

# **Citizenship at the Margins: Filipina Migrant Women and the Negotiation of National Boundaries in South Korea**

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## **OBJECTIVES**

This dissertation examines the interactive process of boundary-making between citizens and non-citizens in relation to the “citizenship practices” of migrant women. By conceptualizing citizenship as a relational process, I look at how this boundary is negotiated and contested through discourse and everyday interaction among locally grounded actors. My ethnography specifically focuses on variations in citizenship claims as framed by three different groups of Filipina migrant women living at the margins of a global city -- Seoul, South Korea. Through an examination of the experiences of “labor migrants” working in a factory town in the female-dominated light manufacturing industry, “marriage migrants” living in rural communities with their South Korean husbands, and “entertainers” working at bars and clubs on an American military base, this dissertation asks (1) what discursive frames are being utilized by the Korean state and NGO actors in their integration efforts for migrant women; (2) how do migrant women themselves reproduce, challenge and resist these frames and (3) as a result of these interactions, how are boundaries between citizens and non-citizens negotiated in practice.

## **INTRODUCTION**

This is a study of citizenship at the margins. It focuses on the active contestation of boundaries separating citizens and non-citizens. That the boundary of citizenship is first and foremost the nation-state has often been taken for granted. As “imagined communities,” nation-states produce citizens by constructing commonalities among their members, through active exclusion of others, physically and symbolically (Anderson 1983; Calhoun 1993). Citizenship, in this sense, is “a powerful instrument of social closure and profoundly illiberal determinant of life chances” (Brubaker 1996, p.230). However, in recent years, scholars in citizenship studies have also developed the concept of “postnational citizenship,” to make sense of the phenomenon that social rights, such as health care and welfare benefits, previously limited to citizens, are now extended to non-citizen residents as members of common humanity (Bauböck 1994; Jacobson 1996; Soysal 1994). In this model, international norms, supported by transnational organizations including UN, help define who is considered a deserving member of a collective community, which is not limited to the nation-state.

Both national and postnational theories of citizenship, however, are largely preoccupied with discussion of formal citizenship, whether they rely on an international human rights treaty or a national policy. Whereas formal citizenship rights are stipulated in law and policy, it is everyday interaction by government and non-government actors that translates, enacts, and challenges citizenship in practice (Basok 2004). This set of practices determines substantive citizenship, in terms of “notion[s] of dignity, thriving, and well-being” in a community (Rosaldo 1994, p.410). In this sense, the boundary that separates citizens and non-citizens is not fixed in law and policy, but is permeable and negotiable in particular local contexts with concrete actors (Glenn 2002; Stasiulis and Bakan 1997). In fact, citizens and non-citizens are “interdependent constructions,” (p.20) where citizenship is used to “draw boundaries between those who are included as members of the community and entitled to respect, protection, and rights, and those who are excluded and thus not entitled to recognition and rights” (Glenn 2002, p.1). In order to understand citizenship as a process that is relational and enacted, I argue that it is critical to look at the performances of citizenship happening within the structures of law and policy through interactions of locally-grounded actors. These are what I call “citizenship practices.”

Citizenship practices are activities that draw, affirm, or break down boundaries between individuals and a national community. They are reciprocal interactions, not only performed by citizens, but also

by the state and by non-citizens. They take place in a cultural context shaped by discourses about what the state is, who citizens are, and when and how each can make appropriate claims on the other. Both material and discursive elements play an important role here, in that the way people draw symbolic boundaries is embedded in power relations, closely intertwined with the way that resources are distributed and people's life chances are determined (Fraser 1995; Lamont and Molnar 2001; Lamont 2001). The subjects at the margins of citizenship are constantly negotiating their inclusion and exclusion in different dimensions of citizenship, political, civil, social and cultural.

Interrogating when and on what grounds these marginal subjects are included as citizens, I employ and extend the notion of "borderwork," a concept developed by Barrie Thorne (1993) to explain the interactive process by which gender differences are marked or unmarked, using it now also to address the marking process of citizenship. The concept of borderwork highlights the contingency and the relationality of the boundary between citizens and non-citizens, going beyond a simple understanding of citizenship as a legal category, granted in top-down fashion to an individual by a nation-state. "Borderwork" is accomplished by both the host society and migrants as active agents, despite the power asymmetry in which they are embedded and the structural constraints imposed by the legal framework of the state. By examining differences in citizenship practices across three formal definitions but in one state (South Korea) and for one social group (Filipina women), my research will show how citizenship practice comes out of interplay and negotiation among locally grounded actors (Stasiulis and Bakan 1997) and how boundaries are produced "through contact as well as avoidance" (Thorne 1993, p.64).

Filipina migrant women are located at the boundary separating citizens from non-citizens in Korea, a nation-state that is recently shifting from being ethnically homogeneous to incorporating a significant number of migrants (Kymlicka 1995; Shin 2006). In a legal sense, all three groups of Filipina migrant women living and working in South Korea are excluded from South Korean citizenship, as they occupy a visitor status as an industrial worker (E-9 visa), as a fiancée or a spouse of a citizen (F-1 or F-2-1), as an entertainer (E-6). Despite their similarities in terms of age, gender, and socio-economic status in the Philippines, these women are included and excluded from the national community in highly differentiated ways, both through their distinctive structural positions and the manner in which symbolic boundaries are drawn. All three groups of Filipina women engage in different "patriarchal bargains" to sustain their lives (Kandiyoti 1988). While marriage migrants take up an integral role in sustaining the patriarchal South Korean family, labor migrants and entertainers encounter South Korea via their participation in a gender-segregated and low-paying labor market. Labor migrants, however, are often part of a Filipino ethnic community and the ethnically mixed migrant workers' community in the factory town, whereas entertainers and marriage migrants are often isolated within their specific workplaces and homes.

Preliminary research indicates that the gendered language of human rights and victimization is present for all groups, as they are framed as vulnerable and in need of human rights protection. However, alternate discourses are also available for some in making claims to citizenship. For the marriage migrants in rural areas, their intimate ties to South Korean citizens can be offered as a ground for citizenship, as they are often valorized as loyal daughters-in-law, devoted to their Korean husbands and children. I expect that their claims to deserving-ness will be constructed around self-sacrifice and close connections to Korean nation-state, especially in the form of maternal citizenship. The labor migrants are called upon as hard workers who are beneficial for South Korean economy and who have earned and are in need of workers' rights. I expect that they will be able to make claims to respect and rights based on contributions. In contrast to these two groups of migrants, to whom many social integration efforts both by government and NGO actors are directed, the entertainers in American military towns are often invisible, except for rare occasions when they are named as victims of trafficking. I expect they will, as compared to labor migrants and marriage migrants, have fewer alternate discourses other than that of victimization with which to make claims to citizenship, and that it will be problematic for them to seek citizenship in human rights terms alone.

This dissertation examines how these differences in the citizenship experiences of migrant women are shaped both discursively and materially, and by doing so, contributes to the re-conceptualization of citizenship as an interactive process of negotiation among locally grounded actors. Specifically, the study examines the following three research questions:

(1) What are the discursive frames used by the South Korean nation-state and various transnational and local advocacy organizations for migrant women as a ground of the inclusion and citizenship for migrant women? How dominant is human rights language, what alternate frames are utilized, and for what purposes are the various frames employed by these more powerful actors at the border?

(2) How are these discursive frames for citizenship put to use differently in three local sites by migrant women themselves? How does gender frame the discourses on which their citizenship claims are based, and what consequences do the different frames have for their citizenship practices, enabling or limiting practices of borderwork for the migrant women?

(3) How do frames and practices brought to bear by authorities, local citizens, migrant women and their advocates create interactional contests among them? How do the discursive resources offered by particular frames tilt the narratives of belonging and exclusion in specifically advantageous and disadvantageous ways? When is the borderwork of citizenship practice more or less successful in creating inclusion, for which individuals, and how?

## **THE EMPIRICAL CASE**

As a postwar nation-state, South Korea's modern history is filled with many transformations: from agricultural-based economy to industry-based, from military dictatorship to democratic governance, from a developing country to one with advanced capitalist economy, and from an ethnically homogeneous nation to one encountering increasing numbers of migrants. My research sites are located in the margins of Seoul, a global city and political and economic center of South Korea. Whereas Seoul attracts many high-skilled professionals from all over the world, what Saskia Sassen calls the upper-tier of the global economy (2001), the Gyeong-Gi province surrounding Seoul is home to other strata of migrants who fill the jobs that South Koreans are not willing to take up, including low wage manufacturing, farm work, and bar dancing in American military bases. The Filipina migrant women that I study are among these groups of lower-tier migrants, who are located at the margins of citizenship.

The labor migration in South Korea began in the late 1980s, as guestworkers from China and South-East Asia came to Korea to fill labor demands for manual workers (Seol 2005). Marriage migration began in the 1990s and has increased drastically, meeting a demand primarily from men in rural areas. In 2005, 36% of marriages in rural areas were between Korean men and marriage migrants from Vietnam, China, and the Philippines, while 13.6% of marriages in general were international marriages, 9.9% between Korean men and marriage migrants (Ministry of Justice 2007). The migration of entertainers working at the bars and clubs in American military base towns dates back to the mid-1990s, when Filipina and Russian women began replacing Korean women in the sex industry around the military bases (Lee 2006). According to recent statistics, women's migration from the Philippines to South Korea is concentrated in these three sectors: light manufacturing, entertainers, and marriage migration.

These migration patterns create a differently gendered dynamic from the migration of Filipina women as domestic workers, care-takers, and nurses to the U.S., Europe, and other East Asian countries, whose cases are well documented (Parrenas 2001; Constable 1997; Espiritu 2003). As of 2006, among 17275 Filipina women who were in South Korea with a legal visa status, 4858 (28%) are engaged or married to South Korean men, whereas 2508 (15%) have "entertainer" visas and 3237 (19%) have industrial laborer visas (Ministry of Justice 2007). Filipinas are the only ethnic group

that is involved in all three sectors of feminized migration in South Korea and therefore offer an ideal comparative case to examine the discursive and material forces shaping the citizenship experiences of migrant women. Their practices are grounded in distinctively localized settings with different legal structures, and the frames used by officials, the normative claims made by the migrant women, and the interactional borderwork of inclusion and exclusion in substantive citizenship is expected to vary accordingly.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### ***Citizenship in Interaction***

Citizenship has been understood as closely linked to nation-states (Marshall 1950; Brubaker 1996; Koopmans and Statham 1999). Marshall defines citizenship as “a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community” and claims that “all who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed” (28-29). Marshall’s classic definition, although it does not take gender or ethnicity into account, opens a door to a broader interpretation of citizenship as “a multi-tiered construct,” not only bound to nation-states, but also to the society to which the individual claims membership (Yuval-Davis 1997b, 5).

While nation-states are central in controlling the significant legal and political terms of citizenship, they are not the only actors determining people’s citizenship experiences. Legal citizenship is formal and abstract and has to be translated into practices, not all of which are relations directly regulated by law or involving the state. How one practices citizenship is a form of claiming membership in a social body, a claim that is understood and regulated by the other members, not merely by the state (Basok 2004; Shafir and Peled 1998; Yuval-Davis 1997b). These actors, such as transnational organizations, local organizations that implement policy officially or unofficially, and the migrants themselves, all play an important role as they do the borderwork by which the citizenship as written in the law at the level of the nation-states is enacted, reinforced, and contested.

Migration produces a context where uneven power relations and stratification reveal themselves and affect the practice of citizenship (Espiritu 2001; Parrenas 2001). The notion of an “incorporation regime” has been developed to specify the ways in which the host society affects the degree of integration of migrants through policies and non-legal efforts. For example, Brubaker (1992) lays out different idioms of nationhood (ethnic vs. civic) that produce distinctive modes of incorporation of migrants between Germany and France (exclusion vs. assimilation). Soysal (1994) identifies four regimes of incorporation—the corporatist, the liberal, the statist and fragmental model, and argues that under the liberal democratic model, citizenship is based on not a membership in a particular nation-state, but on a membership in humanity. Drawing on a structural mobilization model, Bloemraad (2006) compares the incorporation regimes in Canada and the United States and demonstrates that active integration efforts by the government and the community in Canada facilitate the migrants’ political participation and sense of belonging.

The notion of national incorporation regime, however, fails to take account of the heterogeneity in policies regarding migration within a nation-state (Joppke 2007; Koopmans et al. 2005) or the local variance in citizenship practices. As citizenship is a multidimensional concept, encompassing people’s civil, political, social, cultural rights as well as identity, the practice of citizenship for migrants is often a matter of constant negotiation, which is contingent on the actors and discursive frames available on which to base their citizenship claims. The multi-sited ethnography that I propose highlights the interplay between the nation-state and transnational and local actors by examining localized citizenship experiences of the similar migrants in three geographically proximate, yet structurally distinctive sites. The citizenship experiences of Filipina migrant women are grounded in these local dynamics of power, and I will explore how these women are expected to be citizens and non-citizens in racialized and gendered ways that are both similar and different across sites, at the same time as the women reinforce and challenge the definitions applied to them.

The practice of citizenship takes multiple forms, core elements of which entail rights-claiming and identity construction (Soysal 1994). While certain actions, such as voting in an election, are easily identified as exercising political rights as a citizen, other activities such as choosing one's dress or cooking food may or may not be interpreted as such. These mundane actions become practices of citizenship when they are enacted and interpreted in a meaningful way as a marker of boundaries, such as when asserting oneself as a deserving member of a community or when used as criteria to exclude other concrete, local people from having equal rights and access to resources. Instead of assuming what kinds of activities are related to making citizenship, I delve into the practice of citizenship through observing the borderwork--the boundary-drawing and maintenance of in-group citizenship--in the everyday interaction between Filipina women and South Korean agents of government and NGOs and ordinary South Koreans. I include avoidance as a form of interaction. I focus on the interaction based on the notion that citizenship requires "more than the assumption of rights and duties; more importantly, it also requires the performance and contestation of the behavior, ideas, and images of the proper citizen" (Manalansan 2003; p.14).

I look at the interaction between migrant women and South Koreans as a site where symbolic boundaries between citizens and non-citizens and Koreans and non-Koreans are "used to enforce, maintain, normalize, or rationalize social boundaries" as well as a space where the contestation over this takes place (Lamont and Molnar 2002, p.186). Ample ethnographic research documents such performance and negotiation of citizenship practices in everyday contexts among Cambodian refugees in California (Ong 2003), Bosnian refugee women in New Hampshire (Huisman and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2005), Filipina migrant workers in Rome and LA (Parrenas 2001), as well as in my previous work on North Korean settlers in Seoul (Choo 2006). I expect that the practice of citizenship will take different gendered forms for three groups of Filipina women. For wives of Korean rural men, the domestic sphere is likely to be the measure of her proper performance of citizenship as a mother and a wife, whereas for Filipina entertainers, her work as a bar dancer might become the basis of her exclusion from citizenship, if her behavior is discussed in terms of how she is not conforming to "Korean" norms of sexually restrained womanhood.

### ***Gendered Discourses in Citizenship Practices***

The boundary separating citizens and non-citizens is implicated with other structures of inequality, notably race and gender (Glenn 2002; Espiritu 1997; Lowe 1996). Women were central to nation-making projects as biological and cultural reproducers of the nation, and women's bodies and sexuality have been used in drawing the boundary as ethnic and national markers (Espiritu 2001; Yuval-Davis 1997a; Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1989). Gender scholars have turned their attention to the ways in which gender and sexuality co-constitute nationhood and citizenship at the intersection of global and local (Grewal and Kaplan 2001; H.J. Kim-Puri 2005).

The citizenship practices of migrant women illuminate the ways in which the transnational, national, and local actors all participate in the "borderwork," an interactional process of boundary-making between citizens and non-citizens. By employing and extending the notion of "borderwork," a concept developed by Barrie Thorne (1993) to explain the interactive process by which gender differences in boys and girls are created or neutralized in schools, I re-conceptualize citizenship as a product of active work of construction and negotiation among actors. As with gender, citizen and non-citizen are relational concepts, and the ways that the boundaries of citizenship are marked or unmarked are contingent on the contexts on the ground. Through the interactive process of borderwork, different discursive frames that the host society and migrants use for their claims to citizenship encounter and challenge one another. Such claims include universal human rights, maternalism, or assimilation. These frames provide cultural resources that various actors can draw on to use as tools for more or less effective borderwork (Gamson 1992; Swidler 2003).

The gendered language of human rights forms one basis for the citizenship claims of migrant women subjects. Human rights discourse appeals to common personhood, instead of the membership to the nation-state, as in “postnational citizenship” (Bauböck 1994; Jacobson 1996; Soysal 1994). However, this language is gendered: often women are positioned as subjects in need of protection, rather than agents who actively claim their rights. Human rights framing is, in this sense, both “an empowering and disciplining discourse” (Hesford 2005, p.146).

Women’s migration, especially that of Third World women, has often been discussed in terms of a victimization narrative, especially in the discourse surrounding “mail-order bride” and “sex trafficking.” As part of an effort to make a universal claim for women’s human rights, feminist politics in the international human rights arena has “promoted this image of the authentic victim subject,” (Kapur 2002, p.2) resulting in a dilemma: although it is an effective tactic to mobilize others to help undo women’s victimization, it runs a high risk of denying women’s own agency and the possibility of self-empowerment. Especially when human rights discourse is used for Third World women, it can reinforce gender and cultural essentialism by framing Third World women as powerless victims of their own culture whom the modernized First World should rescue (Kapur 2002; Mohanty 2003). Against the victim narrative, there have also been significant feminist attempts to identify and support migrant women and to provide alternative, more empowering discourses (for marriage migration, Constable 2003; 2005; for sex work, see Agustin 2005; Brennan 2001; Kempadoo and Doezima 1998; Lee 2006).

Despite the dangers the victimization narrative poses, the language of human rights is resonant with ideas of liberal individualism, autonomy, and choice, and thus politically useful for the advance of human freedom (Zerilli 2005). It is increasingly the common language in the transnational sphere, via international organizations such as UN (Berkovitch 2002). Transnational feminist scholars are attempting to “be more attuned to advocates’ strategic and effective mobilization of victimization narratives, as well as the uncritical uses of such narratives in ways that may re-victimize women and support repressive cultural and political agendas” (Hesford 2005, p.148). In this project, the effectiveness and costs of human rights discourse will be studied empirically. I will attempt to test Basu’s (2000) proposition that human rights language, utilized by transnational feminist movements, has been most successful in achieving women’s civil and political rights, especially sexual victimization, yet has been less effective in addressing women’s economic and social rights (p.75). How might these “manifestations of the global” play out “in a particular local” (Naples and Desai 2002; 7)? Various government and non-government actors and the migrant women themselves will frame their needs and experiences, using human rights language or other discursive frames such as “workers’ rights” (associated with class inequality and conflicts of interest), “assimilation” (associated with ethnicized cultures and a narrative of modernity and progress), and “paternalism” (associated with gendered family inequalities and legitimating dependencies as benevolent) and these frames I expect to shape citizenship experiences of migrant women. This dissertation will look at how these discursive frames are used by locally grounded actors as tools for drawing boundaries between citizens and non-citizens in the interactive citizenship work done by and to migrant women in different structural circumstances.

## **RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

I will conduct eighteen months of fieldwork in South Korea, spending six months in each of three field-sites, Ansan (factory town), Ichon (rural town), Dongduchon (military base town), respectively. To highlight the practices of citizenship grounded in its particular location, I will compare these three field sites as they have differing configurations of political economy, availability of resources, and rhetoric of inclusion. I will examine how the daily interaction between South Korean social actors and Filipina migrant women enact and contest the boundary of citizenship, paying particular attention to the frames that South Korean actors employ as the grounds of inclusion and exclusion, in relation to the consequences of such framing for citizenship practices of Filipina migrant women.

## **Data Collection**

The primary data will be collected through an ethnographic study that puts an emphasis on immersed participant observation in a day-to-day interaction of the migrant women and South Korean social actors. I will supplement this participant observation with individual semi-structured interviews with Filipina migrant women and with South Korean government and non-government actors who are involved in the incorporation efforts, as well as an analysis of public texts about migration policy and print media representations of migrant women. I rely primarily on participant observation because my focus is the ways in which citizenship is negotiated in practice at the localized setting with specific actors involved.

### *Groundwork for Field Study*

I will have laid substantial groundwork for the field study through a discourse analysis of the representation of migrant women in South Korean print media and preliminary fieldwork in Seoul, which will focus on outlining transnational and national migration and incorporation policy.

Discourse analysis (June-July 2008): In order to identify the frames that are used in the incorporation effort for migrant women, I will conduct a discourse analysis of the newspaper articles about migrant women in ten South Korean national newspapers from 1990 to 2007. The sample will be collected by using various keyword search terms, including “migrant/foreign,” “women/female,” “international bride,” “international marriage,” “migrant women workers,” and “entertainers,” in a comprehensive newspaper database of South Korea, KINDS. Through an open coding and close coding process, I will identify what kind of actors are involved in the incorporation effort or assistance for each migrant group (transnational, governmental, religious, feminist, charity-based, etc), various frames used for offering grounds for their effort (human rights, labor rights, maternalism, multiculturalism, victimization, etc), and if and when these frames converge in the discursive construction of migrant women (for example, marriage migrants and entertainers might be referred together as an example of trafficking in women). I conceptualize these discursive frames as cultural “tool-kits” or “repertoires” (Swidler 1986; 2003) in South Korean public discourse that are available for various actors to draw on in their self-representation, their daily interaction with the state/migrant women and policy-making. Based on the findings from discourse analysis, I will be prepared to move on to my ethnographic observation, focusing on the ways in which these frames are put to use in day-to-day interaction by and with migrant women.

Initial visit to the field site and interviews with key informants (August 2008): In the summer of 2008, I will conduct preliminary fieldwork in Seoul, South Korea. As a political and economic center of South Korea, Seoul hosts the headquarters of major international organizations (including International Organization for Migration, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights), advocacy groups for migrant workers, major women’s rights NGOs, and various branches of national government that fund the integration projects at the local level (National Human Rights Commission, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Labor, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Gender Equality and Family). Also, the Hyehwa Catholic church, which plays a key role in Filipino community in Korea nationwide, is located in Seoul as well. I am native to Seoul, and from my previous NGO work experience as well as research experience with North Korean migrants, I already have established important contacts among government officials, activists, and staff-members of advocacy organizations. Through these networks, I will visit these key sites of migration and incorporation policy making and Filipino community organizing in Seoul, and interview 10-15 government officials, activists, social workers, priests and pastors, about the processes and change in the incorporation policy, key events and sites in Filipino community organizing, and interactions among various organizations. This will offer me the opportunity to make further contacts with Filipina migrant women and local South Korean actors in my forthcoming field sites. During this time, I will also visit my first field site, the factory town of Ansan, and familiarize myself with the setting and explore my potential role in the local community as a participant observer.

### *Data Collection in the Field, September 2008-August 2009*

My dissertation involves three local sites where Filipina migrant women and South Korean agencies interact and negotiate their terms of citizenship. I will spend four months in each fieldsite, starting from Ansan, the factory town (September 2008 to February 2009) and moving to Ichon, the rural town (March-August 2009) and Dongdochon, the base town (September 2009 to February 2010). In each of the four-month periods, I will be in residence in each town, following the day-to-day living of Filipina migrant women in the neighborhood and participating in various activities that South Korean local government and advocacy groups organize for these women. Despite the variability of the sites, as a comparative study, my data collection will cover common topics and follow similar procedures as outlined below.

Ethnographic observations: At each site, I will ground myself in one or two local organizations that actively work with Filipina migrant women, and attend their meetings and events closely with a designated role. The roles I expect to play in this setting include a volunteer for Korean language instruction, an interpreter for Filipina migrants when they bring their issues to the organization for help in resolving them, a volunteer teacher at informal after-school program for Filipina mothers, and a helper at organizing a cultural festival, cooking classes, and outdoor picnics for migrants, as well as preparing policy-related statements and participating in protests with migrant workers. In my previous ethnographic research, this role of voluntary part-time staff-member was highly beneficial for my research as well as for the organizations with which I worked. In these venues, I will be able to see up close the workings of organization as well as their interaction with Filipina migrant women and meet key informants in a natural setting.

In addition, I will participate in Filipina women's informal get-togethers and other types of community organizing. For instance, the hub of the Filipino community in South Korea is Hye-hwa Catholic Church in Seoul, and every Sunday, many Filipina men and women gather there from all over Korea, by bus, subway, and even by a charter bus from a remote rural town, to participate a Filipino mass service. After the mass, a big open market for Filipino food and various goods follows. During my fieldwork, I will travel to Seoul with Filipina migrant women on Sundays and observe how they interact with other groups of Filipina women and South Koreans and how they form ethnic communities in South Korea. These are what I define as important parts of their boundary work. In the case of Dongdochon the military base town, the Filipina entertainers cannot attend the Sunday afternoon mass because of their work hours and the potential hostility of other Filipino migrant workers and marriage migrants. For this reason, the Hye-hwa Catholic Church has a separate mass service in Dongdochon every Thursday for this particular group of women, and I will attend this mass during my stay in Dongdochon. I will also follow several Filipina migrant women, with whom I develop more close relationships, to their informal meetings with friends, family events, labor disputes, shopping trips, etc.

Individual In-depth Interviews: I plan to conduct about 20 semi-structured interviews with Filipina migrant women in each field site (totaling 60 interviews for 12 month period) to pay closer attention to the ways that they make sense of their lives in South Korea and create their own narratives of belonging and understanding about their locations in relation to South Korean nation-state, the Philippines, and the local Filipino community. The interviews will take place at the later period of the fieldwork at each site, after I get to know many migrant women and establish a certain level of rapport with the interviewees. The interviews will take place in their homes, or a place of their choice and convenience such as coffee houses and restaurants, and will last 90 minutes to two hours. I am fluent in Korean and English (one of two official languages of the Philippines, along with Tagalog) and either language will be used according to the interviewee's preference. The sampling will follow mainly a snowball method, but in order to capture more diversity among the groups, I will purposively sample among the suggested interviewees to have as much variance among the interviewees in terms of marital status, socio-economic status, the length of stay in South Korea, and



the level of involvement in Filipino and South Korean communities. My primary purpose will be to include more the migrant women who have only limited contact with South Koreans.

Through the interviews, I seek to find answers to the following questions: Where do the Filipina migrant women feel they belong, and on what grounds do they claim their membership in that community? To what extent do these grounds on which they base their claims resonate with the ones that the South Korean organizations predominantly use for these groups of women? In case their claims are not successfully received, in what ways do these women contest the boundaries of citizenship for their inclusion, rights, and justice as they perceive it? I will use open-ended questions to get at the differences or similarities in their motives and future plans when they decided to migrate to South Korea, when each group of migrants feels comfortable and respected as opposed to discriminated against or looked down upon in their daily lives, considering areas such as employment, religion, friendship, family lives, and dating. I will also ask about their experiences when they participate in the activities of Filipino community and those organized by South Korean organizations. Finally, I will ask more focused questions about how they articulate citizenship, in the broad sense of a full membership in a community and the strategies they use (or reject) to claim this full membership, and why they pursue these particular paths.

My second group of interviewees will consist of approximately 15 South Koreans in each site (total 45) who are involved in local governmental agencies and civil, educational, and religious organizations that work with Filipina migrant women. Since these integration workers meet the migrant women on a daily basis, they may well become the concrete representation of South Korea in the eyes of Filipina women. Because they are key mediators of rights, interviewing this group is crucial to understanding how these women's lives are shaped and influenced by interactions with powerful others. I will interview various groups of people including governmental officials, social workers, labor union organizers, NGO activists, volunteers, teachers, pastors, nuns, priests and counselors. The interviews will take place in their offices, conducted in Korean or English (in case of staff-members of international organizations), and will last about an hour. The questions for the South Koreans will focus on the goals and objectives of their programs, the accomplishments and difficulties that they experience in their work, their perceptions of Filipina migrant women in general and in relation to South Koreans, and what grounds they use to interpret their own advocacy work and/or incorporation or exclusion efforts.

Public text: In the course of conducting ethnographic observations and in-depth interviews, I will also collect various materials published by the South Korean organizations who work with Filipina migrant women, in order to see how the transnational frames of incorporation are articulated in the local field, how they are interpreted, and when and how they are acted upon. I am especially interested in the documents that these organizations publish to explain to migrant women what their rights and their roles in South Korean society are, and how they may be framed as deserving members of this society. Also, I will pay particular attention to how these organizations represent these women in their interaction with other South Korean agencies and organizations on behalf of these migrant women. These documents will include the groups' statements about policy recommendations, newsletters for members, educational handouts and booklets introducing South Korean living, information booklets for outreach.

### **Data Analysis**

I will code the data collected from the public texts, media representations, participant observations, and interviews using the qualitative analysis software *NVivo*. I will be coding the different themes and patterns as they emerge from the data, particularly focusing on the articulation of citizenship, sense of belonging and community, boundary drawing or boundary neutralization, various discursive frames used as grounds for citizenship claims, and when these frames converge or conflict within interaction.

I will first identify the discursive frames available for citizenship claims as evidenced in media representations of migrant women and the public policy targeted for them. These provide a series of “cultural repertoires” that South Korean government and NGO actors have available to use as grounds of their integration efforts (Swidler 2003). Through participant observation, I will see when and under what circumstances Filipina women are included or excluded as citizens, focusing on the interactive processes that lead to this. I will note how these frames are used differently according to the group characteristics of Filipina women, as wives, migrant workers, and entertainers. For instance, South Korean advocacy workers, local government officials, and Filipina migrant women may debate whether or not to extend welfare benefits for migrants, and use different discursive frames such as “contribution to the local economy,” “raising South Korean children,” or “basic human rights” as legitimations. Some Filipina women may have issues with the integration/assistance programs, openly or among themselves, questioning why only certain kinds of vocational training are offered, why they are asked to give up sex work in order to enter shelters, or why they have to learn about an old-fashioned Korean ancestral ceremony that might conflict with their religion. These interactions offer ample opportunity to systemically compare how different actors use discursive frames to claim what citizens are and why certain members should or should not be included. By doing so, I will examine when and under what circumstances each frame is used for more or less successful borderwork.

## **SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTION**

### *Intellectual Merit*

This project offers a concrete empirical case study of the practice of citizenship at the margins, examining gendered discursive frames in relation to the citizenship practices of migrant women. This study contributes both theoretical and empirical insights to an understanding of citizenship as a locally grounded and an interactional process that creates boundaries between citizens and non-citizens. Particularly, I illuminate the active work that the local actors and migrant women put into making claims for citizenship and interrogate the discursive contestation involved in the process. This project contributes to the literature on the migration as it brings in both gender and sexuality as comparatively varying in meaning but integral to the incorporation of migrants in local communities. It highlights the differences in citizenship borderwork done by women who are in structurally and discursively different situations, despite their similarities in age and ethnicity. My approach to citizenship combines institutional and interactional analyses of opportunities, frames and practices, to see how borders are constructed and made more or less porous.

### *Broader Impacts of the Study*

In a globalized world, the boundaries of nation-states are becoming increasingly fluid, with more and more non-citizens co-habiting side by side with citizens. The push to extend citizenship rights to these migrants is becoming stronger. Examining the citizenship practices at the margins in South Korea, this project will shed light on the similar processes at work in recent-immigrant nation-states such as Italy and Japan, and can inform the transnational organizations including IOM (International Organization for Migration) and UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) about how the interplay between transnational, national, and local actors impacts the lives of migrants in the host society. At the close of this study, I will share the results with policy makers in the national and local governments, migrant women’s advocates, service organizations for migrant women, in order to facilitate dialog among these various groups and create more informed policy based on the experiences of migrant women.

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