Symbolic Violence against Women in Cho Nam Joo’s Kim Ji Young Born 1982

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ABSTRACT
This study aims to identify the forms of symbolic violence experienced by the character named Kim Jiyoung and other female characters in the Kim Jiyoung Born 1982 novel by Cho Nam Joo using symbolic violence theory in the mechanism of euphemism and censorship. Euphemism is a mechanism by hiding the intent of violence that works subtly and unconsciously. Meanwhile, censorship is a mechanism that makes symbolic violence a value preserved and considered absolute. This study employed a descriptive qualitative method to understand the symbolic violence phenomenon contained in the novel. The data collection technique was carried out using close reading technique. The data were taken from dialogue and narrations related to the symbolic violence issues. The results of this study revealed that the symbolic violence experienced by Kim Jiyoung and other female characters occurs in the domestic and public sphere. The euphemism mechanisms showed that symbolic violence occurs through concern, labeling, insistence, prohibition, subtle rejection, belief, and giving permission. Meanwhile, censorship were in the form of marginalization in culture, women's role, generosity, and unequal division of labor.

1. Introduction
One of the indications of the low position of women, as well as a form of gender inequality, is the prevalence of violence against women (Ozaki & Otis, 2017). According to the records of the world health organization (WHO), published data about violence against women worldwide in 2021. As a result, 1 of 3 women in the world had experienced violence in the domestic area or in public. The emergence of violence against women is related to the prevailing cultural ideology or value system, the type of community structure, and the relational pattern between men and women (Fulu & Miedema, 2015). The incident started in several communities, starting from families to complex societies.

Women often experience violence such as physical violence to psychological violence; however, there is violence that is rarely realized by women called symbolic violence. The concept of symbolic violence can be seen from the efforts of dominant social actors to apply a social meaning and representation of reality that is internalized by other people as something natural and considered true by the other people (Bourdieu, 1998). The goal of symbolic violence is to control and maintain power over someone else without them even realizing it. Dominant actors use symbolic violence toward women to win over dissent, express discontent, and often show that they have power over women (Novarisa, 2019). It causes self-doubt, and the victim may feel responsible for the violence they are receiving.

The violence cases against women have encouraged others to break the chain of gender inequality; one of them is through literature. Literature was created because of the author's desire to express their existence as human beings with ideas and messages inspired by social and cultural realities and uses language as a medium of delivery (Faruk, 2012). The author has symbolic capital to support the victims of inequality, and they can reveal more while providing a perspective to the readers (Speller, 2011). Literature is often created from angst, fear of a problem, or some issue that the writer witnessed. One of the issues used as the idea is violence against women in a patriarchal culture, which was written by a writer from South Korea named Cho Namjoo in her novel entitled Kim Jiyoung Born 1982.

Kim Jiyoung Born 1982 was inspired by the true story of Namjoo’s life as a South Korean woman. She received the Hwangsanbeol Award for Young Adult Literature through her work. This novel caused controversy because the theme raised the feminism issue, which is still considered taboo in South Korea because of the solid patriarchal system. Regardless of the controversy, the novel was nominated for the National Book Awards, one of the most prestigious
literary awards in the US. As announced on the National Book Foundation's official website, Kim Jiyoung's Born 1982, released in 2016, was listed among the nominees for the translated literature category and a bestselling novel that has been sold in many countries. It belongs to the category of the feminist fiction genre.

The novel constructs people's minds by showing Jiyoung and other women's dilemmas in a patriarchal culture. It tells how the lives of women with multiple roles as a daughter, housewives, daughter-in-law, and especially women who were limited by society’s expectations and required to be perfect and obedient to patriarchal values. As a mother, Kim Jiyoung had to leave her dream job and become a full-time housewife due to her pregnancy. This resulted from the construction that had become a part of her life that she felt she must accept. This is the reason why the writer chose this novel as the object of research because it contains elements of symbolic violence experienced by the character Kim Jiyoung in every phase of her life and she was unaware of that violence.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Theoretical Background

a. Symbolic Violence

Symbolic violence is violence toward someone who accepts it, and they do not feel coercion by relying on collective expectations that have been socially embedded (Thapar-björkert et al., 2016). Bourdieu finds that a kind of social hierarchy in society has been agreed upon even though it is not written, and it becomes the norms and values that the society must obey. This can bring principles about the vision and mission of the division of labor that exists in the system of social life. The division is present at the same time with objectified circumstances, such as household work, which has been divided into jobs that have been labeled with their respective roles for men and women (Bourdieu, 1998).

Symbolic violence is a practice of domination through communication where the losing discourse is marginalized and not recognized by the public (Foucault, 1971). The language, meaning, and symbolic system of the owners of power reside in the minds of individuals through a mechanism hidden from consciousness. Particularly, symbolic violence is the imposition of a system of symbolism and meaning on a group or class in a way that they experience as legitimate (Bourdieu, 2013). The violence occurs through two mechanisms; the euphemism and censorship mechanism (Bourdieu, 1991). The representation of these two works through language because it has a very central role in the mechanism of power and as the instrument of domination that can become a concrete form (Bourdieu, 1991).

1) Euphemism Mechanism

Euphemisms are defined as changing language that was initially offensive to be inoffensive with the aim that another person is not offended by what is expressed (Wahyuni et al., 2019). Pierre Bourdieu's version does not only focus on euphemizing language but also such as through giving, belief, prohibition, obligation, loyalty, concern (Bourdieu, 1998). The mechanism works by creating a cognitive situation for the subject in a state of no choice (Damayanti et al., 2019). Good values are infiltrated to enforce influence and seize or strengthen power. For example, women are usually socialized to become creatures that are synonymous with devotion and gentleness (Musarrofa, 2015). Women must be passive and obedient if they oppose it and will be called disobedient women, and this is an example of euphemism mechanism (Bourdieu, 1998).

2) Censorship Mechanism

The censorship mechanism is defined as a process of symbolic violence in the form of preserving dominant values that are universal and considered moral honors, such as decency, chastity, and generosity, which are usually contrary to low morals, such as crime, uncertainty, immorality, and greed (Bourdieu, 1991). Preservation of this dominant value occurs in a community group and its traditions so that it looks legitimate and there is no doubt about its existence, and then the discourse becomes a behavioral scheme in society (Nasution & Putra, 2022).

b. Theory Of Practice

Symbolic violence is closely related to Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice. He introduced three crucial elements, called habitus, capital, and field. Violence and symbolic authority do not use physical support but through the domination of recognition and consent that is detached from consciousness and is carried out as a habitus (Burawoy, 2019). The dominant class uses the concept of symbolic violence in the social structure of society to impose habitus such as mindset, culture, or lifestyle on the lower class (Martono, 2012). Habit is not something natural but more a constructive
way. People are constructed by the environment so that they always try to be what is under the manifestation of social practice in the society (Bourdieu, 2013). The goal of the dominator is to continue to perpetuate his power in people's lives, while the goal of the dominated is to get a more decent life by relying his hopes on the dominating group (Wahyuni et al., 2019).

Domination occurs because of differences in capital and the field within a group (Haryatmoko, 2010). Field is a place for people to fight for power and capital (Grenfell et al., 2005). The struggle of social actors is defined by their position in the field, which is determined by the amount of capital they have (Jenkins, 1992). Bourdieu divides the capital into economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital (Moore 2014). Cultural capital is built by family conditions and education in schools, such as knowledge that has been obtained, cultural codes, style of speech, how to dress, and others to determine social position (Burawoy, 2019). Social capital is the actualization and potential of resources associated with ownership of a network that is durable and institutionalized with recognition. Economic capital is a resource that can be a means of production, including financial resources such as money, assets, and property (Grenfell et al., 2005). Symbolic capital (such as prestige, status, authority, and all forms of group recognition) also can be a crucial source of power (Bourdieu, 2013). These sources of capital make a person respected in society. When the owner of capital uses their power and authority unconsciously, it can shape one's behavior, thoughts, and beliefs so that it can occur and be accepted in certain social fields (Damayanti et al., 2019).

2.2 Previous Studies

The concept of symbolic violence by Pierre Bourdieu has been used to investigate Indonesian literature, such as in the study conducted by Satriani and Hapsari (2019) and Arianto (2018). Both proved that cultural values that become a norm perpetuating the dominant ideology made symbolic violence's victims did not have the power to express their opinions. Their subordinate positions cause them to participate in defending symbolic forms of violence carried out by the family and society. Satriani and Hapsari's study focused on symbolic violence experienced by children through adult domination legitimized by society in the novel Mata di Tanah Melus by Okky Madasari. Meanwhile, Arianto's study focused on symbolic violence against Balinese women in the Sepasang Mata Dinaya Terpenjara short story by Ni Komang Ariani. It showed that ideology impacted women's position, which was increasingly marginalized and could not be more dynamic than men because of limitations in the patriarchal system and specific regulations.

Several other researchers also use the same theory about symbolic violence related to the dominance of power in different objects. The research entitled The Practice of Symbolic Violence in George Orwell's Novel 1984 conducted by Pattu et al. (2021) explained that forms of violence are closely related to power. The study concluded that the state's dominance makes the people submissive and legitimizes the existence of power through the control of political ideology, cultural instruments, and orthodoxy. The results of another study conducted by Prihantini and Nurhidayah (2019) entitled Balram's strategy of using symbolic capital in Adiga's the white tiger shows how symbolic capital had a vital role in class differences in the arena of capitalist society to perpetuate symbolic violence. This symbolic capital was manifested by subtle coercion, such as in the form of loyalty, status, and kindness.

Although the previous articles used Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence as the theory used to examine literary works, there are some differences between this study and relevant previous studies regarding the object and focus. This study uses the object of the novel Kim Jiyoung born 1982, using a feminist approach and a social theory of symbolic violence mechanisms. The result of this study could socialize the ideas and contribute to the feminist field and its relationship with symbolic violence. The novel reflects the interaction between the dominating people and the women who are dominated in the social environment of masculine domination, which produces an effect of symbolic violence. This aspect makes this novel essential to study from the perspective of symbolic violence using Pierre Bourdieu's theory, which is analyzed through the mechanism of euphemism and censorship.

3. Method

This study applies a sociological approach to describe the symbolic violence in Kim Jiyoung Born 1982 novel. Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence was employed to identify euphemism and censorship mechanisms in the novel. The data collection technique obtained through close reading by taking notes and classifying events in narratives and dialogues between the characters related to the problems. These were then used as the data to understand the storyline about the symbolic violence.

The data that has been collected will be analyzed based on the theory. The analysis technique in this study is to identify, classify, and analyze the data that indicates the presence of symbolic violence, which is further classified into
two mechanisms of euphemism and censorship and explained in its entirety based on Pierre Bourdieu’s theory. The analysis results are presented in the form of complete descriptive sentences and explanations of the symbolic violence phenomena contained in the novels.

3. Result and Discussion

Symbolic violence is the outcome of power practices that occur when one class in society dominates another through hidden mechanisms. There are two mechanisms of symbolic violence in the novel Kim Jiyoung Born 1982 which are euphemism and censorship. The analysis found that the euphemisms are proven in the form of concern, labeling, insistence, prohibition, subtle rejection, belief, and giving permission. At the same time, the censorship mechanisms are in the form of marginalization, women’s role, generosity, and division of labor.

3.1 Euphemism Mechanism of Symbolic Violence in Kim Jiyoung Born 1982 Novel

a. Concern

In the *Kim Jiyoung Born 1982* novel, there are symbolic violence mechanisms in the form of concern given by the dominator with the evidence conveyed gently. However, there is a hidden purpose given by the dominator.

“How many times do I have to tell you? It’s too much work for women. You brighten up the club with your mere presence” (Namjoo, 2016:44).

This is symbolic violence by raising concern from a group of men in a hiking club that Kim jiyoung also attended. Women are deliberately given more privileges, such as larger portions of food and better rooms when they go on trips, but they cannot be club leaders or administrators. They can only play a role in preparing food menus for the members. It is because there is tokenism by giving concern towards women where they are given favorable treatment as a justification for showing gender equality in the division of labor (Cho et al., 2021). As a woman, including Jiyoung, want to have the same responsibilities and opportunities as other members. Through the euphemism mechanism, regularity lies in the physical and social order that enforces the disposition by excluding women from the most honorable jobs by giving concern to the female member.

“It’ll ruin this company’s reputation if word gets around in the field. The accused male employees have families and parents to protect, too. Do you really want to destroy people’s lives like this? Do you want people to find out that your pictures are out there?” (Namjoo, 2016:80).

Women’s positions dominated by patriarchal culture can harm them, as what happened in this situation regarding the harassment done by male security through hidden cameras placed in women’s toilets, recording them and then uploaded on the internet. This act is detrimental and causes trauma to female employees. However, her boss makes excuses by giving concern to female employees as well as the security man and his family and takes this as minor offenses. Associated with Bourdieu’s theory of capital, the boss here has higher economic and symbolic capital than the employees, so that he tries to perpetuate the dominance of symbolic violence through gentle and persuasive sentences to euphemize the thoughts of the dominated people which is his employee by relying upon the form of mercy or concern so that an act of recognition emerges from them although what actually happened and felt by the victim was a cognitive battle about its meaning and also the reality that took place in it (Thapar-björkert et al., 2016).

She’s too skinny. She must have bad circulation. The zit on her chin is a sign of an unhealthy uterus. They concluded the problem was her. “Get your daughter-in-law a box of herbal medicine for fertility! Jiyoung must feel hurt by your lack of concern!” (Namjoo, 2016:67).

The concern that the elders gave to Kim jiyoung is a euphemism that aims to make her immediately have children. They are always pushing her and concern to her shortcomings. It considers a symbolic violence done for the sake of a strategy to maintain symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 2013). This proves that women are still seen as mere reproductive objects and Jiyoung is not given the right to control her body, instead causing anxiety about her body’s authority (Wolf, 2020).

b. Labeling

The process of labeling women has become a tradition in patriarchal society. Labeling is a form of euphemism by giving a positive or negative image to someone based on their personality or behavior.
Some people said Kim Eunsil was awesome, others that she had a heart of stone, and still others found the arrangement a credit to her husband. “Living with the spouse’s parents is harder for the husbands than the wives,” they’d say (Namjoo, 2016:55).

Kim Eunsil, who is a career woman, makes herself leave her child to her parents and her husband. This made her get praise as well as label from the society because she made her husband live with her parent and considered that this was a problem because, according to them, the idea that husbands are responsible for childcare is unsuitable (Najafi & Lindsey, 2019). Korean women who are married have to bear duality roles because they lack support from the society for their careers (Cho et al., 2021). Eunsil’s husband gets praise for doing his domestic role. It is the opposite in the case of Jiyoung and her mother, Oh Misook. She has a role as a housewife and a part-time worker to pay for the education costs of her brother and her family expenses. She never received any praise or appreciation from society or her family. Men can criticize women when women fail to do the work assigned to them, and if they succeed, men will not praise it (Bourdieu, 1998). This symbolic violence gives an image to women that whatever they do, they are condemned to always carry evidence of their ingenuity to be labeled as disobedient because of the androcentric vision, which is always legitimized by society. This is why women like Kim Eunsil, Oh Misook, and Kim Jiyoung cannot do anything but continue to confirm it.

The head of the client company said to Jiyoung, who ordered soybean paste sauce with rice, “A young person with a taste for soybean paste sauce! I didn’t know you were a doenjangnyeo, too, Ms. Kim! Ha ha!” Donjjangnyeo, or “bean paste woman,” was a popular Korean portmanteau word among a host of other misogynistic new terms that ended with nyeo—woman (Namjoo, 2016:57).

This illustrates euphemism in the way of labeling conveyed through jokes by Jiyoung’s boss to her, which is an insult. Doenjangyo is a nickname used to describe women who are always interested in luxury goods (Song, 2014). It indicates symbolic violence that occurred because of Jiyoung’s actions, who accepted this by laughing as if she agreed. This perception shows that women are passive, weak, and materialistic. According to Bourdieu, the upper class is the dominant class because it always dominates the class structure of society (Bourdieu, 1998). In this case, Jiyoung’s boss is the person who is considered a dominator who has special privileges because he has higher capital than his employees so that he can dominate the weaker class by legitimizing symbolic forms of violence.

One of the guys on the bench glanced over at Jiyoung and whispered something to his colleagues. …I wish I could live off my husband’s paycheck … bum around and get coffee … mom-roaches got it real cushy … no way I’m marrying a Korean woman … (Namjoo, 2016:84).

The dialogue of the person who labels Jiyoung as mom-roach is a form of euphemism in the form of her image as a housewife who only exploits her husband’s money and property. Unknowingly, those who often make women the object of jokes even though they do not intend to humble show the misogyny character of the perpetrator (Fakih, 2013). Patriarchal culture puts the wife as subordinate to the husband. The stereotype facilitates this image that housewives who do not work cannot make money, so domestic work is considered less valuable (Bourdieu, 1998). Jiyoung walked away with helpless rage, and clumsy gestures that spilled the coffee in her hands after hearing the accusations subconsciously showed that she was subject to dominant judgment even though she did not like it.

c. Insistence

The insistence on symbolic violence is a form of euphemism that is used as a control for dominance by explaining attitudes, behavior, and speech to the dominated.

“What is this nonsense?” Daehyun’s father thundered. “Is this how you behave in front of your elders? …Is this really something to complain about—spending time with family?” (Namjoo, 2016:9).

This was spoken by Jiyoung’s father-in-law when her condition was unhealthy and depressed, but she was required to serve the whole family all day long until she did not sleep. Doing domestic work is considered by her in-law as a wife’s duty, especially in her position as a daughter-in-law, so she must obey the elders.

He said she was overreacting. She was saddened that he was dismissing her feelings as an overreaction (Namjoo, 2016:67).

Her parents-in-law urge Jiyoung to have children immediately. When she gets criticized by the elders, she looks down and accepts everything. Besides, her husband, who was there then, did not defend her, and when she shared her disappointment, he only thought that she was overreacting.
The doctor chuckled to himself. ‘Back in the day, women used clubs to do the laundry, lit fires to boil baby clothes, and crawled around to do the sweeping and mopping. Don’t you have a washing machine for laundry and vacuum cleaner for cleaning? Women these days—what have you got to whine about?’ (Namjoo, 2016:75).

Jiyoung’s exhaustion as a housewife made her feel pain in her wrist. The doctor told her to rest her hands for a while, but Jiyoung said the difficulties of her recovery that she had to take care of her child, help her husband, and do household chores. The doctor considered such work easy work because, according to him, the household chores now were assisted by more sophisticated machines, and there was nothing to be bothered about.

From these three data, it can be concluded that the feelings and emotions felt by Jiyoung are meaningless. They convey symbolic violence through the insistence that controls her actions and feelings to fit the patriarchal culture. This case supports the structure of masculine order in the form of a scheme that can unconsciously regulate people’s perceptions. Women’s attachment to domestic work is still the most powerful way to perpetuate patriarchal ideology. Domestic work is considered not to contribute to the economic dimension, so society consistently underestimates it. Women always identified with domestic labor, such as taking care of children and the house, cooking, and preparing for family needs for harmony. This habitus owned by women comes from the inner objective structure during their lives. Family and society teach women to be people who should be able to take care of children better than men (Burawoy, 2019). The result of internalizing the objective structure then becomes a scheme and framework of thinking for women as well as society in interpreting reality (Najafi & Lindsey, 2019).

d. Prohibition

“Why is your cram school so far away? Why do you talk to strangers? Why is your skirt so short?” it’s your job to avoid dangerous places, times of day and people. It’s your fault for not noticing and not avoiding (Namjoo, 2016:33).

Kim Jiyoung was almost sexually assaulted when she was on the way home from her courses. Jiyoung was frightened and asked for help by borrowing a cellphone from one of the women on the bus and immediately sent a message to her father. His father blamed her instead of the man who tried to harm her daughter. He criticizes her uniform, which according to him attracts the boy. Even though Jiyoung looks usual, she is still wrong in her father’s eye because, according to him, the harassment occurred due to women not preventing themselves. She was prohibited from speaking to strangers, whereas in reality, the boy first tried to approach her and talk to her. In assessing a case of sexual harassment, the focus should be on the perpetrator’s guilt rather than the factors considered to be why a person becomes a victim, such as a victim’s cloth. Moreover, her father blamed her for the distance of her course place. The act of blaming and prohibiting by Jiyoung's father is a euphemism for symbolic violence that emphasizes the rules made by his father as a controller to his daughter. Symbolic violence like this creates two terminologies: if Jiyoung fulfills her father's demands, then she is considered an obedient daughter. Meanwhile, if she violates, she is considered a disobedient and undisciplined child (Musarrofa, 2015).

Women are more constrained by values and norms than men. The traditional concept requires women to be gentle, obedient to men and patriarchal norms (Suryani, 2017). With that mental structure, unconsciously, women have accepted to be a second-class social group under men and make the dominated people like her obey his father's words since his father has more capital than her. The authority done by his father is a form of masculine domination, which is seen through an androcentric vision that forces thoughts and perceptions of the dominated behavior that makes them view the dominant opinion as a genuine and reasonable opinion against women (Bourdieu, 1998).

No sheer black tights, and no socks allowed. No sneakers only dress shoes. Walking around in just tights and dress shoes in the middle of winter, Jiyoung’s feet got so cold that she wanted to cry (Namjoo, 2016:25).

When Jiyoung was in junior high school, the rules at her school were stringent. One of them was the rules of how the students dressed. The rules for women are stricter than for men. Furthermore, men may at any time violate these regulations because they are considered to engage in physical activities such as exercising. Some female students like to exercise and be active; whether they like it or not, they have to obey the rules because if they break them, they get punished. Those differences, for example, in terms of the body of rules, are made by inserting them into a natural system (Bourdieu, 1998). This symbolic confinement is practiced through women's clothing. These clothes prevent women from physical activities such as running or exercising, and this shows euphemism mechanism in the form of an unfair
prohibition (Nasution & Putra, 2022). The goal is to emphasize the rules that preserve the existence of masculine domination within the school.

e. Subtle Rejection

What if the baby is another girl? What would you do, Daddy?” She was hoping for, “what do you mean, what would I do? Boy or girl, we’ll raise it with love. ….He rolled over to face the wall and said, “Hush and go to sleep. Don’t give the devil ideas.” Oh Misook cried all night into her pillow, biting her lower lip so as not to make a sound. (Namjoo, 2016:12)

The traditions and expectations were inherent in the community and thinking that having a son was lucky made Oh Mi Sook always worried because she had a baby girl. Abortions are legalized in South Korea to control population growth and for medical problems. The act of checking the sex of a baby before being aborted always happened, and the majority of aborted fetuses were female (Choi & Hwang, 2020). This is what made her, in the end, abort her baby girl. No one calms herself for the pain she feels physically and psychologically as if it was her responsibility. Through this situation, it is evident that symbolic violence makes her conform to the dominant judgment even though her body resists. Moreover, euphemism in the form of a subtle rejection is proven through her husband's answer, which is indirectly said and subtly, but behind his sentence indicates that he does not want to discuss the truth about his wife and baby girl inside her. This is undoubtedly rooted in masculine domination that grows into a patriarchal culture and is preserved by the community. Men are considered to have the primary control in society, while women have few opportunities in the public sphere (Bourdieu, 1998).

f. Belief

“Think ahead. There’s no better job for women than a schoolteacher”. There’s nothing like teaching for working moms (Namjoo, 2016:34).

This is a conversation between Oh Misook and her first daughter. Her name is Kim Eunyoung. Misook believes that the most suitable job for Eunyoung is a teacher, but she actually wants to be a television producer. Symbolic violence is based on socially accustomed to public expectancy and belief (Bourdieu, 2013). Misook’s belief that being a teacher is the best job for a woman is euphemism to give confidence about something believed to be true in society's perspective. In the euphemism context of belief, parents are in the dominant class, which has higher symbolic capital so that it has the authority to dominate. It went subtly so that Eunyoung did not feel it as coercion. Instead, it made her finally comply with her mother’s request. She might feel burdened by her mother's statement because if she fails to become a teacher, she can break her mother’s trust. Parents are not accommodating to the children's expectations and require them to follow their opinion, which parents think is the only way of truth (Arianto, 2018). This will be judged as a natural thing because it is considered a habitus that they have where parents know what is best for their children, including their education. That is how symbolic violence operates in parent-child relationships. Both parents as dominator and daughter as dominated do not realize that they are in a state of violence. As has been stated before, symbolic violence is often not recognized and not felt as violence because it is based on the personal loyalty and willingness to accept it as an ethical respect (Bourdieu, 2013).

g. Giving Permission

When she announced her pregnancy at work, one of her male colleagues exclaimed, “Lucky you! You get to come to work late!” (Namjoo, 2016:70).

Jiyong's pregnant condition makes her get permission that she can be late for work in thirty minutes. The male co-worker casually says that she is lucky to get such permission and that she should be home late too. They do not understand how Jiyong feels and what she has been through such as fatigue, vomiting, and pain all over his body. She was disappointed with the comment because although she got permission, she was still underestimated. They did not seem to care about her discomfort, but she could only be silent and could not force them to acknowledge it, so she was determined not to come late and work harder. The euphemism was seen through the form of giving permission, which belongs to the dominated group. Behind this situation lies the goal of domination. Giving permission makes those who were dominated voluntarily do what has been ordered and of course there is a hidden purpose in order to maintain power and also make work easier (Wahyuni et al., 2019). This permission also makes her as an employee more enthusiastic about working and considers that this is something that she must do.
3.2 Censorship Mechanism of Symbolic Violence in Kim Jiyoung Born 1982 Novel

a. Marginalization in culture

Number one on the roster was a boy, everything began with the boys, and that felt like the right, natural thing. Boys lined up first, boys led every procession no matter where they were headed, boys gave their presentations first, and boys had their homework checked first while the girls quietly waited their turn, bored...but never thinking this was a strange practice, just as we never question why men's national registry numbers begin with a “1” and women begin with a “2” (Namjoo, 2016:22).

Jiyoung's school always put male students first. It shows the marginalization of female students, with the position of male students taking precedence. Boy's priority made them get a queue number to eat first, and the girls had to wait. The school had strict rules for eating fast, and some girls were punished for being slow eaters. This kind of marginalization is a form of symbolic violence in the censorship mechanism as a form of preservation that has bad values, whether in the form of behavior or speech (Damayanti et al., 2019). In the education field, teachers, as the dominant group who have more symbolic capital, have the right to put men in a superior position and make women marginalized. Meanwhile, female students, as a dominated group, have habitus that makes them obey the school rules and are required not to complain about the social reality that puts men first in every social aspect.

b. Women's Role

Humans basically have a purpose in life to develop themselves. The tendency to actualize encourages everyone to be independent, socially responsible, and develop their self-potential. However, a strongly patriarchal culture limits the form of self-actualization and gives women roles to conform to their obligations in the domestic area (Najafi & Lindsey, 2019). As a result, women's fields are limited in the domestic sphere, while men are in the public sphere. This goes on continuously so that it becomes a culture that from time to time is detrimental to women unconsciously. This subordination occurs because everything is seen from men and the sex differences in social reality affects gender construction which causes the division of roles and its responsibilities between men and women (Risman, 2018).

“Let’s just have a kid. If we’re going to have one eventually anyway, why not avoid the lectures by just having one? We’re not getting any younger.” But having a child was not so casual a decision for Jiyoung (Namjoo, 2016:68).

Jiyoung always gets pressure from his family to have children soon. Jung Daehyun, her husband, also acts passively when he literally knows that the elders are constantly cornering his wife. Instead of supporting his wife, he chooses to comply with the elder's insistence because he thinks there is nothing wrong with having children, whereas he knows she is not ready to be a mother. In this case, Jiyoung as a woman, cannot actualize herself according to her wishes. Women's actualization binds her that it is considered perfect if they can give birth to a child, especially if the child is a boy. The form of a woman's self-actualization is related to how her actions also support men's actualization. Taking care of children as a woman's self-actualization is a form of masculine domination that gives the influence that men are more powerful than women so that the wife has limitations in making choices or desires and has a tendency to obey all of her husband's wishes (Edwards et al., 2000). The husband often controls economic capital because he has the opportunity to work in the public sphere. Meanwhile, the wife is in the domestic sphere. This culture provides construction and mindset when men are closely related to ego masculinity, femininity itself is ignored and considered as something weak (Huda & Dodi, 2020). In this case symbolic violence in the censorship mechanism is evidenced by a preservation of the value that a woman's role is considered honorable if she can give birth and take care of children while taking care of household chores. Unconsciously, the patriarchal value is internalized into the actors' habitus that they carry out their respective roles as a matter of course.

c. Generosity

This was a time when people believed it was up to the sons to bring honor and prosperity to the family, and that the family's wealth and happiness hinged upon male success. The daughters gladly supported the male siblings. (Namjoo, 2016:16)

“I had to work to send my brothers to school. That's how it was with everyone. All women lived like that back then.” (Namjoo, 2016:17)

The ongoing preservation of patriarchal culture in the core values of life makes Misook, after graduating from elementary school, willingly drop out of school and help with household chores while helping her parents in the fields.
Until she was fifteen, she moved to Seoul, worked as a factory worker with her sister, and lived in a small dormitory with two other workers. She worked tirelessly and lacked food because she earned minimal wages. Furthermore, this affects her health to the point of experiencing respiratory problems due to smoke and factory dust. The minimum wage she received was used to pay for his two elders’ brothers from school to college. Boys have more access to education, which makes them have higher cultural and educational capital (Kim & Lee, 2020). Indeed, this is because of the masculine domination, which leads to the habitus that boys bring more honor and prosperity to the family and get better career positions. The girls are willing to help with pleasure. Through this case, it can be seen that there is generosity, as evidenced by Misook’s behavior which is a form of censorship mechanism because they think this is normal. It becomes a matter of pride and honor for them to be able to help men’s education since society considers it an act of their generosity.

d. Unequal Division of Labor

“Yeah, you’ll be good at it,” came the positive response, but she didn’t make the team in the end. The two male colleagues, who started at the same time as Jiyoung, were assigned to the planning team (Namjoo, 2016:61-62).

Although Jiyoung has always been praised for the projects she has worked on and for her performance, she did not get a chance to be promoted to the planning team. It is because there is an assumption that women find it challenging to maintain a work-life balance and unsuitable for long-term projects. They think women cannot last long, which is caused by women’s right to have maternity leave, which will hinder the company’s performance. Censorship in this situation that exists in her workplace illustrates the existence of a deliberately preserved masculine dominance and results in an arbitrary construction system providing a reasonable basis for the androcentric vision of the sexual division of labor (Musarrofa, 2015). This process is achieved by making them recognize biological differences and thus become the basis of social difference (Burawoy, 2019).

The censorship mechanism also shows good values about women which are clashed with bad values. It is mentioned that smart female employees can burden them. The most demoralizing answer came from the department head himself: “Companies find smart women taxing. Like now—you’re being very taxing, you know?” (Namjoo, 2016:48).

Women are conditioned to always step aside and remain silent. Therefore, they cannot use any power except by returning it to the male (Bourdieu, 1998). Furthermore, some women still view the symbolic domination by men as legitimate and conforming to the system. The sexual division of labor is stated broadly in the ownership of social capital and symbolic capital, which gives men a monopoly over all public representation activities (Koo, 2019). Jiyoung’s workplace is a field where her boss has higher capital in terms of economic, social, and symbolic capital so that he has authority over his employees. The strong patriarchal culture makes women lose the amount of capital, and this is what causes the social structure to exist based on the sexual division of labor that gives the best share to men.

4. Conclusion

Kim Jiyoung Born 1982 novel showed that Jiyoung and other female characters experienced symbolic violence. This violence worked subtly and was considered something legitimate. It happens because of the values closely related to patriarchal culture and male dominance, which are still maintained in every domestic and public sphere, implying differences in the elements of capital, habitus, and field between men and women. These elements become an essential part of the dominant group in maintaining power because it has gained social legitimacy and has not received a rejection from its victims.

Based on the analysis that has been done, it can be concluded that symbolic violence is represented in the mechanism of euphemism and censorship. Euphemisms manifest in the forms of concern, labeling, insistence, prohibition, subtle rejection, belief, and giving permission. Meanwhile, the censorship mechanisms are in the form of marginalization, women’s role, generosity, and unequal division of labor. Based on the novel in Bourdieu’s perspective, symbolic violence causes women to be powerless. Symbolic violence is real even though its form is not recognized by both the dominant and the dominated. However, if it occurs continuously, it can impact the value of life and become a form of justification for violence and surely the practice of domination and injustice that has impacts toward women. The women’s emancipation movement will be interpreted as only a movement because all of it will be refuted by the habitus and cultural conditions and make the equality between men and women mere nonsense.
References


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