Conflict Between Mother-in-Law and Daughter-in-Law Depicted in a Television Show and Its Sub-cultural Implications: A Discourse Analysis on *Welcome to The Mother-in-Law*, a TV Talk Show in Korea [*]

Kum-Ryang Kang

Sungkyunkwan University, Seoul, Korea

This study was purposed to investigate conflicts between generations in mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in Korean society. In-law conflict has been existed in each family all over the world but it is only matter of seriousness. Mother-in-law tensions particularly brought day-to-day problems with daughter-in-law. A Korean talk show titled as *Welcome to the Mother-in-Law* dealt with this everyday controversy between them. The authors concerned and selected it as a main research object for analysis as it appeared to represent many Korean traditional characteristics. The common characteristics in Korea culture was traditional hierarchy in the family structure. Unease feelings amongst family members often prevailed owing to the conflicting nature of the hierarchical relationship between them. Many episodes of this talk show were analyzed through integrated model consisting of semiotic methods including: categorization, discourse analysis, myth analysis, and ideology derived. As some result, this study revealed an implicit ideology centered on the opposition thought processes. Patriarchal and filial duty ideology was dominantly located in the mother-in-law's thought. Meanwhile, gender equality and rationalism ideology was dominantly located in the daughter-in-law's thought. Difference in values, resulting from opposed ideologies, could also explain why intergenerational disputes and conflicts occurs. It could be inferred that there was a potential possibility for further conflicts around the issues of traditional patriarchal practices and gender inequality as well as different attitudes held by different generations in a family. In short, even though this talk show could not provide some suggestions to resolve such conflicts between them, it could be worthwhile to uncover serious problems between them.

Keywords: conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, discourse, myth, ideology, talk show

Introduction

The early Korean TV programs were limited in subject and genre to be able to clearly distinguish them by simple categories such as news, drama, and entertainment. Since the Seoul Olympics in 1988, South Korea had been influenced by massive cultural openings under the influence of rapid globalization. TV talk shows had also grown rapidly as they embraced the culture of developed countries and had tried various things from

---

imitation to creation. As programs that emphasize reality had been spreading since the 2000s, they were divided into reality shows centering on outdoor activities and variety talk shows held in studio through realignment of existing format. Especially, TV talk show, it was produced as a dialogue format in which information and publicity are centered in the past (Na & Jo, 2011), but later it became one of the representative genres of entertainment programs. It was because it had amusement and theme specificity. What is interesting is that as the restriction on what can be handled on TV was relaxed, more and more family-oriented programs had become available. All family relationships, such as husband-wife, father-son, mother-daughter, elderly-child and sibling relationships, consist of programs ranging from the relationship itself to conflict factors. These factors were not easily expressed in everyday conversation because of the national sentiment of Koreans. What we wanted to know was not easy to solve because it was difficult to ask openly. The talk show began to satisfy people's curiosity by offering an open-door opportunity to look into the house of another person whom they wondered, and finally the conflict between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law appeared (Choe, 2003). In recent years, TV talk shows have strengthened entertainment and give the audience a sadistic satisfaction. The TV talk show *Welcome to the Mother-in-Law* focuses on the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, which has not been addressed in the past. I have discovered how their relationships are being reproduced and what is the meaning of representation through discourse, myth, and ideology analysis.

Literature Review

Korean Family and Marriage Culture

Korean family culture. In Korea, not only cohesion among members is exceptionally strong but also family is recognized as a single survival unit as a common destiny. The constitutional principle of family is extended to a broader social unit (Sohn, 2006). It is a family-oriented society with emphasizing that family should be given priority over any individual and sacrifice its desire when opposed to family interests. Korean family consciousness is very conservative and shows institutional and traditional appearance (Kim, 2005). Patriarchy attaches importance to the hierarchy and obedience among the members centered on the strong authority of men. This system emphasizes hierarchy and orderliness. Patriarchy takes hierarchy, obedience, and patriarchal power among members. Because Korean emphasize family hierarchy and dependability, elderly people depend on ideology such as filial duty and the eldest son's obligation such as support parents (Chung, 2012). In Korea, the eldest son receives more inheritance from parents. It continues based on exchange concept that should be responsible for sacrifice (Sung, 2012) and caring for parents (Yoon, 2001). Currently, Korean society is very complicated and unstable because both collapse of the traditional family and establishment of the new family exist together at the same time. The parents' generation avoids taking care of grandchildren and try not to inherit property to children until their death. They also want to be guaranteed their life in old age. On the other hand, the younger generation complains about patriarchal family culture and marriage custom. Because of this unstable cohabitation, conflicts between brothers and sisters are often caused by responsibility of caring for parents (Kim, 2005).

Marriage and gender role. Marriage is a kind of system that shows cultural values and beliefs as a social phenomenon (Choi & Kim, 2010). It came after the emergence of modern society that love and marriage have begun to be linked. This is also the time when stereotype of women's role as wife and mother was born. Compared to men who are granted patriarchal authority through marriage, women are passive, delicate, weak and intuitive, and serve their families. In terms of traditional gender role, men are better suited to social life and

women are more likely to do housework (Kim & Baek, 2001). In accordance with the characteristics of Korean patriarchy, marriage systematically justified the discrimination against the daughters-in-law who is not family relations by blood. Patriarchy increases the value of men's activities in the public sphere and restricts women and children to private spheres (Sung, 2012). Women became undesirable to set goals beyond family and passive beings that are loved by devoting to the home with marriage (Choi & Kim, 2010). Nevertheless, women's economic activity rate has increased more than 50% in 2004. Although the boundary of public and private area is weakened and traditional gender role is considered to be dismantled, gendered norms of maintaining a balance between work and family are still existed (Park & Lee, 2004). There are also many discourses to settle the modern gender role of labor (Kim & Lee, 2013). The new role is dedicated to husband's success and emphasizes her role in caring for child. This led to a strong role model in relation to familism. Modern gender division has created the ideology of "housewife" and the myth of "autonomous subject". The role of women in and out of home is increasing, but there is no change in the structure of traditional gender role. It is a vicious cycle in which only heavy work load is given and appropriate right is not given. Due to the stereotype that continues from generation to generation, women become subject to experience both roles of the daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law, thereby falling into ideological self-contradiction.

Mother-in-Law and Daughter-in-Law Relationship and Conflict

Definition and characteristics of in-law relationship. The relationship between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law is based on a marriage system in which two non-blood-related women are legally involved in parent-child relationships (Sung & Lee, 2002), focusing on one male. Among various family relationships, this is the most complicated and conflicted one (Bryant & Conger, 1999; Park, 2010). The relationships exist in any family around the world, especially Korea is a very strong culture with hierarchy of specificity and influence. By applying the ethical law in patriarchy to family relations, the upper and lower orders are to be respected. This is because they emphasize the strict observance of norms and have the character of making domination and obedience clear (Choe, 1998). In Korea, relationship between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law with traditional Confucian idea is entirely different from other cultures. It has always been mentioned from the back according the conservative nature of Korean who does not reveal private or family history. Even if it has the same level of hierarchical relationship, it is, in fact, difficult to deal with it because of a strong cultural character.

Cause of conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. Conflicts between the mother and the daughter-in-law lead to a negative attitude that shows psychological conflict and dissatisfaction (Choe, 1998). In previous studies, we tried to identify the causes of such conflicts. In the study of Choi (1999), the following factors were considered the causes of the conflict; competition for economic and emotional rights, the same role as housewife, psychological triangle with the daughter-in-law with son (Choi, 1999). Difference in lifestyle due to sudden change of Korean society brought the proliferation of multilateral conflicts and the resulting intervention. Nam (1991) argue that the causes of mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law's conflicts in modern families arise from social change, change in family structure and generation gap. The modern generation of daughters-in-law thinks that the center of the family is a couple and emphasizes equality. For this reason, the daughter-in-law does not tend to be patient in facing conflicts with mother-in-law and rather thinks that her rights are violated. This is a major cause of marital conflict which could be the reason for divorce (Lee, 2003).

In-law conflicts appear in the media. In the meantime, most of the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law relationships covered in the broadcasts were delivered through drama, which was very exaggerated or unilateral. As the type of this relationship is changing, this in the drama is also different from the old one. However, it still sets the conflictual relationship as a normal in describing this relationship (Choi, 1999). Even though women in drama are being portrayed as more positive and subjective characters, they are not able to escape from the fixed frame of conflict in triangle relationship with men (Kim, 2009). There have been other broadcast programs dealing with this relationship. In 2012, the first TV talk show was born, in which the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law appeared together and talked about their marriage. The story of our family especially marriage life, which we could not have imagined in the past, was available on TV from then. The program has a very high audience rating of 10% of cable TV and has received explosive responses from viewers. However, as mentioned above, there is a certain pattern based on the characteristics of male supremacy, male preference, gender discrimination, and tangible relationship due to the Confucian tradition of Korean society, even in the talk show. Because hierarchical relationship between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law affects the utterance, it is difficult to express her own thoughts or emotions frankly. It maintains a subordinate relationship that is inevitable. The acceptance of this relationships and conflicts in which the media is reproduced has limitations in determining whether the relationship is realistic and the implication of representation by individuals (Choe, 2003).

Genre Characteristic of TV Talk Show

Representing reality. In the early domestic media, the genre itself was very unfamiliar. Nowadays talk show has become one of the program genres commonly seen on TV. When the first talk show was settled in Korea, it copied American format. It was not as exciting as it was based on fiction, as it was very carefully talking about limited material, and it was not as smooth as a recorded program run by a script. But with the rapid internationalization, people's mindsets became dramatically westernized. The pressure on material and format, which was limited, was also gradually released. A variety of free-style shows were created, and talk shows were also transformed into various forms.

Talk show is very natural in that the format of the program itself must be in dialogue with each other. The more diversified the material and the less restrictive the conversation becomes, the more interesting it becomes. When sex, love, values, politics, ideology, and race can be freely expressed, the era of the talk show is open. Various performers communicate naturally and share knowledge and experience. In addition, the viewer feels pleasure watching the other person's thoughts secretly and seeing words that are hard to direct in the real world to be boldly talked on TV. As audience rating of the talk show reached 10%, it became firmly established as a genre.

Another factor driving the flood of talk shows is total TV programming channel. It has resulted in many channels that are several times larger than the existing channels and produce a variety of interesting programs to accommodate early viewers. One of the popular program genre, talk shows, is a program that many broadcasters are trying to make. Broadcasters began to compete on entertaining-oriented program that considers audience ratings, and eventually covered materials that were not covered by terrestrial TV channels. On the other hand, talk shows that are classified as very real genres also have drawbacks. The fact that it is exposed to the media itself is not entirely straightforward and it is not free from censorship. In addition, since it is reconstructed socially and culturally under the intentional plan of the broadcasting company, it is difficult to escape a certain limit from the realistic point of view.

Talk show and dailiness. TV talk shows share their marriage stories, love stories, and surrounding stories in a relaxed manner as if the performers are sitting at home (Na & Jo, 2011). This type of conversation is already routine. Nowadays, it deals with everyday things in terms of materials and themes. Among the various materials that stand out is the programs that deal with family relations. In the past, entertainer-oriented programs became mainstream. Soon after not only celebrity but also their family members and ordinary people have frequently appeared. At this present, both the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law who were hard to see together appear in a TV program. This is a contemporary talk show that has secured everyday life.

Nevertheless, due to the cultural and regional characteristics of Korea, exposure to family history is unusual. A typical program that has achieved this success is the *Welcome to the Mother-in-Law*. Through this program, daughters-in-law, mother-in-law and son could have talked about things they would never know or had been reluctant to talk about. In addition, people could compare the conflict of my family and the one of others. There was even a new word "in-law world", which refers to a family-in-law. There was an opportunity to express the family history that had long been shrouded, either intentionally or unintentionally. Through the normalization of the material, viewers became able to express emotion that they felt only by themselves.

Conflict in a talk show. Face-to-face conversations like talk shows can be said to be the most active interactions among participants (Jang, 2011). Talk show constantly interact with the appropriate language or strategy in the context of the situation so discourse on family related topics also can lead to formal discussions (Suh, N. Y. Oh, & Y. L. Oh, 2014). Cast has a story to tell, and talk show has a purpose of strategic dimension. Therefore, the program takes a new story about the topic and implements a strategy to exchange the desired thing (Oh, 2014). In this context, the talk show sets up a topic that can be addressed in most cases as a controversy, which leads to conflicts throughout the process. Viewers see this conflicting composition and empathize with their own opinions and become more immersed in the talk show. In the talk show *Welcome to the Mother-in-Law* which deals with the conflicts between two married women experience more dramatic empathy and immersion through conflicts between their two roles, namely, daughter-in-law and mother-in-law. By listening to the daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law about the story they have never been shared comfortably, they could form various consensus.

Research Questions and Method

Research Questions

Through this study, it is clarified that what kind of discussions were made about conflicts between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law in TV talk show and what kind of discourses were formed by the sequential constituents of these conflicts and what is the myth behind them. Ultimately, The author would like to elucidate the ideology underlying this discourse and myth.

Research Questions 1: What are the binary oppositional issues and discourses appeared in a TV talk show *Welcome to the Mother-in-Law*?

Research questions 2: What are the oppositional myths and ideology about these issues?

Method

Analysis object. The subject of this study is *Welcome to the Mother-in-Law*, a TV talk show that discusses conflicts between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law. A total of 116 episodes were produced on Channel A, TV channels of comprehensive programming. It was aired for two years and three months from

September 2012 to December 2014. "In-law World" in this program referred to family members including mother-in-law, father-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, etc. In this study, the mother-in-law was set as subject forming binary opposition with the daughter-in-law. This program dealt with a variety of topics their conflicts were revealed. It went into a debate about one topic in each episode. The researcher meticulously watched 44 out of 116 episodes and selected three of them for this study. The selection criterion was (1) a topic that shows Korean traditionalism, (2) a theme expresses with everyday conflicts, (3) a clear indication of conflicts caused by a shift in generations. The major subjects were selected as "paternal preference", "son preference", and "caring for parents-in-law". Scripts were used as raw data with texts for analysis. Because of the nature of talk show, the script and actual broadcast might be different. Thus, the author made the script through repeatedly watching and dictating the program.

Analysis method. Semiotic analysis methods were used for this study. The author selected the most representative and proven methods. Those were categorization, discourse analysis, myth analysis and ideology elicitation. Each episode had its own theme due to the nature of talk show. First, the author applied thematic categorization. Second, whole contents were classified by conflicts and re-categorized with similar issues. Third, based on these categories, conflicts were identified between opposite groups. Fourth, they found conflicting discourses of these sequential subjects. Fifth, the author drew dominant myth, alternative myth, and counter myth linked with these discourses. Finally, the author derived dominant and alternative ideologies in the inner structure of these opposite myths.

Table 1

Analysis Design Model

Analysis method	Process	Function
Categorization	Categorizing by topic → analyzing the texts classifying per episode → Classifying subscales by conflict → Re-categorizing by similar topics	Logically connected
Discourse analysis	Identifying conflicts between opponents → finding oppositional discourse among Conflicted objects	Discover the meaning generated by contextual interaction
Myth analysis	Pursuit of dominant myth and alternative myth in opposition discourse	found a clear aspect of the underlying myth.
Ideology derive	Derivation of dominant ideology and alternative ideology in the inner structure of oppositional myth	Consideration of social implications

Categorization. Categorization is one of methodology that Jalbert, Sigman, Fly, and others attempted to identify how subject of analysis was categorized (Jalbert, 1983; Sigman & Fly, 1985; Seon-Gi Baek, 2007a). It is one of activities that I unconsciously do very often. Categorization is the most fundamental analysis method to think about the meaning of all texts and the most widely used analysis tool among various semiotic methods. It subdivides by subjects, objects or concepts located at the same scope to classify by unit or class. It finds hidden symbols and its meanings in subjects and groups them into units of the same level based on the meanings they have found. In addition, subcategory elements belonging to a large category are logically linked according to certain semantic criteria.

Discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is the most important method in this study. Talk show which is composed of dialogues is based on discourse in nature. Allen Bell and Peter Garrett stated in their book that essential premise for understanding ideology and power structure is discourse analysis. Nonetheless, it is also discourse analysis that is surprisingly overtaken by researchers (Bell & Garrett, 2004). Van Dijk's "Discourse

Analysis (DA)" aims to develop a new field of study with strong methodological elements based on the concept of discourse. Fairclough, representative scholar who have established systematic discourse analysis method, strengthened Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Baek, 2010a). David Greatbatch's DA (discourse analysis) and Fairclough's CDA (critical discourse analysis) were used analysis method in this study. Language analysis was elaborately used because of structural characteristics of integrated analysis model. It could bring totally different results if there are errors or insufficient data. The utterance of the language or semantic type must be verified before next analysis step can be validated. The analysis process begins by analyzing the text itself, (1) separating and integrating the language structure by purpose, (2) recognizing the surface and in-depth meanings of the words as symbols, (3) based on flexible meanings, (4) to derive social implication. It is also possible to make contextual judgements through the development of discourse. Situation and social interaction as well as fixed text analysis should be considered (Baek, 2010a). Human beings communicate their own opinions through the acquisition of verbal or nonverbal symbols used in culture where they belong to and understand the meaning of other people (Lee, 1944). These non-textual elements such as way of question and answer between speaker and moderator and power relation between speakers, I can find the meaning generated by the contextual interaction that is difficult to confirm by text analysis alone.

Myth analysis. People's daily lives are under the influence of myths, but most of them do not recognize it at all (Baek, 2007b). Myth is believed by people as obvious truth. Usually, myth is not surfaced but is hidden behind signs so you cannot see what it was intended until you find the implications. There are two representative methodologists. The first one is Levi-Strauss and the second one is Roland Barthes, who applied social concept into Levi-Strauss myth. Levy-Strauss identified myth as a phenomenon that shows the general structure of the human mind (Baik &Youn, 2008). Through many symbolisms expressed in myth, we could know human relations and hierarchy among them and could understand social phenomena, fundamental values and related ideologies. Roland Barthes conceptualized and socially expanded it. He called myth is a communication system and a message. Myth is derived not by the object of message but by the contents of massage. Because it seems to be natural cause-effect relations to people through long-term naturalization, they cannot see semiotic semantics and judge them as factual systems (Barthes, 1997b). He defined myth as universal values of society, which he believed in the truths that ordinary people believe in and accept without any doubt and had continued his research to discover the inherent values and beliefs through semiotic analysis of myth (Baek, 2007a). The author focused on the social function of myth based on Barthes' concept and tried to find out implications. Signs consist of linguistic stage and mythical stages. In the surface level, identifiable signs consist of "signifier" and "signified". In the secondary semantic steps, format of sign goes to myth and contents of sign goes to implication (Baek, 2010a). The author has go through all steps sequentially, and then the author can find a clear mode of immanent myth that could not be found by the first step itself.

Ideology analysis. There is already a social standard of all acts in human mind. This social standard is called ideology. Whether we recognize it or not, ideology is in every place we are involved. In this study, we interpret the broad meaning of ideology as various beliefs and values shared in society (Sturken & Cartwright, 2006).

What we must deal with in discussing ideology is "power". The power mean by ideology is not the compulsory power that we often think of. It is for the ruling class to maintain their privilege by controlling the idea of the subjugated class. To this end, the ruling class tries to adjust the way of thinking of the subjugated class to their intentions. They instill ideology into the opposite class to maintain their desired society. It is the

correlation between ideology and authority that is the most important feature regulated by the invisible power. Here, the dominant hierarchy is not a superficially exposed class structure. Ideology is not the logic of power but the logic of thought. This is because the difference occurs between ruling group and subgroup. These differences are not depending on whether they are ideological or not. It can be revealed by difference between the power of real world (Barker & Galasinski, 2009). Ideology is not always the same, but changes and adapts from time to time as society changes. Eventually, if we grasp ideology, we can see society as well as the phase of the times (Kim, 2004). The final stage of meaning that can be found through symbols is ideology (Baek, 2010a). The final analysis stage of this study relates to ideology elicitation and it examines the social implications.
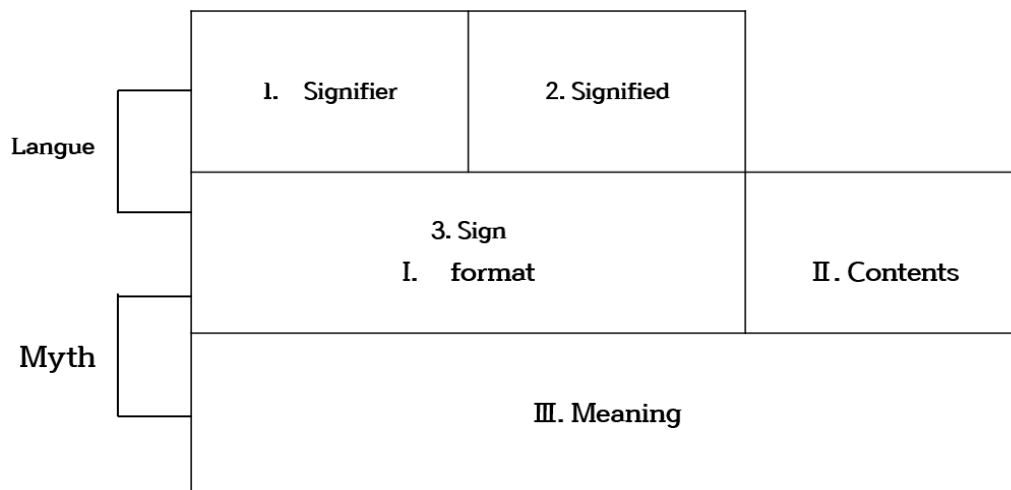

Figure 1. Meaning generation process of myth by Roland Barthes in Seon-Gi Baek's (2010) book. "Advertisement Semiotics". Seoul: Communication Books. p. 45.

Result

Categorization of *Welcome to the Mother-in-Law*

Classification and re-categorization of conflict subject. The author selected the unit of conversation that has a conflict theme by episode as small scale. The script was analyzed and subchapters were listed in order shown in the script. There were twice as many controversies in episode "caring for parents-in-law" because there were twice as many topics as other episodes. Although considering interval and time allocated to themes were the same and format did not change significantly so it was clear that "caring for parents-in-law" was the biggest conflict factor between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law. In this study, analysis of binary oppositions was also important. Non-conflict subject usually consists of multiple opinions that do not form an antagonistic composition, or a single performer speaks an opinion. Therefore, the author excluded factors that can be de-contextualized to distinguish conflict discourse. Thus, there were 7 to 9 conflict subjects to be analyzed as shown in Table 2.

First, in the case of taking gene from father's side or mother's side, the conflicts were manifested between mutually opposing individuals, with the two issues of son preference and paternal preference. Secondly, "son preference" was categorized into three themes: gender role, pregnancy myth, gender discrimination. "Gender discrimination" has formed discourses about son love, grandchild gender discrimination, and daughter's

resentment. Lastly, "caring for parents-in-law" shows the issue of pros and cons of supporting duty itself in accordance with normative justifiability and problems caused by living with parents-in-law.

Table 2

Classification of Conflict Subject and Distribution

Thesis	<Episode 5> Paternal preference	<Episode 12> Son preference	< Episode 40>caring for parents-in-law
Conflict discourse	① Gender discrimination	① Daughter-in-law's competitiveness	① Obligation of caring for parents-in-law
	② Denial recessive gene	② Women's economic power	② Conflict of living with parents-in-law
	③ The eldest son preference	③ Pregnancy myth	③ The time for caring for parents-in-law
	④ Son preference	④ Son obsession	④ Silver Town
	⑤ Paternal Preference	⑤ Pregnancy myth's negative effect	⑤ The eldest son's obligation
	⑥ Maternal nonpreference	⑥ Discrimination to grandchildren	⑥Parents' economic power
	⑦ Children's intelligence	⑦ Daughter's resentment	⑦ Married woman's visit to parents' home ⑧Life style clash ⑨ Children's economic power
Total no.	Total 7	Total 7	Total 9
Non-conflict Discourse	①lineage		Inheritance own son
Total no.	Total 1	none	Total 2

Table 3

Re-categorization of Conflict Items by Topic

	Conflict of gender discrimination		
Taking after paternal or maternal side issue	Conflict of the first child preference	⇒	Son preference
	Conflict of son preference		
	Denial of recessive gene trait		
	Conflicts of preference depending on taking after paternal or maternal side	⇒	paternal preference
	Conflicts of children's intelligence		
Son preference issue	Conflict of daughter-in-law's social position	⇒	Gender role
	Perception difference of women's economic power		
	Conflicts on pregnancy myth	⇒	Pregnancy myth
	Negative effect of pregnancy myth		
	Conflict of biased affection for son		
	Conflict of discrimination to grandchildren	⇒	Gender discrimination
	Discourse on daughter's resentment		
Caring for parents-in-law issue	Conflicts of caring for parents-in-law		
	Conflict of alternatives of caring for parents-in-law (Silver Town)	⇒	Necessity of caring for parents-in-law
	Conflict of the eldest son's obligation		
	Conflicts of wife's home Visit		
	Conflicts of living in one house		
	Conflict of parents' economic power	⇒	Problem of dependent parents
	Conflict of life pattern crash		
	Conflict of children's economic power		

Discourse Analysis of *Welcome to the Mother-in-law*

Based on Tables 2 and 3, the author extracted the dialogue where the conflicts appeared by themes and analyzed and revealed the alternative and oppositional discourse. First, the author looked for the binomial opposition belonging to each topic, and grasped the way and features of each subject. Then, the author analyzed the dialogues among the serial subjects to find out what the arguments and the discourses were, and what the implication was. The results of the analysis are shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Dominant Discourse and Alternative Discourse

Dominant discourse	Alternative discourse	Opposite discourse
male chauvinism, son preference, male-dominated society, son-centered thinking, the eldest son priority, son's filial duty, mother-son adhesion relationship, rationalization of early education for children, superiority of taking after paternal side, advocacy of caring for aged parents and single parent, advocacy of filial duty, sympathy for aged parents-in-law, support gender roles, advocacy of discrimination depends on paternal and maternal families	Criticism of unconditional son preference, Support for various alternative of caring for parents, Support for need of aged parents' economic power for their later years	Unfair of son preference Denial of children's duty of caring for parents-in-law

The analysis showed that the dominant discourse was overwhelming. The intention was to validate thinking of the ruling class and to rationalize the existing values such as the male superiority, son preference, first child preference and necessity of caring for parents-in-law. On the other hand, alternative discourse was limited to criticism of son preference or the need of parents' economic power. This seems to be due to peculiarity of hierarchical relationship between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law. The group forming an alternative discourse about the mother-in-law generation who forms the dominant discourse becomes the daughter-in-law. However, it is very difficult for a daughter-in-law to express opinions that are against her mother-in-law because of different level of power. Therefore, it was difficult to understand conflicting discourse through discourse analysis. It derived analytical results based on the actual language used. This ensured a very sophisticated and accurate result, but the subject with cultural specificity was placed in a restricted situation where the speaker cannot naturally express all thoughts. On the other hand, it was noteworthy that dominant discourse and confrontational discourse were derived. Alternative discourse was being formed through the language of people who tend to be opposite to main characteristic of each object. There are also criticizing unfairness of unconditional son preference, considering of various alternatives such as Silver Town rather than living with children, consent to the need for parent's economic power. These were suggestions for very realistic alternatives. It was an opportunity to judge the changing ways of thinking. Especially, it appeared in the words of a certain mother-in-law group.

Myth Analysis of *Welcome to the Mother-in-Law*

I had seen that discourse of conflicts between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law was formed. Because of myth analysis based on the derived discourse, it could be seen that there were various binomial myths as shown in Table 5. Discourse analysis, in fact, did not exist at the same rate, even though the conflict seemed to be established on all subjects. However, myths existed at almost the same rate as dominant myths and alternative myths. Alternative myths may be confrontations or alternatives. Here, the goal was to derive ideology through binary composition. Therefore, I regarded both confrontation situations and alternative situations as alternatives to dominant myths. It was attributed to category of alternative myth, which was a

superstructure. In myth analysis through discourse analysis, it was possible to predict what the daughter-in-law's thought would be like because the conflicting situation was clear. Binary oppositional mythology helped to identify conflict structures. It was possible to judge what kind of confrontation exists, what kind of objects are confronted, what characteristics of the objects are, and how to solve it. Therefore, discovering myth leads to the derivation of ideology.

Table 5

Dominant Myth and Alternative Myth

Dominant myth	Alternative myth
Son has obligation to take care of their parents. Daughter-in-law should take care of parents-in-law who live with. Son's family should take care of old and sick parents. Caring for parents-in-law is an obligation irrelevant to parents' economic power. Daughter-in-law should adapt to the way of parents-in-law's life. Filial piety is irrelevant with economic power.	Caring for parents is not a son's obligation. Living together must respect each other's life. Old parents can choose various alternatives for their later years like Silver Town. Caring for parents requires their economic power. It is unfair to unilaterally adjust to the way of parent's life. Economic power can be used to give reasonable treatment.
The child who resembles father get more love. Good genetic traits come from father, while bad genetic traits come from mother. Parents-in-law want grandson take after paternal side. Early education is important for children	It should not be in the condition of loving a child to resemble one of the parents. Determining good and bad genetic quality is not related to parents' will. So, it is not necessary to worry about. It is not necessary to educate too early to children.
Son is better than daughter. Parents-in-law want to have a son. Men should success. Households are women's work. Family must have a son. Mother always has a right to her son. Caring for parents-in-law is eldest son's obligation. Daughter-in-law must take care of parents-in-law. Male-dominated society is everywhere in the world.	Gender differences should not be a preference. Both men and women are better to success. It is good for women to have economic power. Baby's gender is determined naturally and cannot be changed artificially. A married son should be recognized as a member of an independent family. Caring for parent's duty is not the eldest son's duty. Both husband's and wife's families are equally important.
People eventually live as per their fate.	There is no fate.

Ideology of *Welcome to the Mother-in-Law*

Based on categorization and discourse analysis, I derived conflict discourse and found the inherent myth. Finally, based on this antagonistic mythology, I discovered what a hidden ideology leads to this conflict. Table 6 shows the central idea of naturalization in the ruling class through dominant myths. Paternalism which was the central idea of paternal society, familyism which family considered to be superior to individual, male supremacy that males regarded as superior to females, male preference that male and female had a defined role and stereotypes of gender roles were dominant ideologies. These thoughts had been brought down from the old age and were still in the most of the mother-in-law's mind.

On the other hand, there was a similar ideology in a different level. The confrontation here meant structural confrontation and it could be transformed into an alternative ideology as a solution in actualities. As shown in Table 7, gender equality ideology, neo-familism, capitalism, and rationalism were inherent and manifested in the claims of daughter-in-law in conflicts rather than in the mother-in-law with dominant ideology. This revealed that there was a change of ideology between generations in change of time.

Table 6

Ideology Derived From Dominant Myth

Dominant myth		Ideology
Men should success.	⇨	Patriarchalism
The daughter-in-law is outsider in the family.		
The good genetic traits come from paternal side and the bad ones come from maternal side.		
Parents-in-laws want grandchildren take after paternal side		
Children taking after paternal side get more love		
Parents-in-law dislike grandchildren take after maternal side.		
The eldest son has obligation of caring for parents		
Parents have a right to control son.	⇨	Familism
Children should adapt to the way of their parents' life		
There is the idea of predominance of men even in daughter's home	⇨	Male supremacy
Son is better than daughter	⇨	Son preference
parents-in-law want to have a son.		
People must have a son.		
Households are women's role.	⇨	Gender role
Son have obligation to take care of their parents.	⇨	Filial piety
Son's family should be encouraged to live with their parents.		
Son's family must support aged and sick parents.		
Caring for parents-in-law is irrelevant to their economic power.		
Filial duty is unconditional and irrelevant with economic power.		

Table 7

Ideology Derived From Alternative Myth

Alternative myth		Ideology
Both men and women are better to success.	⇨	Gender equality
Both husband's and wife's families are equally important.		
Gender difference should not be a preference.		
A married son should be recognized as a member of an independent family.	⇨	New Familism
It is unfair to unilaterally adjust to the way of parent's life.		
Caring for parents-in-law is not a son's obligation.		
Living parents and son's family together must respect each other's life		
Old parents can choose various alternatives for later years like Silver Town.		
It is good for women to have economic power.	⇨	capitalism
Parents' economic power is necessary for caring for them.		
Economic power can be used to give reasonable treatment.		
Good and bad genetic traits are irreverent to parents	⇨	Rationalism
No one can decide genetic traits so no need to worry		

As shown in Table 8, dominant ideology and opposite ideology were regarded as a dual structure. The dominant ideology was patriarchal ideology and filial duty ideology that dominate the mother-in-law's thinking whereas the opposite ideology was gender equality and rationalism ideology that dominated the daughters-in-law's thinking. Therefore, conflicts were inevitable due to the opposite ideologies of these two groups.

Table 8

Dual Structure of Ideology Confrontation

Dominant ideology	Alternative ideology
Patriarchalism	Gender equality
Familism	New familism
Male supremacy	Rationalism
Son preference	capitalism
Stereotype of gender role	
⇩	⇩
Patriarchal ideology Filial piety ideology	Gender equality ideology Rationalism ideology

It was difficult to avoid the conflict caused by confrontation between the existing thought and new thought. Due to the conflict between these ideas it was not easy to find a solution for the conflict between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. However, given the fact that the power gap between each level was decreasing over time, discourse, myth, and ideology would also reduce the gap in conflict and there would be some naturally surmountable changes at some point. In the dominant class, there were already existent subjects with alternative ideologies. Among the mother-in-law, there were some cases where they acknowledge unfairness of traditional gender role of son and daughter-in-law, accept new family form, recognize importance of economic power for aged and seek rational alternatives for their later years. Through their attitudes that objectively accepted the changes and trends of the time they face, the possibility of change of dominant ideology that has been taken for granted up to now was seen.

Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of this study is to find out the cause of conflict between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law. To understand these causes, the analysis was conducted in various ways. Thus, I could have seen that difference in values arising from the difference of ideology that dominates our thinking was the cause. Differences in values cause differences in behavior, and differences in behavior cause conflicts. As shown in Table 9, parents-in-law represented dominant thought wanted to expand position of their son in the family and strengthen it in accordance with patriarchal ideology but they demanded obedience of daughter-in-law at the same time. In addition, children are forced to act based on the filial piety.

If these dominant ideologies dominated daughters' mind, no problem would arise. But for daughters-in-law, there were gender equality ideology and rationalism ideology as shown in Table 10. The daughter-in-law, representing alternative thinking, was a generation that had been educated on equality between men and women. For those who learned men and women are equal, unequal reality by gender was uncomfortable. For daughter-in-law generation, a conflict of values with the mother-in-law's generation was a conflict situation requiring different way of thought and action. Unlike the hope of the mother-in-law, the daughters-in-law tended to be equal to her husband in the same conditions and circumstances. Their generation was accustomed to rational judgment and choice, and became repulsive when forced to act by an abstract concept. Nevertheless, human being can restrict words and behavior in the situation of confrontation with absolute authority. Korean mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship is acting as such a power situation. This relationship is strong in hierarchical order among various family relations. So, the daughter-in-law has a

situational characteristic that it is difficult to challenge authority of her mother-in-law. These two groups avoid the superficial confrontation but conflicts are inevitable in real because extremely opposite ideologies are mixed in their mind. The conclusion we have drawn so far is easily predictable with cultural understanding. However, even if prediction is not difficult, it is another matter to objectively verify it. In fact, it is hard to grasp what kind of conflicts are occurring in this relationship and what is the origin of conflicts. As we have seen in this study, there is a buffer zone between them. The mother-in-law who possessed the alternative ideology corresponding to Table 10 are the subjects of the buffer. The existence of the mother-in-law who has a similar value system with daughter-in-law helps to mutually understand the conflict situation between the opposing individuals.

Table 9

Dominant Myth and Ideology of "Welcome to the Mother-in-Law"

Category	Son preferred, paternal preference	Gender discrimination	Caring for parents-in-law
	⇩	⇩	⇩
Discourse	Son preference Firstborn Advantage Coalescence relationship between Mother and son Paternal preference Paternal superiority	Male superiority Male-dominated society Rationalization of gender role discrimination	Duty of caring for parents-in-law Sympathy towards old parents Children's obligation
	⇩	⇩	⇩
Myth	People must have a son. Taking afterpaternal side is merit whereas maternal side is demerit.	Men should success. Woman must do the housework	Son must take care of his parents.
	⇩	⇩	⇩
Ideology	Patriarchalism Son preference	Male supremacy Stereotype of gender role	Filial piety Familism

Table 10

Alternative Myth and Ideology of "Welcome to the Mother-in-Law"

Category	Son preferred, paternal preference	Gender discrimination	Caring for parents-in-law
	⇩	⇩	⇩
Discourse	Criticism of unreasonable son preference Criticism of Paternal preference	Criticism of male-dominated society. Criticism of traditional gender roles.	Criticism of caring for parents-in-law duty. Support alternatives of caring for parents-in-law. Need of old people's economic power.
	⇩	⇩	⇩
Myth	Gender difference should not be preference. Whether children'sgenetic traits are good and bad is not related with resemblance with parents.	It is better if both men and women success. It is always better to have economic power regardless of gender.	caring for parents-in-law is not children's obligation. Parents have various alternatives for their later year such as Silver Town. parents' economic power is required for their old age.
	⇩	⇩	⇩
Ideology	Rationalism	Gender equality	New familyism, capitalism

The results of this study clearly show that Korea has been a patriarchal society for a long time and is still in conflict with new ideas to maintain its status. The mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law relationship was

unable to escape the dominant ideology. The mother-in-law were trying to solidify traditional gender roles attributed to the daughter-in-law with authority. On the other hand, the daughter-in-law was a subgroup of the power structure and trying to escape from forced act to maintain patriarchy. Through changing their mind, they can help each other to understand and play a role as a channel to resolve conflicts. Through this study, the author has found that there are alternative subjects who belong to the dominant group but do new thinking with similar values with their daughter-in-law. It is significant that their existence has enabled us to find out the possibility of solving the conflict.

References

Baek, J. A. (2009). Fatherhood and family experiences of married men in Korea. *The Korean Journal of Humanities and the Social Sciences, 33,* 163-186.

Baek, S. G. (2001). *Semiotics of Television culture*. Seoul: Communication Books.

Baek, S. G. (2004). *Mass culture, the pleasure of semiotic interpretation*. Seoul: Communication Books.

Baek, S. G. (2007a). *Media, the pleasure of semiotic interpretation*. Seoul: Communication Books.

Baek, S. G. (2007b). *The film, the pleasure of semiotic interpretation*. Seoul: Communication Books.

Baek, S. G. (2010a). *Media coverage, the pleasure of semiotic interpretation*. Seoul: Communication Books.

Baek, S. G. (2010b). *The film, the pleasure of semiotic interpretation 2*. Seoul: Communication Books.

Baek, S. G. (2010c). *Advertisement semiotics*. Seoul: Communication Books.

Baik, S. K., & Youn, S. N. (2008). Levi-Strauss et textualite-analyse d`un mythe de ChamanismeenSiberie. *Semiotic Inquiry, 24*(0), 161-214.

Barker, C., & Galasinski, D. (2009). Cultural studies and discourse analysis: A dialogue on language and identity (Seon-Gi Baek, Trans.). Seoul: Communication Books.

Barthes, R. (1997a). *La Plaiser du texte/Lecon* (Hee-Young Kim, Trans.). Seoul: Dongmoonsun.

Barthes, R. (1997b). *Mythologies, 1957* (Semiotic research of EwhaWamen's University, Trans.). Seoul: Dongmoonsun.

Bell, A., & Garrett, P. (2004). *Approches to media discourse* (Seon-Gi Baek, Trans.). Seoul: Communication Books.

Choe, H. I. (1998). Research for the relief of conflict between Mothers-in-law and Daughtes-in-law. *Journal of Korean Psychology, 3,* 64-73

Choe, I. J. (2003). The study on the narrative discourse patterns of TV Talk Show and their cultural function—The focus on the Day-time Talk Show. *Bilingual Journal, 22,* 365-380.

Choi, E. K., & Kim, S. H. (2010). The two faces of reality TV—Construction and deconstruction of ideological discourse of Love and marriage on reality program <Gold Miss is Coming>. *Korean Journal of Broadcasting and Telecommunication Studies, 24*(3), 175-219.

Choi, Y. S. (1999). Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, endless push and pull. *Journal of Korean Sociology Conference, 12,* 144-150.

Chung, K. M. (2012). The matter of filial piety and maternal instinct in filial piety tale of sacrificing offspring. *The Society of Korean Classical Woman Literature, 24,* 5-42.

Griffin, E. A. (2012). *First look at communication theory* (Dong-Yoon Kim & So-Hyun Oh, Trans.). Seoul: Communication Books.

Harvey, D. (1994). *The condition of post modernity* (Dong-Hyoi & Young-Min Park, Trans.). Seoul: Hanwool.

Jang, M. J. (2011). Analysis on strategies for the adjacency pairs of "Question-Answer" in Talk Show. *Text Linguistics, 30,* 211-236.

Kim, H. Y. (2005). The generational difference of family consciousness. *Family and Culture, 17,* 115-146.

Kim, K. H. (2004). Ideologie: Une approchediachronique et synchronique. *Semiotic Inquiry, 16*(0), 115-134.

Kim, S. H., & Baek, S. G. (2001). Theory and analyses: Conflicts and ideological meanings in Korean Television Drama—A semiotic approach on drama "A-Jum-Ma" of MBC. *Semiotic Inquiry, 10*(0), 157-195.

Kim, S. Y. (2009). Mass Media & IT: An analysis of the Korean television drama "Mom's Angry"—focused on Korean family's issues in life course. *Journal of Social Science, 35*(2), 161-193.

Kim, Y. J., & Lee, J. K. (2013). The process of becoming the modern "Housewives" and the construction of the urban Middle-class families: Case study for oral history. *Family and Culture, 17,* 29-61.

Lee, D. W. (1944). *Semiotic approach to communication phenomena* (pp. 89-93). Seoul: SKKU Press.

Lee, D. W. (1995). A study on the linguistic style of TV talk show host. *Korean Journal of Broadcasting and Telecommunication Studies, 6,* 5-39.

Lee, E. K. (2006). Women in TV drama <Nadoya Ganda>. *Drama Study, 25,* 233-256.

Lee, H. J. (2003). The factorial structure of the conflict source between Mother-in-Law and Daughter-in-Law and related variables. *Journal of Gerontological Social Welfare, 19,* 31-59.

Na, M. S., & Jo, J. M. (2011). A study of a peculiar change of TV Talk-Shows with a current of the times. *Local Government Research, 15,* 75-105.

Nam, S. J. (1991). Conflicts between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in system theory: Focusing on the sub-system and relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. *Korea Journal of Social Welfare Studies, 3,* 1-17.

Oh, M. Y. (2014). The way of self-disclosure on TV Talk Show: Questions, interventions, and responses. *Research of Media and Performing Arts, 9*(2), 119-148.

Park, H. J., & Lee, E. N. (2004). Work-family experiences and vocational consciousness of married women. *Journal of Korean Women's Studies, 20*(2), 141-178.

Park, S. Y. (2010). Men's role between Mothers-in-Law and Daughters-in-Law relationship. *Korean Journal of Family Social Work, 28,* 151-186.

Sohn, S. Y. (2006). Familism and social conspicuousness in Korea—Continuities and changes. *Discourse, 9,* 245-274.

Sturken, M., & Cartwright, L. (2006). *Practices of looking an introduction to visual culture* (Tae-Jin Yoon, Hyun-Ju Huh, & Kyung-Won Moon, Trans.). Seoul: Communication Books.

Suh, K. H., Oh, N. Y., & Oh, Y. L. (2014). Discourse strategies of Hosts with Bald Faced Questions in TV Talk shows. *English Studies, 32,* 203-213.

Sung M. O., & Lee, H. J. (2002). The influences of conflict between Mother-In-Law and Daughter-In-Law on the family relationship of the female elderly. *Journal of Gerontological Social welfare, 18,* 185-206.

Sung, M. A. (2012). Traditional family rites and family systems in contemporary Korean families from Middle-Aged Koreans' perspectives. *Journal of Korean Home Management Association, 30*(6), 103-114.

Uchida, T. (2010). *Easy reading of Foucault, Barth, Levi-Strauss, Lacan* (Kyung-Duck Lee, Trans.). Seoul: Galapagos.

Yoon, H. S. (2001). Family conflicts and reproduction of the patrilineal ldeology among residents in the Tamjin Multi—*Purpose Dam Construction Area. Korea Cultural Anthropology, 34,* 31-59.