

A Qualitative Study of Symbolic Capital and Distinction-Making among Marriage Migrant Women in Korea

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Abstract

Marriage migrant women have become the representative symbol and group of multiculturalism in Korean society. This paper aims to show the ways in which symbolic capital is hierarchized by reviewing personal characteristics of marriage migrant women in Korea from the perspective of 'symbolicity' rather than 'individuality'. The 'symbolic capital' of marriage migrant women is divided into language, skin color, marriage path, economic status of the country of their origin, among which the economic status of the country of origin was found the most powerful one. Furthermore, the hierarchical symbolic capital caused distinctions such as 'symbolic violence of homogenization' and 'fixation of the hierarchy of division'. In other words, this study argued that prejudice and discrimination against marriage migrant women have been promoted by the 'distinction' from them, along with the distinction among them, amplifying the complex discrimination structure in Korean society.

Key words: marriage migrant women, symbolic capital, symbolic violence, distinction-making, distinction

1. Introduction

Multiculturalism is a discourse that has created explosive academic and policy debates in Korean society that entered the 21st century. However, the term multiculturalism, which was coined to make boundary from 'pure bloodline' ideology, generated a side effect that makes marriage migrant women perceived as another fixed framework, which departed from its original

intention. Due to this adverse effect, the main discourses related to multiculturalism is currently oriented toward searching for ways to increase 'diversity' without using the word 'multiculturalism' itself (E-daily October 14, 2014). At the same time, the perspective that migrant women's motivation and behaviors are viewed and analyzed in terms of 'active subjectivity' has also emerged as one of the main research trends in recent years (Choi, 2009; Jeon & Lee, 2013; Kim, 2009; Kim, 2010; Kim,

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2013; Sul, *et. al.*, 2013). In this research trend, they have been deemed so-called “transnational actors” who pioneer their lives by crossing between their home countries and Korea despite limitations in their real life. Among these academic discourses, the question on the hierarchization among marriage migrant women has been raised. The common argument is that marriage migrant women have attempted to resist against the collectivization(Kim, 2010), and their motivation to counteract against the collective gaze leads to furthering the distinction making among marriage migrant women’s groups(Lee, 2014).

In Korea, racism or multiculturalism has been associated with discrimination against and exclusion of migrants, especially migrants from developing countries. Christie(1998) argued that social distances and attitudes toward foreigners reflect social power relations between nationalities. In other words, discrimination against foreigners comes from the western-centered and developmental 'discourse of advanced countries' that divides the countries of the world into developed and underdeveloped countries. Therefore, migrants from the underdeveloped countries are relatively unfavorable to foreigners from the developed countries(Kim & Han, 2016: 35-36; Jeong, *et. al.*, 2017: 312). It means that economic power of home county affects on the status of marriage migrant women in the host country. Actual 'economic power' is the most powerful 'repressive mechanism' among migrant women. In this regard, many migrant women repeatedly claim that they did not marry because of money, as if one person repeatedly protested with different expressions(from interviews with participants of this study). And this obsessive self-awareness is creating a wall among migrant women and further established stereotypes towards them.

Prompted by this acknowledgment, present study attempted to analyze why the hierarchy among marriage

migrant women has arisen and how the phenomenon has become solidified based on the concept of 'symbolic capital' Bourdieu postulated. To be specific, firstly, this study presented the conceptual framework based on Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and symbolic capital. Second, the types and characteristics of symbolic capital of marriage migrant women were discussed relying on the results from participant observation and in-depth interviews. Third, the study analyzed the aspect of distinction making caused by the hierarchical symbolic capital and attempted to derive implications for multiculturalism for Korean society based on the findings.

II. Theoretical Background

1. Bourdieu’s cultural capital and symbolic capital

A key issue in the studies of Bourdieu, who is a French sociologist and cultural anthropologist, and Giddens, British sociologist, is the relationship between agency and social structure. Bourdieu(2002) described the relationship between social structure and practice(actions by Giddens) through the concept of 'habitus'. Habitus refers to the propensity of a person, which is subconsciously and naturally internalized by the social situations and it is expressed through *hexis*, awareness, taste, thought, and behavioral system. What is important here is that what is considered to be a very personal tendency and choice is, in fact, unintentionally formed and internalized by the influence of social structures, and that it is shared and reproduced in the groups to which each individual belongs. The individual action is deeply influenced by the structure, and the action thus formed is again constituting the structure, through which the structure and the action become linked. Therefore, habitus can be called as a 'structured structures' and 'structuring structures', and at the same time 'structured action' and

'structuring action'(Bourdieu, 2002).

A society is a field in which the members of society compete to gain a symbolic power that is recognized in the society, and all social classes struggle to gain their societal recognition of their own habitus. There are various fields in a society and depending on the fields, it can be divided into 'field of literature', 'field of politics', 'field of the economy', 'field of art,' etc. Each actor uses every resource s/he owns to win in the struggles to gain symbolic power in these fields. At this point, Bourdieu, going beyond Marxist notion of the economic capital, explains the energy and resources utilized by actors by postulating various types of capitals. Those are economic capital, social capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital. Among them, 'cultural capital' and 'symbolic capital' are the unique concepts that Bourdieu developed, demonstrating his keen insights into understanding the theory of the reproduction of social inequality.

According to Bourdieu, cultural capital appears in three different forms, such as in internalized, objectified, and institutionalized forms. The internalized cultural capital refers to cultures, senses, habits, lifestyles, speech, and emotion naturally learned through home environment and education. Most of these habits need to be backed up by economic capital in order to acquire them steadily, since they are embodied over time. Because the inheritance and acquisition of these cultural capital are invisible, it can easily secure social justification and can be a means of securing reproduction of the class. Those who hold cultural capital that is scarce in each society can have the 'symbolic power' that distinguishes them from those who do not.

The cultural capital in the objectified state refers to the material objects such as art work, literary work, music, books and musical instruments. These are various cultural contents that we can easily imagine, and can be inherited

in the form of material. Institutionalized cultural capital refers to the cultural capital acquired through institutional approval, such as degrees and diplomas. Achieving outstanding academic standing at school is closely related to the result of the distribution of superior cultural capital(Hyun, 1998). While investment in earning degrees is meaningless without a guarantee that it translates into more than the economic capital consumed for future investments, the higher education itself has a symbolic power in itself in a society where it has a rare value. Therefore, as people with cultural capital that is not institutionally accredited are relatively deprived of opportunities to show their abilities, they can be placed in a socially disadvantageous position compared to those who have institutionalized cultural capital.

Likewise, in order for cultural capital to be truly cultural capital, its symbolic dimension must be recognized in a society. This is the point where 'symbolic capital' emerges. Since through symbolization, characteristics, objects, and resources are given their meaning and differentiated value, "all result in the concentration of the symbolic capital with recognized authority"(Bourdieu, 1994: 129).

Symbolic capital is said to be reputation, prestige, trust, honor and respect, and it can be said that not only cultural capital, but also economic capital and social capital have real power when they can acquire social justification. In other words, symbolic capital refers to social relations and mechanisms that justify arbitrary order to be valid by authorizing social capital, economic capital, and cultural capita(Lee, 1998: 168). As the involved parties are unaware and implicitly agree, "It is as if a collective orchestra runs without a conductor"(Bourdieu, 1977: 72: as cited in Lee, 1998: 135).

However, symbolic capital is not boundless, and its value may be limited by the historical context in which it was accumulated. Symbolic capital must be identified

within the cultural and historical frame(Bourdieu, 1984: recited in Wikipedia, 2019). Gaining the recognition of the value of symbolic capital can be considered a collective misunderstanding, and the property accepted in one society may take on the opposite evaluation in other societies(Bourdieu, 1978). Therefore, each social class struggles to make socially more recognized symbols to be their own, and at the same time, they are engaged in a symbolic struggle to be recognized for their own value of habitus. As a result, the habitus welcomed by the majority in a society can change. Chung(1988) pointed out, “In this process, not only the evaluation of the symbol, but also the group that evaluates the symbol changes, and that the distinction as the basic mechanism of the symbolic struggle offers the dynamic characteristic to the static lifestyle concept”(Chung, 1998: 92).

Adding to this, this distinction-making can also be called symbolic exclusion made by the symbolic boundary. As the symbolic boundary is “having attributes that include and prescribe a person, a group, or a thing, while excluding the others”(Epstein, 1992: as cited in Choi, 2006: 199), “the focal point in the symbolic exclusion is aversion”(Bryson, 1996: as cited in Kwon, *et. al.*, 2011: 4). Although the symbolic boundary is a necessary condition for the social boundary to occur, symbolic exclusion can induce group conflicts while highlighting differences. And the accumulation and deepening of conflicts may appear in a form of social exclusion toward the less powerful group in possessing symbolic capital.

Thus, cultural capital and symbolic capital are very effective concepts when discussing the occurrence of social exclusion and the reproduction of class.

2. Research Methods

Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' and 'distinction' can serve a useful theoretical framework in the analysis of Korean society, which is becoming more polarized among social classes.¹⁾ In particular, in Korean society that has entered into the multicultural society, the cultural capital theory provides an important clue to examine why the exclusion among migrants as well as between the indigenous people and the migrants takes place and progresses. The research questions in this study relying on the theoretical discussion are as follows:

Research Question 1: What are the characteristics of symbolic capital of marriage migrant women? Research Question 2: What are the characteristics of distinction-making toward marriage migrant women and among marriage migrant women and how is the distinction-making perpetuated? These questions can be refined using the analysis framework shown in Figure 1.

In order to answer the research questions, current study attempted to grasp the voices of marriage migrant women and understand the contexts and meanings of their voices for an in-depth analysis through qualitative research method that advocates the “bottom-up” approach (Basu & Dutta, 2007; Dutta, 2006; Heide & Falkheimer, 2009). The data collection was carried out through the

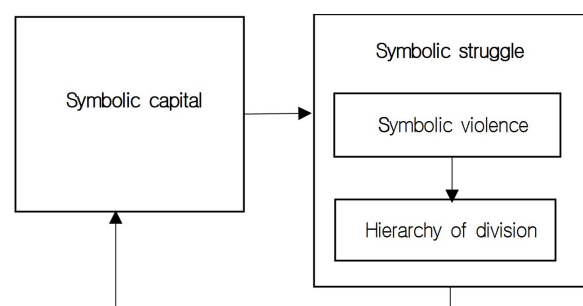


Figure 1. Analytical framework for marriage migrant women's symbolic capital and struggle

1) In spite of the different characteristics in each society, there is a mechanism and pathway for promoting or fixing class reproduction in each society. This is the key point and implication in Bourdieu's theory.

participant observation and in-depth interviews. The researchers tried to construct a 'rapport' with the migrant women by taking part in the meetings and events together. Starting with the narrators who participated in the programs, the researchers recruited more participants through snowball sampling method. Thus, there might exist limitations of selecting participants.

Before the interview, the researchers explained the purpose of the research and created an atmosphere to communicate frankly. We conducted interviews and observations from September in 2013 to February in 2014, transcribed the audiotaped records with the consent of the participants and recorded interesting points found in the interview and observation process. The general characteristics of information providers are shown in Table 1. A total of 16 people were the participants, among which four are ethnic Korean in China, two Han Chinese, six Vietnamese, one the Filipino, one Japanese, one Mongolian, and one Uzbekistan. The residence of the participants comprises Seoul, Gyeonggi, and a rural

area(Seochun in Chungnam Province), and some personal information was not specified here for their privacy.

III. Hierarchy in Marriage Migrant Women's Symbolic Capital

1. Language

The more a woman is proficient in Korean, the more chances she will gain to live a successful life in Korean society. Therefore, it is the easiest for the ethnic Korean-Chinese to take the advantageous position in Korea due to their language ability. Although they also have certain degree of difficulties due to the subtle differences in the language use such as vocabularies and pronunciation between the Korean languages they learned in China and the one actually used in Korea, those difficulties are not critically influencing on their life. In addition, they regarded their being able to speak in Korean as well as Chinese as their asset. What was interesting was that those who thought of their identity

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of the participants

participant	entry year	country of origin	age	education level	education level of the spouse	marriage path
A	1996	China	44	middle school	high school	acquaintance's introduction
B	1999	Japan	43	junior college	high school	the Unification Church
C	2003	the Philippines	37	college	high school	marriage broker
D	2004	China	33	high school	high school	relative's introduction
E	2006	China	32	middle school	high school	marriage broker
F	2007	Vietnam	46	high school	high school	acquaintance's introduction
G	2008	Mongol	27	college dropout	college	relative's introduction
H	2009	Uzbekistan	29	high school	college	marriage broker
I	2010	China	33	college	college	friend's introduction
J	2010	Vietnam	32	college	college	date
K	2010	Vietnam	25	high school	high school	friend's introduction
L	2011	Vietnam	22	middle school	high school	friend's introduction
M	2012	China	27	high school	college	marriage based on love
N	2012	Vietnam	24	high school	high school	marriage broker
O	2012	Vietnam	22	high school	college	marriage broker
P	2013	China	32	high school	college	relative's introduction

Note: All the participants were treated anonymously.

as Chinese, tried to use Chinese rather than Korean in their daily lives; on the other hand, those who stressed their Korean identity replied that they almost forgot Chinese after their immigration to Korea, thinking about Chinese as their foreign language. They did not consider using Chinese in their future plan in Korea.

In the case of a Han Chinese who does not have the anxieties of how to accept Chinese, Chinese is the language resource to use as her native language when she is given any opportunity to use it. For instance, Dung(D in table 1)²⁾, a Han Chinese, was divorced and has suffered from a great deal of mental and economic difficulties, living with her son. Currently, she works as an interpreter and translator at a Multicultural Family Support Center. However, her monthly income is about 800,000 Korean won per month, with which it is hard for her to save for the future while paying monthly income, living expenses, and child support expenses. However, it was the Chinese class that made it possible for her to bring up her child with self-esteem, which she gained as the second job. Currently, she earns from 400,000 to 500,000 in Korean won through the Chinese tutoring, not wanting to find more students as she wishes to spend time with her child as much as possible. Therefore, the supplementary income coming from the Chinese tutoring can be increased depending on the circumstances. Furthermore, as she is currently majoring in Chinese at the Open University in Korea, she has the hope that she can become a professional lecturer who teaches Chinese once she earns her college degree. Therefore, it can be argued through Dung's case that she could acquire cultural capital through college degree, which was enabled by her language as the weapon, and that based on that, she can dream of a future through the accumulation of economic capital.

The impact of language resource as the symbolic capital can be seen in Japanese as well. The influence of Japanese comes from Japan's reputation as the "second greatest economy" in the world, but it is still a viable resource. While the rise of the power of Chinese is closely related to the economic growth of China, the impact of Japanese language is closely associated with the influence of the Japanese cultural industry such as comics, game, and animation that attracts the younger generation. Familiarity with the Japanese culture of the younger generation sometimes surpasses political and social conflicts between the two countries. Japanese migrant Sumire(B, 43) also mentions that she enjoyed the advantage as a welcomed Japanese lecturer.

In addition to Chinese and Japanese, there are also some migrant women who establish their positions in Korea with the power of 'English' as their weapon. Most of them are from the Philippines. Kim(2009), who investigated on the Philippine migrant women's self-help community, once argued that English is a resource like 'jewelry' for them. Rosemary from the Philippines also emphasized this point several times. Even though she graduated from a university in the Philippines, her academic ability was not acknowledged in Korea, limiting her choice. However, English was her only weapon that helped her gain more opportunities in Korea in this situation.

But not all Filipino women who immigrated to Korea are fluent in English. They also have varying levels of English proficiency, depending on whether they have easy access to English resources or not. Furthermore, the excellence of English language skills does not lead to their stable settlement in Korean society. Their being boast of their English proficiency sometimes was frowned at by other migrant women as well as indigenous Korean

2) The Names of participants used in this paper are pseudonyms.

women.

Also, as their English pronunciation demonstrates a lot of accent, far away from the so-called American pronunciation, which has been regarded as the most ideal in Korea, they have been sometimes requested to correct their pronunciation. Thus, even Filipino women who speak English fluently differ in their acquiring social capital depending on the hierarchy, which is symbolized by the pronunciation in Korea, leading to the creation of the gap between the groups. Even though they are from the same Philippines, the division of the stratum is taking place in the community because of the language English(Kim, 2009).

In short, arguably, except above mentioned four languages, including Korean, English, Japanese, and Chinese, seldom can other languages exert their power in Korean society. The reason why only four languages can have actual power in Korea is attributed to the difference in the economic power of the four countries where each language used as the native language, respectively. Another aspect to be noted is that different from the Filipino community where English plays a critical role in their rise of social position, in case of Japanese and Chinese, their language itself is not the absolute factor in the stratification among themselves. It is because while English fluency can serve as the significant symbolic capital in Korean society, the economic status of the Philippines is not considered as much high as that of Korea, the power of two symbolic capitals collides into each other. Therefore, it becomes paradoxical in that while the economic status of the country of origin can be overcome with the symbolic capital of English, it cannot reach the status of English native speakers of the western countries.

2. Skin color

Skin color is a feature that can be identified more easily than any other characteristics, and serves as the most likely factor that distinguishes one as the Other. Therefore, women from China and Japan are relatively free from this othering mechanism. In fact, among the interviewed women from China and Japan, there was no mention of the Korean perspective on their appearance, neither was there any mention on their appearance from the people from Japan. But in case of the ethnic Korean-Chinese people, they mentioned that they were mostly regarded as native Korean at first, but upon conversing with them, Korean people viewed them with just a little surprised look. Some ethnic Korean women mentioned that they were misunderstood as the person with strong character due to their strong accent in contrast to the soft tone of Korean women; however, instead of their appearance or the way they speak, what was most serious prejudice or discrimination they considered was that Korean people tend to perceive China as one economically underdeveloped country.

This is also the case for Vietnamese women who have a similar appearance and skin color to those of common Koreans. Among Vietnamese migrant women, there are two different groups of women who are almost similar to Korean people and those who differ from Koreans very much in their outward appearance. Zun Qi(L, 22) and Lin Jin(N, 24) who correspond to the former, were not disturbed by the questions about the gaze of the Korean people, but in the case of the latter group women, while walking down the street to the interview place with the researcher or walking into the cafe, they showed a very sensitive reaction to the people's gaze.

In other words, a woman with a deep skin color receives unnecessary attention due to the social functioning of the racial habitus. Racial differences are

directly distinguished by the naked eyes, and they make a direct distinction that 'you and me are different'. This discrimination, arises from the associated images of 'dark skin color' which is socially, repetitively reproduced and internalized. And it is the various media in the era of consumer capitalism that encourage this automated awareness. The media exaggerate the dramatic and tragic nature of the events and infiltrate people's minds with 'real effects'(Bourdieu, 1998).

This penetration effect is difficult to eradicate because the direct racism in the past is spreading more and more cleverly in our everyday life(Shin, 2009). If the past racism has been directly expressed through the 'strict separation of races in real life', it can be contended that current racism is being diffused and reproduced in a more subtle way. Sometimes, therefore, even a racist with the act of racist speech does not recognize that his or her speech contains discrimination and prejudice, and it is difficult for the discriminated party to judge whether this is a racist speech or not. Borrowing Bourdieu's expression, it is a symbolic violence in tacit consent,³⁾ because people who exercise and those who suffer are not aware of it each other.

Therefore, these racial habitus sometimes leads to the preference for the country of origin of the migrant women. People would prefer to marry a woman with the western-looking appearance for their second generation,

while at the same time preferring a woman who will not be discriminated in their lives in the immigrated country because of their having a common Korean woman image(Kim, 2012).⁴⁾

As such, the appearance of a beautiful white woman is a symbolic capital that can counteract the prominence of a person's appearance and offset the economic level of the other country. The appearance of the white people is usually connected to the developed countries such as the United States and Europe, and their gaze in this case is close to longing or favorable curiosity. Both darker skin color and lighter skin color than that of normal Koreans are enough to attract others' gaze, but the gaze toward them is not the same. Therefore, the reaction to the gaze is also different. The contrast between Rosemary(C, 37) from the Philippines and Chevillma(G, 27) from Mongol in their reaction to other people's gaze show such a typical example. G, who had a different appearance(almost white skin and light brown hair) from the typical Mongolian one, mentioned that she wishes Korean people not to look at her, but again with loud laugh that she would be frustrated if they do not show her their interest like that. In this case, however, it is a reaction that may come out because of having a "bright" skin color, although it is distinguished externally, it is not easy for Rosemary with such a dark skin tone to disregard such a gaze as her dark skin indicates that she is from a poor country, which is

3) As a simple example, they are often rendered in poor or violent form in various media, such as past and present, literature, film, painting, magazines, articles, and news. Sometimes, even works made for the purpose of raising social awareness by drawing actual social images rather than beautified ones sometimes highlight their negative and dark images. So even though one knows that s/he should not judge someone with his/her skin color, it is not easy to reject huge images that are repeatedly engraved through numerous media. The moral reason that it should not be is to disturb the automated recognition mechanism.

4) The story of a man married to a Vietnamese woman through a marriage broker shows the hierarchical racism nakedly, which puts the white in the first place. "Since the government does not seem interested, the private businessmen go to Vietnam, Thailand, the Philippines, Cambodia and Mongolia to make a multicultural family by marriage brokerage. The 2nd generation are mixed-blooded, but they are still physically small and the seeds are not improving. If the Korean government gave way to the good seeds to enable the private businessmen to activate the marriage brokerage, our country would have been better able to stand in the advanced countries of the world sooner (physically) ... Then the second generation gets better ... That way we will be ahead of the competition, ... Women from Russia, for example, are very beautiful, even from women's perspectives. But women from Thailand, the Philippines and Malaysia, the outlines are revealed. The outline of a mixed race. The second generation are worried about it a lot" (Kim, 2012: 67).

associated with the social stigma that people from that country are 'inferior to Korean people'. Even if it is not directly expressed in words, people's gaze distinguishes them from native Koreans. The public recognition of the generalized other is as important as the recognition of the significant other. Therefore, it can be argued that 'public privacy' of the migrant women are infringed because of their differences in appearance and gestures(Choi, 2013).

3. Marriage path

Marriage through marriage brokers still accounts for a high percentage among the various routes. Although the international marriage through the introduction of family or friends has been increased, it is still difficult to grasp the paths of marriage considering that many international marriages are arranged through the acquaintances and relatives without the registration process. The general image about international marriage brokers in Korea is negative, and marriage migrant women themselves also share the same perception about them. This attitude was shown in their responses that if they are married through the brokers, they seem to show a cautious response; on the other hand, if they married through love relationship, they tend to stress the fact that they married through a romantic love. The following illustrates this aspect from an interview with an ethnic Korean-Chinese:

I got married through romantic love. I married because of love. But once a woman marries an international spouse, it is because the man is handicapped or too old, or too poor. (...) Most ethnic Korean-Chinese marry through romantic love relationship. But people do not know about the fact. (M, 27, ethnic Korean-Chinese)

As the above participant's comments indicate,

marriage through marriage brokers is also a social stigma for migrant women's spouses. A man who uses a marriage broker gives him an image of the "incompetent man" or "patriarchal violent husband" as a tag. This is a point made not only by Koreans, but also by marriage migrant women themselves. In this case, at the heart of this point there is both 'anti-social stigmatization against the spouses' and 'anti-patriarchy against unqualified Korean males.' In particular, migrant women who are married with love show their antagonism by emphasizing their 'ability' to live their married life (from the interview with Huong(J, 32), from Vietnam). The ability here refers to ability in many areas, primarily the economic ability, and further includes the husband's personality through the respect for his wife and emotional intimacy that brings out romance in their relationship.

As marriage migrant women are not homogeneous, so are Korean male spouses never homogeneous. Nevertheless, it is not easy to erase habitually associated images. As the men who married through marriage brokers are often marginalized in Korean society, they are also experiencing "in some ways inequalities in hierarchical and social reproduction system like migrant women"(Yoon, 2005: 331). However, these difficulties are not easily acknowledged. Therefore, spouses also attempt to dilute the negative images of the past to remove the negative images incurred by 'purchased marriage' that has accompanied the marriage brokers through "arming themselves with confidence" or "white lie on the marriage path", or "acquisition of various capitals."

Arguably, due to the prevalence of the international marriage brokerage with its trafficking trait, it is highly likely for the international couples to be deprived of the possibilities to create their own marriage life based on love relationship. Furthermore, even though the male

spouse chooses international marriage for the purpose of continuing the paternal bloodline, the possibility for him to build up an equal relationship with his wife under certain circumstances with their efforts to make it, can be almost blocked. Likewise, the economic activities and intimacy between spouses can be prohibited, sometimes, by the spouses themselves or other times, by outsiders' suspicious stereotyping eyes. While romantic love and economic behavior coexist in everyday life and people continue to mix financial transactions with intimate social relationships(Zelizer, 2009), the symbolism in the 'international marriage broker' makes it seem as if the coexistence of these two is not possible. Therefore, marriage through 'international marriage broker' in Korean society still means 'brides sold for money'.

4. Economic status of the migrant woman's home country

The economic status of the country of origin is, in a sense, the most important symbolic capital. This is because there is an economic position in which language, appearance, and marriage paths function as symbolic capital. In Korea, English, Japanese, and Chinese can be used as language capital, while other languages are merely means for basic interpretation. The reason why the above three languages are influential is closely tied to their socio-economic power. Dark skin color also oftentimes leads to social discrimination by associating it with the idea of a nation of an economically disadvantaged. The discrimination associated with the marriage path also reflects the structural reality that caused the international marriage brought about by the economic differences between countries due to globalization. Therefore, it can be argued that economic status of a country serves a powerful symbolic capital that encompasses language, skin color, and marriage path, and

that the symbolic boundary decided by the economic status strengthens the hierarchical relationship given to various characteristics associated with economic gaps.

Under the definition of the Multicultural Families Support Act, a 'marriage immigrant' refers to a foreigner residing in Korea, who has been married to a Korean citizen or has a marital relationship (2 of Article 2). Marriage immigrants who are mainly in Korea are marriage migrant women, who at the same time, are automatically deemed as the foreign women who are married to a Korean man and are from an economically poor country. Those whose appearance are similar to native Koreans, including ethnic Korean-Chinese are not free from the distinction caused by this hierarchy determined by the economic status. The comments below demonstrates the above-mentioned situation:

People from China are all poor. As people have this kind of perspective, they tend to ignore us as we are from China despite our being the ethnic Korean-Chinese. From our appearance, people all think of us as Korean women. But once we tell them that we are from China, their attitude suddenly changes. (M, 27, ethnic Korean-Chinese)

Although in case of Japanese, Japan is considered to be exceptional, there are other barriers to Japan. It was the bad perception that Korean people hold on the Unification Church. During the fifteen years of residence in Korea, the only wall Ms. Sumire has felt was her religion as the believer of the Unification Church. She pointed out that she did not feel the discrimination directly, but felt the wall that seemed to be invisible and finally converted into Christianity three years ago and currently goes to church. However, Ms. Sumire did not have any desire to acquire Korean nationality, and did not

experience any inconvenience in real life. When the researcher asked if she had ever felt an antagonistic gaze or discrimination when the anti-Japanese sentiment in Korea was arising, she mentioned that she did not have any such experience. It can be assumed that as Japanese comics and animations became popular in Korea, many Koreans, particularly, the younger generation, were accustomed to Japanese culture, there seems to have little conflict, which implies a generation gap in the attitude towards Japanese. However, the stories of Vietnamese women who had been living in Korea no more than two years, having failed in the test for the naturalization to acquire Korean nationality many times due to their poor Korean proficiency were in contrast to Ms. Sumire's. For them, Korean nationality meant a protection and a path to claim rights as citizens to plan a stable life in Korea.

IV. Aspects in Distinction-Making

1. Distinction from them: 'symbolic violence' in homogenization

In Korean society, marriage migrant women are considered a homogeneous group. The most universal and common perception about them is 'a foreign woman who migrated from an economically poorer country and married a Korean rural bachelor with the hope for a more affluent life'. However, in the title of a marriage migrant woman who refers to a woman who has migrated to Korea with the main purpose of marriage, white women from an advanced country are not included, different from the actual definition of the word. Exceptionally, women from Japan are included here because in the case of Japanese women's marriage to Korean men, the common dynamics between the international economic status and gender relation was reversed in the marriage path through the Unification Church, through which a large scale

international marriage was done.

In fact, the statistical result that a large number of marriage migrant women live in urban areas rather than in rural areas also does not discolor the symbolic image of a 'woman married to a rural bachelor'. Moreover, even if they live in urban areas, they cannot escape from the stereotypical view of a woman married to a Korean man marginalized in the marriage market. This gaze makes migrant women emphasize that they are not married due to the financial difficulty, but married because of love as an excuse. Below are the comments made by the interviewees, which demonstrate people's common perception on the marriage migrant women coupled with their home country.

At first they looked at me like I came from China with disrespect. They were talking behind my back, not in front of me. It was like how poor she was, she came here because of that sort of talk... You know what? If you go where I came from. I've been living better than here. My dad is a doctor in a private clinic and I used to go to my dad's clinic, helping with putting on an IV for the patients there. (...) You never know how precious a daughter I was to my father. (A, 44, ethnic Korean-Chinese)

I married because he begged me he would make me happy even if he did not have money. My parents did not even know about international marriage. (J, 32, Vietnamese)

When I say, "I came from China", they are still saying, "Oh, then you are..." Then there are some people who do not look at us with favorable attitude. They say with sarcasm. (...) Then, I ask them, "do Koreans live well?" (D, 33, ethnic

Korean-Chinese)

We had a good love marriage, but Korean people have this view that “you got married to a girl from China because you have some problems.” That makes us very stressed. (M, 27, ethnic Korean-Chinese)

Some people send money once a month, don't they? But we don't do that. All we need to is to live well and our parents do not want the money, either. My country is one of the wealthy countries. I did not marry because of money. (H, 29, Uzbekistan)

As such, in actuality, they are the individuals with a wide variety of backgrounds, different cultural characteristics, motivations, and lifestyles, but they are not free from the gaze that groups them as a homogeneous group, although there may be differences in its degree. The 'distinction-making' for marriage migrant women in Korean society appears to be shaped by putting them in a stereotypical perception. This perception on one social group was created by the misconception about the hierarchical relationship in symbolic capital, and thus, it can be claimed that the fixed gaze for marriage migrant women can be understood as the symbolic violence by socially injected awareness.

2. Distinction between them: The fixation of hierarchy of 'division'

The distinction among marriage migrant women is based on the 'symbolic capital' recognized in Korean society, but the distinction between them is not usually visible. When it is recognized, it is with subtleness through a program or festival held at the Multicultural Family Support Center. And paradoxically, all the women who expressed it directly to the researcher about the

subtle boundary among migrant women with the hope for a sympathetic reaction from the researcher were all from China, particularly ethnic Korean-Chinese women. Min-Seo(A, 44) and Jung-Ae(I, 33) point out the presence of boundary among marriage migrant women through their behaviors and gestures.

They don't even ask us to have a seat who and who, etc. Vietnamese women sit around only with themselves together. Japanese women are seated gathering together. The Filipinos sit together. Even sitting together, when the teacher tells us that the class will begin, and then they sit around together again. (..)People from Vietnam, the Philippines, and Japan do not exchange information one another. People from those countries seem to have too much cautions about each other. You know, like the wariness. (I, 33, ethnic Korean-Chinese)

You have seen it, haven't you? They play together. Only with the people from their own country. They use their own native language. They get along with each other, talking together. (A, 44, ethnic Korean-Chinese)

Hearing of the testimony on 'the boundary among marriage migrant women' from those to whom it is relatively easy to get along with indigenous Koreans may indirectly show the hierarchy among migrant women. It is possible that as they do not have any barrier in language use, they may lack understanding of the feelings of other migrant women who have difficulties in communicating in Korean. To put this differently, in fact, the act of drawing the boundaries as they say may be due to their own voluntary choice because they do not want to spend an awkward time relying on their poor and

uncomfortable language, rather than due to the wariness for other groups of migrant women.

However, the boundary making among migrant women can be of significance in that it is not simply making distance between unfamiliar people. Migrant women, who have many 'symbolic capitals' recognized in Korean society, adapt so well to Korean society that they express their feelings of superiority with no moderation. For instance, even sometimes Koreans do not boast of themselves as an 'educated person' and an 'educated citizen', but some marriage migrant women are. In this case, it can be argued that they show more discriminatory attitude against other marriage migrant women than Koreans do. Jung-Ae's comments in the following well demonstrate how distinction-making among marriage migrant women is practiced through people's perception on other groups of women in relation to their home country.

The first problem with multiculturalism is that food is not fitting to me at first. And there are cultural differences. Because everything goes according to one's own country customs. But Filipinos do not have bloody fools. They scream in English whether people are around or not. That's what makes people irritated. *They can't realize that because they are from the underdeveloped countries.* But in Korea, when you see the ladies, they change the ring tone into vibration everywhere and quietly say hello. When I went to the market last time, those Filipina moms were very loud with talking and screaming in the distance. If people live in a good, civilized country, they keep manners. You have to talk quietly in the public place, when taking the subway. *But people from the underdeveloped countries do not know that.* And then there's the difference between foods and cultures.

And the children from the underdeveloped countries should not dump garbage. But they do. You know that. But people in Korea and Japan do not as they are civilized countries. Japan is cleaner. *But you see, the kids from the underdeveloped countries are different.* They play differently. They do not know such things. (...) *They act to be ignored.* I think they should follow the basic manners. (A, 44, ethnic Korean-Chinese, emphasis by the researcher)

Jung-Ae's remarks suggest the severity of the discrimination mechanism that is internalized and reproduced in that it shows the typical expression used by the Korean people when talking about migrant women. Jung-Ae seeks to divide herself from the 'inferior ones' by generalizing a few cases to the collective general characteristics and justifying discrimination on the basis of it. To her, Korea is a proud, developed country that is not as good as Japan, but she herself is a Korean ethnic Korean whose appearance and language are the same. Although she is "multicultural family member anyway despite her ability to speak Korean well", many of his children, who are popular with their friends, are no different from ordinary Koreans in appearance. Her husband is sincere and nice and she is always welcomed to go out wherever she goes. It can be viewed that she is a member in this society who is grouped in the multicultural family member or is not included.

The occurrence of this phenomenon can be explained by the fact that because the subject who has been discriminated by social stigmatization classifies his/her stigmatization and re-grades it, taking the same attitude toward the lower class people (e.g. migrants from undeveloped countries argued in Christie, 1998), which the mainstream society has taken toward them. Those who are socially stigmatized may have this dual

Table 2. Results of analysis

Classification	Components or aspects	Key factors & findings	Core phenomenon
Symbolic capital	language	- more popular language (e.g. English, Japanese, Chinese)	Reinforcing symbolic capital
	skin color	- brighter or Korean-looking skin	
	marriage path	- not through marriage broker	
	economic status of home country	- higher economic power of home country	
Symbolic struggle	symbolic violence	- distinction from them	Distinction-making
	hierarchy of division	- distinction between them	

conscious, and this ambivalent conscious appears in a form that justifies self-discrimination against them.⁵⁾ That is, “those who have experienced upward mobilization in the society contribute to the reproduction of this social discrimination pattern by moralizing the function of stigmatization”(Goffman, 1963: recited in Chung, 1999: 162). In this way, the subject who has been discriminated continues another ‘distinction-making’ by internalizing the discriminative consciousness that the mainstream society took toward them.

The results and findings of this qualitative study are summarized in Table 2.

V. Conclusion

Yuval-Davis(2012) argued that multiculturalism is particularly harmful to women. To be specific, multiculturalism accepts a diverse group of people with different power and class relationships within a community as a minority group, which further secures discrimination and subordination within them(Yuval-Davis, 2012). It does not suggest that 'multiculturalism' itself is wrong, but it means that society and groups that promote it can easily use multiculturalism as a means to cover internal malicious, hierarchical, and discriminatory structures. As a result, the result of looking at marriage migrant women

with various backgrounds from the viewpoint of warmth and victimizing feminist perspectives weakened internal cohesion; instead, it strengthened the complex hierarchy among them.

The marriage migrant women are divided into those who can easily settle down in Korean society due to their personal characteristics and those who have to fight against the discriminative gaze in their everyday routines. This is because there exist more favorable characteristics to form a meaningful network in Korean society. These characteristics are some of the various identity components that make up the person, but the symbolism that comes from these characteristics is that the individuality is eventually transformed or distorted in the structure irrespective of its intention and is divided into 'superiority' and 'inferiority', which each individual internalizes in his/her perception. Bourdieu called this 'symbolic capital', which according to him, is also responsible for justifying the relationship established by economic capital and cultural capital.

The discriminatory view that Koreans take toward migrant women is a kind of symbolic violence that distinguishes the characteristics of migrant women from superior and inferior. In other words, Koreans look at marriage migrant women in terms of 'homogeneity', by which standard they become the Other. The subconscious

5) Of course, in the case of the ethnic Korean-Chinese group, there are many cases in which the intention would be read that they want to be accepted as the Korean rather than a foreigner.

distinction-making that Koreans have can be reinforced by the misconception. However, the impact of misconception exerts its power beyond indigenous Koreans; it sometimes serves as the symbolic power, becoming a criterion when migrant women 'make distinction' among themselves.

Moreover, the discriminatory hierarchy among marriage migrant women weakens the solidarity among the minorities, leading them not to mobilize toward other classes, and not to raise fundamental questions about their status. For indigenous Koreans, who view marriage migrant women as a homogeneous group, marriage migrant women are "brides who married Korean bachelors migrated from poor countries." Therefore, if the transformation of thinking that evaluates everything with economic power takes place, reflections and changes in our notion about them can be made. In other words, for Koreans who can acknowledge the attitude toward them problematic, which country they are from does not make any difference. However, those marriage migrant women who internalized the hierarchical distinction making practices based on economic capability, the economic power still becomes an important factor in evaluating another migrant woman. In this case, they are more likely to choose to exclude themselves from the persistent image people have towards them rather than taking reflective attitude constantly on the discriminatory gaze in Korean society.

Above all, what can be problematic about the distinction-making among marriage migrant women is that there is a sense of 'materialism' in Korean society that deepens 'GDP racism' at the bottom of that practice. In fact, the uniformed standard of economic power is not limited to distinguishing between marriage migrant women, but is extended toward all of us in this society that pushes all members in society into the infinite

competition, making it difficult for us make social bonds one another.

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결혼이주여성의 상징자본과 구별짓기에 관한 질적연구

국문초록 한국사회에서 결혼이주여성이 주요 학문적 논의 대상이 된 지 20년 이상의 시간이 흘렀다. 다문화라는 용어 자체에 대한 비판에도 불구하고 이들은 한국에서 여전히 다문화의 대표 상징이자 대표 집단이다. 본 연구에서는 결혼이주여성의 개인적인 특성을 ‘개별성’이 아니라 ‘상징성’의 관점에서 접근하여 살펴봄으로써 이러한 상징자본이 위계화 되어 있음을 보여주하고자 하였다. 이를 위해 본 연구에서는 아시아 출신의 결혼이주여성 16명에 대한 심층면접조사 결과를 분석하였다. 분석결과, 결혼이주여성의 상징자본은 크게 언어, 피부색, 결혼경로, 출신국의 경제적 위상으로 구분할 수 있었으며, 이 중 출신국의 경제적 위상은 가장 강력한 ‘상징자본’으로 작용하였다. 나아가 이러한 서열화 된 상징자본은 각각 ‘동질화의 상징폭력’과 ‘구분화의 위계고착’이라는 구별짓기를 발생시켰다. 이러한 결과는 결혼이주여성에 대한 편견과 차별이 ‘그들을 향한’ 구별짓기에 의해 조장되고 있음은 물론, 동시에 ‘그들 사이의’ 구별짓기가 함께 행해지면서, 한국사회에서의 복합적인 차별구조를 증폭시키고 있음을 보여주는 것이라 할 수 있다.

주제어 : 결혼이주여성, 상징자본, 상징폭력, 구별짓기, 차별

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