contact with the male student and instead touches his hair.

The elderly are considered asexual beings free from this obsession with avoiding contact. Examination of illustration I-29, which

relates to the novel Sapyeong Station, reveals 11 characters seated by gender and one elderly character. A middle-aged man occupies the center-axis of the illustration, and three female characters are seated on each side of him. The distance between the females is small, and that between the two genders is significantly larger; the older character is the exception to this rule. In current discourse around aging, the elderly, especially women, are thought of as asexual beings with no sexual desires; they are no longer targets of sexual stares. As such, any sexual desire or vitality in elderly women becomes fearsome and grotesque. Elderly women are no longer able to have long, luscious hair, or breasts with which to feed men. Such prejudice is closely related to discrimination against women.

3) Posture: women's tendency to be reduced, men's tendency to expand

There is a pronounced tendency for male representations to have enlarged physiques; in contrast, female representations attempt to minimize their bodies. Cases in which women are only shown from their back, side, or silhouettes, are also common. Postures such as facing down or kneeling, similar to the posture of La Danaide by Rodin, were previously only found in female characters. As such, the skirt lengths worn by female characters became longer, to avoid any skin exposure. Many male characters have a less diverse range of expressions, such as staring straight ahead and holding their backs straight.

Compared to a woman picking up grain while crouching in a long skirt (I-112), male characters spread their legs wide (I-95) while planting seeds (I-94). They stack heavy things (I-12, I-16, I-112, I-113) or wield pickaxes or axes (I-27, I-111). Noblemen who do not need to engage in such physical labor have their hands on their back and stroll about with swagger (I-11, I-118). They tend not to bend their backs, even in situations where bending seems natural (I-5). Typically, their sitting and standing heights are larger than females (I-14, I-23, I-104).

Female characters minimize their postures even further, making their already-small physiques yet smaller (I-20, I-56, I-57, I-68, I-89, I-90, I-93, I-96, I-98, I-112, I-119). While minimizing their postures, female characters may engage in meaningful poses such as touching their cheeks, exaggerated hand motions, or other actions that appear feminine (I-32); they may have their eyelashes facing downward or have a declining line of vision, thus appearing less aggressive (I-15, I-19, I-46). They are not allowed to laugh out loud like men (I-41, I-21), but instead engage in practiced smiles in very refined environments (I-96. I-98); they may have glowing cheeks from being touched and hug their books to their chests (I-15, I-32). Such are limits to how much they can expose their emotions.

In the case of I-86, the character that is actually present in the scene is a male character, while the others (6 males, 5 females) are imaginary, drawn in white lines. The imaginary characters are conducting an interview with the real male character, who is dressed in jeans and dons a confident smile. The imaginary male characters are shooting footage with TV cameras and approach the real male character with microphones; they are generally placed close to him. However, the imaginary females in the vicinity, taking pictures with their own cameras, cheering, or asking the character to sign a piece of paper for them, are generally presented in a passive manner.

Such physical and mental minimization of women reaches its climax in I-73 (Figure 4). This illustration features one male and one female student. They keep their distance and are engaging in conversation, with the male student crossing his legs and the female student kneeling. The male student has short hair, while the female student has long hair. Her skirt appears to be abnormally long. This may be due to the possibility that she would expose her skin if she were to wear a normal school uniform skirt. The male student has his palm facing up, and assumes that pansori (traditional Korean musical) is a "genre of literature that only we have." Upon hearing this, the female student opens her mouth slightly and places her index finger near her

Figure 4. I-73

mouth in a cute pose. She is cut off mid-sentence, saying, "while the topic and content may be universal……"

Such reduced physiques reflect a reduced state of mind. I-92 is an illustration of Hwang Man Geun Said This, and is composed of four men, two women, and two babies. The men appear to be farmers, and have crossed arms or are pointing at each other, apparently engaged in some important conversation among themselves. The women are far away, wearing confused expressions or hugging babies. They are completely removed from the public matters of the village. This illustration matches the textbook cover. The men are either bald or have short hair and wear hats and glasses, and they are dressed in blue clothing; the females either have their hair tied or permed, and are dressed in red.

The problem is that this trend may be a cultural schema learned from educational visualizations such as textbook illustrations. Therefore, the process of examining textbook illustrations with an eye to gender is critical to archaeologically examining the foundations of group personality that is Korean by nature.

IV. Discussion and Conclusion

This study examined the biological/social, internal, and external characteristics of characters in 132 illustrations from a gender-framing perspective. Confucian value structures and traditional perceptions of gender roles were present in the examined illustrations. As such, teachers, learners, and textbook authors should become sensitive to gender framing effects that may be hidden in textbook illustrations. This call is not for gender-free education, but for gender-sensitive education (Manabu, 2000). Based on the above analysis, suggestions for gender-sensitive education for teachers, learners, and textbook writers are as follows.

First, teachers must accept that textbooks are not neutral in terms of political, cultural, and especially sexual content, and they must plan and execute courses based on this acceptance. It is important to understand the influence of illustrations, which have rarely been considered critical to gender identity; teachers must also improve their sensitivity toward this influence. It is not easy to forfeit, or cause to forfeit, the notion that a textbook is normative. This is because textbooks are written using cleverly neutral strategies. In textbooks, subjective opinions take the form of objective arguments. “I believe Fitzgerald is great” becomes “Fitzgerald is great.” However, through critical reading, the textbook must function as “a trigger for argument” and not “the result of completed discussions” (Yang, 1998, p. 20). To this end, teachers must ask themselves or their students questions that stimulate creative thoughts on textbook illustrations. Through this process, the gender framing implicit in textbook illustrations can be recognized; as these recognitions accumulate, gender sensitivity will rise.

Suggestions for textbook changes are as follows. Textbook publishers are already investing large amounts of money in illustrations, given the generational characteristics of learners with high visual lit-

eracy. However, agreement must precede expenditures. To date, educational bodies have released documented guidelines on the selection and evaluation of textbook material. However, there is a lack of detailed guidelines on illustrations. Therefore, it is necessary to determine whether the literature textbook illustrations are taking on appropriate and fair gender perspectives for learners. Communication between writers and illustrators is required; moreover, education must be provided for textbook illustrators from a sufficiently large pool of human capital, and transparent exposure of illustrator names must be required. Instead of supplying an excessive number of illustrations for visual stimuli, activities that involve the learners drawing the illustrations themselves may also be attempted. To date, literature textbook activities have been subject to an implicit obsession with the production of language and text. However, drawing activities comprise some of the most effective methods in understanding the events that occur in literature learners' cognitive and emotional realms. Such activities may lead to more in-depth appreciation of literature. As such, it is recommended that learners themselves engage in activities involving creating or modifying illustrations.

Learners might adopt the following suggestions for change. Like teachers, they must develop critical perspectives of gender, and they should use these attitudes in analyzing textbook illustrations. Illustrations must not be treated as being supplementary to text, nor should they be the sole visual realizations of work. Illustrations only constitute the visualizations of one illustrator, and thus are singular interpretive perspectives. Other possible visualizations are dependent on the learner-readers.

The number of females in textbook illustrations is lower than that of males; for women who do appear in illustrations, they tend to reside within their homes as mothers. Women in illustrations also show a trend toward internalizing and adapting to the looks of men, who are continuously seeking to objectify them. The main emotion of the women in Literature illustrations was a sadness unable to de-

velop into the public realm that remains in the private realm. Women and their emotions were unable to enter such masculine realms as satire or determination. External indicators were also detected: the most convenient indicator for telling women apart from men was the length of their hair. Moreover, this textbook equated a red bow with women and emotionality, and sharp hair with men and rationality (a pen) throughout. Illustrations also guarded against contact between genders. Men tended to take on expansive postures, while women tended to minimize their physiques and maintain lines of sight that trailed downwards.

To date, examination of gender framing in literature textbook illustrations has been thin. Follow-up studies will expand the scope of this study to all 13 of the literature textbooks currently in distribution in Korea, as well as take a cross-cultural perspective by analyzing foreign literature textbook illustrations.

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ABSTRACT

Reading with an Eye to Gender
: An Analysis of the Illustrations in Korean Literature Textbooks

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This study focuses on the problem of gender framing in literature textbooks used in Korea. In particular, this study focuses on illustrations in literature textbooks, as critical places in which such gender framing occurs. The study analyzes 132 character illustrations that appear in Literature, the leading literature textbook used in Korean high schools. Here, illustrations are described and analyzed, and significant patterns and trends related to the politics of sex and gender are explored. Through this analysis, we observed the following trends. Literature contains too few illustrations of women and too many of men. Occupations showed men leaving home, but women returning home; illustrations tended to be of young men, whereas women were cast as mothers. Regarding external or physical characteristics, the following trends were observed: hair as litmus; the Confucian principle whereby a boy and a girl should not sit together; women's tendencies to be reduced in posture, versus men's tendencies to expand. Regarding internal characteristics, men were shown to be the ones doing the appreciating, while women were shown being appreciated; men tended to be void of sadness, and women full of sadness; men made judgments, women were shown to be caring and obeying.

KEYWORDS Literature textbooks, Textbook illustrations, Gender framing, Gender education, Gender sensitivity