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Exploring Lived Citizenship of Korean Immigrant Women in Sweden

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Abstract

The thesis is a study of citizenship as lived experience. The study is devoted to "from below" understanding of lived citizenship of immigrant women. Particularly, this research aims to explore how immigrant women get included in their host society through both theoretical framework and empirical case of Korean women in Sweden. In the theoretical part, I shed light on how citizenship theory explains inclusion and exclusion of immigrant women. I also reformulate citizenship from a feminist perspective as well as theorize relevant analytical concepts, such as gender, intersectionality and agency. In the empirical section, I illustrate how immigrant women act to be included in the host society. With regards to their lived citizenship, I discuss paid work in the public sphere that can be one of the most crucial elements for their substantive citizenship. It is followed by the discussion of unpaid work in the private sphere that has often been overlooked in "malestream" citizenship analysis. I also analyze how immigrant women construct and perform their cultural identity. It is shown that immigrant women´s individual agency, such as their capacity to shape socioeconomic positions and cultural identities, is mediated with social context in Sweden.

Key words: citizenship, lived experience, immigrant women, paid and unpaid work, cultural identity
Words: 19,241

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1. Introduction

With the increased number of immigrants, immigration has become one of the biggest social issues in Europe. Yet, immigrants have generally been viewed as asexual and feminist groups have often exclusively paid attention to women conceptualized as belonging to the nation, rather than migrant women. Even though nowadays migrant women receive more attention from journalists, scholars, politicians, and activists in European societies, they are often represented as "different" (Mulinari, 2009: 167). Particularly, female migrants married to European partners, like women from ethnic minorities or non-Western countries, have often been viewed as either victimized or monolithic. For instance, "Asian brides" married to Western men have often been generalized as either "victimized", "passive" or "traditional" brides, like money-motivated victims, which depicts their migration and settlement purely in negative terms (Nakamatsu, 2003: 182). These negative pictures and stereotypes of transnational marriage migration do not allow the view of these women as active female migrants (Kofman 1999 in Nakamatsu, 2003: 181). Their lived experience in the process of shaping their positions and identities has been neglected. It is problematic to categorize and homogenize migrant women as passive or victimized migrants who are helplessly located in their new country, rather than illustrate their sophisticated lived experience. This thesis will therefore illuminate how migrant women, as active participants, are included in a host society by invoking theoretical and empirical focus. In the empirical part, I will illustrate how they go about being included in the host country by exploring their lived experience, rather than freeze their complicated realities. In the theoretical part, I will analyze how citizenship theory explains inclusion and exclusion of immigrant women. Especially, in terms of the empirical section, the paper focuses on their participation in socioeconomic and cultural dimensions of the host country.

In particular, I will focus on the lived experience of South Korean women living with Swedish partners.[1]Yet, I do not argue that South Korean women represent all of the immigrant women residing in Sweden. But, instead, I regard the experiences of South Korean women as one of relevant cases, even though there is a relatively small number of South Korean immigrant

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[1]As noted above, the reason I have chosen (transnational) marriage migrants is stereotypes and biases against female marriage

women who have married Swedish men.[2] I have chosen South Korean women in Sweden for my research for several reasons. First of all, South Korea is my homeland, so I am very passionate about the well-being of its people. Especially, I want to illustrate the lived experience of South Korean marriage migrant women which has been absent in European and Swedish literature. In addition, knowing the native language of Korea makes it possible to go into the field and interview South Korean immigrant women, and hence, explore their complicated realities. At the same time, Sweden is the country where I am currently living, so I have a lot of opportunities for research. Moreover, Sweden is one of the most important countries, in terms of analyzing gender and migration. Compared to other European countries, Sweden has been referred to not only as a "women-friendly" country, but also an "immigrant-friendly" society. This makes me wonder how immigrant women actually live in Sweden. For these reasons, I have chosen South Korean women in Sweden for my research.

1.1 Research Question and Structure of the Thesis

 As noted above, *the principle purpose of this research is to find out how immigrant women get included in the host society by invoking relevant theoretical discussion as well as the empirical case of South Korean immigrant women in Sweden*. In terms of the research purpose, *my theoretical question is about how citizenship theory explains inclusion and exclusion of immigrant women.* At the same time*, my empirical question is about how they act to get included in the host country.* In particular, based on the lived experience of South Korean female migrants, this article will answer the following empirical question: How do Korean immigrant women shape their socioeconomic positions and construct cultural identities in Sweden?

My paper is largely composed of three kinds of sections. In the first section, I deal with theoretical discussion. As mentioned above, I explore how citizenship theory explains inclusion and exclusion of immigrant woman from a feminist perspective. Citizenship is not simply about whether one has national passport or not. Apart from the legal aspect of citizenship, immigrants´ participation in socioeconomic and cultural dimensions of the host country could be also

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[2] According to Inge Göransson (Population Statistics Unit officer in Population and Welfare Department Statistics Sweden), there were 225 South Korean Immigrant women living with Swedish partners in 2010. This Statistics does not include the number of South Korean adopted women who got married to Swedish men.

understood as citizenship in the broader sense (Tastsoglou & Dobrowolsky, 2006: 22). In the theoretical part, relevant analytical concepts, like gender, intersectionality and agency are also theorized. In the second section, I discuss my research method and feminist methodological considerations. In the third section, I analyze empirical data through which I illuminate their lived experience, which makes me able to take into account how they act to get included to the host society.

2. Theoretical Discussion

People experience citizenship differently depending on various factors, like gender, race, class, sexuality and so on. In this chapter, as mentioned above, I provide the theoretical and analytical discussion of my research, considering how citizenship theory explains inclusion and exclusion of immigrant women and dealing with relevant analytical concepts, like gender, intersectionality and agency.

2.1 Previous Research

In this part of the thesis I present a brief overview of the existing literatures which are connected to the topic of my theory. I do not analyze the entire amount of literature regarding citizenship, but rather limit myself to research which I found useful and relevant for my own theory topic.

Castles and Davidson (2000) provides some insights, in terms of relations between migration and citizenship. In particular, they provide a comprehensive picture of citizenship rights. They illustrate different sets of rights that are related to the substance of modern citizenship and discuss the links between them. Marshall´s three kinds of citizenship is a starting point for their citizenship analysis. The first type of is civil rights. It includes freedom of expression. They focus on the relationship between racism and civil rights. When they deal with civil rights, they argue that racism can in itself be an obstacle on civil rights as it can decrease people´s opportunity to enjoy an equal participation in society (Castles & Davidson, 2000: 106). They also discuss political rights which include the right to vote and to stand for office at the various levels of government. They points out that many of ethnic minorities get a high

possibility of belong to social excluded group as the result of combination of class gap and racism, which results in their voice absent in parties and parliaments (Castles & Davidson, 2000: 109). They also talk about social rights which encompass the equality of opportunity (in education, the labor market and so on). As they admit, it is not easy to make a clear definition of social rights because it could entail a wide range of rights and positive freedom. In addition, they propose cultural rights for immigrant people. Cultural rights have been invisible from mainstream citizenship theories. In multi-cultural society, cultural right can be one of important citizenship rights. In addition to cultural rights, one of the most impressive points of their citizenship analysis is that they include gender rights. They argues that in order for immigrant to achieve full citizenship, it is important to go beyond Marshall´s triad of civil, political and social rights because oppression and exclusion are related to gender. Yet, they "simply" add gender rights to existing citizenship frame, although they emphasize the importantance of gender rights. It is thus necessary to take into account how citizenship can be reformulated within a gender perspective. At the same time, when they discuss women's citizenship, they do not take into account the private sphere. There is a need to recognize that women´s citizenship should be examined both in the public and private areas that are linked to one another.

Birte Siim (2009) analyzes dilemmas of citizenship from the Danish context. In particular, she concentrates on tensions between gender equality and cultural diversity in Denmark. In the name of gender equality, the Danish government regulates immigrant family. Danish family action, especially, denies migrant women´s arranged marriage because they are perceived as potential victims of their own culture and religion. Her research makes me start thinking about how the "women-friendly" citizenship can deal with women´s difference and diversity, rather than universalize or homogenize women´s identity and position.

2.2 Theorizing Gender and Intersetionality

Feminist can have "different ontological beliefs and so different theories" about meaning or nature of something, such as gender (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2010: 12). In terms of making sense of experience of immigrant women, how can I define and theorize gender? First of all,

gender[3] can be understood as (not "natural") naturalized division of women and men. Gender is related to power that historically makes the division seems "natural". In other words, gender should be understood not as "real" social differences between women and men (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 201). According to Dona Haraway (2003: 6) "there are no pre-constituted subjects". She argues that gender is always about the production of subjects, like men and women (2004: 328). According to her, it is no "natural matrix of unity" (Haraway, 2004: 16). In other words, Even though women are positioned as gendered members, gender cannot give "the basis for the belief in essential unity" because "there is nothing about being female that naturally binds women" (Haraway, 2004:14). If one essentializes women´s identities or categories, she or he would be also trapped in pitfalls of gendered power that naturalizes women's roles and attributes. This perspective helps my research not to naturalize women's category.

Judith Butler (2010:193) also asserts that "gender is created and essentialized through sustained social performances". This means that gender is not just social identity that people have. But rather, it is a sort of active process which can be continuously performed by people. Similarly, Daly and Rake point out that gender is social practice which is constructed and reconstructed by specific activities of people and social institution (2008: 37). That is, gender is performative (Butler, 2010). From this point of view, "gender is a verb, not a noun" (Haraway, 2004: 328) and hence we do gender, rather than we have gender.

It is also necessary to how gender is interrelated to other social categories. As Ramazanoglu & Holland point out, "any social investigation requires skilled strategies for recognizing the potential complexity of social categories" (2010: 112).[4] Even though women are oppressed as women in gendered society, it is important to recognize that not all women are positioned in the same way. Their identity is constructed at the "intersection of different social positions and, the relevance of which changes across time and space" (Scuzzarello, 2010: 27). Thus, a growing number of feminist scholars have been trying to examine social phenomena from intersectional perspective. For instance, Crenshaw (1991) examines violence against

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[3] Like gender, sex is also essentialized. The distinction between sex and gender is criticized for essentializing "biological difference". This is mainly because how we interpret our body and how we recognize biological difference would be also based on social perspective. According to Judith Butler (2010: 9), sex is as culturally constructed as gender; indeed, perhaps it was always gendered category.

[4] This perspective regard social category not as isolated from each other, but as mutually constituted by one another. But at the same time, this view should be also careful not to get an over-simplistic assumption that all inequalities are of the same order (Siim & Squires, 2008: 8).

"women of color"[5] by focusing on the relations of gender and race. In particular, she sheds light on "the various ways in which race and gender intersect in shaping structural, political and representational aspects of violence against women of color" (Crenshaw, 1991: 1244). Yet, Crenshaw is criticized for homogenizing black women and thus paying little attention to differences between them. As Nash (2008: 8) points out, "intersectionality´s reliance on black women as the basis for its claim to complex subjectivity" is problematic. This is because black women are treated as a "unitary and monolithic entity." Furthermore, Crensahw treats women of black as "trans-historical constants that mark all black women in similar ways" (Nash, 2008: 9). In other words, Crenshaw tends to not only consider race as fixed and trans-historical category, but also relate the meaning of race only with skin color. Even though ethnic and racial divisions are linked to "discourse of collective constructed around exclusionary/inclusionary boundaries" that divides people into "us" and "them" (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 201), this racial boundary is not based on fixed category. As McClintock (1995: 32) points out, the term, "race" was used in more flexible ways. Like gender, race is not naturally born, nor does it simply refer to biological meaning. "It is sometimes as synonymous with species, sometimes with culture, sometimes with nation, sometimes to denote biological ethnicity or sub-groups within national groupings." The meaning of racism can be thus different, according to specific social context. The conflicts of racism is often understood as a conflict between white and black or between white women and "women of color"….but in Germany, "these oppositional concepts make no sense because the majority of those belong to the minority does not identify itself as black or of color, but as migrants" (Rätehzel, 2001:26). It is therefore important to understand meanings of social categories not as fixed, but as flexible or varied, according to specific social contexts. It is pivotal to illuminate how interrelations between diverse social divisions can be either mutually reinforcing or contradictory, and how they can shift over time (Lister, 1997: 77). Intersectional approaches thus enable researchers to treat social categories as "articulating or intersecting together to produce specific effects" (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1996: 100) and hence, uncover "complex and intersecting ways to constitute" women's experience (Nash.2008: 13).

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[5] When I use the term "women of color" in my paper, I intentionally use the quotation marks because I do not think that it is politically correct. I think that the expression, "women of color" is related to whiteness-centered bias. The color, white is also one kind of various colors, but only "non-white" people have been called "people of color."

2.3 Citizenship Traditions

Citizenship could be defined as full membership in the community (Marshall, 1950 in Yuval-Davis, 2008: 160; Goul Andersen, 2005: 76). In this part, I explore two kinds of main citizenship traditions that lie behind current views of citizenship. One is the liberal tradition and the other is the civic republican model.

Firstly, the liberal tradition has been historically drawing more attention to individual's rights, rather than their obligation, compared to the civic republican approach. The liberal tradition that defines citizenship as a set of rights can date back to the seventeenth century in which political and civil rights were seen as important means (Lister, 1997: 13). According to the liberal model, individuals' freedom should be protected against any kind of illegitimate interference (Assiter, 1999: 41). Classical liberals place an emphasis on civil and political rights which can be crucial to the protection of individual freedom. Therefore, for them, civil and political rights, which are guarantee of the freedom and formal equality, are crucial for citizenship (Hobson & Lister, 2002: 25). In a bourgeois society, however, those who were able to enjoy these rights, like freedom and autonomy, were only those who have their own private property (Lister *et al*, 2007: 23). In modern societies, there have been two contemporary offshoots of the liberal tradition: neoliberalism on the one hand and social liberalism on the other hand. Neoliberalism is seen as reassertion of classical liberalism. Neo-liberalism interprets freedom in "negative terms as the absence of coercion and interference" so that the government's role is limited to the protection of citizen's negative freedom (Lister, 1997:16). Especially, neo-liberalism focuses on maximum freedom of the market economy and gives priority to civil rights, especially, the right to own property, over all other kinds of rights. Unlike neoliberalsim that claims a minimal state, social liberalism has widened the scope of rights to the social domain by recognizing how substantive inequalities make people less able to exercise "formal equality derived from civil and political rights alone" (Hobson & Lister, 2002: 25). T.H. Marshall broadly defines social rights as "the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society" (Lister, 1997: 16). Social rights are considered as necessary for a more positive concept of freedom. Social liberalism interprets

positive freedom as "the ability to participate in society as full citizens" (LIster, 1997: 16). This means that positive freedom is not simply reduced to the absence of constraints, but instead, it is related to the "availability of social and material conditions necessary for the achievement of purpose or plans" (Carol Gould in Lister, 1997: 16). Moreover, social rights can be seen as inseparable from civil and political rights. This is because without social rights, gross inequalities and discrimination can prohibit marginalized groups, who have less power and resource, from equally enjoying their civil and political status. In this respect, social rights can be closely linked to the promotion of efficient exercise of civil and political rights by disadvantaged groups (Lister, 1997: 16-17).

In addition to the liberal tradition, civic republicanism is also one of the most important and influential citizenship traditions. The civic republican model was originally from classical Greece. It was important for the ancient Athenians to perform their political obligation and civic virtue, mainly through their active participation in their self-government, even though women, slaves and foreigners were totally excluded from the political engagement and duties in the polis. Of course, it is hard for the ancient political model of Athenian city state to be applied to such a complicated and large modern societies. Nonetheless, the modern civic republican tradition has also regarded citizenship as "ongoing engagement in the formal political process" and then requires citizens to get actively involved in "governance of the community" (Lister, 1997: 25). Therefore, at the center of the republican concept of citizenship, there have been still "civic duty, the submission of individual interest to that of common good, the elevation of the public sphere in which citizen is constituted as political actor" (Lister, 1997: 23). This perspective requires citizens to join with others for the common good in the community (Assiter, 1999: 44). The republican tradition is therefore against individualism of the liberal citizenship model that reduces individual citizens as isolated and atomistic selves (Assiter, 1999: 44). For the civic republican citizenship, political practice is thus important in itself, in terms of the pursuit of "the public" and "common good" (Lister, 1997: 24). In addition to the focus on political participation, civic republicans have considered work obligation, especially engagement in paid work, as one of the most important citizenship obligation in modern welfare states. This is because the work obligation can be also seen as "one that unites all citizens in a contribution to the common good" (Lister *et al,* 2007: 20). Communitarianism is contemporary offshoot of the civil republican tradition. If liberalism can be related to the politics of rights, communitarianism can be linked to

the politics of the common good because the latter focuses on common values, identity and norm as an important issue in people's live as well as their duties towards each other as citizens (Sandel 1982 in Lister *et al*, 2007: 55).

2.4. Reformulating Citizenship from a Feminist Perspective

In order to make sense of women´s citizenship, it is necessary to move beyond false universalism of the two citizenship traditions in which citizens are seen as "a universalist cloak of the abstract, disembodied individuals" who are actually white men in Western society (Lister, 1997: 66). Feminist have criticized the "universalistic assumption of knowledge" for being partial and false because they are from the experiences of "only one sex" (Kofman *et al,* 2000: 27). Both two kinds of citizenship traditions are rooted in a gender-blind perspective, which does not take into account how women experience citizenship. The republican model does not account for gendered distribution of the time and other resources that can be necessary for performing duties and obligation as citizens (Lister, 1997: 32). In addition, this model, which subordinates the private sphere to the public good, ascribes strict gender roles for women as mothers and guardians of republican virtues (Lister *et al*, 2007: 26). The liberal tradition is also criticized for the fact that it has overlooked the gendered power relations or gendered domestic division of work, while it has considered the private spheres as "a space of personal freedom that must be protected against all governmental interference" (Lister *et al,* 2007: 26). Marshall has been also criticized for his gender-blind perspective, in spite of his celebrated exposition of tripartite citizenship rights, such as civil, political and social rights. His work was rooted in a "vision of equal rights for the working class" and white men in Britain (Siim & Squires, 2008: 2). He has been thus criticized for its "Anglo and Euro-centric bias" as well as "male bias" (Siim & Squires, 2008: 3). In terms of gendered exercise of and gendered access to citizenship rights, his theory does not give sufficient analysis. Furthermore, both of the two traditions are also based on the distinction between the public and private areas and hence tend to locate women's place in the private spheres, which functions to not only "exclude women from full citizenship in practice", but also defines them as those who "lack the male qualities and capacities necessary for citizenship in the public" (Lister *et al*, 2007: 11).

Equally importantly, in terms of moving beyond false universalism based on male

citizens, one should be careful not to be trapped in another false universalism which essentializes women´s category. In other words, taking into account women's citizenship should not be at the expense of respecting difference and diversity between them. This perspective is related to intersectionality that I mentioned earlier. It is important to formulate citizenship politics of difference and anti-essentialist framework, in order to avoid pitfalls of identity politics which run the risk of understanding identity as essentialized subjects. How can one talk about women's citizenship without understanding them as an undifferentiated category? Is it necessary to deconstruct women´s category? In order to avoid both false universalism and deconstruction, Lister suggests the idea of "differentiated universalism whereby boundaries remain present but shift and sway, are less permanently settled, less rigid, and divisive, but rather become more porous, more archipelago-like, more open to change" (Plummer, 2003: 55). Similarly, Brah proposes the concept of "diaspora space where difference and commonality are figured in non-reductive relationality" (2003: 248). As against conceptions that naturalize identity and subject positions, there is a need to understand the fact that there are "historically and culturally differentiated subject positions" that are fluid and multiple (Lloyd, 2005: 55). In this sense, women do not exist simply as a unitary category, but as "differentiated categories", like black women, working-class women or immigrant women (Brah, 2003: 102). At the same time, it can be argued that even though women have multiple identities, they all experience elements of exclusion based on gender at some level (Tastsoglou & Dobrowolsky, 2006: 5). Although women experience citizenship differently, they all experience gendered citizenship. The category "women" would not be understood as meaningless. "The sign women has its own specificity constituted within and through historically specific configurations of gender relations" (Brah, 2003: 102). When it comes to respecting women's difference, one should be careful not to overlook gendered power relations and commonality that women socially share. Mouffe points out that what we need is a type of commonality that does not eliminate plurality and that allows for various forms of individuality (1992: 32). Therefore, in terms of feminist conception of citizenship, it is important to avoid not only stressing commonality at the expense of diversity, but also ignoring commonality in the name of plurality.

At the same time, citizenship can be understood as not only a legal status, but also a lived experience (Lister *et al,* 2007: 17). The notion of "lived citizenship" refers to "the meanings that citizenship actually has in people's lives and the ways in which people's social and cultural

backgrounds and material circumstances affect their lives as citizens" (Hall & Williamson, 1999 in Lister *et al*, 2007: 168). It is about "how people understand and negotiate rights and responsibilities, belonging and participation" (Hall & Williamson, 1999 in Lister *et al,* 2007:168). It is thus important to "incorporate the views and perspectives of the ordinary citizen because we do not know what citizenship means to people …or what these meanings tell us about the goal of building inclusive societies' (Kabeer, 2005: 1 in Erel, 2009: 43). This perspective pays attention to "citizen´s understandings of the meanings of citizenship and subjective representations of their position" within the community (Cherubini, 2011: 116). The lived citizenship perspective broadens the analysis to aspects of everyday life that are usually invisible in the mainstream debate on citizenship, since "they are considered to be outside the 'public' sphere and relating to the 'private' sphere" (Cherubini, 2011: 117). The notion of lived citizenship thus makes it possible to challenge the public-private dichotomy that has reinforced the "traditional association of citizenship with the public spheres" (Lister*,* 2007: 55). Following this view, lived citizenship can be explored from "a core of empirical works that analyze the experiences of citizenship of different categories of social actors in different contexts" (Cherubini, 2011: 115). In the empirical section, this study will therefore engage with an analysis of lived experience of immigrant women.

2.5. Inclusion and Exclusion

As mentioned above, citizenship can be understood as lived experience. Such a view can be different from "state centred and static notions of citizenship", which accepts that "citizenship is a dynamic process of inclusion and exclusion that takes place across a range of social relations" (Erel, 2009: 43). This lived citizenship perspective "conceives of citizenship as a condition of inclusion and effective participation in a variety of spheres" – the economic and labor sphere, the sphere of social relations, the family – "paying attention to their daily facets" (Cherubini, 2011:116). The intersectional accounts of citizenship can be also closely involved with the dimension of substantive citizenship as well as aspects of formal status (Cherubini, 2011:119). Inclusion and exclusion can be therefore related to not only a legal, but also sociological level through formal and substantive levels of citizenship. In particular, inclusion and exclusion at the substantive level can be closely linked to equal and full opportunities and rights, which tend to

be more of a continuum than all or nothing affair (Lister, 1997: 43). In this part, I will discuss inclusion and exclusion that are two sides of the citizenship coins from a feminist perspective, which explores immigrant women´s inclusion and exclusion.

First of all, both unpaid and paid work in private and public areas can be linked to substantive citizenship. Unpaid work has been invisible in mainstream citizenship theories because the private sphere has been seen as apolitical domain. However, feminists have tried to incorporate the spheres of home and family into the construction of citizenship (Hobson & Lister, 2002: 47). Without taking into account women´s work and responsibilities in the private domain, it is impossible to understand their citizenship. The exclusion of women from citizenship was an essential characteristic of their "naturalization" as "embodiments of the private, the familial and the emotional." This is related to the "construction of the public sphere as masculine, rational, responsible and respectable" (Werbner & Yuval-Davis, 1999: 6). Their work and responsibilities have been seen as more suitable for the private domain, which constraints their inclusion into the labor market and hence delimits their economic citizenship. In practice, their equality in the pubic spheres can be undermined by the weight of their gendered responsibilities (Lister, 1997: 133). The private and public spheres are thus related to each other. In addition to the private domain, it is therefore necessary to take into account women's paid work in the public sphere, in terms of their citizenship. Marshall did not distinguish an economic dimension of citizenship because "in the case of men, this was in some way taken for granted, with the social dimension offering alternative means of livelihood" when paid work was not available (Denis, 2006: 51). It is important for women to get equal access to paid-work without discrimination based on gender or other social divisions, like race, marital status and immigrant status (Antoine, 1997 in Denis, 2006:52). Feminists have pointed out that even though women get included in the labor market, they are faced with occupational segregation and pay gap based on gender (Daly & Rake, 2008; Acker, 2006). In spite of the increased number of female-workers, gender is still the main factor of discrimination in the labor market (Castle & Davidson, 2000: 122). In this sense, although they are included as wage-earners and economic citizens in the public sphere, they are still positioned as the second-class citizens and secondary earners, compared to male-bread winners. Yet, not all women are located in the same way in the labor market. Immigrant women are often differently positioned in the labor force, as a result of their "otherness" constructed on the basis of language/accent, legal status, entry status, race, religion and so on (Tastsoglou &

Dobrowolsky, 2006: 18). Compared to resident women, it is more difficult for migrant and ethnic minority women to get included in the labor market, which makes them experience highest levels of unemployment (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1996: 117). Even though they are employed, they are often concentrated in the "lease desirable occupations", such as low-skilled jobs (Castle & Davidson, 2000: 123). Nonetheless, employment has an important impact on migrant women. It is possible for paid work to provide immigrant women with "economic independence", "a sense of confidence" and "a network of contacts beyond those of family and kinship" in the host society, which makes them able to break the isolation of staying at home (Brah, 2003: 140). As Lister puts it, employment can represent an "important locus of social participation" and "source of self-esteem", which is pivotal for the "fulfillment of women´s potential as citizens" (1997: 139). For immigrant women who have a weaker attachment to the labor market and experience higher unemployment than the indigenous population, paid work (outside home) can be thus crucial for enhancing possibilities of participation and inclusion in the public sphere of the host society.

When it comes to inclusion and exclusion of immigrant women, the welfare regime of the host country can be also crucial. For immigrants, social citizenship depends on their inclusion in welfare states as well as employment (Castles & Davidson, 2000: 111). Compared to resident women, migrant women may stand in different sets of relations to the welfare state (Lister, 1997: 175). According to legal status, migrant women can be excluded from social welfare services. This is because the principle of universalism could be based on an ideology of a broadly homogeneous society in which non-citizens and outsiders get little access to social benefits. "The notion of benefits based on citizenship can provide the basis for exclusion of non-citizens" (Kofman *et al*, 2000: 144). In this sense, access to services is linked to being able to demonstrate eligibility, like legal status. It is also crucial to "distinguish between formal rights and the actual use that people are able to make of available services" (Kofman *et al*, 2000: 152). Even though immigrant women are legally qualified for welfare services, they can encounter barriers because of "unfamiliarity with the language and with the institutional structures of welfare, and lack of knowledge of their entitlement" (Kofman *et al,* 2000: 152). At the same time, the welfare regime can simultaneously strengthen immigrant women´s full citizenship and reinforce gendered citizenship or exclusion (Lister, 1997: 168). The nature of this relationship can vary, according to the type of welfare state. Lewis (1992) suggests different typology in which welfare regimes are

characterized by how closely they approach the male breadwinner model. Lewis divides the welfare states into strong, modified and weak male breadwinner models. Ireland and Britain have followed a strong breadwinner model in which women are positioned as wives and mothers and therefore rely on a male wage (Lewis, 1992: 162-163). France belongs to a modified male breadwinner model in which family policy has been central within the social security system, while the child is crucial to family policy. Its main aim has been to compensate parents for the costs of children, which seeks to make child-bearing compatible with employment. But at the same time, the government encourages women to leave their work place at a time of unemployment by giving parental leave only to those with three children (Kofman & Sales, 1996: 47-48). The weak male breadwinner is related to Sweden. The Swedish welfare regime have treated women as paid-workers through separate taxation and increased public day-care service. The type of welfare states of the host country can have an important impact on immigrant women´s social and economic citizenship. Provision of services, like childcare, can be essential for "women's entry into the labor force" (Kofman *et al*, 2000: 138). It would be easier for immigrant women in the dual breadwinner welfare model state, which provides public caring provisions, to combine care work with paid work, compared to migrant women in the male bread winner model. In this sense, how immigrant women experience welfare regimes cannot be homogenized, but complicated and diverse, according to the type of welfare states, immigrant women´s legal citizenship status, and their familiarity with policies and language, which largely affects their inclusion and exclusion that can be closely linked to their substantive citizenship in the host society.

For immigrant women, their cultural rights[6] are also important. Cultural assimilation has often been seen as a precondition of citizenship. Immigrant´s culture and language become "symbol of otherness and markers for discrimination"; giving them up is regarded as crucial for "successful" inclusion and integration. (Castle & Davidson, 2000:125). But at the same time, cultural assimilation is criticized for violating the "liberal democratic principles of toleration" (Carens, 1989: 38 in Lister, 1997: 49). This raise issues of the "relationship between citizenship and cultural identity of which women are often the icons"[7](Lister, 1997: 50). With the tension

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[6] Cultural rights can be understood as "the right to be equal and to the respect for cultural diversity, including the right to practise own language, religion, dress and behavior" (Lister *et al,* 2007: 87).

[7] Women have been seen as cultural reproducers of the nation in the nationalist discourse. In this sense, women symbolize national cultures in the nation (Yuval-Davis, 1997).

between common cultural standard and the realities of diverse society, a new citizenship model which is called "multi-cultural citizenship" has been developed. From this multicultural perspective, citizens are considered "simultaneously as having equal rights as individuals and different needs and wants as members of groups with specific characteristics and social situations" (Castle, 1994: 15 in Lister, 1997: 50). John Rex places an emphasis on multiculturalism because "the recognition of cultural diversity actually enriches and strengthens democracy" (Rex, 1995: 31 in Yuval-Davis, 1997: 56). But at the same time, feminists have criticized the patriarchal nature of multiculturalism that supports the persistence of men-centered traditional cultures (Kofman *et al*, 2000:101). In particular, Okin (1999) asserts that the multiculturalism is harmful for immigrant women because it overlooks and justifies patriarchal natures of cultures. Even though she examines multicultural citizenship from a gender perspective, her conclusion that multiculturalism is always bad for women can be problematic. It should be careful not to regard cultures necessarily opposed to women´s rights and interests, although it is important to take into account patriarchal values of cultures. In Eurocentric discourse, migrant women have easily been perceived as victims of patriarchal cultures of their own ethnicity. It would be problematic to suggest that migrant women have to "make a choice between your culture or your rights" (Banhabib & Resnik, 2009: 25). The way in which women perform and perceive their culture can be context-specific. It is therefore important to recognize that the meaning that culture has for migrant and minority women cannot be universal and homogenized (Lister *et al*, 2007: 78-79). At the same time, culture should not be understood as "static structure, but as a dynamic, flowing process constructed by actors dialogically and dialectically" (Haste & Abrahms, 2008 in Scuzzarello, 2010: 23). Multicultural citizenship should be careful to avoid static account of cultural difference which assumes specific cultures as "fixed, static, ahistorical and essentialist" (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 58; Scuzzarello, 2010: 23). The static conceptualization of multicultural citizenship runs the risk of ignoring how people do culture or what people do with culture (Scuzzarello, 2010: 23). As Yuval-Davis puts it, "culture is dynamic and includes notions of diversity and change" (1997:40). New and hybrid cultures could be constructed by immigrants (Werber & Yuval-Davis, 1999:18). This is mainly because cultural identity is not void of agency (Scuzzarello, 2010: 34). In this sense, when it comes to multicultural citizenship of immigrant women, it is necessary to not only respect cultural diversity, but also recognize that culture could be constructed and fluid, which does not

downplay how immigrant women construct and perform their cultural identity within a specific context.

2.6. Theorizing Agency

Immigrant women are not just passively included or excluded in the host society. Instead, they can be understood as active migrants and settlers who participate in "shaping the substance and boundaries of citizenship" (Erel, 2009: 47). It is problematic to regard immigrant women unidimensionally as weak and lacking ability to shape their identity and positions (Dobrowolsky & Tastsogou, 2006: 5-6). In order to make sense of how immigrant women act to get included and participate in the host society, it is necessary to take into account their agency. The concept of agency can ́t be separated with lived citizenship which concentrates on "the relationship between citizenship and everyday life and sheds lights on the different ways in which social actors give meaning to and practise citizenship" (Cherubini, 2011: 115-116). The notion of agency attributes to the individuals the "capacity to process social experience and to devise ways of coping with life" (Long, 1992: 22). From the concept of agency, people are seen as "knowledgeable" and "capable" within the limits of information or the other constraints. (Giddens 1984 in Long, 1992: 23). Giddens thus defines agency as the capacity to achieve desired objectives (Rahman, 2005). Similarly, Kabeer understands agency as the capacity to "define their own-life choices and to pursue their own goals" (Kabeer, 2002: 21). However, it is necessary to avoid misunderstanding agency as opposed to structure. Agency is exercised within social context, rather than a "vacuum place." As Lister puts it, agency is located in dialogical relationship with social structures and embedded in social relations (1997: 37). There is a need to move away from approaches that regard agency as a "synonym for free will as exercised by completely autonomous individuals" (Ahearn, 2001: 115). "Agency is not tantamount to free will nor it is opposed to structure" (Parker, 2005: 228). As agency does not exist beyond social context, it can be defined as socially "mediated capacity" to act (Ahearn, 2001: 118).

Furthermore, it is important to avoid regarding agency as a synonym for resistance (Ahearn, 2001: 115). If agency is exclusively understood as resistance, a person must resist the

patriarchy, in order to demonstrate agency.[8] Ahearn (2001: 115) argues that even though one can understand the impulse behind equating agency with resistance, agency should not be limited to it. Activism or resistance can be just one of the expressions of agency. Similarly, Parker (2005: 225) contends that agency should not be considered as a "synonym for resistance to relations of domination", even though agency has the potential to be transformative in effect. As Parker points out, women´s capacity to shape their subject positions and improve interests can be also seen as expression of their individual agency, although they are not necessarily subversive of dominant structure (2005: 225). In other words, agency is not just reduced to social activism or resistance. In this respect, even though my paper is not about social movement or collective activism, I do not think that it is not related to agency of immigrant women at all. Women´s individual agency for their self-development or interests can be also important in itself. In the empirical analysis, in terms of agency, I thus want to place an emphasis on immigrant women´s capacity to get included in the host society. In particular, in the empirical section, with regards to their lived citizenship, I discuss how immigrant women shape their socioeconomic position, in terms of paid work that can be crucial to full citizenship. Then, I explore their unpaid work in the private sphere, in terms of domestic or caring responsibility that have often been invisible because citizenship analysis has mainly concentrated on rights and responsibilities in the public domain. It is also followed by the discussion of their cultural identity in the new country.

3. Methodological Discussion

In this chapter, I elaborate methodological discussion that can be relevant to my research. First, I discuss why a qualitative research is suitable for my research. Then, I illustrate interview settings and ethical issues. It is followed by reflections on my position as both an "insider" and "outsider" researcher. I also reformulate objectivity from a feminist perspective, with regards to my research. Lastly, I discuss whether a male researcher can do feminist research.

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[8] According to Nakamatsu (2005:178), this perspective runs the risk of overlooking "diversity and fluidity in women's responses to the social structures in which they are differently situated." She asserts that recognizing various meaning in women's agency will enable feminist scholars to make sense of sophisticated experience of immigrant women.

3.1 Qualitative Methods and Semi-Structured Interview

Methods can refer to "techniques and procedures used for exploring social reality and producing evidence" (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2010: 11). In my research, I use qualitative methods, rather than quantitative methods. This is mainly because qualitative methods provides a access to "the lived world of the subjects, who in their own words describe their activities, experience and opinions" (Kvale, 2009:9), whereas quantitative methods gives relatively "limited access to accounts of experience, nuances of meaning, the nature of social relationships, and their shifts and contradictions" (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2010: 155). Qualitative methods produce detailed and non-quantitative accounts of human life, seeking to interpret the meanings people make of their lives (Payne, 2004: 175). In particular, as I focus on how immigrant women act to get included in the host society, qualitative research enables me to take into account their complicated experience. Qualitative research can be suitable for unpicking "how people construct the world around them, what they are doing or what is happening to them in terms that are meaningful and that offer rich insight" (Gibbs, 2009: x). Citizenship as lived experience and substantive levels of inclusion and exclusion can be more delicately explored through qualitative research.

Especially, my research methods rely on qualitative data gained through in-depth interviews with immigrant women. Interviews enable social researchers to take into account "people's biographies, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings" (May, 2010: 120). In my research, interviews are used as resources for understanding how immigrant women make sense of their social world and act within it. As in-depth interviews try to "understand the world from the subject´s point of view, to unfold the meaning of people´s experience, to uncover their lived world" (Kvale, 2009: xvii), they can be relevant tools in the study of immigrant women's "lived citizenship" which is connected to "the ways in which social actors live, act and practice citizenship in their everyday lives" (Cherubini, 2011: 115). As discussed earlier in the theoretical part, the notion of lived citizenship is linked to "the points of view of social actors" which have been little investigated in mainstream theories and normative models (Cherubini, 2011: 116). In terms of the analysis of lived experience, I have chosen a semi-structured interview which contains elements of both a structured and unstructured

interview. A structured interview is where questions are strictly fixed. Researchers do not delete or add questions during the interview" (O'Reilly, 2009: 126). Researchers are thus required to "direct the respondent according to the sequence of questions…no variability in any elaboration should be apparent in order not to influence the answers" which emphasizes the "neutrality of the interviewer's role" (May, 2010: 121). Unlike a structured interview, an unstructured interview is even "more free-flowing and formless" as researcher tend to have no more than a list of topics to guide to themes (O'Reilly, 2009: 126). A semi-structured interview utilizes techniques from both styles. Some questions are fixed, but the researcher is "freer to probe beyond the answers in a manner which would appear prejudicial to the aims of standardization and comparability" (May, 2010: 123). During the semi-structured interview, interviewees are allowed to express their viewpoints in an "openly designed interview situation than in a standardized interview or a questionnaire" (Flick, 2006: 149). But it still gives a "greater structure for comparability over that of the focused interview" (May, 2010: 123). In this sense, when I interviewed immigrant women, I followed an interview guide with questions prepared in advance on a specific theme, while allowing them to answer more on their own terms than the standardized interview permits.

3.2 Interview Settings

In terms of sampling, I have selected a snow ball method through which researchers are able to start with a small number of initial contacts and use these contacts to "snowball the sample out to other people these individuals know and will introduce them to" (O'Reilly, 2009: 198). This method can be useful in access to certain groups (May, 2010: 132). I was able to gain access to South Korean immigrant women who are living with Swedish partners through several key informants. I interviewed seven South Korean immigrant women living in the Skåne region of Sweden. I began by introducing myself and the research project and explained that I was interested in learning about how they act to be included in Sweden, especially how they have attempted to construct their socioeconomic positions and cultural identity. Immigrant women chose the place for interviewing, and most interviews took place at the cafes, one at the interviewee´s home, one at Komvux, and one in a seminar room at Lund University. They also have chosen the time that was best for them. The interviews lasted approximately two hours. The interviews were conducted during March 2012. As I have chosen the snow ball sampling, some

of the interviewees were previously known to me, others not. Some researchers suggest that a previous relationship with the interviewees play a key role in building mutual trust (Erel, 2009: 19-20). While I found that those immigrant women who I previously knew were very open with me, I also experienced this with some interviewees I met for the first time. If an interviewee can´t trust a researcher, it is difficult for them to talk about their thoughts, lives and experiences. Establishing a rapport is necessary to access the informant´s "world" (Payne, 2004: 131). The establishment of rapport in interviews is therefore of "paramount importance given that the method itself is designed to elicit understanding of the interviewee's perspectives" (May, 2010: 130). Furthermore, it is vital for interviewees to understand my research goals and topics sufficiently. This can be related to ethical issues which will be discussed in the next part. It is also crucial for interviewers to make interviewees able to feel that their participation and answers are valued, for their cooperation is crucial for the research (May, 2010: 129). For these reasons, in terms of interviews, I found it important to make an effort to not only make immigrant women able to sufficiently understand my research purpose and topics, but also build trust.

3.3   Ethical Issues

As ethical practice is an essential issue in planning and doing qualitative research, researchers should be aware of how to ethically conduct their research. Because of its individual and personal nature, qualitative research raises many ethical issues (Gibbs, 2009: 9). In particular, the method of interview is closely saturated with ethical issues because interviewing is data collection in face-to-face settings; the personal interaction in the interview affects the interviewee; the knowledge produced by the interview affects our understanding of the human situation (Kvale, 2009: 23). In this sense, ethnic practice is not an add-on to my research but lies at its very heart. In terms of ethical issues, it is important for participants to agree to partake on the basis of information given to them by a researcher. I gave participants information about my research goals and a general introduction of the interview content that are relevant to their decisions to participate in my research. Without this, interviewees may feel uncomfortable and this affects the resultant data (May, 2010: 129). But at the same time, interviewers should be careful to avoid suggesting answers, although qualitative interviewing depends on the inter-personal skills and knowledge of the interviewer as an initiator of topics. In addition,

confidentiality also lies at the heart of ethical issues. Confidentiality (Flick, 2006:50) means that the information about them should be used in a way which makes it impossible for other persons to identify the participant. In practice, I promised to keep the material in secret only for the research. In order to respect privacy and confidentiality of my interviewees, all their names are changed in this paper. Needless to say, before turning on a digital recorder every participant was asked for permission to be recorded. At the same time, ethical issues are not limited to a specific stage of the interview but linked to the entire research process, ranging from formulation of the purpose of an interview to an analysis and writing. In particular, it is necessary to avoid potential "interviewer bias." As Payne (2004: 29) points out, interviewers (unconsciously) may distort empirical data by "deviating from the questionnaire, by prompting at the wrong point, or by inadequate recording". "If questions are re-phrased, or answers are re-written as the interviewer thinks rather than in the words actually said", untrustworthy knowledge will be produced (Payne, 1994: 29).

3.4   Between Insider and Outsider

As a South Korean student who is living in Sweden, I share ethnic commonality with my interviewees. Matching of interviewer and interviewee in terms of ethnicity is usually discussed as "enabling mutual trust and a common understanding of the research questions" (Rhodes, 1994 in Erel, 2009: 20). My position gave me specific resources for carrying out this research, such as ability to speak the first language spoken by informants and having lived in Sweden, helped me to gain access to and communicate with them. My position as a Korean Student in Sweden generated both familiarity among my interviewees and their willingness to talk about their experiences. In particular, as Erel puts it, language can be a crucial "marker of similarity" (2009:20). As interviews were conducted in Korean, it seemed to be easier for immigrant women to express their nuanced emotion and illustrate complicated lived experience.[9]All of them chose Korean, in terms of the language in which they feel most comfortable. Furthermore, talking to each other in the first language in a foreign country in which there is not many chances to speak

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[9] But at the same time, this can be disadvantages of my research. This is because when I translate their Korean language into English, it is not easy to show their sophisticated Korean expressions, accent or nuance in English.

Korean would be helpful, in terms of development of rapport and trust. It can be argued that insider researchers are able to "gain more rapport… have more linguistic competence with which to ask more subtle questions on more complex issues" (O´Reilly, 2009: 114). But at the same time, I was not a "real insider" for my informants. I was seen as a male student who temporarily lives in Sweden, unlike immigrant women themselves. It would be possible that interviewees might have been reluctant to reveal certain negative things about their experiences because I was an outsider. To avoid or at least minimize this, I was conscious to open up myself to them with sincerity. Therefore, "sameness" and "differences" between researchers and the researched are complicated and multi-dimensional (Colice-Peisker, 2004). As O´Reilly (2009: 116) puts it, both insider and outsider researcher statuses are more "a matter of degree" than a simple dichotomy.

3.5   Rethinking Objectivity from a Feminist Perspective

When I conduct my research on immigrant women's lived experience, how can I define objectivity or "valid knowledge" in my research? According to positivism, researchers need to be seeking universal truth and absolute objectivity. But, it has been strongly criticized by relativism. According to a relativist view, looking for absolute objectivity is seen as neither necessary, nor possible, instead, realities can be varied and relative. In a strong relativist view, respecting differences is so important that all positions and arguments should be regarded as equally true or valuable.

It is hard for feminist researchers to give up "the pull of either relativism or reality… and so they feel forced to choose between them" (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2010: 61). However, feminist scholars, like Dona Haraway and Sandra Harding, contribute to move feminist methodology beyond both relativist and positivist pitfalls by rethinking truth and objectivity. Most importantly, Haraway (1988) understands feminist objectivity as situated knowledge. She argues that "feminist objectivity is about limited location and situated knowledge, not about transcendence and splitting of subject and object" (1988: 583). In other words, "objectivity turns out to be about particular and specific embodiment and definitely not about the false vision promising transcendence of all time and responsibility" (Haraway, 1988: 582). In this sense, Haraway (1988: 590) asserts that it is not necessary to look for "the knowledge ruled by *phallogocentrism*(nostalgia for the presence of the one true world) and disembodied vision". That is, feminist objectivity is not from "God trick of seeing everything from nowhere"

(Haraway, 1988: 581). Instead, in her terms, "the goal is better accounts of the world" (Haraway, 1988: 590).

Like Haraway, Harding also gives me valuable insights, in terms of feminist objectivity. She argues for strong objectivity which also "recognizes the social situatedness of all knowledge." But at the same time, strong objectivity "requires a critical evaluation to determine which social situations tend to generate the most objective knowledge claim" (Hekman, 1997: 354). "Knowledge that is strongly objective is less partial and distorted than existing (men-centered) knowledge" (Harding, 1993 in Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2010: 50). In this sense, her concept of "strong objectivity" is related to "less false" claims. Harding (1997: 388) argues that her "discussion of "strong objectivity" and "less false" claims are intended to distance standpoint thinking from remnants of popular modernist ideology."

What is necessary for researchers to increase strong objectivity? Harding suggests some key points, in order to answer the question. First, strong objectivity requires researchers to critically reflect on "who is producing knowledge for whom, with what funding, by what means, in what social situation" (Harding, 1993 in Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2010: 50-51). In other words, strong objectivity is related to critical reflection on knowledge-production process. In my research, strong objectivity asks me to reflect on my positions and research methods as well as relations with immigrant women and research situations. Strong objectivity is thus closely linked to reflexivity. Second, "the agenda for research questions should be grounded in the experience of those who are ignored in dominant beliefs and activities" (Harding, 1993 in Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2010: 51). My research question is based on lived experience of immigrant women that has been invisible and unheard in dominant discourses. Third, feminist knowledge needs to be rooted "in the diversity and contradictions of women's lives" (Harding, 1993 in Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2010: 51). In my project, I try not to overlook differences between women and multiplicity of their lives and experiences. This perspective enables feminist scholars to avoid being stuck in dualistic categories. "This can transform assumptions about natural or necessary binary oppositions of class, gender, race and bodies into new and fluid possibilities for multiplicity and differences " (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2010: 89). However, this does not mean that feminists have to abolish social category of women. As Butler points out, "difficulties in establishing what "women" means does not mean the category of "women" should not be used politically" (Butler, 1992: 15-16 in Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2010: 97-98). In this context, in my

research, even though it is important to avoid naturalizing or fixing category of immigrant women, it is not necessary to give up the category of immigrant women, when it comes to the analysis of their lived experience. This point can be inseparable from the previous theoretical discussion, in terms of feminist conception of citizenship and intersectionality.

3.6 Can Men be Feminist Researchers?

Even though methodological approaches and research methods I mentioned above could be relevant, if it is impossible for men to be feminist researchers, how can I conduct feminist research and analyze lived experience of immigrant women? Feminist research not simply describes women´s lives, but also challenges how we might "know" them (O´Reilly, 2009: 65). According to Reinharz (1992: 23), in order for women to be understood in social research, it is necessary for them to be interviewed by female researchers. Similarly, Stanley and Wise place an emphasis on the "particular capacity of female researchers to understand other women" (Payne, 2004: 92). They assert that "men cannot be feminists because they lack women´s experience" (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2010: 140). Some feminists have also argued that "male researchers exploit their positions of power over their informants, ignoring both ethical obligations and differences in gender experience" (Payne, 2004: 131). I think that compared to female feminist researchers, it seems to be much more difficult for men to illuminate complicated experiences and voices of women. However, men´s positions are not just identical. As not all women are positioned in the same way, not all men are situated in the same way. As Jeff Hearn (2001: 2) points out, "while men are collectively and individually located as powerful in relation to women, there are not fixed or monolithic structures of power." According to their race, class, nationality, age, disability or sexuality, men show quite different interests and positions among them. Men can be also suppressed by other men who exercise more powerful hegemony and privilege. In other words, "men can be also classed, ethnicized, aged, differently(able)bodied, and so on- not simply men" (Hearn, 2001: 4). Thus, as Connell (2005: 1809) points out, sometimes, "men may see their interests as more closely aligned with the women than with other men…it is not surprising that men respond very diversely to gender equality." As Connolly (1993) and Liddle (1996) put it, it would not be impossible for men to "understand and share feminist perspective" and even to be a feminist "by virtue of appropriate experience, ethics and politics, rather than

being automatically excluded by a gendered identity" (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2010: 140). Before doing fieldwork with immigrant women, I got worried about how I am able to catch, understand or reveal complicated voices of women. Nonetheless, my memory with "comfort women" gave me confidence and made me able to eventually start my fieldwork with immigrant women, even though it is not research experience. In 2006, I attended the interesting program called 'Peace Road'. It was made by the "House of Sharing" where Korean "comfort women" ,who were forced to be sexual-slaves for Japanese soldiers during the Second World War, have been living together. Through the program, I was able to enhance my understanding of their lives, experience, emotion, and activity. Furthermore, I met many Japanese young men who visited or volunteered at the "House of Sharing". As they did their best, Korean "comfort women" were also willing to open their mind, communicate with them and share their thoughts and opinions. Through the experience, I was able to not only develop feminist perspective, but also see how men build feminist trust and solidarity with women. Of course, taking part in the Peace Road is different from doing research. Yet, without this impressive experience, I would not have been able to choose gender studies as my master programme as well as I could not have been able to do research with immigrant women in my thesis. It would not be impossible for male researchers to understand and analyze lived experience of women, if they try to build feminist perspective and listen to various voices that have been unheard in dominant discourses. Like female feminists, through my research project, I have attempted to make sense of immigrant women´s sophisticated experience.

4. Empirical Analysis

As noted earlier, my empirical question is about how immigrant women act to get included in the host society, especially, how they shape their socioeconomic positions and cultural identity. The interviews with Korean immigrant women living in Sweden reveal many issues which rise from their live experience. I structure the empirical section, according to several themes that are relevant to their lived citizenship. First, I will discuss how they migrated to Sweden and how they are legally positioned. It will be followed by the discussion about how they construct and

experience their socioeconomic positions in the public sphere, in terms of paid work.[10] I will also explore unpaid work in the private sphere. The analysis will be followed by the discussion about their cultural identification in the host society.

4. 1 Moving to Sweden

In my paper, my main empirical focus is basically on how immigrant women live in the host society, rather than how they move to Sweden. Nonetheless, taking into account how they migrate to Sweden can't be ignored, in terms of the analysis of their lives in the new country. I asked informants how each had met her partners and had decided to migrate to Sweden. Four women met their partners in South Korea while the men were working or studying in Seoul. One woman met her partner while they were studying in Japan. Another woman met her partner in Australia when they were travelers. Only one woman first met her partner in Sweden when she visited her friend who lived with Swedish man.

All of the informants already received a college, university or master degree in big cities, like Tokyo, Seoul, or London before moving to Sweden. This is mainly because South Korea shows a very high university entrance rate, regard less of gender. According to Korean national statistics, 80.5 percent of female high school students went to a university and 77.6 percent of male high school students entered a university in 2010.[11] In addition, most of the informants worked outside the home, prior to immigration. They show a variety of jobs in Korea, an English teacher at private institution, a preschool teacher, an office worker at a company, a philosophy lecturer at a university and a curator at a private museum. The informants I interviewed don´t correspond with dominant stereotypes or biases against "Asian brides" married to Western men. Female migrants married to European partners, like women from ethnic minorities or non-Western countries have been usually described as being poor, rural or uneducated in Western context (Humbeck, 1996: 195). They have often been categorized and generalized as money-motivated victims or "mail-order brides" married to Western men in developed countries, which obscures their complicated experience and agency (Nakamatsu, 2003: 181-182).

In terms of how they move to Sweden, all of the informants say that the international

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[10] This does not mean exclusively focusing on experience of employed women. I also explore lived experience of unemployed women.

[11] Statics Korea website retrieved 21 April, 2010 from http://kostat.go.kr/portal/korea/index.action

relationship and marriage were not planned and was a result of chance or "falling in love". Many of the informants migrated to Sweden after a few years of courtship. They did not want to live far away from their Swedish partners. At the same time, their immigration decisions were also related to Sweden's reputation. Sweden has been referred to as the welfare state as well as gender-equal society in Korea, as reflected in the following quote.

Suzy: I was studying child welfare at a university. […] When I was taking my major courses, Sweden was often introduced and analyzed as a better case of welfare policies and services, compared to other countries. […] I thought that it was good for me to work in Sweden that is a kind of role model country, in terms of welfare.

With regard to Sweden´s reputation, their motivation is also related to disadvantages of living in South Korea.

Hara: When I and Patrick (her partner) discussed where we live together, we had two options, like Sweden and Korea. I thought that it did not seem to be bad for me to start my new life in Sweden. As you know, in Korea, it is very difficult to for a 28 years-old woman to get employed in good companies. Many private companies tend to employ younger woman who graduate from a university, at the age of 23. But, I got a bachelor degree when I was 28 years old in 2010. It was too late, compared to other women. There has been discrimination against women, based on their age in the labor market. […] The younger women are, the more job opportunities they can get. I thought that Sweden is a gender equal country in which women can get equally get jobs and develop their careers, regardless of their age.

Mina: Andrea (her husband) was tired of working in Korea. He was working in a Swedish company in Seoul. His company was closely cooperating with Korean company. […] But he was required to do a lot of work even during the weekends. Like him, I was also tired of working in Korea. I had to do a lot of work at a museum.

For workers in Korea, over-work is not unusual. According to OECD statistics[12], the average annual hours actually worked per worker in Korea is 2193 hours, whereas the average annual working hours in Swedish is 1624 hours in 2010.

Sumi: I thought that Sweden was much better than Korea, when it comes to education for children. As you know, Korean students must spend too much time studying at schools and private institutions. You know, they are treated as a kind of "studying slaves." […]

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[12] OECD Statistics retrieved 21 April, 2012 from http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=ANHRS

However, in Sweden, it is also important for children to play outside and experience diverse things. Sweden looked attractive, in terms of children education.

At the same time, according to three of the informants, their previous experience in a foreign country made them able to be less reluctant to migration. Listen to Subin:

Subin : I was studying in Australia. I was taking English courses there and also making money by part-time jobs. What I learned in Australia is that how people live can be similar, regardless of where they live. When my boy friend proposed to me, I was not afraid of living in Sweden. I had confidence that I can adapt to new surroundings.

In this sense, the informants present a complex view, in terms of migration decisions. They decided to move to Sweden for various reasons. In addition to their relationship with their Swedish partners, what they thought of advantages of living in Sweden played a pivotal role in their migration decisions. Their migration decisions cannot be reduced to the simple division between marriage and Sweden´s reputation. One does not preclude other intentions and reasons because marriage does not rule out the desire to work or live in the society of immigration. As Nakamatsu (2003: 182) points out, it is important to avoid undervaluing immigrant women's individual agency in their decision about marriage and migration. The informants' narratives urge us to acknowledge that they are subjects with agency, rather than passive female migrants who just "follow" their husbands, in terms of their migration decisions that change their life course.

4.2 Legal Status

Even though my main focus is on socioeconomic and cultural aspects of lived citizenship, it is hard to overlook the analysis of aspects of legal status. Lived experiences of immigrant women cannot be separable from their legal status in the host country. There can be big differences between immigrants, according to whether they get their legal status or not. Maja Sager (2011) explores how undocumented immigrants experience their substantive citizenship in Sweden, which traces the connection between clandestinity and citizenship based on the voices of clandestine asylum seeker. Her research illustrates how "illegal status" locates migrants at the margins of citizenship. Martiniello (1994: 42 in Castle & Davidson, 2000: 95-96) suggests the

term *margizens* for those who are "illegally" living in a host country, like refused asylum-seekers, former legal residents who have lost this status, unauthorized family entrants, undocumented workers and so on. For migrants, legal status lies at the heart of citizenship. It therefore remains important to insist on the need for easy access to formal citizenship for migrants (Castle & Davison, 2000: 127). In my research, none of the informants is located as *margizens*. All of the informants I interviewed mention that it was not difficult to get resident permits when they migrated to Sweden. According to Swedish migration policy, one can be entitle to receive a residence permit if she or he is married, has entered into a registered partnership with, or are co-habiting with Swedish citizens. At the same time, if one has been married to, living in a registered partnership with or cohabiting with a Swedish citizen for at least the past two years, she or he may apply for Swedish citizenship after spending three years in Sweden.[13] As the informants live with a Swedish citizen, they did not have a difficulty achieving their formal resident permits. Four of the informants already got Swedish citizenship and three of them will be able to apply for permanent resident status in this year.

> Bomi: It was not difficult to get visa. […] Five years after moving to here, I achieved Swedish citizenship. It was not hard to get it at all. […] There was no test for citizenship.

Access to legal status can be a "first step on the way to full membership" (Castle & Davison, 2000: 127). If they were undocumented immigrants, their capability to be included in the host society would have been much more restricted. Their legal status, like residence permits, enables them to have entitlements to paid work and social services. It can be thus argued that their individual agency, like capability to shape their socioeconomic positions, depends on their legal inclusion in the host society.

4.3 Paid Work

The economic dimension of citizenship is not only important because it is a means of earning a living, but also because it has been the site of exclusion and inequity for women (Denis, 2006: 51). As many scholars deploy the idea of "economic citizenship" to convey a critique of the material exclusion of the disadvantaged, the idea of citizenship is increasingly related to the

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[13] Swedish Migration Board website retrieved April 22, 2012 from http://www.migrationsverket.se/info/ start_en.html

"enjoyment of economic rights" in the community (Bosniak, 2009: 129). In particular, in terms of citizenship, women's participation in paid work has been emphasized by many feminists (Bosniak, 2009: 128). In this section, as mentioned earlier, I will explore how immigrant women shape their socioeconomic positions, in terms of paid work. Even though all of the informants I interviewed are not positioned as *margizens,* they are not "automatically" able to get full access to the labor market. Five of the interviewees were able to get at least one chance to be employed in Sweden: a pre-school teacher, nurse assistant, nurse specialist, part-time worker in McDonald's, factory worker, and cosmetic tattoo artist. When I interviewed them, three currently have jobs, whereas two of them do not work outside. Two of the informants have never had any chance to be employed since moving to Sweden. Many show how hard they find it is to gain employment, and the lengths they go to in order to get paid work in Sweden. Firstly, active participation in language education is emphasized as important by the majority of the informants, for gaining access to the labor market.

> Mina: As soon as I arrived in Sweden, I applied for Swedish language courses. I have been doing my best in Komvux (short for KOMmunal VUXenutbildning, literally "municipal adult education"). Even though I was sick, I went to Komvux because I did not want to miss any course. So, I was able to finish SFI course in seven months. […] I am now studying high school levels of Swedish language courses. But, if I have a baby in July, I will not be able go to Komvux. But, I will continue to take on-line courses even though I'll have to take care of my baby at home. I want to master Swedish as soon as I can, in order to get a good job as soon as possible.

The majority of informants find it important to learn the language because the ability to speak Swedish can be instrumental in enabling them to look for jobs. Their active involvement in the language course can be read as part of an effort to find a worthwhile career in Sweden. But at the same time, learning the language is not sufficient, if their skills or educational background cannot be recognized in their new country. When it comes to employment, one of the most crucial barriers to immigrants is the non-recognition of their qualifications by state and professional bodies (Krahn *et al*, 2000 in Erel, 2006: 80). If their skills or education cannot be recognized, it is difficult to get access to skilled and professional work, which results in the "hierarchical organization and gender and ethnic segregation of the labor market" (Erel, 2006: 80). It is therefore important for many of the highly educated informants to make their education background officially acknowledged in Sweden, in order to find employment.

Suzy: I sent my diploma and transcript to the Swedish Education Institution. […] I was able to get official documentation which shows that what I studied in Korea can be equally recognized in Sweden. When I sent my CV without the official document, none of the pre-schools gave me any opportunity to be interviewed. After I received the documentation, I was able to get interviews. […] If my university degree had not been recognized, I would not have been able to get employment as a pre-school teacher in Sweden.

Her narrative indicates how important it is for previous education to be acknowledged, when immigrant women are seeking skilled and professional work. Contrastingly, another informant reveals how her previous education and work experience were not as useful as she had expected.

Hara: Most of my immigrant friends from Asian countries, like China, Japan and Korea have either a master's or at least a university degree. […] But, they have few options here, when they want to get professional jobs. Many of them are unemployed. It is really difficult for them to find good work that can be related to their previous major. […] I was studying business in Japan. […] But, one of the jobs I got here was a part-time job in McDonald's. I was cleaning McDonald's after studying business.

Even though their education can be officially recognized in Sweden, they encounter barriers to "good" jobs. In Canada, there is similarity in how immigrant women find it difficult to be employed. Tastsoglou (2006) explores how hard it is for female migrants who are skilled and highly educated to adjust their degree and skills to the Canadian labor market. As Erel (2009: 85) points out, if the previous skills, education, and work experience of immigrant women are not useful for their employment, the labor market in the country of residence leads them to re-skill in different professions. In my research, many of the informants begin studying something "practical" that could be useful for their future employment. In particular, after finishing Swedish language courses, four of the informants I interviewed choose to study nursing, even though their previous education is not linked to it.

Subin: I studied physical education in Korea. […] Fortunately, my teacher´s license was recognized by Swedish Education Institution. […] I submitted my CV to more than one hundred schools. But I got only one interview. […] Even though I mastered Swedish language and got a teaching certificate, Swedish schools didn´t want to give interviews to immigrant women. […] So, I gave up being a teacher. […] I decided to study nursing. I heard that it is relatively easy for immigrant women to be a nurse because there is a shortage of nurses in Sweden.

Her narrative indicates that as her previous education background and skill are not "actually" recognized in the labor market, she tries to find another way of getting a job. In particular, taking part in education can be read as her strategy to be employed in the host society. As Denis (2006) points out, education can be of crucial importance for women, giving them development of skills and providing them with employment opportunities. Similarly, by examining the experiences of immigrant women in Germany, Erel (2009:51-77) argues that immigrant women are able to enhance their capability to participate in the society of residence through education. All of the informants I interviewed mention how education is one of the most important social services for themselves. In order to enter into a Swedish university, the majority of the informants take additional general courses as well as language programs provided by Komvux without any tuition fee. In addition to free courses at Komvux, they also get a free university education. According to Swedish education policy, all universities and colleges are tuition-free for anyone holding a long-term residence permit as well as Swedish citizens.[14]

> Sumi: If tuition fee was not free of charge, I would be unable to study in Malmo university. It wouldn't be possible at all. […] If I could not study here, probably I would be not a nurse but a cleaner.

Furthermore, in Sweden, when one studies, she can apply for financial aid. Financial aid for studies refers to the various grants and loans for which she may be eligible when she attends a college, university, adult secondary education program (Komvux), folk high school or upper secondary school.[15] Four of the informants are able to get grants or loans when they study in university or Komvux.

> Yuna: Every month, I get 3,000 Krono from CSN. With the money, I can have lunch and buy books, when I study at Komvux.

In addition to education, all of the informants enroll with the Swedish public employment agency which is called Arbetsförmedlingen. The aim of Arbetsförmedlingen is to match those who need

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[14]Sweden's official website retrieved April 29, 2012, from http://www.sweden.se/eng/Home/Work/The-Swedish-system/The-Swedish-education-system/university/

[15]CSN website retrieved April 29, 2012 from http://www.csn.se/en/2.135/2.624/2.625

employees with those who are seeking work. In particular, Arbetsförmedlingen takes responsibility for introducing certain newly-arrived immigrants into the labor market. This assignment is to provide newly-arrived immigrants with the right conditions to learn Swedish, gain employment and support themselves as soon as possible.[16]

> Suzy: When I enrolled with Arbetsförmedlingen, I wrote about my educational background, previous work experience and what kind of jobs I wanted to get. After registration, the officer regularly sent me list of pre-schools I could apply to. It was very helpful for me.

The majority of the narratives reveal that Swedish social services, like fee education service, financial aid, and the public employment service enable them to shape their socioeconomic positions in the host society. Their capability to study, and retrain for employment depends on their legal inclusion in the Swedish welfare state. As they are "legal" immigrants, they are able to get access to social services. In terms of individual agency, it is important not to overlook how structures enable and facilitate that, rather than regard the agency as just opposed to structure. As Rahman (2005: 183) points out, it is pivotal to regard structures as not only a constraining force, but also something enabling and facilitating agency.

In addition to welfare services, social networks comprising friends and community ties can also be "an important source for migrants who use them to gain employment, housing and other resources in the migration setting" (Kofman *et al,* 2000: 29). Two of the informants were able to find jobs, such as a cosmetic tattoo artist and a factory worker through their personal network of friends. Their experience shows that a personal network can be a useful resource in giving them access to employment in the host society.

Since all of the informants I interviewed want to be employed, they emphasize how important paid work is. Paid work can be an emancipator path to citizenship for women because it gives them economic independence (Lister *et al*, 2007: 11). At the same time, having access to resources from the labor market can enable people to become autonomous and is important for self-development (Kofman *et al*, 2000: 84).

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[16] Arbetsförmedlingen website retrieved May 2,2012, from http://www.arbetsformedlingen.se/Globalmeny/Other-languages/About-us/Our-service.html

Suzy: It is very crucial for me to get paid work. When I do what I want, it is important to have my own money. […] Earning money develops my self-esteem. Before working outside, I received money every month from my husband. I felt small and I felt sorry for my husband. […] But, after making money, I can have more confidence.

Besides economic independence or self-confidence, many of the informants add that paid work can be also linked to a sense of belonging. They place an emphasis on doing paid work, in addition to receiving the welfare provisions, in terms of a sense of belong to Sweden. Similarly, by exploring the relationship between paid work and a sense of belonging based on narratives of undocumented immigrants in Sweden, Sager argues that "to work is to belong" (2011: 145).

Sumi : When I work, I feel that I do something good for Swedish society. […] When my patients get better, I feel that my work is worthwhile […] It is also good to work with various people and make friends in the working place. I can develop my networks through my work […] Without my job, it would be difficult to feel that I belong to the Swedish society.

Hara: When I was able to pay tax after I got employed, I felt that I performed responsibility as a member in Swedish society, rather than just received social welfare services. […] I felt that I became more included in Sweden.

Their narratives indicate that to work outside cannot be separable from their sense of belong and responsibility as memebers in Swedish society. Although employment is seen as important by all of the informants, not all of them can get access to the labor market. As I mentioned above, two of the informants have never had any chance to work outside. Mina says, "The officer in Arbetsförmedlingen told me that museums here are more likely to employ Swedish curators, so it is very difficult for me to be employed" Bomi also indicates that education and public employment services do not necessarily give them opportunities to be employed.

Bomi: I was a philosophy lecturer in Korean universities. […] I decided to study something more "practical" in order to get employed in Sweden […] After finishing Swedish language courses at Komvux, I entered a university.[…] I got a bachelor's degree in social work […] I also got a master's degree in social work. […] After enrolling with Arbetsförmedlingen, I submitted my CV to about 100 social welfare organizations. But, none of welfare facilities gave me any interview opportunity. […] Even though I have studied a lot in Sweden, I think that my age and my ethnicity are still barriers to employment.

She also studies nursing at Komvux, in addition to social work at university. This is because it seems relatively easier for immigrant women to be nurse-aides, than social workers. But, none of the hospitals she applied to employed her. "If I were a young Swedish person, I would have already been employed." It is not easy to get paid work in the labor market, in spite of her effort for re-skilling and re-studying in Sweden.

Even though the informants are employable, they get little access to high-paid or professional work. Similarly, Brah (2003) illustrates how Asian female workers are positioned in Britain. According to her research, Asian women tend to be concentrated in unskilled or semi-skilled work. In an analysis of migrants' social rights in some of European countries, like France, Morissens & Sainsbury (2005 in Lister *et al*, 2007: 86) also argues that migrants are less likely to equally enjoy economic well being, compared to ethnic majority citizens. Many of the informants I interviewed experience non-regular or low paid work.

Subin: When I was working in the factory, my work was to wrap and pack ham. I went to the factory at 3 PM and I came home from work at midnight. It was very difficult. I was so tiered everday. […] I had no life […] I just got 12,000 Krono per a month, including tax.

Yuna: When I worked as a temporary nurse-assistant, my working time was very unstable because it depended on the regular nurses' working times. […] I earned about 100 kronor per an hour.

Although many of the informants restudy and retrain in Sweden, their professional jobs are related to "gendered" work which has been traditionally occupied by female workers. Similarly, in an analysis of the Afro-Caribbean women in Britain, Lutz concludes that the main professional occupation for them is nursing. Even though they get skilled work, professional employment is often linked to traditional caring roles (Lutz *et al*, 1995:12 in Castle & Davidson, 2000: 123). The informants' position in the labor market is related to both gender and immigrant positions/ethnicity. Intersecionality is thus relevant to an understanding of the lived experience of their economic citizenship. Lister's theory resonates with my informants' experience, in terms of the importance of intersection between social categories. Lister (1997: 202) asserts that gender interacts with social divisions, such as ethnicity, which spells long-term economic marginalization. It is thus important to take into account cross-cutting and mutually constitutive social categories that shape women's experience (Nash, 2008: 2). More feminists have thus

demonstrated the process and effects of "incomplete" or "lessened citizenship" based on intersecting gender and immigrant status (Tastsoglou, 2006: 211). By shedding light on domestic migrant workers in Europe, Bridege Anderson (2000) explores how ethnicity/immigrant status and gender interact with each other, and the resulting constraints on the lives of immigrant women. As Castle & Davidson point out (2000: 127), even though immigrants get formal citizenship , they can be excluded from full social participation through unemployment or low-paid work. Immigrant women often find themselves in "citizenship limbo" (Parrenas, 2001 in Tastsoglou & Dobrowolsky, 2006: 5). In my research, in short, all of the informants I interviewed actively make efforts to be included in the labor market – by learning the language, retraining at university, using personal networks, and enrolling with *Arbetsförmedlingen*. But at the same time, the capacity to find paid work is compromised by gender and immigrant status/ethnicity which not only gives them limited access to employment, but also shapes their occupational choices. Their lived experience of economic citizenship cannot clearly be viewed without the intersection between gender and immigrant status/ethnicity. Equally, their legal inclusion in the Swedish welfare state enable them to get access to social services, like free education, financial aid and a public employment agency that will enhance their ability to be included in the labor market. In this respect, their capability to participate in the labor market is negotiated with both structural constraints and possibilities in Sweden.

4.4 Unpaid Work at Home

In this section, I shed light on immigrant women´s unpaid work. Especially, I explore how they perform domestic or caring work. As mentioned above, unpaid work in the private sphere has often been invisible in citizenship theory, compared to the paid work in the public domain. This is because citizenship has mainly been concerned with the enjoyment of rights and responsibilities and desirable behavior in the public domain (Kofman *et al*, 2000: 79). Feminists have counteracted the tendency in mainstream citizenship theory to overlook the private domain and emphasized its impact on women's citizenship since women and men experience a different relationship in the private and public spheres. They have broadened "the framing of social rights to include family and domestic rights and responsibilities", which "posit a recasting of unpaid work as work" (Hobson & Lister, 2002: 47). In particular, gendered domestic division of labor

has been problematized, in terms of women's gendered citizenship (Kofman *et al,* 2000: 79). Sexual division of labor is characterized by the allocation of unpaid domestic work of housework and childcare – the task of reproduction to women – (Lister, 1997: 130). In my research, many of the informants say that they do more household work, compared to their husbands, even though they ask him to do it together or he does it as well.

> Hara: My husband makes money, but now I do not work outside. So, I spend more time staying at home and doing housework, compared to him. […] When I worked outside, my husband did more domestic work than now. […] I think that even if a wife is unemployed and her husband earns money, he has to share domestic work, rather than help her […] But, actually, nowadays, I mainly take care of housework because I have no job.

Her narrative reveals how gendered division of housework operates in the private sphere. Similarly, in a comparative analysis of the division of housework in Sweden and Japan, Takahashi (2003: 47-48) shows that in both Swedish and Japanese households, wives are mainly responsible for household tasks, even though Swedish husbands spend more time doing domestic work, compared to Japanese husbands. At the same time, in my research, many of the informants reveal how their economic ability plays a pivotal role in negotiating household work with their partners. When they work outside, they are more likely to ask their husband to share housework. As Lister puts it, the domestic division of labor and time can be shaped by employment practices. Labor market structures and process, which disadvantage women, can have an impact on the private sphere (1997: 139). For many of the informants, unemployment and economic dependence are closely linked to their limited ability to share domestic work with their husbands.

But at the same time, even though paid work in the public sphere can play a pivotal role in the unpaid work in the private sphere, all of the informants who are employed still spend more time doing housework, in relation to their husbands.

> Suzy: After I got job, he does more household work than before. […] When I come home from work, I am so tired. So I ask him to do housework. […] But, I still do more housework, like cleaning or laundry than he does.

Bosniak (2009: 132) asserts that women's increased inclusion into the labor market does not mean that women in the paid labor market are not extensively engaged in the "practice of social reproductive labor" at home. This is because they continue to do a "disproportionate share of the

domestic work" in their homes in relation to men, even when they work for wages. Many of the informants' narratives correspond with Bosniak's argument because their employment does not necessarily transform gendered division of domestic work, in spite of their husbands' increased participation in the unpaid work.

In addition to household work, care work is also rooted in women's gendered citizenship, although it has not been traditionally considered as a citizenship issue. It is only with the advent of feminist analysis that care has been recognized with relevance to citizenship. In many European welfare states, family members are no longer expected to take full responsibilities for childcare (Lister *et al*, 2007:169). In particular, Sweden has been intervening in care services. According to Å sa Lundqvist (2009: 94), during the 1960s, with the increased number of women into employment, the Swedish government commission suggested the concept of "freedom of choice", which focused on women's rights to combine women´s paid work with motherhood. This concept played an important role in family policy debates. At the same time, in the 1960s, the Swedish trade union also strongly argued for a public caring system, even though some right-wing parties did not agree with it. As a result, during the 1970s, universal child care policy was adopted and extended in Sweden, which could not be separable from the dual-breadwinner system in the Swedish welfare state (Anette Borchorst, 2009: 36). In my research, three of the informants have children. All of them benefit from kinder gardens or after school program, in terms of keeping a balance between doing care work and studying or doing paid work:

> Sumi: Shortly after my baby turned 1 years-old, I was able to send her to a kinder garden and work outside […] These days, when I work at the hospital in the afternoon, she attends "after school programs."

> Yuna: Looking after my baby is very important for me. But, when I spent all my time at home taking caring of my baby for 1 year, I felt frustrated and isolated […] When my daughter turned 14 months, she was able to be cared for in the kindergarten for 8 hours a day. So, I can take some courses at Komvux during the day.

In addition to the day care service, parental leave is also useful for the informants who are working mothers. According to Swedish social insurance policy, parental benefit is payable for 450 days for children. The parental benefit days are shared equally between both parents. One parent may give up the right to parental benefit to the other parent with the exception of 60 days

for children.[17] Subin says, "I was able to get 80 percent of my pay when I took care of my daughter at home for 1 year." But at the same time, all of the mothers I interviewed are still responsible for care work at home, despite the day care service and parental leave.

> Subin: When I got parental leave and stayed at home for 1 year, my husband also used parental leave for 2 months. […] But, he did not look after the baby as much as I did at the time. […] When I require him to help me, he is willing to do it, such as bathing her or picking her up at kinder garden. […] But, I mainly take care of her after work.

Her experience shows that the caring policy does not necessarily transform her gendered caring responsibility. In an analysis of care policies and gender equality in Scandinavia, Borchorst (2009) also argues that even though nowadays, care policies aim at extending paternal leave in order to break gendered division of caring work, primary caregivers are still women. To sum up, in my research, all of the mothers I interviewed develop the ability to relieve the burden of care wok as well as negotiate their paid work or study with childcare through care policies and their husbands´ participation. Yet, like with their household work, they still perform gendered caring responsibility in the private sphere as they do a disproportionate share of the care work, in relation to their husband. In this sense, the majority of the informants' experiences indicate that how they perform and share their unpaid work can be mediated with diverse factors, like their financial ability, public welfare provisions and men's participation.

4.5 Cultural Identity

In this section, I focus on immigrant women´s cultural identity. Culture is also another area excluded from mainstream citizenship theories (Castle & Davidson, 2000:124). On the one hand, migrants have often had to adapt to the majority culture of the host society, in order to fully enjoy citizenship. Immigrants have usually been seen as a cultural other who threatens "our" cultural integrity and uniqueness (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 64). On the other hand, the elaboration of multicultural citizenship "challenges the template of cultural homogeneity" and emphasizes the

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[17]Swedish Social Insurance Office website retrieved May 8, 2012 from http://www.forsakringskassan.se/sprak/eng

right to the respect for cultural diversity (Lister, 1997: 50). Multicultural citizenship could be significant in Sweden, the largest Nordic country of immigrant with about twenty percent of foreigners defined as a person who has either migrated themselves or has one parent with a migrant background (Lister *et al*, 2007: 104). But at the same time, even though multicultural citizenship values cultural plurality, it can run the risk of regarding cultural identities as fixed. In terms of multiculturalism, it is necessary to avoid perceiving cultural identity as fixed, but rather as a dynamic process (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 67). As Taylor points out, identity can be constructed and negotiated by agents (Taylor, 2006: 95 in Scuzzarello, 2010: 54). According to Anthias, it is important to understand identity as a process that is actively performed through individuals' narratives of changes (Anthias 2002: 498-501 in Tastsoglou, 2006: 204). In this respect, I explore how Korean immigrant women construct and maintain their cultural identity in Sweden. On the one hand, all of the informants assert that they maintain Korean cultural or ethnic identity. As Castle & Davidson (2000:125) argue, the "maintenance of language and culture" can be seen as a crucial right and a need by migrants. In particular, ethnic communities can have an important impact on immigrants' culture: they organize festivals and carry out rituals, or teach the mother tongue to the second generation. In Sweden, the South Korean community is located in two big cities, Stockholm and Gothenburg. The community operates Korean language schools for children from transnational families, adopted Koreans, and the second generation. It also organizes Korean festivals, and produces a Korean webzine.[18] Yet, as there is no organized Korean community in Skåne, all of the informants I interviewed sustain their cultural identity through personal networks, like their Korean friends, rather than the association. In particular, they perform their Korean cultural identity by keeping contact with Korean friends, celebrating traditional holidays, preparing Korean food, and being aware of the social situation in Korea.

> Suzy: I often meet my Korean friends. They are also immigrant women who live with Swedish husband. […] Last February, we celebrated Korean new year´s day with my Korean friends and their Swedish husbands […] At the time, we were wearing traditional Korean clothes and Swedish husbands were also wearing traditional Korean clothes […] We were playing traditional games and cooking Korean food.

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[18]The Korean Association (Koreanska Foreningen i Sverige) website retrieved May 10, 2012 from http://www.koreans.se/

In addition to contacts or network with the "same" ethnic people, as Fishman (1991) points out, language can be also closely linked to cultural identity for many immigrants, it is often the parents who decide to teach their mother tongue to their children. All of the immigrants who are mothers emphasize how important it is to teach Korean culture, especially, Korean language, to their children.

> Yuna: I want my daughters to learn both Swedish and Korean cultures. […] Especially, I want her to master both Swedish and Korean languages. […] When I talk to her, I want to speak Korean. I also really hope she can talk to her Korean grandparents in Korea. […] I teach Korean to her with Korean animation and children books at home.

All of the mothers also claim that it is not easy to teach Korean to their children all by themselves. As they study or work outside, they find it difficult to have enough time teaching Korean to their children. At the same time, learning Korean is not just limited to children in transnational families. The informants assert that it is important for their husbands to learn Korean. Three of the informants say that their husband is willing to learn Korean, whereas four of the informants mention that their husband is not interested in learning Korean.

> Subin: I want him to be able to speak Korean to our daughter and my Korean parents. […] I want my family members, including him, to be able to communicate with each other in not only Swedish, but also Korean. […] He is also very willing to learn Korean. […] He took some Korean language courses in Folkuniversitetet in Helsinborg.

> Suzy: Actually, my husband is not interested in learning Korean, even though I want him to learn it […] I am sad because it is hard for him to communicate with my parents in Korea who cannot speak English.

As we have seen above, the informants sustain their Korean cultural identity, rather than become assimilated to Swedish culture. But at the same time, they also try to learn Swedish culture, rather than become separated with Swedish society. As all of the informants live with Swedish partners, they mention that they can learn Swedish culture more easily through their Swedish family, compared to other immigrants who live with someone of the "same" ethnicity. In particular, they take part in various Swedish gatherings, celebrations, or traditional holidays, and organize dinners or trips with Swedish friends, relatives or family members. For the informants, being exposed to Swedish culture from their husbands, relatives or friends, on a daily basis, is

not separable from feeling connected to Swedish culture. The importance of relationships with the Swedish in the process of adjusting to Swedish culture is shared by all of the informants. At the same time, as Bron (2003: 614) points out, for immigrants, learning a new language can be also linked to learning a new culture and society because "to really master a language refers to understand it in all the situations and cultural contexts." The majority of the informants emphasize that learning and mastering Swedish language is the important way to learn Swedish culture.

> Hara: Swedish language is like air for me because it is very essential for living here. […] In order to be a member in Sweden, it is essential to learn Swedish.
>
> Mina: After I am able to read Swedish, it is very good to more deeply understand Sweden, such as a way of thinking, social issues or common sense or social norm by reading a Swedish newspaper.

Immigrants can take the new language not only "as a means of survival, but also as an important step to master their being, to become a new, to reconstruct their identities" (Bron: 2003: 615). In terms of learning Swedish, the majority of the informants also place an emphasis on Komvux .They easily get access to free-language courses through which they develop their ability to speak Swedish, understand Sweden and participate in Swedish culture. The informants claim that both Swedish and Korean culture are important to them. Hara says, "I don't think that I need to choose only one culture, only one identity (between Swedish and Korean) and follow it," New language and culture can enrich one's identity and make it more complex, it does not mean that "one is denied his or her ethnic identity" (Bron, 2003: 618). In an analysis of immigrant women´s citizenship in Canada, Tastsoglou (2006: 213) asserts that immigrant women may live in the "cultural borderlands" of Canada and their ethnic culture by not only maintaining their cultural identity, but also adjusting to Canadian culture. As Isin & Wood also put it, immigrant women can conceive "home" as multi-local by "making cultural identification across borders" (1999 in Tastsoglou & Dobrowolsky, 2006: 6). In short, in my research, all of the informants learn and practise Swedish culture as well as perform and sustain Korean cultural identity, which can be connected to various factors, like their transnational marriage relationship, their personal network, and the Swedish public service, such as free language courses.

5. Conclusion

The main aim of this research is to find out how immigrant women get included in the host society by invoking the relevant theoretical framework as well as the empirical study of South Korean women in Sweden. In terms of the research purpose, my theoretical question is about how citizenship theory explains inclusion and exclusion of immigrant women. As mentioned above, citizenship can be understood as not only formal status, but also lived experience. Lived citizenship refers to "the meaning that citizenship actually has in people's lives" and the ways in which people's socio-economic conditions and cultural backgrounds affect their everyday lives (Hall and Williamson, 1999: 2 in Lister *et al*. 2007, 167). In addition to the lived citizenship perspective, the intersectional account of citizenship also sheds light on how immigrant women experience citizenship in its substantive sense. Following these view, inclusion and exclusion works at not only a legal, but also sociological level through formal and substantive levels of citizenship. Immigrants´participation in socioeconomic and cultural dimensions of the host country could be understood as citizenship in the broader sense (Tastsoglou & Dobrowolsky, 2006: 22). In particular, inclusion and exclusion at the substantive level can be closely related to equal and full opportunities and rights, which tend to be more of a continuum than absolute dichotomy (Lister: 1997: 43). Immigrant women often find themselves with various kinds of "partial citizenship" based on intersection on gender and immigrant status/ ethnicity (Parrenas, 2001 in Tastsoglou & Dobrowolsky, 2006: 5). But at the same time, immigrant women can be seen as active migrants in the process of shaping their substantive citizenship. For these reasons, in relation to citizenship, relevant analytical concepts, like gender, intersectionality and agency have also been theorized. My theoretical context has given me knowledge about relevant concepts and how the concepts are interrelated to one another. With regards to the theoretical discussion, my empirical question is about how South Korean immigrant women act to get included in the host country. Particularly, the empirical study has explored how they shape their socioeconomic positions and construct cultural identities in the host society. As Long (1992: 38) points out, "actor-oriented approach" is not necessarily antithetical to structural analysis because it is also important to take into account the social context, in terms of "detailed analysis of the life-worlds." In particular, I have dealt with various issues around immigrant women´s lived

citizenship, such as, legal status, paid work in the public sphere, unpaid work in the private sphere, and cultural identity. I will briefly present the findings of my research.

The result analysis has started with the discussion of how the informants decided to migrate to Sweden. Besides their transnational-relationship with Swedish partners, Sweden's reputation, like gender equal society and the welfare state, has an important impact on their migration decisions. Their narratives indicate that they are active migrants or movers with agency, rather than passive subjects who just "follow" their husbands, when they make migration decisions that change their life course.

I have also found that without making sense of legal status, it is difficult to explore substantive citizenship. Access to social service is closely dependent on being able to demonstrate eligibility, like legal status (Kofman *et al.* 2000: 138). Moreover, immigrant's access to paid work can be also conditional on the degree of legal inclusion (Erel, 2009: 79). Korean immigrant women's legal status can be seen as the first step for their substantive inclusion and membership in Sweden.

The next part of the analysis is related to paid work. Erel notes that paid work can be imp ortant aspects of citizenship because participation in the labor market can be crucial factor in gett ing access to social citizenship rights (2009:80). Therefore, feminists have long emphasized women's participation in the labor market, in terms of full and equal citizenship (Bosniak, 2009: 130). Even though the informants are "legally" included in the host society, it is not easy for them to have full access to the labor market. The informants reveal how they find it difficult to be employed and how they try to find paid-work in Sweden. Active involvement with the language education is emphasized as important by all of the informants for having access to employment. At the same time, many of the informants choose to start studying and reskilling in different professionals, as their previous education and work experience are not helpful for employment. This indicates that substantive recognition of immigrants´ previous education and work experience can be crucial to their economic citizenship. Furthermore, their capability to get job is limited by gender and immigrant status/ethnicity which not only makes them have limited access to the labor market, but also shapes their occupational choices, like low-paid, unstable or "feminized" jobs. Even though, all of the informant actively attempt to get include in the labor market, it is not easy for them to get full access to employment. As Anthias puts it, diasporic women have limited access to citizenship based on intersection between gender and ethnicity

(1988: 574). Intersetionality is relevant to the analysis of their lived citizenship. But at the same time, their legal status in the Swedish welfare state provides them with various social services, like free education, financial aid and the public employment agency that render them able to develop their capability to be employed. It can be thus argued that in terms of economic citizenship, immigrant women's capacity to participate in the labor market is negotiated with not only structural constraints, but also structural possibilities.

The following part of the analysis has discussed the issue of unpaid work in the private sphere. Feminists have reframed unpaid work as one of the important citizenship issues. As Cher ubini (2011: 117) points out, in terms of lived citizenship, equality is important not only within th e public sphere, like the labor market, but also within the private sphere, like family. Especially, e quality will not come out without full sharing responsibility and duty even in the private area that "democratic citizenship implies" (European Ministerial Conference, 1986 in Lister, 1997: 136). In my research, gendered responsibility of unpaid work is shared by the informants. In particular, their limited access to paid work in the public sphere is not separated with their gendered responsibility of unpaid work in the private sphere. In others words, their economic ability lies at the heart of their capacity to negotiate domestic work with their husbands. The informants who are employed share more household work with their partner, compared to the unemployed. Equally importantly, the informants who work outside still do more domestic work, in relation to their husbands, which means that paid work does not necessarily transform gendered responsibility of unpaid work. At the same time, the informants who are mothers increase their capability to not only decrease their burden of childcare, but also negotiate their paid work or study with care work through day care service, parental leave, or their husbands´participation. However, they still perform gendered caring responsibility at home. In this respect, how they do and perform unpaid work can be mediated with diverse factors, like their paid work, care regime of the country of residence, and the degree of men's participation.

This study has also covered the issue of cultural identification. According to Yuval-Davis (1997: 64), immigrants who do not share cultural and ethnic identity have often been constructed or isolated as strangers or outsiders in the host society. Multicultural citizenship can be thus crucial to immigrants.Yet, in terms of multiculturalism, it is necessary to perceive cultural identity not as reified fixed thing, but rather as a dynamic process. Yeoh, Brenda, Teo and Huang (2000: 292) assert that complexity and heterogeneity of immigrant women´s identities challenges

"our current conceptions of culture, place, and identity as closed, fixed, and unchanging." In my research, on the one hand, the informants sustain and perform Korean cultural identity. Their cultural activity is based on their personal network, like their peer friends, rather than organized community. Particularly, they perform their Korean cultural identity by building contacts with Korean friends, celebrating traditional holidays, preparing Korean food, or being aware of the social situation in Korea. In addition, the informants who are mothers find it important to teach Korean to their children. For the informants, Korean language is closely connected to not only communication, but also cultural identity. But at the same time, they learn and perform Swedish culture, rather than become separable from it. As the informants are involved with transnational marriage, they learn and do Swedish culture through their Swedish family on a daily basis. In particular, they perform and learn Swedish cultures, like taking part in gatherings, celebrations, or traditional holidays, and organizing dinners or trips with Swedish friends, relatives or family members. For the informants, daily transnational-relationship with Swedish is closely connected to a sense of belonging to Swedish culture. Furthermore, the informants reveal that their active participation in the new language education at Komvux cannot be separable from understanding new culture and living in it. In this sense, the informants not only do and sustain Korean cultural identity, but also learn and practise Swedish culture, which is based on various factors, including their personal network, transnational marriage relationship, and the Swedish social service, like the free language program. As Morokvasic notes, transnational relationships and families can be one of the "signs of transnationalism" in Europe which "challenge the exclusiveness of national identities" (Morokvasic, 1993 in Humbeck, 1996:199).

Through engagement with the realities of legal status, paid work, domestic and caring responsibility and culture, this study, therefore, provides a situated and contextual account of immigrant women´s lived citizenship that has so far received insufficient attention. Particularly, the research reveals that immigrant women´s individual agency is continuously negotiated with social context, when they actively shape their socioeconomic positions and cultural identities in Sweden. As Baber points out, it is necessary to avoid "uncritical acceptance of extreme versions of either structural determinism or voluntarism" (Baber 1991: 229 in Rahman, 2005: 185). By means of the lived experiences of immigrant women, this thesis can also offer valuable insights concerning citizenship theory, such as the relationship between legal status and full membership, the intersection between social categories, the importance of substantive recognition of previous

educational background and work experience, the relationship between paid work and unpaid work, and the complexity of cultural identities. Even though Korean immigrant women in Sweden can't represent all of migrant women, this study, as one of relevant cases, can be a motive for future studies and research about immigrant women's citizenship. As female migrants can differ, according to legal status, race, the reasons for movement, the nature of incorporation within the political system of the new country, sexuality, disability and so on, I would like to emphasize that the research question needs further investigation and could be developed in future research projects based on diverse migrant women.

6. Executive Summary

The principle purpose of this research is to find out how immigrant women get included in the host society by invoking the relevant theoretical discussion as well as the empirical case of South Korean immigrant women in Sweden. In the theoretical part, I analyze how citizenship theory explains inclusion and exclusion of immigrant women. I reformulate citizenship from a feminist perspective in order to make sense of immigrant women's citizenship. It is necessary to rethink false universalism of citizenship traditions in which citizens are seen as abstract and disembodied individuals who are actually white men in Western society. But at the same time, in terms of moving beyond false universalism based on male citizens, one should be careful not to be trapped in pitfalls of another false universalism which homogenize women´s category. In other words, the analysis of women's citizenship should not be at the expense of respecting difference and diversity between them. Women do not exist simply as a unitary category, but as diverse categories, like black women, working-class women or immigrant women. It is necessary to emphasize how social divisions can be either mutually reinforcing or contradictory, and how they can shift over time. Intersectionality can be thus relevant to the analysis of diverse women´s citizenship. Intersectional approaches render researchers able to treat social categories as intersecting together to produce specific effects and hence explore complicated and intersecting ways to constitute women's experience. Equally importantly, it can be also argued that even though women have multiple identities, they all experience elements of exclusion based on gender at some level. Therefore, in terms of feminist conception of citizenship, it is important to avoid not only stressing commonality at the expense of diversity, but also ignoring commonality in the name of plurality.

At the same time, citizenship can be understood as not only legal status, but also lived experience. The concept of lived citizenship is about the meaning that citizenship actually has in people's lives and the ways in which people's socio-economic conditions and cultural backgrounds affect their everyday lives. When it comes to lived citizenship, it is crucial to make sense of people´s everyday life: how people understand and negotiate rights and responsibilities, belonging and participation. Such a view can be different from state centered and static notions of citizenship. Citizenship is a dynamic process of inclusion and exclusion that takes place across

various social relations. The intersectional perspective on citizenship also places an emphasis on how immigrant women experience citizenship in its substantive sense. It is thus important to make sense of how inclusion and exclusion work at not only legal, but also sociological levels through formal and substantive levels of citizenship.

In particular, in terms of citizenship, immigrant women's participation in paid work has been emphasized as important by many feminists. Even though paid work can be crucial to immigrant women's citizenship, they get limited access to the labor market. In addition to paid work, unpaid has also been politicized by feminists. They have challenged the public-private dichotomy that has reinforced the traditional association of citizenship with the public spheres. Besides immigrant women's paid and unpaid work, the welfare state lies at the heart of immigrant women's inclusion and exclusion. Immigrants' access to welfare services depends on demonstrating eligibility, like legal status. At the same time, even though immigrant women have access to the welfare services, the welfare regime can simultaneously strengthen immigrant women´s substantive citizenship and reinforce gendered citizenship. The nature of this relationship depends on the type of welfare state. Therefore, how immigrant women experience welfare regimes cannot be homogenized, but diverse, according to the type of welfare states as well as immigrant women´s legal citizenship status, which has an important impact on their full membership in the host society. Immigrant women's cultural rights are also crucial to their citizenship. Immigrants who have different cultural or ethnic identity have often been constructed as strangers or outsiders in the host society. Multicultural citizenship can be thus crucial for immigrants´ citizenship.

The notion of agency cannot be separated with the lived citizenship which concentrates on the relationship between citizenship and everyday life and sheds light on the different ways in which social actors give meaning to and practice citizenship. Even though immigrant women often find themselves with various kinds of "partial citizenship", immigrant women can be seen as active migrants and participants in the process of shaping the substance of citizenship. Yet, agency is not opposed to structure. As agency does not exist beyond social context, it can be understood as "mediated capacity" to act within social context. Furthermore, it is also important to avoid regarding agency as a synonym for resistance. Activism or resistance can be just one of the expressions of agency. Women´s capacity to shape and improve their subject positions can be also seen as expressions of their individual agency. In this respect, even though my paper is not

about social movement or collective activism, I do not think that it is not related to agency of immigrant women. When it comes to agency, in the empirical section, I shed light on immigrant women´s capacity to construct their socioeconomic positions and cultural identities in the host society.

In terms of research methods, I have chosen qualitative research. As this thesis is a study of citizenship as lived experience, the use of in-depth interviews can provide an effective tool for exploring lived citizenship. In particular, I have conducted semi-structured interview with seven Korean immigrant women in Skåne. In the methodological discussion, I have also illustrated interview settings and ethical issues. It is followed by reflections on my position as both an "insider" and "outsider" researcher. I have also rethought objectivity from a feminist perspective. Finally, I have discussed whether a male researcher can do feminist research.

With regards to the theoretical discussion, my empirical question is about how South Korean immigrant women act to get included in the host country. In particular, the empirical study has explored how they shape their socioeconomic positions and construct cultural identities in the host society. I have explored various issues around immigrant women´s lived citizenship, such as, legal status, paid work in the public sphere, unpaid work in the private sphere, and cultural identity.

The result analysis has started with the analysis of migration decisions and motives. The informants reveal that they are active migrants or movers with agency, rather than passive subjects who are just dependent on their husbands, in terms of migration decisions that change their life course.

I have also found that the informants' legal status can play a pivotal role in their substantive citizenship. Their legal inclusion can be seen as the first step for their full membership and inclusion within the host society.

It is followed by the investigation of the informants´ paid work. All of the informants actively make efforts towards getting included in the labor force – by learning Swedish, beginning studying and retraining, using personal network or enrolling with *Arbetsförmedlingen*. But at the same time, their capacity to be employed is compromised by the intersection of gender and immigrant status/ethnicity which not only makes them have limited access to employment, but also shapes their occupational choices. But at the same time, their legal status in the Swedish welfare state helps them to get access to various kinds of social services, like free education,

financial aid and public employment agency that can develop their ability to be included in the labor market. It can be therefore argued that in terms of economic citizenship, immigrant women's capacity to participate in the labor market, is not only constrained, but also facilitated by Swedish social context.

The following part of the analysis has discussed the issue of unpaid work in the private sphere. Feminists have reframed unpaid work as one of the important citizenship issues. The informants perform gendered responsibility of unpaid work at home. But at the same time, their capability to share and do unpaid work is negotiated with various factors, like their paid work, care regime of the country of residence, and the degree of men's participation in Sweden.

The final part of the analysis is linked to cultural identification. Immigrant women can perceive "home" as multi-local by building cultural identification across borders. It is important to avoid regarding cultural identity as reified fixed thing, but rather as a dynamic process. In my research, the informants learn and do Swedish culture as well as perform and sustain Korean cultural identity, which are connected to diverse factors, like their transnational marriage relationship, their personal network, and the Swedish public service, like free language course. The complexity of immigrant women´s identities challenge dominant conceptions of culture and identity as closed, fixed, and unchanging.

The research reveals that immigrant women´s individual agency is continuously mediated with social context in Sweden, when they, as active migrants and participants, are involved with the process of constructing their substantive citizenship. The study can also contribute to our understanding of issues relating to citizenship, such as the relation between legal status and full membership, the significance of substantive recognition of previous educational background and work experience, the intersection between gender and ethnicity, the relationship between paid work and unpaid work, and the heterogeneity of cultural identities.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Interview guide

How did you meet you husband and decide to move to Sweden

How long have you been in Sweden?

What is now your legal status in Sweden?

How did you get your visa or Swedish citizenship?

Have you been employed in Sweden?

Have you attempted to get jobs in Sweden?

How did you try to find employment?

What kinds of jobs have you tried to get, why?

What was your previous job and major, priori to immigration?

How is your working condition in Sweden, including pay or working hours?

Are you satisfied with your occupation and working condition?

How do you share household work with your partner?

If you have children,
How do you share childcare with your partner?

If you study or work outside,
How do you combine childcare with your work or study?

Do you maintain your Korean cultural identity or try to adjust to Swedish culture?

How do you sustain your Korean cultural identity?

How do you learn or adjust to Swedish culture?

Appendix 2

Interviewees

	Name	Age	Occupation prior to migration	Employment experience In Sweden **1. Current work** **2. Previous work**	Education **1. Prior to Sweden** **2. Sweden**	Children	Year of migration
1	**Hara**	30	Unemployed (University student)	1. Unemployed 2. Part-time job at Macdoland's Temporary cosmetic tattoo artist	1. Business at university		2010
2	**Suzy**	27	Teacher at kinder garden	1. Regular teacher at kinder garden 2. Part-time teacher assistant at kinder garden	1. Child welfare at university		2010
3	**Mina**	33	Curator at museum	Unemployed	1. Art at graduate school		2010
4	**Sumi**	43	Office worker at private company	1. Nurse-specialist	1. Computer Science at college 2. Nursing at both university and graduate school	Two daughters	1999
5	**Yuna**	39	Teacher at Private Institution	1. Unemployed 2. Temporary nurse-Assistant	1. Education at university 2. Nursing at university	Two daughters	2005
6	**Bomi**	53	Lecturer at university	Unemployed	1. Philosophy at graduate school 2. Social work at both university and graduate school Nursing-Assistant		1999
7	**Subin**	38	Teacher at kinder garden	1. Temporary teacher at kinder garden 2. Factory worker Nurse-Assistant	1. Education at university 2. Nursing-Assistant	One daughter	2001