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**Migration for ‘work and play’:
Hierarchies of privilege among Youth Mobility
Scheme participants in London**

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology**

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September 2017

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables.....	10
Acknowledgments.....	12
Declaration.....	13
Abstract.....	14
List of Abbreviations	15
Chapter 1 - Introduction.....	16
1.1 Research Motivations	16
1.2 Situating my research	18
1.3 Conceptual framework.....	19
1.4 Thesis Structure	24
Chapter 2 - Literature Review: Mobility and Privilege	28
2.1 Introduction.....	28
2.2 Mobile subjects: Tourism, Mobilities and Migration	29
2.2.1 Tourism.....	30
2.2.2 Mobilities.....	32
2.2.3 Migration	35
2.3 Literature on working holiday schemes.....	39
2.4 Privilege and its sources	43
2.4.1 Gender	46

2.4.2 Class	47
2.4.3 ‘Race’	48
2.4.4 Nationality	50
2.5 Conclusions and Research Questions	52
Chapter 3 - Methodology: Researching a ‘mobile’ field	54
3.1 Introduction.....	54
3.2 ‘Mobile’ field and choice of research methods	54
3.3 Entering the field: Daring to reverse the gaze	58
3.4 Policy analysis	59
3.5 Evolving methods in a ‘mobile’ field	62
3.5.1 Selection of categories.....	62
3.5.2 Finding participants	63
3.5.3 The Sample	67
3.5.4 Interviews with YMS participants.....	69
3.5.5 Participant observation	71
3.5.6 Social media observation.....	72
3.6 Analysis of data	73
3.7 Reflexivity and power.....	74
3.8 Ethical considerations	76
3.9 Conclusions.....	78
Chapter 4 - Youth Mobility Scheme: the construction of ‘mobile subjects’	80
4.1 Introduction.....	80

4.2 WPR framework	82
4.3 WPR analysis (Questions 1 and 2)	83
4.4 WPR analysis (Questions 3 and 4)	87
4.4.1 Immigration regulations (1960-2000)	88
4.4.2 Immigration regulations (2001-2014)	95
4.5 WPR analysis (Questions 4, 5 & 6)	101
4.6 Conclusions.....	108
Chapter 5 - Imaginings of youth mobility.....	110
5.1 Introduction.....	110
5.1 Social imaginary and mobility imaginings	110
5.3 National mobility imaginings	112
5.3.1 Historically rooted imaginaries	113
5.3.2 Globalised imaginings	119
5.4 Gender, nation, and motivations.....	124
5.4.1 Travel and cosmopolitan aspirations	125
5.4.2 Self-discovery and pursuit of independence.....	130
5.4.3 Romantic relationships	133
5.4.4 Buying more time in the UK	136
5.4.5 Career advancement	137
5.5 Conclusions.....	140
Chapter 6 - YMS Participants' Employment Patterns in London.....	142
6.1 Introduction.....	142

6.2 ‘Temporariness’, ‘network capital’ and ‘racialised gendering’	144
6.3 Work lives: industries and occupations	147
6.4 National, racialised and gendered segregation in employment	153
6.4.1 Nationality and job destinations	156
6.4.2 First language and ethnic economies.....	160
6.4.3 Racialised gender.....	164
6.5 ‘Network capital’ and strategies to access work.....	170
6.5.1 Relocation companies.....	171
6.5.2 Recruitment agencies.....	174
6.5.3 Co-ethnic networks.....	177
6.6 Conclusions.....	181
Chapter 7 - Leisure, youth mobility and the limits to cosmopolitanism.....	184
7.1 Introduction.....	184
7.2 Leisure aspirations	185
7.3 Leisure opportunities	190
7.4 Leisure practices	202
7.5 Historic mobilities and limited cosmopolitanism	209
7.5.1 Gendered limits to cosmopolitanism	216
7.6 Conclusions.....	221
Chapter 8 - Conclusions.....	223
8.1 Introduction.....	223
8.2 Research Questions and Findings.....	223

8.2.1	What is the UK's YMS, and how does it construct 'mobile subjects'?	224
8.2.2	Who accesses the YMS and how do they explain their motivations?	226
8.2.3	What work do participants obtain and how do they access labour market opportunities?	229
8.2.4	How are participants' leisure opportunities structured by participation in YMS?	232
8.2.5	What, if any, are key differences between the participants in terms of motivations, work and leisure?	235
8.3	Significance of findings	238
8.3.1	Methodological Significance	238
8.3.2	Theoretical Significance	241
8.4	Future Research Agendas	243
8.5	Concluding remarks	245
	Bibliography	247
	Appendix 1: Participant information Sheet and Consent form	272
	Appendix 2: Semi-Structured Interview Schedule- YMS participants	275
	Appendix 3: Information sheet & consent form (Government officials)	281
	Appendix 4: Semi-structured interview schedule (government officials)	283
	Appendix 5: List of policy documents (documentary method)	285
	Appendix 6: Socio-biographical information of YMS participants	288

List of Figures and Tables

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Cover page of Youth Mobility Scheme brochure (UK Border Agency, 2008a)	22
Figure 4.1: Extract from the Youth Mobility Scheme policy guidance (UK Visas and Immigration, 2014: 8).....	84
Figure 4.2: Extract from the Youth Mobility Scheme policy guidance (UK Border Agency, 2009: 7).....	85
Figure 4.3: Extract on working holidaymakers from ‘Secure borders, Safe Haven: Integration with diversity in modern Britain’ (Home Office, 2002)	95
Figure 4.4: Extract from the ‘Statement of Changes in Immigration Rules’ (Home Office, 2005b: 3)	97
Figure 4.5: Extract from the ‘Statement of Changes in Immigration Rules’ (Home Office, 2005b: 4)	98
Fig 4.6: Extract from Standard Note (Grimwood & Thorp, 2008: 5).....	100
Figure 6.1: Total number of jobs taken up by participants categorised by industry....	149
Figure 6.2: Total number of jobs performed by participants, divided along industry & their region of origin	150
Figure 6.3: Total number of jobs and corresponding skill levels, divided along region of origin.....	151
Figure 6.4: Total jobs and corresponding skill levels, disaggregated by gender of the job holders.....	152
Figure 6.5: Industry breakdown of jobs, disaggregated by gender.....	153
Figure 6.6: Jobs within mainstream and ethnic economy.....	160

Figure 6.7: Jobs and corresponding skill levels, divided along first language of participants.....	162
Figure 6.8: Commercial post from ‘Kiwi and Ozzie friendly agency’	175
Figure 7.1: An example of a post on AiL encouraging the importance of travel	192
Figure 7.2: A photo post encouraging travel and a move to London	193
Figure 7.3: A photo post encouraging travel	194
Figure 7.4: Commercial post advertising outdoor summer events	196
Figure 7.5: Commercial post from an organisation that specialises in travel to festival destinations	197
Figure 7.6: Commercial post advertising KiL party with discounted rates on food and drink	198
Figure 7.7: Post about helping Kiwis on an OE to London.....	199
Figure 7.8: Cover image of the ‘closed group’ 英國打工度假情報站 (UK Working holiday).....	200
Figure 7.9: Moina’s blog post on watching the fountain near sakura trees	205
Figure 7.10 Moina’s blog post which captured ‘sakuras’ in the park.....	205
Figure 7.11: Young people dressed in costumes braving light showers.....	207
Figure 7.12: The medallions pinned to the suit of the young man at my table.....	214

List of Tables

Table 3.1 Table showing participants’ country of origin, gender and age group	67
Table 6.1 YMS participants’ industrial and occupational participation divided by gender & nationality	154

Acknowledgments

I want to take this opportunity to thank Warwick Chancellor's International Scholarship for funds that sustained my research project for 3.5 years. I express my gratitude to all research participants who gave their valuable time and provided consent to have their opinions and stories used in this study. I am eternally grateful to my supervisors Dr. Carol Wolkowitz and Dr. Caroline Wright for their guidance, motivation and wisdom throughout this journey. Their meticulous feedback on my writings, and whole-hearted support enabled me to cross the finish line of this gargantuan task, which at times seemed impossible.

My friends and colleagues at the department have helped me immensely from the very beginning. Firstly, I want to thank my upgrade reviewers Dr. Hannah Jones and Dr. Alexander Smith for their constructive feedback on my upgrade document and their inputs regarding access and fieldwork. I thank Davinia Gregory, Dr. Joanna Cuttall, Dr. Saba Hussain, and Dr. Maya Oppenheimer for giving me feedback on my chapter drafts and beyond. Several friends of mine – Priyanka Nair, Dr. Saramma Samuel, Dhiya Varghese, Rovin George – shared with me the joys of the world outside academia. I thank Alice Pasquinelli for welcoming me into her home during my frequent fieldwork trips to London. My thanks to Dr. Minu Sherry and family for their friendship that counted me as a family member in their Coventry home.

I am grateful to my husband Rintu Alex, who has been the rock of my life. He personified calm and sanity when I seemed to be wanting of both, and continued being my cheerleader. Last but not the least, I dedicate this thesis to my family – my Amma (Anitha Oommen) who has always been with me in spirit and my Papa (P.B Oommen) who has been a phenomenal inspiration in my life. My aunt, Ashma (Asha T. Varkey) has not only nurtured me in my mother's absence, but also gave me a strong female role model to look up to in my life. I thank all my family members, friends, colleagues and teachers who helped me all along in completing this thesis.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is all my own work and has not been submitted for a degree at any other university.

Elsa T. Oommen

Date: 29 September, 2017

Abstract

This thesis is the first academic study of participants on the UK Youth Mobility Scheme (YMS), which replaced the earlier Working Holidaymaker Scheme in 2008. It foregrounds the sociologically informed framework of ‘lifestyle migration’ to understand YMS participants as migrants. In doing so, the thesis contends that binaries between tourism/migration, and tourism/work have oversimplified contemporary practices of youth mobility, and not addressed the ways in which they are increasingly regulated through state immigration regimes. Thus, the thesis begins by examining the policies regulating youth entry for ‘work and play’, tracing their historical context, silences and ‘dividing practices’. The thesis then draws on interviews with 29 men and women on YMS visas in 2014-2015, living and working in London, from seven of the eight countries eligible for the Scheme. Participant observation and social media analysis complement these interviews and policy analysis, comprising innovative multiple methods that address the ‘mobile field’. The retrospective motivations of young people participating in the scheme are analysed, together with their working lives and opportunities for leisure.

The overall contention is that hierarchies of privilege shape the motivations, access, and experiences of YMS participants, constituted through gender, ‘race’/ethnicity, social class and nationality, with particularly marked fissures between those from Old Commonwealth countries and those from East Asian countries. In pursuit of this thesis four distinctive claims are made. First, the construction of ‘mobile subjects’ on YMS corresponds to ‘dividing practices’ and silences in the policy, funnelling ‘desirable’ and ‘non-risk’ participants to the UK and favouring those from the Old Commonwealth. Second, participants’ motivations to pursue YMS are influenced both by their national mobility imaginings, shaped alongside different historic-colonial links with Britain, and by personal reasons both practical and strategic. Third, participants’ experiences of labour market participation are both surprisingly diverse and polarised according to privileges stemming from nationality, gender, ‘race’, ethnicity, first language and historic mobilities to the UK. Finally, these differential sources of privilege contour the participants’ practices of ‘play’/leisure, resulting in largely ethnocentric and insular experiences that contradict the common scholarly association of youth mobility with cosmopolitanism.

List of Abbreviations

BNO	British National Overseas
BOC	British Overseas Citizen
BOTC	British Overseas Territories Citizen
OE	Overseas Experience
ONS	Office of National Statistics
PBS	Points-Based System
SIC	Standard Industrial Classification
SOC	Standard Occupational Classification
UKBA	United Kingdom Border Agency
UKVI	UK Visas & Immigration
WHM	Working Holidaymaker Scheme
WPR	What's the Problem Represented to be?
YMS	Youth Mobility Scheme

Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis is a qualitative study of the UK Youth Mobility Scheme (YMS) participants, who at the time of fieldwork in 2014-2015 were living and working in London. It comprises the first academic study of YMS since its roll-out in November 2008. The YMS superseded earlier working holiday maker (WHM) arrangements to the UK, which were operational since 1962, but not the subject of detailed legislation until 1973. Whereas from that point the WHM visa was available to all Commonwealth countries, some 50 in 2005, the YMS is much more restrictive in terms of Commonwealth eligibility, while opening up to selected East Asian young people.

My research employed multiple methods: documentary method (policy analysis and semi-structured interviews with officials at the Home office), semi-structured interviews with YMS participants, participant observation, and social media research. In this introductory chapter, I will first begin by discussing what motivated me to conduct this research (section 1.1). I will then briefly contextualise my research project in terms of scholarly debates (1.2), before introducing my conceptual framework and methodology (1.3). Finally, I will conclude with a brief discussion of the main arguments of my thesis, whilst elaborating on its structure (1.5).

1.1 Research Motivations

My Indian upbringing and education have been pivotal to my interest in pursuing this research. Having been born into an Indian middle-class family, with university-educated parents, and extended family members who were officials in the Government of Kerala, I grew up in relative privilege. However, I was conscious of unseen lines that marked travel/mobility as a contested territory for women. In my social circles, solo female travel was (largely) only acceptable to schools, work-spaces, relatives' houses, and places of worship. In this way, I had come to understand that women always needed a 'legitimate reason' for their mobility outside home, unlike men who were free to hang about on streets, or 'took off' without having to inform anyone. Subsequently, I persuaded my father to allow me to move out of home for university studies after school. Since then, I

have lived in three other states in India, and attended two universities pursuing B.A (Economics) and M.A (Sociology).

Fast forward a few years and I was working as a research assistant on an ICSSR¹ funded project titled 'The Political Economy of Women's Migration as Domestic Workers' at the Centre for Development Studies, India. I oversaw the search for all developments in the literature on gendered migration. To my surprise, the literature brought forth much discussion of women as independent migrants, economically supporting their family in the ways only men had historically done. Clearly these women were 'freer' than my own background had led me to imagine. At the same time, I began to ponder other reasons for women's migration, tourism, religion, family reunion and working holidays. This got me thinking: Did the migration literature look at women's leisure mobilities? Were there gendered studies of non-economic forms of migration? I was very curious and this brought me to my interest in those who 'migrate' on a working holiday. Upon doing some research, I realised that Indian nationals once had the opportunity to travel to the UK on a working holiday. Subsequently, I decided to research the UK's YMS and how it structured the participants' lives.

The Working Holiday Maker Scheme (WHMS) scheme in the UK (2008) was one of the most all-encompassing with its post-colonial moorings, by being open to all countries of the Commonwealth. This scheme changed with the Labour Government's introduction of the Points-Based System (PBS) of immigration to the UK in 2006. One must go back to May 2004 (to the time of EU accession of the A8 countries, Cyprus and Malta), to understand the rationale of the introduction of the PBS and its five-tier system (Anderson, 2010: 302). In 2004, all the EU states, excluding Sweden, Ireland and Britain, placed labour market restrictions on the citizens of A8 countries: Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Latvia and Estonia (Vargas-Silva, 2017). Thus, A8 nationals obtained unrestricted access to the UK labour market, and this led to the assumption that non-EU migration for filling jobs in the Tier-3 category of low-skilled jobs, such as au pairs, would no longer be necessary (Anderson, 2010). Similarly, the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS) was closed in 2013, exactly a year before the nationals of A2 states (Romania and Bulgaria) secured full working rights in the UK. Unlike the A8 states, Romania and Bulgaria, which acceded

¹ ICSSR - Indian Council of Social Science Research

to the EU in 2007, had full transitional controls of seven years imposed on them by the UK (Consterdine & Samuk, 2015). So, the new PBS regime of immigration controls on non-EU nationals closely followed the EU expansions in 2004 and 2007.

The changes to the Working Holiday Maker Scheme (WHMS), which followed in 2008, were part of these wider changes to the control over the immigration of non-EU nationals. The scheme I was interested in had changed its name from Working Holiday Maker Scheme (WHMS) to that of Tier-5 Youth Mobility Scheme (YMS), yet had largely retained the character of previous working holiday arrangements. This gave me an opportunity to apply a gendered analysis to the scheme and its participants. Subsequently, I got interested in the concept of 'privilege' in general, and started looking at how different sources of privilege (including gender) impinge on youth mobility when it gets appropriated in the UK immigration framework.

1.2 Situating my research

While there is substantial research on young New Zealanders on their Overseas Experience (OE) to the UK, who may have often availed working holiday visas (Bell, 2002; Conradson & Latham, 2005b, 2007; Haverig, 2011; Inkson & Myers, 2003; Mason, 2002), there is limited research with a direct focus on working holidaymakers in the UK (Rice, 2010²). Similarly, there is limited research on British working holidaymakers in other countries, for instance Nick Clarke's study of Australia-based British working holidaymakers (2005). While the importance of increasing avenues of temporary migration and its relevance in global labour markets have been researched (Dauvergne & Marsden, 2014), to the best of my knowledge there is no research examining YMS as a form of temporary migration to the UK.

YMS marks a break with the earlier routes for temporary migration to the UK for young people, such as the au-pair entry provisions for non-EU nationals. Six separate pre-PBS mobility provisions (Working Holiday Maker Scheme (WHM), au-pair rules for non-EEA nationals, BUNAC scheme concession, gap year entrant concession, the Japan: Youth Exchange Scheme Concession and the research assistants to Members of Parliament concession) were abolished in November 2008, with only some of these

² Kathleen Rice's study (2010) has an explicit focus on Canadian working holidaymakers in Edinburgh.

provisions subsumed into the Tier 5 Youth Mobility Scheme (UKBA, 2009). The largest among these schemes in terms of participation was WHM, which in the form of YMS continues to be a working holiday scheme to the UK.

At the same time, existing scholarly work on UK working holidays place more emphasis on the blurring of work and tourism (Rice, 2010), with little discussion about their role in UK immigration. Contrarily, scholarly debates concerning youth mobility on similar working holiday schemes in Australia and Canada have already started considering them as channels of temporary migration (Helleiner, 2015; Reilly, 2015; Robertson, 2014, 2016). It is in this context of scholarly literature that I situate my study. I also situate my thesis within the broader remit of sociology of migration.

1.3 Conceptual framework

This thesis works within a ‘critical sociology of lifestyle migration’ (Benson & Osbaldiston, 2016: 407) to understand youth mobility on YMS visa to the UK. In doing so, I argue that complex patterns of movement that are at the intersection of migration and tourism can be better understood through the sociologically relevant framework of lifestyle migration. ‘Lifestyle migrants are relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part time or full time to places that, for various reasons, signify, for the migrant, a better quality of life’ (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009: 609). By holding YMS participants as ‘lifestyle migrants’, I examine their lifestyle in the UK – patterned around work and travel. An earlier reference of ‘lifestyle migrants’ can be traced to Machiko Satō (2001) who used the term to refer to Japanese migrants in Australia who are motivated by a lifestyle of freedom outside their home society, although Satō’s (2001) study did not exclusively focus on working holidaymakers.

However, recent scholarship on Japanese working holidaymakers highlight the allure of an overseas lifestyle among the participants. For instance, Kawashima’s study of Japanese working holidaymakers in Australia link lifestyle aspirations with ‘development of narratives of the self’ (2010: 274). Similarly, Yoon’s study (2014b) among Korean working holidaymakers in Canada found that ‘preference for a “relaxed lifestyle” in Canada’ was a main aspiration among the participants. Kato (2010) does not completely agree with the above views on lifestyle. While she is attentive to lifestyle choices involved in a working holiday, she believes coping with uncertainty in post-industrial age is the central aspect of temporary mobility on working holiday.

Lifestyle migration framework has been criticised by scholars who argue that all migrants seek out a better quality of life from what they are familiar with (Croucher, 2012). Critics have also claimed that lines of separation between lifestyle and labour migration are thin (Huete et al., 2013: 335) making it difficult to differentiate between economic vs lifestyle reasons of migration. Further, lifestyle migration has been criticised for restricting its analytical compass among specific nationalities (Heute et al., 2013) from affluent, developed countries, and resulting in what Glick Schiller (2008, cited in Heute et al. 2013: 335) refers to as ‘methodological ethnicity’. However, I situate my research project within lifestyle migration, since it is a sociologically potent approach to do away with binaries of tourism and work that have been previously used to study patterns of youth mobility. The approach thus presents scope to bring into perspective diverse range of privileged mobilities while also being attentive to classed and racialized histories that impinge on such movements (Benson, 2015). For instance, Michaela Benson (2013) has brought historic-colonial inequalities to bear upon patterns of lifestyle migration from United States to Panama, through the conceptual lens of ‘postcoloniality’ and ‘privilege’.

Using lifestyle migration as the overarching framework in this thesis has also helped me to be attentive to subjectivities of YMS participants. Benson and Osbaldiston (2016) have foreshadowed the same:

Themes of reflexivity, consumption, privilege and their relationships to identity and migrant subjectivities have been key to these conceptualizations of lifestyle migration (p. 408)

With the disproportionate focus on reflexivity and agency in the above quote, it is easy to think that lifestyle migration harps on a highly individualistic view of migration. This is, however, not the case. Karen O’Reilly has reminded about ‘the continuing salience of former categories and the reproduction of certain stratifying features of social life’ (2009, cited in Benson & Osbaldiston, 2016: 411) – pointing towards the importance of analysing structures that impinge on individual’s ability to migrate. In doing so, a critical sociology of lifestyle migration is attentive to ‘the relationship between structure and freedom’(Benson & Osbaldiston, 2016: 420).

Subsequently, a critical focus on motivations of lifestyle migration pays attention to both historic and personal reasons (Benson, 2013). A resistance to over-determine

individualism in lifestyle migration has also seen a greater focus on social imaginaries (O'Reilly, 2014) and 'cultural differences that may frame imaginings of lifestyle' (Benson & Osbaldiston, 2016: 420). To stay true to a critical lifestyle migration framework, I have used chapter-specific analytical devices and concepts to understand 'the relationship between structure and freedom' (Benson & Osbaldiston, 2016: 420) on a YMS visa.

In the first substantive chapter of the thesis (Chapter 4), I have employed a post-structural policy analysis using 'What's the problem represented to be' (WPR) framework of Carol Bacchi (2009). In this approach, 'discourses make certain subject positions available' (Bacchi, 2009:16), wherein she uses Foucauldian methods of analysis (Foucault, 1989) to analyse a specific problem representation. Working with Foucault in mapping out power relations of contemporary mobilities hold promise, although important reconciliations must be made with his non-treatment of gender as an inherent relation of power in society. However, Foucault's approach to systematising the operation of power through methods of deconstructing history offer important insights to understanding the prevailing gender norms and regimes. After all, his approach did contribute to dichotomising sex and gender, while also crucially holding both as socially constructed (Butler, 1986: 47; Ramazanoglu, 1993: 6).

Having said that, uncritical appropriation of Foucault's analytical lens into a gendered analysis which is attentive to intersectional structuring of power relations prove counterproductive due to oversight of '[...] class, racism or gender as categories of power relations in his thought' (Ramazanoglu, 1993: 10). Important analytical acumen is nevertheless gained from Foucauldian approaches that have looked at specific sites that produce and reproduce power. The role of the state is primary in such conceptualisation of situated power, wherein Foucauldian-feminist scholarship in policy studies has much to offer. This is the context in which I have relied on the critical policy tool of WPR developed by Bacchi (2009).

Chapters 5 – 7 draw from findings arising from my analysis of interviews, participant observation, and social media research with YMS participants. In chapter 5, my analysis combines the concepts of 'social imaginaries'(O'Reilly, 2014; Taylor, 2002) and 'imaginings of lifestyle' (Benson & Osbaldiston, 2016: 420), while also proposing a new concept of 'globalised imaginings' to understand the motivations of participants. In

doing so, I argue that participants' motivations to travel on the scheme are influenced by national mobility imaginings arising from what I call 'historically rooted imaginaries' and 'globalised imaginings', and personal motivations, both practical and strategic. Chapter 6 deals with YMS participants' experience of London labour market – their industry and jobs, and strategies used to access work. I deploy the concepts of 'temporariness' (Robertson, 2014), 'network capital' (Elliott & Urry, 2010; Urry, 2007) and 'racialised gendering' (Brah, 1993) to demonstrate how hierarchies of privilege that arise from nationality, first language, gender, 'race', ethnicity and colonial-historic links with Britain shape YMS participants' employment patterns in London labour market.

Chapter 7 examines the relationship between leisure aspirations and leisure practices of YMS participants by situating them in the conceptual debates on youth mobility and cosmopolitanism, particularly Vered Amit's concept of 'circumscribed cosmopolitanism' (2015). My foray into participants' experiences of the UK labour market and work, along with their leisure practices, arose from an early government document on YMS produced by the UK Border Agency (UKBA) in 2008. I provide a representative image from the document in Figure 1.1 (below).

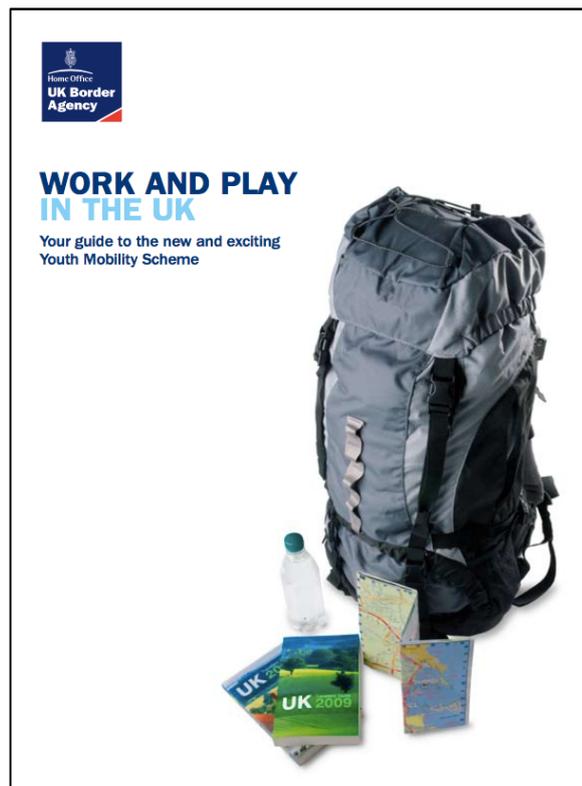


Figure 1.1 Cover page of Youth Mobility Scheme brochure (UK Border Agency, 2008a)

As it becomes clear from Fig 1.1, YMS is set up as an avenue for young people to ‘work and play in the UK’. This is one of the first documents to directly make a connection to work and holiday within the scope of YMS. I say this by drawing meanings from the imagery of the figure. It shows a backpack, UK information book of 2009, maps and a bottle (for water). In this way, the figure conjures up the image of a backpacker, and aligns with scholarly literature’s overlap of working holidaymaker as a backpacker (Allon et al., 2008; Duncan, 2004; Loker-Murphy & Pearce, 1995).

What is unmistakable from the construction of youth mobility in Fig 1.1 is the importance placed on ‘work and play’. The association of ‘work’ to youth mobility is a straightforward one, in which the scheme allows working rights to prospective candidates (albeit with or without restrictions). Working rights extended to young adults on temporary schemes directly relate to Vered Amit’s (2007: 5) contention that bilateral youth mobility arrangements target ‘middle-class Western youths’, who are ‘wooned as tourists and serve as cheap, compliant, and temporary labor’.

I found the mention of ‘play’ to be less direct and found that scholarly literature on youth mobility that looked explicitly at concepts of work and play were working within a binary of work and tourism/travel (Duncan, 2008). Similarly, Adler and Adler’s sociological study of resort workers in Hawai’i identified a category of travellers – ‘seekers’ – who prioritised a lifestyle of leisure over work (1999: 381), and ‘strove to attain higher levels of play in work or play in life’ (1999: 395). It became increasingly clear that ‘play’ corresponds to leisure, tourism and travelling in scholarly literature. A similar association of the concept of ‘play’ with leisure is also found in Rosemary Deem’s early work exploring the salience of leisure in women’s lives (Deem, 1986). In this book titled ‘All work and no play? The sociology of women and leisure’(Deem, 1986), she makes a direct connection between the concepts of ‘play’ and ‘leisure’. Drawing from the above studies that explore work and play, I explore the concept of ‘play’ in its broader remit of leisure, by including participants’ accounts about aspirations and practices of travel and leisure on a YMS visa. In this chapter, I argue that participants’ disparate leisure practices are related to their differential positioning in hierarchies of privilege, especially those relating to nationality and gender – demonstrating limits to cosmopolitanism in their leisure terrains.

1.4 Thesis Structure

Following this first introductory chapter, the second chapter provides a literature review of contemporary forms of youth mobility, within the mandate of border regulation of modern nation states. These forms of youth mobility have come to be variously studied under categorisations of transnational mobility and temporary migration. Yet, these studies also largely fall prey to inadequate binaries of tourist/ worker, sojourner/resident to capture mobilities that include large periods of both residence and travelling. Hybrid categories like ‘working tourist’ which aim to reconcile binary labels, also invariably focus on either work or travel in their scope. Developments in the disciplines of geography and tourism studies have also struggled to understand the identities of mobile subjects who are travellers, residents, and workers at the same time. This inherent difficulty in categorisation was also clear in painting ‘backpacker’ as the relevant identity within much of the scholarly literature on working holidays. The inherent assumption of backpacker as white, middle-class and hailing from the ‘West’, concretised the ‘by default nature’ of privilege in these studies, with little critical analysis of the concept of privilege that this entails. Subsequently, I conclude the literature review by developing five research questions that guide my research project.

Chapter 3 sets out the nature of the ‘mobile field’ and how it required multiple methods, bringing its own unique problems of negotiation and access. Despite an initial access strategy, I finally met participants through chance encounters, walking into pubs and a broader snowball sampling incorporating peer networks. My decision to interview four participants from all eight participating countries of the scheme shaped the conduct of my research. Feminist research methodologies guided my research, in being attentive to questions of positionality, power, and reflexivity. In this chapter, I also discuss how I reversed the ‘gaze’ by being a South Asian woman scholar from India, studying an unexplored policy terrain of YMS – by conducting policy analysis, by interviewing Home Office staff and ‘studying up’, by interviewing YMS participants and conducting participant observation, and by observing selected social media spaces of participants.

Chapter 4 is the first analytical chapter of the thesis and answers the first research question: ‘What is the UK's YMS, and how does it construct ‘mobile subjects’?’ using Carol Bacchi’s (2009) conceptual framework, ‘What’s the Problem Represented to Be’ (WPR). I argue that the introduction of the points-based immigration system (PBS)

brought about the restructuring of traditional routes of temporary migration, such as the working holiday-maker scheme (WHM). The recasting of WHM into YMS led to the selective inclusion of participants from the White, Old Commonwealth and the exclusion of those from countries of the New Commonwealth. This is emblematic of a process of constructing ‘mobile subjects’ with relative privileges (for example, preferential access through membership in selected participating countries, and access to the UK labour market without the need to be tied to a sponsor).

The exclusion of nationals from ‘New Commonwealth’ countries, which make up the majority population of the Commonwealth, from a scheme that replaced the WHM (well known as a Commonwealth scheme) is also a reminder of attempts to control ‘coloured’ migration in the 60s. Policy discourses on the change in WHM and replacement with YMS reflect the overall framework of ‘management’ of migration that is synonymous with the introduction of PBS. The public consultations for the proposed PBS saw concerns raised by stakeholders, such as the Immigration Advisory Service (IAS), that the shift to PBS and the ending of WHM discriminates against young people and students from the New Commonwealth of Black and Asian countries. Thus, I argue that the replacement of WHM with YMS is consistent with the developments to control the migration of specific populations since the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962.

Chapter 5 answers the research question: ‘Who accesses the YMS and how do they explain their motivations?’ I will also answer part of another research question: ‘What, if any, are key differences between the participants in terms of motivations?’ To understand the motivations of the participants, I first investigate the imaginings that shape their motivations. In doing so, I identify two sources of national mobility imaginings in the participants’ accounts – historically rooted imaginaries and globalised imaginings. Historic youth mobilities between the UK and Old Commonwealth were prominent in the accounts of participants from Australia, New Zealand and Canada, and a similar discourse of historic routes was discernible in the accounts of BNO passport-holders from Hong Kong. The opening of routes of youth mobility between the UK and East Asian countries drive imaginings centred on the contemporary globalising world. The opportunities for youth mobility based on bilateral agreements between countries construct a rigid conception of ‘youth’ as between 18-30, where motivations for youth mobility take shape along lines of privilege, entitlement, and cosmopolitanism. The participants’ accounts also highlight globalised avenues of youth mobility,

foregrounding the role of gender in temporary forms of migration.

Chapter 6 focusses on the research question: ‘What work do participants obtain and how do they access labour market opportunities?’ I will also answer a component of the research question: ‘What, if any, are key differences between the participants in terms of work?’ I argue that labour market experiences of YMS participants are polarised along lines of nationality, first language, gender, and ethnicity. At first it appears that being on a two-year visa with similar restrictions is an equaliser; however, this is rapidly revealed to be fictitious. While the respondents repeatedly asserted that the temporariness of the visa and restriction of two years is a big disadvantage, the specific strategies that they depend on to access work – such as becoming self-employed, relying on co-ethnic employers, or taking up jobs below their educational qualifications – were linked to hierarchies of privilege. These hierarchies of privilege take shape through nationality, first language, racialized gender and manifest in the disparate access to historically established networks in the UK that cater to temporary migration on a working holiday.

Chapter 7 focusses on the research question: ‘How are participants’ leisure opportunities structured by participation in YMS’?. I will also answer a component of the research question: ‘What, if any, are key differences between the participants in terms of leisure?’ In this chapter, I focus on the leisure terrain of the participants, discussing aspirations, opportunities, and practices of leisure evident in their lives. I argue that the opportunities for leisure are polarised along lines of gender, ethnicity, nationality, and historic links with Britain. Disparate access to established networks that aid temporary mobility also influence the relative privilege of YMS participants in their opportunities for leisure. The cosmopolitan aspirations of seeking a different lifestyle and self-transformation by living and travelling overseas reflected the YMS participants’ overall aspirations of living in London. Further, I argue that the disjuncture between aspirations and practices of leisure is influenced by power asymmetries, negotiated by privileged postcoloniality, translating into diverse socio-cultural practices of leisure and social interactions that do not necessarily go beyond ethnocentric and national identities.

Chapter 8 summarises my empirical research findings by mapping them to the thesis research questions. The chapter will then highlight the methodological and theoretical significance of my research. In doing so, it will also highlight the relationship between research methodology and findings, reflect on the limitations of the project and identify

future research opportunities. Finally, the chapter will conclude by restating the main arguments of this thesis.

Chapter 2

Literature Review: Mobility and Privilege

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, my focus is the literature on forms of youth mobility that have been institutionalised through bilateral agreements between wealthy countries, and regulated under their respective immigration policies. At the outset, I must make it clear that there is no academic literature directly on the Tier-5 YMS of the UK. There is, however, a small literature on the previous WHM scheme in the UK, and an emerging literature about the operation of working holiday arrangements in countries such as Australia and Canada. I will review this literature to set up what I am most interested in; understanding the lives and identities of young mobile subjects on working holidays.

Most of the studies are recent (2000 onwards) and I attribute this to a growing scholarly interest in the contemporary institutionalisation of avenues for temporary youth mobility within the immigration regimes of receiving countries. The rise in scholarly attention also draws from the development of mobilities scholarship, which has led to more sociological interest in travel and tourism. However, these studies do not have a consensus on the classification of these young ‘mobile subjects’, termed variously transmigrants, sojourners, working travellers, student-workers, secular pilgrims, tourists, tourist-workers, and backpackers; occasionally referred to as migrants performing temporary work.

I begin by identifying and navigating the literatures on youth mobility located within three broad schools of thought: tourism, mobilities and migration (Section 2.2). In doing so, I will pay close attention to the labels used and highlight the dependence in these studies on binaries, such that the identity of young mobile subjects tends to be oversimplified and the complexity of patterns in contemporary youth mobility missed. In particular, I will argue that the multiplicity of labels limits our understanding of contemporary forms of youth mobility that are now part of national immigration policies. Nonetheless, I draw important insights from these literatures, particularly on mobilities and migration, about movements at the intersections of work, tourism and leisure and the importance of paying attention to privilege. In the second section (2.3), I will discuss

the emerging literature on contemporary working holiday schemes around the world, asking who the young mobile subjects are and what the literature claims to know about them. The subsequent section (2.4) will review the concept of ‘privilege’ that is implicit and explicit in the literature on youth mobility, identifying its sources – broadly understood along lines of gender, class, ‘race’ and nationality. In the final section (2.5), I will summarise my literature review and detail my research questions, making the case that treating contemporary forms of institutionalised working holidays as a form of lifestyle migration provides a sociological approach to understand both the structural and agential aspects of youth mobility in these institutionalised mobility regimes.

2.2 Mobile subjects: Tourism, Mobilities and Migration

The literature on youth mobility is scattered within three broad schools of thought: tourism, mobilities and migration, with geographers in particular contributing to the first two. Riddled with different ways of classifying mobile subjects and their category of movement, it is clear that youth mobility does not fit easily into any of these broad schools of thought. At the same time, disparate forms of youth mobility have mostly been dealt with as elements of tourism and, consequently, there is a proliferation of labels for those on working holidays drawing from their association with tourists. Developments within mobilities have enabled an understanding of youth travel and mobility as part of a recognition of the shift in societies towards multiple movements, although still lacking a critical approach to disambiguate and unpack the associations of youth mobility with privilege. Since 2005, the studies which have focussed on contemporary institutional arrangements of working holiday-maker schemes have tended to lean on migration scholarship to classify the young ‘mobile subjects’.

Before I discuss these three bodies of literature, I need to explain the etymology of the term ‘mobile subjects’ and clarify how I am using it. The use of ‘mobile subjects’ or ‘mobile subject’ within social sciences is relatively new – specifically from 2007, when it has featured in the titles of several articles (Biao, 2007; Fay, 2007; Manderscheid, 2014; Williamson, 2016). None of these papers claim to propound ‘mobile subjects’ as a new category; however, they use it to further their arguments. For example, Xiang Biao (2007: 73) in his concept of ‘mobility regime’ is interested in how the latter creates ‘new mobile subjects’ in China. By ‘mobility regime’, he means ‘a constellation of policies, cultural norms, and networks that condition migration’ (Biao, 2007: 73).

Meanwhile, Michaela Fay (2007) uses 'mobile subjects' in the title of her article, although it disappears from the content; she appears to be using the term mostly as a description of transnational participants in her virtual ethnography project. Katharina Manderscheid (2014: 188) is interested in critical mobilities scholarship, and engages with what she refers to as the 'solitary mobile subject' to understand the transport mobilities of everyday life. She criticises the assumption of an autonomous and rational mobile subject as the originator of mobility decisions, to foreground instead social structures that influence individual mobility (Manderscheid, 2014: 190). Rebecca Williamson's recent article (2016) uses the term 'mobile subjects' to denote the strategic use of everyday mobility by migrants (from refugees to highly skilled migrants) in Australia, to understand ways of belonging to the urban locality of the destination country.

My use of the term 'mobile subjects' is inspired by a less obvious use of the term by Susan Frohlick (2003). She uses 'mobile subjects' to set up her story without resorting to the binary of tourist vs locals in her study of global mountaineering in Mount Everest. Thus, the term 'mobile subjects' is a bridge to the use of her term 'recreational Nepali climbers' (2003: 526), to overcome simplified and politically charged notions of migrants, expats etc. I choose the term 'mobile subjects' in a similar way as a first step in problematising the assumption within much of the literature that treats these young adults as tourists, as reviewed below.

2.2.1 Tourism

The scholarly works that first aimed to capture patterns of youth travel identified it largely within tourism (Cohen, 1973; Pape, 1964). A similar emphasis on transient forms of travel (and tramping cultures) associated with youths (Adler, 1985) who combine work, holiday and travel was later incorporated into literature that focused on work undertaken by tourists (Adler & Adler, 1999). Subsequently, the image of a young, affluent traveller from the global north consolidated the ubiquitous tourist identity in this literature (Jarvis & Peel, 2013; Pizam et al., 2000; Uriely, 2001).

Uriely (2001: 1) attempted to overcome the binary between tourist and worker by categorising travellers into four types³, including 'working-holiday tourists'. In an earlier work, Uriely and Reichel (2000) used the label of 'working tourists' to conceptualise all kinds of travellers who combined travel with work. In this research on 'working tourists', conducted in Israel, work was perceived as instrumental to more travel as opposed to work as characteristic of the temporary migrant. These studies under the aegis of travel and tourism research elaborate on the links between work, youth travel and tourism, although are firmly located in host-tourist interactions that characterise the context of such movements (for example, young adults taking up temporary work at Kibbutzes in Israel).

Maksay (2007) treats youth mobility on working holidays as a form of tourism, although argues that 'Japanese WHMs form a distinctive subculture within Australia' (2007: 33). Likewise, Prideaux and Shiga (2007) treat Japanese backpackers (on WHM visas) in Queensland, Australia as a distinct group who 'differ from Western backpackers' (2007: 45). In her study of Canadians on working holidaymaker visas⁴ in Edinburgh, Kathleen Rice (2010) argues that participants in her study occupied an 'ambiguous, contradictory position as working tourists'. However, participants in her study rarely associated themselves with tourists, and she resorted to referring to them as 'sojourners' throughout her article. In this way, the binaries of worker/tourist, sojourner/resident do not get resolved in her work; instead, and in testament to earlier literature, new labels of movement are produced.

A more recent development in the understanding of young people on working holidays as tourists is found in Tsaur and Huang (2016), who classify Taiwanese young people⁵ on working holiday as 'working holiday tourists' (WHT) – similar to Uriely's category (2001) discussed earlier. An earlier study of Taiwanese youth on institutionalised arrangements of working holiday to Australia, USA and the UK also categorised them

³ Uriely's typology of travellers: 'Travelling professional workers'; 'migrant tourism workers'; 'non-institutionalised working tourists'; and 'working-holiday tourists' (2001: 1).

⁴ This is the only study that places explicit focus on participants who hold working holidaymaker visa (WHM visa) to the UK. WHM visa is the predecessor of the current YMS visa.

⁵ The destination countries of Taiwanese young people in the study are the UK, USA, Korea, New Zealand and Hong Kong.

as tourists (Tai et al., 2012). An important aspect of this literature is the focus on the institutionalisation of youth mobility through bilateral agreements between countries, as part of wider immigration policies. At the same time, these studies uncritically classify working holiday participants as tourists, despite their location in temporary migration schemes and their regulation by state immigration policies.

Disparate forms of youth travel (including working holidays) have also been captured under the umbrella-term ‘backpackers’ (Brennan, 2014) in literature spanning the disciplines of geography and tourism (Allon & Anderson, 2010; Cohen, 2011; Elsrud, 2001; Loker-Murphy, 1997; Loker-Murphy & Pearce, 1995; Maoz, 2007; Ooi & Laing, 2010). Loker-Murphy and Pearce’s (1995: 820) research on backpackers in Australia traces the origins of backpacking to several traditions of temporary forms of travel, such as the affluent, middle-class Grand Tours of seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe, tramping cultures and non-institutionalised forms of tourism. ‘Drifter tourism’ is a closely related term to ‘backpacking’ that came to be associated with less structured forms of travel undertaken by privileged individuals (Cohen, 1973). Later, Scott Cohen (2011) systematically conceptualised backpacking as a way of life in categorising ‘lifestyle travellers’ and their motivations to self and identity⁶. Giddens’ (1991) conceptualisation of modernity and individualisation also contributes to understanding youth mobility at the interface of identity and self. I will now turn to how youth mobility is dealt with in mobilities scholarship

2.2.2 Mobilities

In contrast to tourism studies, which is largely based in geography, mobilities research is transdisciplinary in nature, drawing from the insights of several disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, geography, history, communication and cultural studies (Adey et al., 2014: 3). John Urry (2007) has particularly shifted the emphasis in sociological research to the concept of ‘mobilities’, as a framework which recognises that social relations stretch across geographical spaces, while also being attentive to physical and material geography. Research into mobilities shot to prominence with the ‘new mobilities paradigm’ (Sheller & Urry, 2006) and the ‘mobilities turn’ in social sciences

⁶ Scott Cohen and colleagues’ later work (Cohen et al., 2015) on ‘lifestyle mobilities’ aligns with the mobilities literature in weaving together lifestyle, mobility and identity in forms of travel. Hence, their concept of lifestyle mobilities will be discussed in section 2.2.3

(Hannam et al., 2006), establishing new research dimensions related to mobility – of people, spaces, information, and communication.

Mobilities research is influenced by globalisation studies and the recognition of the increasing normalisation of movement of people, goods, and services. Expanding on Bauman's emphasis on movement in contemporary society (1998) it sees space and movement as intrinsic to social relations. Such an all-encompassing approach to mobility means that migrants and tourists become subcategories/components of a wider phenomenon, rather than opposites. A downside of this is that the emphasis on fluidity and movement risks neglecting the inequalities that character mobility. This is not to argue that mobilities scholars have not discussed the dimension of inequalities. Tim Cresswell, for example, argues that scholars must pay close attention to the politics of mobility, and how mobilities manifest within existing relations of power (Adey, 2006; Cresswell, 2010).

Earlier I mentioned that mobilities research came to prominence with the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller & Urry, 2006), staking out claims to be distinct from existing sociological theories, which are accused of 'sedentarism' or static conceptions of the world. The mobilities approach has been criticised in turn for claiming that the static and sedentary is of the past and that the contemporary world is readily mobile. Cresswell (2010) argues against this critique, however, claiming that the field 'brings together a diverse array of forms of movement across scales ranging from the body (or, indeed parts of the body) to the globe' (2010: 18). The paradigm does not claim that the study of mobilities is new, instead it is a new way of systematising mobilities with a social lens. For example, Cresswell argues that when theories of migration examine how and why people move between countries (2010: 18), they put excessive emphasis on places, instead of focusing the act of moving and the social relations that get constituted as part of movement.

I contend that the mobilities approach is promising in its focus on how social relations get constituted through movement, although I would exercise caution. The mobilities approach makes the mistake of paying inadequate attention to what I call 'fixed and immobile identities'. For example, identities in relation to the nation state – a person's country of origin, citizenship⁷, whether the person is from a country that allows double

⁷ Changing citizenship via naturalization route is tedious, time-consuming and not fluid.

citizenship, the level of affluence and the power of the state in global geopolitics of a given period. Fixed and immobile identities in relation to the nation state contribute to differential structural inclusion and exclusion in terms of donning mobile identities. In a similar vein, Russel King cautions against an exaggeration of contemporary mobility by pointing to the ‘increasingly stringent regime of migration control imposed by the rich countries of the global north’ (2012: 136). Feminist theorists have also criticised mobilities scholarship for its lack of inclusion of embodiment in understanding mobilities. For example, the rights discourse of who can travel is highly uneven between countries and is at the heart of mobility (Gogia, 2006). Similarly, they have criticised the ‘romanticisations of mobility’ in social theory, whereby the dangers in mobility are rarely discussed, holding mobility as the ideal opposite to a sedentary life (Kaplan, 2006: 395), often neglecting the realities of refugee mobility that are linked to ‘persecution, displacement, and claims for protection’ (Mountz, 2011: 255).

Nonetheless, mobilities approach continues to be used to understand forms of youth mobility on working holidays. Anika Haverig argues that the ‘working holiday is a peculiar form of global movement’ (2011: 103). Her paper published in the journal *Mobilities* focusses on the aspirations of young New Zealanders to go on a ‘New Zealand working holiday phenomenon’, which ‘is commonly called “Overseas Experience”’ (OE). Her findings show that despite its association with travel and tourism, OE is a ‘specific form of temporary labour migration’ (Haverig, 2011: 104). While presenting important insights on the motivations for youths taking up overseas working holidays, Haverig (2011) also assumes that the working holiday is prevalent only among Anglophone countries. Indeed, this assumption is common in the corpus of literature on forms of youth travel from/within rich Anglophone countries.

Developments in tourism research to incorporate the importance of lifestyle, in congruence with increased receptiveness to the ‘mobilities paradigm’ (Hannam et al., 2006; Sheller & Urry, 2006), later crystallised in the conceptual framework of ‘lifestyle mobilities’ (Cohen et al., 2015). This framework is used to understand forms of travel that are at the intersection of work, tourism and leisure, building on Cohen’s earlier conception of ‘lifestyle traveller’ (2011) to highlight patterns of mobility that blur into migration (Cohen et al., 2015: 158). Cohen et al. argue that the concept of lifestyle mobilities is better at capturing the intersections of tourism, mobility, and migration, by defining lifestyle mobility as ‘an ongoing fluid process, carrying on as everyday practice

over time' (2015: 158). However, in this conceptualisation, they place excessive importance on ongoing and continuous mobility as central to conceptualising 'mobile subjects'. The concept also readily links lifestyle mobility to the realm of privileged citizens (Cohen et al., 2015: 157), excluding mobile populations who are marginalised – such as the Roma, and other gypsy communities who embody a lifestyle on the move. The conceptualisation of 'lifestyle mobilities' is thereby problematic, since by identifying privilege with a 'continuous intention to move on' (2015: 160) it is unable to explain marginalised identities. Nor does it pay sufficient attention to inequalities in mobility, taking privileged mobility for granted and not exploring the nuances in privilege. In this way, an image of continuous mobility is not accurate if it is unable to account for unevenness and exclusions in mobility (King, 2012).

To summarise the discussions so far (section 2.2), the amorphous category of working holiday maker is at the interface of the binaries of sojourner/resident, visitor/host, and worker/tourist. I argue that these binaries point to the disciplinary boundaries of migration⁸ and tourism research. For example, tourism research has focussed on short-term periods of travel that are distinct from everyday life in the destination country, while migration has been understood as a singular movement which involves relocation (until transnationalism became the dominant approach of migration studies in the 1990s). This bifurcated understanding of tourism and migration contribute to the difficulty in classifying forms of mobility that involve large portions of both movement and staying. Here mobilities research holds the potential to better understand contemporary youth mobility, although without a rigorous critical infusion from migration studies it is unable to weed out exclusive associations of mobility with mobile subjects from the global North and their taken-for-granted location of privilege. It is to this critical contribution from migration studies that I turn next.

2.2.3 Migration

Migration studies have typically concentrated on people moving for economic reasons, especially to obtain work. These people are the economic 'agents' beloved of economists. However, the sociology of migration has also been attentive to wider structures that influence migration, such as slavery, war, famine etc., and so-called

⁸ I will review scholarly debates in migration studies next.

distress migration. In this section, I am particularly interested in sociological approaches to migration which emphasise the structures that both constrain and enable individuals in their migration, while also being attentive to migrant agency.

Early migration literature focussed on those who travel once and settle for good, although this changed with the transnational ‘turn’ in migration in the 1990s. This ‘turn’ established transnationalism as the most dominant paradigm of migration studies (Cohen, 2004; King, 2012). It came to prominence through the pioneering work of Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc (1995), who argued that a change in global flows from permanent to temporary migration necessitated a move away from studying immigration and settlement to one addressing circular, transient and continuous migrations between sending and receiving countries (Bauböck, 2011; Dauvergne & Marsden, 2014; Vosko, 2000). The concept of transnationalism within migration studies proved timely to capture complex physical movements of people between countries that did not always entail permanent relocation, and was capable of engaging with the potential for social transformation and identity formation beyond nation states (Blanc et al., 1995; Hugo, 2008; Yeoh et al., 2003). The term ‘migration’ has thus superseded ‘immigration’, and this is largely due to conceptual developments within transnationalism and globalisation studies (Nawyn, 2010: 749).

Taking inspiration from transnationalism, recent scholarship has tried to theorise youth mobility through a lens of transnationalism. Particularly notable here is the conceptualisation of “‘middling’ forms of transnationalism’ (Conradson & Latham, 2005c: 229), to bring socio-economic class to bear on the embodiment of transnational migrants on OE in the UK. Conradson & Latham argue that there are forms of transnational mobility that do not exclusively fit either ‘transnational elites’ or ‘developing-world migrants’ (2005b: 229). It is in this context that they talk about ‘transmigrants who occupy middling social or economic positions in their countries of origin’ (Conradson & Latham, 2005a: 302). While their study did not focus exclusively on young adults on a working holiday-maker visa to the UK (the predecessor of the YMS visa), it did suggest the latter as one of the main routes through which young New Zealanders moved to London for their OE. Similar to Conradson and Latham’s use of the term ‘middling’, Smith (2005: 235) argues that “‘middling transnationalism” refers to the transnational practices of middle-class social actors’.

‘Middling’ forms of migration have also been used in other contexts of youth mobility. Rutten and Verstappen (2014: 1217) use ‘middling’ migration to understand the ‘contradictory migration experiences’ of middle-class Indian youth on temporary visas (both student visas and temporary work visas) in London. The Indian youth in their study faced downward class mobility in London, although simultaneously improving their socio-economic status in India. Ho (2011) also chooses the concept of ‘middling’ to categorise Singaporean middle-class, high-skilled transmigrants in London, by referring to them as ‘middling transnationals’. In doing so, she seeks to bring together insights from middling transnationalism and highly skilled migration.

A related, yet divergent, conceptualisation of ‘different middling transnationalisms’ is proposed by Clarke (2005: 320), in a study of the lives of British working holidaymakers in Australia. Class and status are less prominent in Clarke’s analysis of ‘middling’, which instead focuses on James Clifford’s (1992) concept of ‘travelling cultures’ to espouse an analytical continuum between travelling and dwelling (Clarke, 2005: 311). Clarke locates ‘middling transnationals’ in the theoretical middle between ‘refugees or low-skilled economic migrants’ and ‘high-skilled economic migrants’. Interestingly, he is less convinced about ‘middling’ as a qualifier for working holiday-makers, although leans towards an understanding of privileged migration by arguing that, despite not being ‘high-flying business executives’, working holidaymakers are ‘relatively rich, privileged and powerful nevertheless’ (Clarke, 2005: 321). Previous studies on OE have also acknowledged the relative privilege of middle-class mobile subjects, theoretically located in the middle of elite and destitute migration (Clarke, 2005; Conradson & Latham, 2005c).

Particularly absent in the above studies of youth mobility is how gender relations produce and reproduce channels of youth mobility between countries. This is despite the long and rich scholarship on gendered migration that has taken transnationalism on board (Pessar & Mahler, 2003; Yeoh & Ramdas, 2014), with its focus on gendering as a process in migration (Lutz, 2010). I will discuss this strand of literature later in this chapter when I discuss gender as a source of privilege in migration. Significantly, Croucher (2014) has argued that the analytical variable of gender is absent in lifestyle migration scholarship, stating that gender has a ‘profound and pervasive influence in lifestyle’ (2014: 21).

It is in this context that I consider scholarly insights on ‘lifestyle migration’ – which holds potential to critically analyse forms of contemporary youth mobility. Benson and O’Reilly (forthcoming) elaborate on the potential of lifestyle migration as a ‘conceptual framework’ (p.2) to understand ‘distinct migration trends, including retirement migrants, downsizers, backpackers, and second-home owners’ (p.7). The sociological merit of the conceptualisation of lifestyle migration is that it is at the interface of mobility and migration, yet attentive to structure and agency in its theoretical lens (Benson & Osbaldiston, 2014). The existing literature on lifestyle migration mainly focuses on lifestyle as a motivation for human movement, exploring retirement migration among relatively privileged migrants from Europe and North America (Benson, 2011a; Benson, 2009; Casado Diaz, 2009; Torkington, 2012). I argue that there is scope to extend this focus to youth mobility.

In this section, I have argued that the longstanding association of young mobile subjects with tourism is problematic in the case of YMS participants, even if it seeks to recognise, using various labels, that they also work. This is because they are increasingly subject to state regimes of immigration as migrants, not tourists. The literature on mobilities situates them within broader trends, and the concept of lifestyle mobilities operates at the promising interface of work, tourism and leisure; however, it risks fetishizing movement and failing to focus on the structures that shape who can move, and the differential privileges among those who do. The literature on migration promises greater attention to structures and inequalities, and the transnational ‘turn’ has offered the concept of ‘middling transnationalism’ to understand young mobile subjects, a group between migrant elites and so-called ‘economic’ migrants. With this has come greater focus on the relative privilege of young mobile subjects, in terms of social class. The migration literature also has a long-established interest in gender, although this has not been applied to the mobile subjects at the centre of my research. In the end, I find greatest promise in the concept of lifestyle migration, given its attention to identities, agency and structures, although thus far it has largely been applied to retirees, at the opposite end of the age spectrum.

I will now look in more detail at literature on contemporary forms of bilateral agreement-led working holiday schemes that are closest to the UK’s Youth Mobility Scheme. My interest is in highlighting what we know about who these mobile subjects are, their identities and experiences and the differences between them.

2.3 Literature on working holiday schemes

As stated earlier, to the best of my knowledge there is no sociological literature on YMS participants in the UK. However, my research is informed by literature on similar working holiday-maker schemes in other countries and by (limited) pre-YMS research in the UK. In this section I ask who the mobile subjects in these studies are, and what scholars claim to know about them. It should be noted that the studies reviewed below do not always categorise the young people they research as working holiday-makers, sometimes preferring terms such as student-worker, tourist-worker, sojourner, temporary migrant, as I try to signal through the discussion. Nonetheless their research is important in contextualising my concerns.

For Castles researching in the mid 2000s (2006: 12), working holiday-makers are a category of low-skilled migrants to the UK from Commonwealth countries, whose ‘entries under the scheme increased to 62,400 in 2004’ (2006:12). Helleiner’s (2015) study of Irish working holiday-makers to Canada agrees with Castles’ classification of working holiday-maker visa holders as temporary migrants. Helleiner also sees them as a ‘broader category of relatively privileged migrants that encompasses tourist, lifestyle, volunteer and student mobilities’ (Helleiner, 2015: 3). In doing so, she suggests that while the Canadian working holiday scheme restrict access to primarily ‘middle-class migrants’, the ‘occupational positioning of these migrants in Canada likely ranges widely’ (Helleiner, 2015: 5). Similarly, Kathleen Rice (2010) notes that Canadian working holiday-makers in Edinburgh came from middle-class backgrounds. They also performed unskilled and low-skilled employment, to allow for flexible working and opportunities of leisure. By prioritising leisure, the Canadian working holiday makers ‘displayed hedonistic behaviour more reminiscent of touristic leisure than of standard working life’ (Rice, 2010: 33). According to these studies, then, working holiday-makers are generally middle-class and relatively privileged, but the work they take up in their destination country is generally unskilled or low-skilled, although Helleiner allows for a greater range of occupational positioning.

Rice (2010) also points towards the blurring of boundaries between work and leisure in her study of Canadian working holiday-makers in Edinburgh. Likewise, Amit and Dyck (2010) have considered working holiday visa arrangements as blurring the distinctions between education, tourism and migration in the context of Australia and Canada –

although argue that working holidays are ‘usually regulated as a form of tourism’ (2010: 3). Wilson, Fisher and Moore consider the working holiday phenomenon of OE as a ‘cultural icon in New Zealand’ (2010: 4). In doing so, they place central focus on the national and cultural aspects of OE that influence participants in ‘going “home” to Britain’ (2010: 9). They do not however discuss the socio-economic status or gendered dimensions of young adults who can afford to go on an OE to the UK.

Vered Amit (2015) does identify the relative privilege of travellers embarking on a working holiday and student exchange to the UK, aligning it with Conradson and Latham’s (2005a) ‘middling’ form of transnational mobility. In doing so, Amit detaches working holiday mobility from privileged elite mobilities, and places it in the realm of middle-class mobilities. Her work is also of interest for its explicit focus on the motivations of working holiday-makers. She suggests that they are motivated by cosmopolitan aspirations of self-discovery and a notion of ‘travel as edifying’ (Amit, 2015: 554), although their abilities to choose cosmopolitan practices are largely circumscribed by the institutional arrangements that facilitated their mobility.

A common thread that links the studies discussed so far is the focus on mobile subjects from Western Anglophone countries (Canada, Australia, United Kingdom, Ireland). I ascribe this to the common association of working holiday mobility with young backpackers from the West and his/her (mostly his) mobility and the ‘Western myth of identity’ (Bruner, 1991 cited in Amit, 2015: 563) that draws from travel and individualism. Nonetheless, the rising significance of bilateral agreements on working holidays with countries not previously part of such schemes is reflected in recent literature, particularly in an Australian context (Kato, 2010, 2013, Kawashima, 2010, 2012; Robertson, 2014; Wilson, 2008).

Kawashima’s (2010) study of Japanese former working holiday-makers in Australia who had returned to Japan focusses on the expectations that the participants had before leaving for Australia. She identifies ‘self-improvement through becoming cosmopolitan’ (2010: 269) as an important expectation among the participants, where becoming cosmopolitan was associated with the ‘imagined “West”’. Here she resonates with Amit’s work on cosmopolitan motivations, except she also links to more pragmatic concerns; participants sought to improve their proficiency in the English language and ‘increase one’s marketability in Japan’ (2010: 271). Participants who were made worse

off in the 'Employment Ice Age' of Japan sought to improve their self (2010: 273) by travelling overseas. In her later study, Kawashima (2012) provides a relatively rare gendered analysis, highlighting the significant number of Japanese female working holiday-makers in Australia and how they negotiate their gendered and ethnic identities in the labour market.

Kato extends the discussion of Japanese working holiday-makers to Canada, arguing that finding better work (than in Japan) was crucial to identity construction on an overseas working holiday (2010, 2013). Kato explains that the Canadian working holiday visa is seen as a 'dream visa' among the participants, due to Canada's 'safety (unlike the "gun society" of the US), not excessively high living expenses (unlike the UK) and accent-free English (unlike Australia)' (2010: 54). The Japanese participants in her study were also motivated by a desire to find themselves; Kato identifies them as 'self-searching migrants' (Kato, 2010: 51). Yoon's study of Korean working holiday-makers in Canada also found that the participants were primarily motivated by a seeking of their 'true self' (Yoon, 2014b: 1020), living on their own terms, far away from the expectations and pressures from family. He characterises the working holiday as a form of transnational mobility whereby young travellers seek 'global experience' (Yoon, 2014b: 1014), a 'new rite of passage among young people in Korea' (Yoon, 2014a: 587).

Conversely, participants from the UK and Ireland on working holiday-maker visas in Australia studied by Robertson (2014: 1927) identified work as their main motivation for travel. Limited opportunities and rising costs of living at home meant that participants were often looking to extend their stay in Australia by trying to get sponsored by employers. Citing Robertson (2014), Helleiner (2015: 4) argues that this motivation may be shaped by the fact that British and Irish nationals get higher skilled jobs and have a better position in the Australian labour market when compared to 'Asian and South Asian working holidaymakers', who are relegated to low paid and exploitative jobs. Helleiner adds a valuable dimension here in terms of how working holiday-makers may be differentiated in their labour market position, a point taken up by Shanti Robertson (2016) and in other recent research. Robertson argues in the context of working holidaymakers in Australia that the labour market is particularly racialized in the context of temporary migrants.

Particular jobs remain highly stratified on the basis of race – telesales, fundraising and “mainstream” hospitality jobs are the domain of white and native or near-white English speaking student-workers and tourist-workers (mostly English, Irish and European), while working in ‘ethnic’ hospitality and retail businesses is far more common for non- white and non-English speaking background workers (Robertson, 2016: 2276)

Robertson sheds light on how working holidaymakers, whom she refers to as student-workers and tourist-workers⁹ (2016: 2272), participate in the labour market, showing clear differentiation along lines of ‘race’ and ethnicity. Tellingly, the non-white and non-English speaking participants are clustered in an ‘ethnic’ economy, which we might presume to be lower paid. Citing Cohen (1994), Robertson argues that the state’s disciplining technique of ‘temporariness’ create the ‘migrant “Other”’ (Cohen, 1994, cited in Robertson, 2014: 1929) in the context of working holiday-makers and temporary graduate workers, who are labour migrants in practice.

Similarly, Li and Whitworth (2016) highlight the experiences of racialization by ethnic Chinese working holidaymakers (whom the authors understand as temporary migrants) in Australia and their location in the ‘ethnic’ economy. The restrictions placed on their labour market access, alongside the working time regulations of Australian immigration policy, ensure that the former find work in low-skilled, low paid jobs. All the participants in their research (from PRC China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan) had to negotiate exploitative working conditions to make mobility choices in Australia – such as taking cash-in-hand jobs with minimal rights with co-ethnic employers. This finding aligns with the experiences of Korean working holidaymakers in Canada (Yoon, 2014b: 1018) who ‘tended to work in the ethnic economy despite their wish to immerse themselves in the general economy’.

In summary, the literature on working-holiday makers generally suggests that they are relatively privileged and middle-class, and that they are motivated, to different degrees, by cosmopolitan aspirations of travel and self-discovery and the quest to enhance their employability; certainly they blur the boundaries of work and leisure. An established literature on working holiday-makers moving between western Anglophone countries

⁹ Participants came from several countries. For example, she quotes participants from China, Hong Kong and Ireland in this paper (Robertson, 2016).

(Australia, New Zealand, Canada, UK) has been joined recently by emerging literature on working holiday-makers from East Asia (Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan), with some suggestion that the long-standing rite of passage that is 'OE' for young (white) Australians and New Zealanders is now emerging elsewhere. While some studies associate all working holiday-makers with low-skilled or semi-skilled work, others point explicitly to racialized labour markets, whereby white working holiday-makers access the more advantageous 'mainstream' economy and non-white are confined to 'ethnic' economy. This analysis of some of the nuances of privilege for working holiday-makers is welcome; however, I argue that the field is ripe for more developed analysis of the structures of power that privilege certain mobile subjects over the others, particularly with respect to gender, 'race'/ethnicity, class and nationality.

In the next section, I will first review the emerging debates within migration that incorporate privilege. I will then divide the discussion into four sources of privilege that are identifiable from existing research on youth mobility – gender, class, 'race', and nationality, to then have a final discussion on which sociological framework can best grasp the complexity of young mobile subjects on working holiday schemes.

2. 4 Privilege and its sources

The early studies on global migration (Castles & Miller, 1998), as well as those on migration to Europe (Hansen, 2003; Kofman et al., 2000), have excluded privilege as a concept relevant to migrants. Indeed, Sarah Kunz argues that 'migrants who are privileged by citizenship, class or 'race'' are absent from theorisations in migration (2016: 89). However, I identify an important exception to this in work by Robin Cohen (1995), who incorporates 'European expansion' and 'voluntary settlement from Europe' within his understanding of historical patterns of international migration, and avoids a myopic focus on inward European migration. His aim is to show how colonialism ensured widespread human movements (for example, slave labour, indentured labour), privileged human movements from Europe – through 'voluntary settlement from Europe', and other colonial expeditions – have triggered waves of forced migration to different parts of the world (and of course, to Europe). In a more contemporary context, Anderson and Keith (2014) have shown that wealthy citizens' border crossings are easier than that of the poor. Hence, I argue that privilege was always hiding in plain sight in migration studies. For example, studies which focussed on migration to the United

Kingdom have thrown light on the differential political treatment of ethnic groups that comprised immigrant streams post-1945 (Solomos, 1989, 1995, 2003), demonstrating that some were more privileged than others. These seminal studies on patterns of migration to the United Kingdom also engaged with questions of inherent racism in the policies of immigration control (Paul, 1997). The racialisation of migrants and hierarchies of privilege went hand in hand with assumptions about where migrants 'were perceived to "fit" within the hierarchy of Britishness' (Paul, 1997: xii), linking Britishness, whiteness and historic links with Britain.

The predominant focus of migration research has concerned the movement of economically disadvantaged people from poorer countries to richer countries. When people wanted to talk about migration of people not travelling for economic reasons and from well developed countries they tended to invent new terms to distance the former from migrants, for example the category of 'expatriate' (Kunz, 2016). This only enhanced the migration literature's bias towards economic migration from less developed (poor) countries. Moreover, research on expatriates did not highlight privilege as a concept of importance (although see Cohen, 1989 for an early discussion of expatriate contract workers as 'privileged aliens'), such that attempts to integrate privileged mobility into studies of migration and transnational movements are relatively recent (Croucher, 2009; 2012).

Recent literature on the migration of elites (Beaverstock & Hall, 2012; Jansson, 2016) does address privilege, although the term 'migration' is rarely associated with such movements; the chosen label being 'mobilities'. For example, Jansson (2016) presents the emblematic holders of 'privileged global mobility' in his typology of '*sojourners, dwellers and homecomers*', (2016: 425; original emphasis). The privileged elite, marked by country of origin (rich global north) and social class position (upper or middle-class), is the subject of research in these contexts. Class and nationality underlie patterns of privileged mobility in these studies, with little analysis on the role of gender and race, albeit with some exception (Croucher, 2013).

Tellingly, academic literature mirrors common-sense assumptions of migrant embodiment as 'non-Western, non-White, non-elite subjects' (Kunz, 2016: 89, see also Croucher, 2012) when it works to 'disambiguate expatriates from (im)migrants' and 'conceal the fact that expatriates are indeed (im)migrants'(Kunz, 2016: 96). Sheila

Croucher (2012) makes a call to integrate studies of privileged mobility with migration and transnational studies, ‘to better highlight the nature and implications of global inequality’ (2012: 2). In doing so, she discusses implicit relative privilege in studies of lifestyle migration, expatriate mobility, and other forms of leisure migration. Relative privilege in this conceptualisation pertains to citizens of affluent and developed countries of the global north who travel to less developed countries (Croucher, 2009, 2012).

Croucher’s work (2012) is critical of scholarly attempts to invent new labels for privileged patterns of mobility. Here she argues that ‘the multiplicity of terms and qualifiers other than “immigrant” that circulate to describe migrants of privilege, not only reveal elements of privilege, but also contribute to perpetuating it’ (Croucher, 2012: 4). She further argues that ‘in the public and political imagination, “immigrants” are not “white”’ (Croucher, 2012: 4), and scholarly labels which separate privileged white migrants from the label of ‘immigrant’ perpetuate the above stereotype. What is clear here is a trend to associate privilege with mobilities and most often whiteness, as opposed to non-privilege with immigration and ethnic minorities (see also Lundström, 2014).

I argue that it is crucial to integrate forms of privileged mobility into mainstream migration studies, or the trend to “mask” the migration of thousands of workers through their associations with tourist and student “sojourn” rather than labour migration’ (Robertson, 2014: 1928) will continue. Such an integration is particularly crucial in understanding the context of YMS in the UK, which subsumed several earlier temporary migration routes, such as the au-pair entry rules for non-EU nationals. Currently there is no specific visa category for migrants who travel from EU or non-EU countries to the UK to work as au-pairs. As per the latest government guidelines, a person who works as an au-pair can either be a EU citizen, or have entered the UK on a YMS visa or a student visa¹⁰. This incorporation of au-pair work into YMS and the student visa also serves to perpetuate the idea that ‘au-pairs are students or gap-year travellers’, which in turn is used to ‘deny them rights as workers and to hold down their wages’ (Cox, 2015: 10). Thus, an integration of privileged forms of mobility into migration studies also aligns with Croucher’s call for ‘greater terminological precision’ in understanding privileged forms of human movement (Croucher, 2012: 4). I will now identify sources of privilege that have been identified in the scholarly literature on youth mobility.

¹⁰ <https://www.gov.uk/au-pairs-employment-law/au-pairs>

2.4.1 Gender

What is revealing in existing literature on youth mobility is a general lack of gendered analysis in its remit. There are however, some emerging studies which foreground gender in their analysis, discussed below, accounting for the disparities in access to and allocation of privileged mobilities along gender lines. A critical approach of privileged migration that integrates structural and agential aspects of migration cannot ignore gender relations, which operate at all levels of the migratory/mobility process.

Some accounts couple a gender analysis with one of 'race'/ethnicity. For example, charting the predominance of white bodies from western countries, Gogia (2006: 369) states that 'race and citizenship thus become visible markers of backpacker culture' and noting that Lonely Planet guidebooks are written mainly by white men (2002, cited in Gogia, 2006), arguably for white male travellers. Gogia (2006) further contrasts this ubiquitous opportunity of travel for those from western countries with bodies of colour, who are absent or relegated in the background. She sees Japanese travellers, who seem to be making inroads into the backpacking culture of Canada¹¹, as an exception. There is a consensus in the emerging literature on working holiday mobility that more women from Japan than men travel on working holiday visas to other countries (Kato, 2010; Kawashima, 2012). This could be equated with the women having more agency than men, a form of privilege. However, a close reading of these studies brings out the complex role of gender and problematises any direct association between young women's mobility and privilege.

For instance, Kato (2010) studied Japanese working holidaymakers in Vancouver, Canada and demonstrated that women were overrepresented. She attributed this to a need for 'self-searching' among these women, who were marginalised in Japanese society, especially in terms of securing life-long employment. At the same time, she suggests, Japanese women had more freedom than men to become self-searching migrants by travelling overseas because men were subject to patriarchal gender norms that required them to acquire the 'job for life' in Japan that would cement their role as breadwinners. In this way, her study complicates the location of gender in conceptualising privilege in

¹¹ See earlier section on new approaches where Kato (2010) explores Japanese working holidaymakers in Canada. Her later work (Kato, 2013) explores Japanese working holidaymakers in Australia and Canada.

youth mobility. Similarly, Kawashima (2012: 1) argues that Japanese women outnumber Japanese men in all categories of outbound migration to English-speaking western countries. Her analysis of Japanese working holidaymakers in Australia shows a nexus of gender, mobility and a 'colonial regime of racial hierarchy' (2012: 6) which is used to construct identities among the participants.

The women tended to capitalise on Japanese men's emasculated status to feel empowered, as well as portray themselves as caring and attractive Asian 'sweethearts', in contrast to 'unfeminine' western women (Kawashima, 2012: 7).

Overall, Japanese working holidaymakers were the racial 'other' (Kawashima, 2012: 2) in Australia and occupied marginal positions in the labour market. However, Kawashima's findings show that the women capitalised on 'colonial binary oppositions between the dominant West and feminised Asia' (2012: 1) to construct favourable identities for themselves in Australia, when compared with Japanese men. The findings from her study provide a more nuanced frame through which to conceptualise gender and privilege in working holiday mobility. Similarly, Yoon's study (2014b) of Korean working holidaymakers has shown that transnational mobility and associated motivations of individualisation are a 'gendered process' (2014b: 1025) and must also be recognised as a strategy for escaping patriarchal norms in the origin country.

A focus on gender also contributes to understanding how and why people decide to migrate and how it influences the specific occupations in which migrants find work (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Cranford, 2006; Mahler & Pessar, 2006; Pessar & Mahler, 2003). For instance, Hondagneu-Sotelo and Cranford (2006) show that the Bracero program (USA) was gendered in the way it 'recruited only males', while relying on 'reproduction work of women back home' (2006: 123). Further, Donato et al. (2006: 12) observe that migration decisions take place in the context of 'gendered interactions and expectations between individuals and within families and institutions'. Also important, but less explored, are the ways in which gender norms are applied and patrolled on the mobile subjects by their families, friends, and fellow mobile travellers.

2.4.2 Class

Accounts of class privilege may also feature 'race'/ethnicity and nation/location. For example, Helleiner's research on the working holiday program in Canada found that 'the

program as a whole favours predominately white middle-class migrants from the Global North' (2015: 13). Helleiner (2015) identifies the Irish participants as mainly middle-class, and goes further than that in explicating the crucial nexus of whiteness and middle-class status to reveal their 'pre-existing positioning within a dominant white Canadianness' (2015: 14). This research has opened an important discussion about the socio-economic status of migrants and how it interacts with pre-existing power relations in their destination country.

Although Yoon (2015) does not discuss the socio-economic class of the participants in his study of outbound Korean working holidaymakers in Canada, they can be understood as relatively privileged and to have 'already attained a relatively high level of educational or cultural capital' (2015: 82); indeed an earlier study (Yoon, 2014b: 1018), does identify them as predominantly middle-class. Similarly, Rice (2010) finds that Canadian working holidaymakers in the UK (Edinburgh) are from middle-class backgrounds. Conradson and Latham's study (2005b) identified their participants undertaking 'OE' in the UK, mainly London, as middle-class and coined the term 'middling' forms of transnationalism, to capture their migration as neither elite nor destitute. Later studies of working holidays have thus classified them as forms of middling migration. For example, Wilson, Fisher and Moore's findings into the OE travellers from New Zealand in London, also identified them as middle-class (Wilson et al., 2010). While much research points out the middle-class privilege of WHMs, less/none traces how that privilege shapes their migration.

2.4.3 'Race'

Yoon (2014a) argues that 'race' is an under researched theme in working holiday literature, the bulk of which is focussed on 'intra-Western groups' travelling to predominantly white, Western countries (2014a: 589). Certainly the staple focus has been on young, ethnic-white adults of middle-class upbringing who travel between the rich, Anglophone countries in pursuit of leisure, becoming cosmopolitan citizens along the way (Amit, 2011; Huxley, 2004). Some of this literature takes whiteness for granted, and some of it problematizes it. There is also limited but emerging research on the privileged migration of non-white youth from Japan, Korea and Taiwan (Ho et al., 2012; Kato, 2013; Kawashima, 2012; Yoon, 2014a).

Gogia's assertion of unequal mobilities (2006)¹² must be placed alongside everyday processes of bordering and mobility regimes, which privilege some and disadvantage others (Fortier et al., 2003), mostly visible minorities from poor countries. Michaela Benson (2012: 1682), has highlighted how understanding privileged forms of temporary and permanent mobility brings to the forefront the tensions between structure and agency. In doing so, she furthers our understanding of the operation of privileged migration (Amit, 2007; Benson, 2013) and racialized historical power relations at the heart of contemporary migrations (Benson, 2013; Farrer, 2010; Fechter & Walsh, 2010).

Helleiner (2015), in her study of the Canadian working holiday program, foregrounds the role of 'race' in contemporary forms of youth migration. She argues that as 'white, English-speaking migrants, Irish Working Holiday migrants were already positioned within dominant ideologies of whiteness-as-belonging' (2015: 14). What is crucial here is her argument that white, Irish participants in her study occupied a privileged positioning when compared to 'other migrants, ethnoracialized minority Canadian citizens and Indigenous Peoples' (Helleiner, 2015: 14). Her findings align with Andrucki's (2010) analysis of transnational mobility (not exclusively youth mobility) to South Africa. Andrucki uses the concept of 'visa whiteness machine' to argue that:

whiteness as a racial formation – neither a natural fact nor simply a discourse – emerges not discursively but materially as certain bodies with European ancestry and phenotype come to stick together through their motility – their immanent ability to move in particular circuits through transnational space (Andrucki, 2010: 358).

By using the concept of a 'visa whiteness machine', Andrucki (2010) adds to our understanding that 'whiteness acts as a passport of privilege' (Kalra et al., 2005: 111).

Yoon attempts to redress the dominant focus on white youth mobility through an analysis of the racialisation of Korean working holidaymakers in Canada. Citing Stephenson and Hughes' work (2005) on the "racialisation" of tourist practices', he argues that young Asian travellers must 'cope with the issues of racial and ethnic identities' (2014a: 590), that draw from processes of racial othering in the destination countries. In doing so, he is also critical of Urry's (1990) conception of the 'tourist gaze', where the tourist is the

¹² Elucidated in an earlier discussion.

‘gazing subject’ and not the object of gaze, since the young Koreans were certainly gazed at (Yoon, 2014b: 590). By foregrounding ‘race’ in the discussion of working holiday, Yoon (2014b) highlights how the ‘dominant racial order’ constrains the mobility of Korean working holidaymakers in Canada. Likewise, Robertson (2016) in her study of temporary migration to Australia, including the working holiday-maker scheme, demonstrates that some jobs performed by temporary migrants in her study were ‘highly stratified on the basis of race’ (2016: 2276).

2.4.4 Nationality

Helleiner (2015) argues that the Canadian working holidaymaker scheme mirrors the selective mobility regimes of other wealthy countries, offering preferential and reciprocal access to citizens of rich countries. Conradson and Latham (2007) also touch upon the privileged access of New Zealanders to London that flows from preferential visa arrangements between the UK and New Zealand. Wilson et al. (2010) extend the above argument by suggesting that working holiday schemes exist ‘between origin and destination regions that share substantial cultural, historical and economic links’ (2010: 4). The association of working holidays with the Anglophone context also becomes clear in Wilson’s study of the novelty of the Australia-Japan working holiday agreement when it was signed in 1980 (Wilson, 2008). Working holiday migration has been predicated on bilateral agreements between rich, Anglophone countries (Amit, 2015), then between western countries and Japan (Kato, 2010; Kawashima, 2010) and recently between western countries and the emerging economies of Korea (Yoon, 2015), Taiwan (Ho et al., 2012) and Hong Kong. In short, nation has always been implicated in working holiday migration.

Drawing from Croucher’s (2012, 2009) research on North Americans in Mexico, which found privilege to be associated with ‘membership of powerful nation states’ (Benson, 2013: 316), Benson identifies privilege to be ‘systemic’, and not always based on individual wealth. She uses the concept of ‘postcoloniality’ (2013: 316) to understand the historically superior power relations enjoyed by North Americans in Panama. In this way, she locates the role of powerful nation states in forms of privileged migration. Mimi Sheller’s (2016: 15) work, which aims to signpost the ‘future history of uneven mobilities’, opens with the following statement: ‘Mobility may be considered a universal human right, yet in practice it exists in relation to class, racial, sexual, gendered, and

disabling exclusions from public space, from national citizenship, and from the means of mobility at all scales' (2016: 15). In addition to the important intersectional perspective here (Anthias, 2012; Shields, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2006), her work offers a theorization of 'uneven mobility', comprised of 'a sovereign terrain for movement', 'the disciplining of mobile subjects' and 'knowledge of such relations of mobility and immobility' (2016: 16). The first component of uneven mobility is exclusively shaped by the modern nation-state through its sovereign authority over borders, although the forces of globalization and regional formation of supra-states (for example, the European Union) have brought within it specific conceptions of a borderless world (see also Sassen, 1998).

Crucial to the discussion on mobile subjects are 'political processes' which ensure that some people are/ become 'stranger than other others'(Ahmed, 2000: 3, original emphasis) in the terrain of borders, such that mobility is ensured for some at the expense of others. Moreover, the disciplining of mobile subjects can be directly attributed to the state (Li & Whitworth, 2016; Robertson, 2014), explicit and manifest in visible border controls of biometrics and body profiling (Amoore, 2006).

To summarize, most of the studies of youth mobility I cited above are quite recent. Privilege has generally been under-theorized in the migration literature, in part because of assumptions that only the non-privileged are migrant, but it is essential to ask of young mobile subjects how their privilege is constituted and how it varies between them. For instance, while young white western men have colonized the category of the 'normal' young mobile subject, it is women who constitute most mobile youth from Japan. On the one hand their gender serves as privilege, excusing them from the patriarchal breadwinner regimes that Japanese men are subject to; on the other hand, they face economic marginalisation in Japan. There is general agreement in the literature that working holiday-makers enjoy middle-class privilege, but less focus on exactly how that privilege shapes their migration. In terms of 'race' and privilege, important debates are emerging about processes of racialization, whereby white youth are seen to 'belong' and their mobility is facilitated while non-white youth are 'othered', with those who can move facing labour market and other forms of discrimination. The privilege of nationality sometimes links to 'race'; those from rich, Anglophone countries get the easiest access to other rich, Anglophone countries, and the nation-state is obviously crucial in the policing of borders.

2.5 Conclusions and Research Questions

In this chapter, I have reviewed literature on forms of youth mobility identified within tourism, mobilities and migration fields of study, paying attention first to how young mobile subjects were conceptualised and then what is known empirically about them. I embarked on this review of extensive, yet related literature for a lack of specific research into the Tier-5 YMS to the United Kingdom. The lack of research on YMS participants has left the field wide open to me in terms of research questions, but working through the literature on other youth mobility schemes has highlighted the issues of most interest to me and the arenas and debates I seek to contribute to through my research.

Work within tourism studies has tended to fall prey to inadequate binaries of tourist/worker, sojourner/resident in capturing mobilities that include extended periods of both residence and travelling. Hybrid categories like ‘working tourist’, which aim to reconcile binary labels, also invariably focus on either work or travel in their scope and fail to emphasise the immigration regimes that these young people are typically subjected to; they are not tourists. The difficulty has been how to understand the identity of mobile subjects who are travellers, residents, and workers at the same time. This inherent difficulty in categorisation was also evident in the use of ‘backpacker’ as the relevant identity within much of the mobilities literature on working holidays (Allon et al., 2008). The assumption that the backpacker is white, middle-class and hailing from the ‘west’ concretised the ‘by default nature’ of privilege in these studies, with little critical analysis of how privilege is constituted and who is excluded. In order to better conceptualize privilege, I then reviewed research on privileged forms of migration, whether or not explicitly engaged with youth mobility.

Many studies take social class position for granted, and largely associate privilege with ethnic white participants from Anglophone countries. Scholarly literature must study privileged forms of mobility taken up by ethnic minorities from non-Anglophone countries and non-Western countries, to free them from a ‘natural’ association with economic migration. Such analysis will gain much from incorporating a gendered analysis that is attentive to gender norms and gender regimes that migrants come to inhabit in the destination country, as well as those in their home country. An analytical lens that approaches gender as a relational process that shapes both the structural privilege and agency of migrants could thus ensue.

A subsequent move within the migration and transnationalism scholarship ordained centrality to 'lifestyle' in the complex and multi-focal human movements previously theorised outside the staple of economic migration. The conceptualisation of 'lifestyle migration' gives centrality to motivation in the migratory process (temporary or permanent). Firmly placed in sociological traditions of enquiry, scholars of lifestyle migration hold it as a conceptual framework that can engage with questions of structure and agency in migratory processes. The approach has been criticised for its focus on lifestyle as a 'better way of life', arguing that all migrants migrate in pursuit of a better way of life (Huete et al., 2013). Nonetheless, the approach may hold some promise in understanding the lifestyles of migration linked to identities of youth travel. Although lifestyle migration has mostly studied older adults and their mobility post-retirement, a recent study has argued that 'groups of middle-aged and young adults also participate in similar types of relocation' (Lizarraga et al., 2015: 192). Thus, lifestyle migration scholarship presents opportunities to analyse forms of youth mobility (such as the Youth Mobility Scheme to the UK) motivated by temporary periods of an overseas lifestyle, which may be both culturally and individually shaped.

In this context, my research questions are as follows:

1. What is the UK's YMS, and how does it construct 'mobile subjects'?
2. Who accesses the YMS and how do they explain their motivations?
3. What work do participants obtain and how do they access labour market opportunities?
4. How are their leisure opportunities structured by participation in YMS?
5. What, if any, are key differences between the participants in terms of motivations, work and leisure?

In the next chapter I will detail the methodology that I pursued in order to address these questions, including my methods of analysis and engagement with ethical issues.

Chapter 3

Methodology: Researching a ‘mobile’ field

3.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, I identified my research questions; primarily this thesis is concerned with the construction by the UK state of ‘mobile subjects’ on a YMS visa, YMS participants’ motivations, and their experiences of work and leisure in the UK. Due to the lack of existing research on the British Tier-5 YMS, my research was largely exploratory and employed a qualitative methodology, to understand both the framing of YMS participants through UK policy and their lived experiences, paying attention to their ‘written or spoken words and observable behaviour’ (Taylor et al., 2016: 7).

In this chapter, I will first elaborate on the ‘mobile’ field that I encountered, and how research decisions were made in recognition of it. I will then examine epistemological questions that relate to the ‘gaze’ and how I reversed the gaze in my research. Further, I will discuss how I undertook policy analysis and how the research methods evolved in the ‘mobile’ field. I will then discuss how I selected the sample and analysed the data. Later, I will review how concerns of reflexivity and power affected my findings, and the ethical considerations that guided the research process.

3.2 ‘Mobile’ field and choice of research methods

The conventional ‘field’ of social anthropological fieldwork is site-bound. Classic ethnographic studies focussed on homogeneous cultural groups. More recent developments in cultural studies (Appadurai, 1996; Geertz, 1993; Marcus, 1995) have pointed out that culture is ‘neither static nor fixed in place’ (Benson, 2011b: 223) and multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995) has gained prominence in this context. However, multiple sites could largely be inhabited by settled communities bound to the sites. This begs the question - what if the field is itself mobile? What if the participants are migrants or driven by a lifestyle of travel and are themselves transient due to various reasons, such as the ‘bordering practices’ (Paasi, 2012: 2307) that force ‘temporariness’ (Robertson, 2014)? What if ‘temporariness’ itself limits community formations in the

field? It became clear to me at the outset that I would be facing a mobile field, and that my methodological approach would need to accommodate this.

Methodology pertains to the 'logic of research' (Castles, 2012: 7) and is closely related to the researcher's assumptions about the 'nature of reality' (Nicholls, 2009 cited in Howson, 2010)¹³. These assumptions also mean that methodological choices link to epistemological questions of wherein knowledge resides. The most common epistemological binary is the division between positivism and interpretivism. Positivism holds that there is an absolute, single truth, understood through observing measurable phenomena. Interpretivism argues against such absolutism and sees knowledge as created and co-created through social meanings, which are 'interpreted and reconstructed by people in their perceptions and social interactions'(Castles, 2012: 7). I chose to undertake my study of young 'mobile subjects' using qualitative research methods informed by the interpretive tradition of research. Qualitative research methods were chosen because they are valuable in understanding participants' 'attitudes, behaviors, value systems, concerns, motivations, aspirations, culture, or lifestyles' (Howson, 2010).

Faulconbridge and Hui (2016) have used the notion of the 'mobile field' to refer to the academic field of mobilities research. I address the concept of the 'mobile field' in a different way; 'field' in the context of sociological/anthropological fieldwork. My field was mobile in the sense that participants were not established communities who could be accessed in one geographical location, and were 'made' mobile by state policy and its restriction on a non-renewable two-year visa. In framing my research design, I was also influenced by feminist research and gendered analyses of migration. These areas of research have explored the links between gender and migration, and migration and marginality. Patriarchal gender ideologies, which associate the confined spaces of home with femininity and associate the outside world (and movement within it) with masculinity, are embedded in a worldview of gender binaries which relate to place, movement and forms of mobility (Cresswell & Uteng, 2008; Kehily & Nayak, 2008). I also located my own embodied migrant subject position in research, reflecting the

¹³ Howson A. Qualitative Research Methods (sociology). Research Starters: Sociology (Online Edition) [serial online]. 2010; Available from: Research Starters, Ipswich, MA. Accessed May 20, 2017. (Page number is unavailable).

influence of feminist methodologies which foreground reflexivity in the process and production of research (Stanley & Wise, 1993).

Stephen Castles emphasises using multiple, and mixed methods in migration research to examine the varied social process of migration (2012: 15). Mahler and Pessar (2006: 31) argue that ‘bringing gender truly into migration studies is best accomplished by employing multiple research methods’. Similarly, ‘mobile methods’ developed within the field of mobilities research (Büscher & Urry, 2009; Büscher et al., 2011) also rely on qualitative research enquiry. Büscher, Urry and Witchger (2011: 10) have developed twelve different methods¹⁴ that can be used by mobilities researchers. Mobile methods are inspired by ‘multi-sited ethnography’ and the focus on ‘chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions’ (Marcus, 1995 as cited in Büscher & Urry, 2009: 103). These methods involve creative extensions to traditional qualitative research with importance placed on observation and participation of the researchers in various movements of the participants, across physical and virtual spaces.

Drawing from these influences, my research design comprised methods of policy analysis, semi structured interviews, participant observation, and social media observation. Policy analysis was important in understanding how the structures of the state enable and disable mobility using the immigration regime, thereby creating specific ‘mobile subjects’. Semi-structured interviews were designed to understand the participants’ lives, their motivations to travel on YMS, and their work and leisure experiences in London. I also sought to get insights into their work and leisure lives in London through participant observation. Finally, social media observation gave me insight into how networks operated both ‘at-a-distance’ (Elliot & Urry, 2010) and locally, crisscrossing participants’ work and leisure terrains in London.

My rationale for using multiple methods was to understand how structures (primarily the UK immigration policy) shape youth mobility, and how young migrants used their agency in ways meaningful for them. In particular, the benefits of adding participant

¹⁴ These are observing, and participating in participants’ movements (2011: 8), ‘using mobile video ethnography’, and ‘time-space diaries’ (2011: 9), methods to study ‘virtual mobility’, ‘art and design interventions concerned with imagining mobile alternatives and futures and experimenting with them’, ‘mobile positioning methods’ (2011: 10), ‘capturing ‘atmosphere’’, ‘researching the active development and performance of ‘memory’’, methods to study ‘‘real’ places’ that ‘are not necessarily fixed and can be mobile’ (2011: 11), ‘examination of conversations’, ‘research various kinds of activities and places en route’ (2011: 12).

observation to interviews was summarised in Michael Burawoy's use of what he calls the 'extended case method', in which he suggests that the researcher 'deploys participant observation to locate everyday life in its extralocal and historical context' (Burawoy, 1998: 4). By combining participant observation in both the online and offline spaces of the participants, I observed and participated in 'a number of related events and actions' (Barata, 2010: 375) of YMS participants over an extended period of time. Burawoy's emphasis on historical research in postcolonial contexts, including archival research, as part of the extended case method also enabled me 'to dig beneath the political binaries of colonizer and colonized' that shape the YMS to the UK.

Similarly, by incorporating the method of social media observations, I could understand the interconnections between participants' work and leisure terrains in London, as well as how networks operated 'at a distance' (Elliot & Urry, 2010). The 'extralocal and historical context' (Burawoy, 1998: 4) of migrant life was also clear in participants' diverse ways of organising in the social media space of Facebook. For instance, as I discuss later, the participants from the Old Commonwealth could easily plug into the public pages of 'Kiwis in London' and 'Aussies in London', and make use of temporary work and leisure opportunities that catered to young working holidaymakers, made available to them through historically established channels of temporary youth mobility from Old Commonwealth to the UK. Contrarily, the East Asian participants were seen to create new social media terrains for themselves by setting up 'Facebook groups' which acted as support networks, rather than as powerful resources shaping their work and leisure in London. The use of multiple qualitative methods enabled me to compare the ways in which my sample participants experienced life in London. Towards this end, the multiple methods I employed also align with new innovations in migration research, towards an integrative approach to studying transnational migration (Fauser, 2017), to understand the transnational migratory processes that are largely mediated through technology.

To summarise, I chose qualitative multiple methods over quantitative methods to 'understand intentions and social meanings' (Castles, 2012: 15) that shape the policy terrain of YMS and the lives of YMS participants. Recent developments in the sociology of mobilities and 'researching movement as a meaningful social practice' have also emphasised the adoption of qualitative research methods as a way to understand how movement shapes social life (Manderscheid, 2014: 189).

3.3 Entering the field: Daring to reverse the gaze

In this project, methodological decisions are not only constituted in feminist approaches to producing knowledge, but also in challenging other power relations that relate to questions of who studies whom?, and who produces knowledge? In this way, questions about the status of knowledge relate to power relations in the field and whose 'gaze' is valorised in knowledge production. The classic ethnography was about researchers from the 'West' going to exotic cultures external to their own and spending a considerable amount of time with the 'other' through a process of immersion (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). More recently there have been debates about who can study whom in the discipline of anthropology. In *Reversed Gaze*, Mwenda Ntarangwi (2010) points to how as a Kenyan anthropology student in America he 'reversed gaze' by seeking to study Western culture (2010: 11). In doing so, he addresses the criticisms within the field of anthropology about its gaze creating the 'exotic subject', while trying to engage with his novel position of being an African in America, attempting to make sense of Western culture and Western anthropology. A similar reverse gaze is evident in the work of Vasundhara Bhojvaid (2012), who embarked on a 45-day fieldwork trip in Denmark, to supplement her socio-legal project in India.

In my fieldwork I reversed the gaze in two ways – as a post-colonial outsider studying the UK immigration system from within, and as a migrant studying other migrants. I say this, because, as noted by Ntarangwi (2010), when Western anthropologists (based in America) decided to take note of their own cultures, they often did this by looking at the 'Other' among them, for example African-American ghettos. My fieldwork had some similarities with Bhojvaid's (2012), as I was conducting fieldwork in a European context in an area of policy/legal studies. We have both been reversing the gaze, hailing from India, and attempting to study an underexplored European policy terrain, but, her positionality was different to mine, as she was doing a comparative analysis of the Indian Right to Information Act, 2005 with the Access to Public Administrations Act, 1985 in Denmark.

As a young, south Asian migrant who was researching young migrants, I was aware of the tendencies towards 'othering' within Western anthropology (Ntarangwi, 2010), and I hoped to avoid reproducing them in my research. I had internalised a certain migrant

subjectivity – as a woman of colour, international student, migrant (‘PBS main’¹⁵ migrant to be more precise), married, from an Indian middle-class, Syrian-Christian background. My encounter with the UK also revealed a ‘mobile’ identity as an Indian national at times (with respect to accessing public funds, labour market) and a Commonwealth national on other occasions (in terms of voting rights, access to certain public sector jobs). My migrant subjectivity was also closely shaped by the PBS, which in many ways represents the ‘surveillance industry’ and ‘criminalisation industry’ shaping the global organisation of labour (Mohanty, 2007). In many ways, then, I was and remain implicated in the historical project of decolonising social sciences and displacing previously held power relations, even within early feminist research which was criticised to construct ‘third world women’ as a victimised monolith (Mohanty, 1984).

To use the terminology of Patricia Hill Collins, I was the “outsider within” (Collins, 1986: S14), who attempted to study others similarly placed as myself. I would like to think that I reversed the gaze in more ways than one, in my positionality as a post-colonial ‘Other’ researching similarly placed non-permanent migrants in the PBS regime, and as a South Asian academic studying mainly white ‘Others’ in the UK. The latter produced some uncomfortable moments for me, as explored in chapter 7. My analysis of state policy, to which the next section now turns, also included interviews with staff at the Home Office and this ‘studying up’ was another specific kind of reverse gaze.

3.4 Policy analysis

This section will discuss the documentary method I undertook and my interviews with policy makers, which together form the method of policy analysis. Documents are an invaluable element in qualitative research that incorporates ethnographic approaches, used to inform or as part of the data; in my research, official policy documents formed an important part of the data. My approach to policy documents was informed by Michel Foucault’s notion of power-knowledge, which sees power as all-pervasive, where discursive practices of influential agents (such as state and policy makers) establish certain kinds of knowledge which produce and reproduce power. I used Carol Bacchi’s

¹⁵ Point Based Immigration System (PBS) category of migrants were divided into PBS main and PBS dependent categories. During the time of fieldwork and writing up, the non-EU immigration regime was largely within the domain of PBS (Tier 1, 2, 4 and 5). However, there were still categories outside PBS regime – such as spousal visa.

‘What’s the Problem Represented to be’ (WPR) approach (2009), rooted in this Foucauldian model of power, whereby policy documents are material artefacts that point to the codification of ‘rules’ and ‘knowledge’ which create subject positions, which then continue to have a life of its own. This moves away from the ‘problem solving’ approach that characterises traditional policy analysis to one of ‘problem questioning’(Bacchi, 2009: 46).

I had initially planned to analyse policy documents from 2005 to 2013, relating to the replacement of the WHM visa by the YMS visa and the policy guidelines for the Youth Mobility Scheme which were in effect during my fieldwork (2014-2015). However, in order to better understand their framing, I was also drawn to parliamentary debates back in 1971, the introduction of ‘patriality’ clause in Immigration Act, 1971, and even earlier around the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962. The Daily Hansard, House of Commons Papers, Command papers on migration and Standard Note were primary sources and a full list of documents that I analysed can be found in Appendix 5. I also conducted an interview with two members of staff at the Home Office, although this was not part of my initial research design. This interview was strictly needs-based and arose in the context of the document analysis that I discussed above, but in the end it also provided important insights about ‘governmentality’ and ‘researching up’.

When searching for the first official documentation of working holidays between the UK and other countries, and despite scouring UK parliamentary papers, I was unable to find any Act of Parliament or Statement of immigration rules or Statement of intent on the first legislation of Working Holidaymaker scheme (WHM). So I decided to submit a Freedom of Information (FoI) request asking for the official documentation that established the first working holiday arrangement between UK and the Commonwealth countries. I got a reply from a Home Office official who was put directly in charge of my FOI request. He mentioned that in his understanding, reciprocal working holiday arrangements had existed between the UK and Australia since 1975, although he agreed that some serious unearthing might be necessary to answer my questions. I sensed that an interview might be a better approach, and when I got the official FOI response that working holidaymaker arrangements seem to have existed since the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962 (the first act to control Commonwealth citizens’ rights of movement to the UK), although with no clear provision for them in the Act, that decided me upon pursuing an interview, to better understand the policy making context.

The interview with the Home Office staff was conducted in their office at Sheffield. I was originally to interview one staff member in the Immigration and Border Policy Directorate, but when I arrived he informed me that one of his colleagues would also be joining us. My main point of contact was obviously a lot more experienced in the policy field and specifically in Tier-5 (PBS); the second member of staff was younger and had specific expertise working with changes in Tier-2 and Tier-4 of the UK immigration. The younger man seemed more cautious about me and my questions, being quick to jump in on some of the answers, cutting off the first person from speaking more freely. This was particularly apparent on questions that directly pertained to the 'problem' that created PBS and its multiple 'rules' of 'management' that had given birth to YMS (ending the WHM visa in the process). I was aware of 'governmentality' (Lemke, 2001: 201) playing out in front of me, whereby policy staff were also regulating each other's words.

My decision to file an FOI was the first step in my research process towards 'studying up' (Nader, 1972: 1). Laura Nader's famous work in this context placed importance on 'studying up' for the development of theory and practice, especially in the context of anthropology, and the process can also be seen as a Foucauldian endeavour of 'excavating power' (Sassen, 2000 as cited in Priyadarshini, 2003: 420). Nader's emphasis on 'studying up' stems from a need to understand the 'powerful strata' of society in order to understand the power relations that an anthropologist is interested in (Nader, 1972: 6). This also raises critical questions about power relations between the researcher and the researched. Esther Priyadarshini argues that 'research with the powerful places the researcher in a vulnerable position in a field' (2003: 426) and this was very true in my experience. For instance, I remember feeling vulnerable and anxious in the days leading up to the interview, and becoming aware that this was directly related to my migrant identity and my regulation by 'them'.

My migrant status was never discussed during the email conversations that preceded the interview. However, I was worried about my prospects in the UK if the Home Office deemed me a 'nosy migrant'. What prospects did I have to continue as an academic in the UK if I antagonised the Home Office? Would I even know if this interview would somehow result in a rejection of my visa renewal applications in the future? These were some of the vulnerability scripts running in my head at that time. However, I mustered some courage and performed what I thought was the posture and tone of a researcher

who has some ‘authority’ in the actual interview setting. I certainly think that ‘studying up’ presents unique challenges in the field, and hence it must be part of a strategic decision. It is also worth noting here that my actual field interactions with the Home Office staff were cordial and pleasant. The next section will discuss how I went about the research process, and how the research methods were shaped by the ‘mobile’ field.

3.5 Evolving methods in a ‘mobile’ field

3.5.1 Selection of categories

The first decision I made was to organise my research around interviews with current YMS participants living and working in the UK, excluding the possibility of travelling to participating countries to interview former or prospective YMS participants on the grounds of cost and complex visa procedures. The reason for designing my research around interviews was to understand the ‘context of people’s behaviour’ to enable an understanding of the ‘meaning of that behaviour’ (Seidman, 2006: 10). Semi-structured in-depth interviewing enables researchers to correlate the representation of particular phenomena by people with the material structures of regulation (King & Horrocks, 2010), such as immigration policy. But I still had to decide whether to interview participants from one or more countries of the scheme, and where. Initially, I imagined travelling to different parts of the UK to interview participants, but an important suggestion from my departmental level upgrade interview was that I should consider confining my research to one location – for example, London – because this would enable a rich analysis of young migrants in one location. The decision to confine my research to participants based in London thus evolved, along with the strategies I employed to access the participants (see section 3.4 of this chapter).

It was important for comparative purposes that I interview a sample of YMS participants from the eight participating countries/territories, to understand their ‘personal imaginings that make life intelligible’ (King & Horrocks, 2010: 17) on YMS and the potential for national origin to structure their practices. Given the importance of a gendered approach in my research, I thus decided to include two male and two female participants from each country. In doing so, my research design took shape through participants’ association with a specific country. I was attentive to the pitfalls of ‘methodological nationalism’ in this research design, where the ‘naturalization of the

nation-state by the social sciences' has been argued to reify nation states as 'natural units for comparative studies' (Wimmer & Schiller, 2003: 576). However, I maintain that nationality as the criteria for choosing participants was the most meaningful way to organise my research based on the unique positionality of participants on the scheme, in which they are implicated in state processes of bilateral agreements and quota allocations based on their nationality. I judged that 32 participants would be a suitable number for semi-structured interviews; in the end I had 29 because I was not able to locate participants from Monaco. I also decided to participate and observe the work and leisure lives of the participants whom I met for interviews, as far as possible.

3.5.2 Finding participants

Finding participants proved a time-consuming and sometimes demoralising process, although it was successful in the end and I learned a lot about my 'mobile field' along the way. My initial plan was to access potential respondents through the online blogs and forums which give assistance to those travelling on a youth mobility visa to the UK, by posting a message about my research, and inviting would-be participants to contact me. The social media platforms Facebook (FB) and Twitter were also to be used. The underlying script to this access strategy was to make use of key word optimisation searches in FB and Twitter, and to use hashtags such as 'youth mobility scheme', 'working holiday', 'working holiday in UK' to locate those posting on these topics. Once access was established and consent obtained, snowball sampling was to become the staple mode of ensuring that I met more prospective interviewees. Using transnational links and co-ethnic channels was not an option since India is not a participating country in YMS. Nor was I acquainted with any possible 'gatekeepers' of the field.

Initially, I identified some blogs of former Australian working holidaymakers giving advice to participants from Australia who wish to travel to the UK on YMS, but these didn't get me anywhere; my attempts to establish contact with the blog through the blog contact form did not produce any replies. I also ran key word searches in FB and Twitter using the hashtags listed above, and this helped me to access content posted publicly on these forums: three Twitter accounts (one in Japanese, one by a Canadian man on a YMS visa to the UK in English, a third by an Australian woman living in Scotland) and a FB blog maintained by a Hong Kongese woman. Again, however, my attempts to make contact failed, for various reasons. For instance, I sent a direct message to the Canadian

man in Twitter. Here it is important to take note of the technicality in Twitter which only allows you to send messages if both parties follow each other; I had pressed 'follow' on his profile to get in touch with him and he also followed me back without knowing me. However, this reciprocity did not continue in responding to my direct message when I got in touch about my research and his potential participation. I also found a closed group in *Facebook* with the title of 'YMS' set up in Korean and sent private messages to the administrator of the closed group about my research and with a request to join the group, but I was rejected membership (See later discussions in this section about how I eventually did join this group). At this point, the 'mobile' field was eluding me; I still had no successful leads to prospective participants, and I knew that I must think again.

I considered contacting the short-term job contract agencies in London, walking up to places where I might find people on YMS seeking work. However, I rejected this option as a top-down approach seeking to get personal information from the agency, with an element of encroaching upon people's privacy. Instead, I decided to take trips to London and visit a few youth hostels to advertise my research. I made sure to live in youth hostels whenever I visited London for those initial field visits and interacted with the hostel staff to get permission to write a post on the message boards about me and my research and how to contact me if anyone was interested. However, although the hostel staff were happy to let me have the post put up, I did not hear back from anyone through that channel, and I began to wonder how long my posts were kept on the boards. As my several attempts had so far failed to produce any strong leads or interests, I became more cynical and stressed. In the end, it was my decision to present my research in an ESRC public engagement poster competition held in the Herbert Gallery, Coventry that led to something amazing that began to unlock the field for me.

While standing by my poster engaging with the public, a fellow student from Warwick whom I had not met previously walked up and showed an interest. She was from Taiwan and was intrigued by my research plans to meet Taiwanese participants (among other nationalities) on the YMS visa. Little did I know that this chance conversation with her would open up opportunities for my fieldwork. She told me about a friend who was on a working holiday in London from Taiwan, and said she would put us in touch through FB, since that is easier, and that he might know many other people whom I could contact. I could see a modified form of Perriton's (2000) concept of the 'incestuous field' spreading out in front of me! As in an incestuous field, I had an opportunity to start my

research through peers, colleagues, family, and friends and then meet others by making use of the networks already established. Thus, I improvised my plan by contacting the person she had suggested and finally got the snowball rolling! Later, I initiated multiple snowballs by sending emails to those who were suggested by my first respondent. I also got the opportunity to meet participants from Hong Kong in a similar way, since those from Taiwan and Hong Kong shared a closed FB group for those travelling on working holidays and I was allowed to post my research participation request to the group.

Around the same time I also got in touch with a colleague from Japan who in turn put me in touch with a blogger from Japan writing in Japanese about the youth mobility scheme while being in London on a YMS visa. Similarly, I got in touch with colleagues from Korea who helped spread the word about my research in the closed FB group of Korean YMS participants, and helping me get access to the group (the same group I was previously rejected membership of). I had now established access to nationals from four participating countries – Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea and Japan. This was a micro-victory and I remember how relieved I felt at this development. Now I needed a strategy to establish access to participants from Australia, Canada, New Zealand and Monaco. I decided to chase up on a few ideas from informal conversations with friends and colleagues.

I was familiar with the strong presence of Antipodeans on working holidays in parts of West London and had heard that they traditionally found bar work in the Aussie-themed *Walkabout* pubs, although it was unclear whether this related more to the WHM visa era, rather than the YMS. Nonetheless I decided to take the chance and get ‘out there’. The *Walkabout* pub near Temple tube station is famous due to its proximity to the London Eye, Thames walk and the Palace of Westminster (these being key tourist attractions). Despite my concerns about the awkwardness of walking alone into a pub and striking up a conversation with the bartender, who might (or might not) be on a working holiday, I decided to do it. It was early afternoon and not very busy and this helped me in striking up a conversation with the man who was fixing my cocktail. I asked him if he knew anyone who was on a YMS visa working at the bar. He seemed puzzled. So, I modified the question to ask ‘anyone on a working holiday?’, and soon came the reply, ‘the mate there’, pointing to another bartender on the adjacent counter. I was impressed that I had found a suitable candidate in less than five minutes of being in the bar! It also made me realise that ‘being on a working holiday’ might still be the most relevant terminology for

those on YMS visas. He agreed to participate in my research and suggested the online community pages in FB of Australians and New Zealanders in London, which would later become a virtual field for me.

I decided to use a similar strategy of pub visits to access the Canadians, going to *Maple Leaf* pub in London, which I was told was a Canadian-themed pub in Covent Garden. My brief experience in *Walkabout* had increased my confidence but this time the Canadian bartender I met on a YMS visa didn't get back to me, despite my prompt email on the same evening. However, by this time, I had also come across a closed group in Facebook for Canadians in the UK, contacted the administrator and received permission to post about my research. Sixteen people expressed an interest in participating, whittling down to two who were actually available, and they both helped me further by posting about my research in their personal groups. It was also clear that, like participants from Taiwan and Hong Kong who 'existed' in common virtual spaces of Facebook (in the form of groups), the Australians and New Zealanders had common spaces of interest. The overlap of Antipodean mobilities in FB could be to do with the continuation of transnational spaces established as part of formal working holidaymaker movements dating from 1975. I had now accessed participants from all countries except Monaco, and in the end I was unable to find anyone from there, a gap in my original research design. However, documentary sources confirm that a statistically insignificant number of people travelled to the UK from Monaco on YMS visa (only five people in 2014, and no data available for 2013)¹⁶ so it is not really a surprise that I couldn't access any.

To summarise, my access strategy relied on trying to start multiple snowballs electronically, posting about my research in groups, as well as in person, going to hostels and pubs, and through colleagues. There were a lot of disappointments and dead-ends, but in the end enough snowballs took off to give me my sample of participants. Much of the connecting with people happened over FB, which has become so natural and normalised for young people, offering all the features of micro communication and also serving to give authenticity to me as a researcher. I decided to maintain only one FB profile of myself and made use of FB settings to delineate my actions on FB between

¹⁶ Home Office (2016) Immigration Statistics, Admissions table- admissions-q3-2016, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/immigration-statistics-january-to-march-2016/admissions> [Accessed on 20/07/2017]

work and personal life. My forays in FB made clear that the young people on YMS had a strong presence there, with constant flows of information to help them in their lifestyle of travel and mobility. Nonetheless, when I look back at my access strategy, it becomes clear that my initial virtual access strategy failed, although upon meeting ‘real’ people and taking them in confidence, I was plugged back into the virtual terrain of FB. An important message here is, perhaps, that virtual encounters and mobilities are still predicated on ‘face-to-face social interactions’ (Büscher & Urry, 2009: 101). At the same time, my forays in social media also became one of my research methods, generating material that contributed to my ethnography, as explained later in 3.5.6.

3.5.3 The Sample

As discussed earlier, my research design was to conduct interviews with an equal number of men and women currently living in London on YMS visas. In the end, however, women were over-represented in the sample (16 women to 13 men). The average age of the sample respondents was 27. Eight out of the 29 participants were 25 or younger, with the youngest aged 22. All the four participants I interviewed from Hong Kong also held British National Overseas (BNO) passports, which were used by the participants to apply for YMS visa. The age group, gender, and nationality distribution of the sample are shown in Table 3.1 below.

Age	22 - 25		26 - 29		30 - 32		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
<i>Australia</i>	1	-	1	1	-	1	4
<i>Canada</i>	1	2	1	-	-	-	4
<i>Hong Kong</i>	1	-	1	1	1	-	4
<i>Japan</i>	-	-	-	2	3	-	5
<i>Korea</i>	1	1	1	-	-	-	3
<i>New Zealand</i>	-	-	2	-	-	2	4
<i>Taiwan</i>	-	1	2	2	-	-	5
Total	4	4	8	6	4	3	29

Table 3.1 Table showing participants’ country of origin, gender and age group

Twenty-five of the participants were educated up to tertiary level (21 graduates, 4 post-graduates). Three participants had high school certificates and only one participant did not have a school-leaving certificate. Four of the graduates also held additional professional certification, such as graduate diploma in primary teaching, certificate of chartered accountancy and diploma in time-piece branding design. Eleven respondents

were previously acquainted with the UK education system on student visas or student visitor visas, having pursued undergraduate/post graduate courses, undertaken short courses or English language training, or participated in an overseas student exchange to the UK.

The diverse socio-economic classifications in each participating country necessitated that I base participants' socio-economic classification on a common criterion for comparative purposes. I decided to take the participants' parental occupational status as the basis for classification, as a probable marker of their opportunities in education and travel. I divided parents' occupations into non-manual professions (ABC1) and manual jobs (C2DE) using the social grade classification of National Readership Survey (NRS)¹⁷ in the UK. However, I chose not to include pensioner parents in social grade E, because I was mainly interested in understanding participants' social class background while they were growing up and pursuing education in their home countries. So, I included parents' previous jobs when their current status was mentioned as retired. Further, I did not have information on parents' occupation for one of the male participants from Taiwan. However, upon consideration of the participant's profile, he could be identified as having a middle-class background.¹⁸ To summarise, the participants were predominantly of middle-class background, with only six participants from working-class backgrounds¹⁹. This diverse sample of participants is thus on average educated, of middle-class background and over one-third had previous migration histories with the UK (See Appendix 6 for a more detailed table of sample respondents' names (pseudonyms) and socio-biographical information).

¹⁷A- Higher managerial, administrative and professional.
B - Intermediate managerial, administrative and professional
C1 - Supervisory, clerical and junior managerial, administrative and professional
C2 - Skilled manual workers
D - Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers
E - State pensioners, casual and lowest grade workers, unemployed with state benefits only
Source: <http://www.nrs.co.uk/nrs-print/lifestyle-and-classification-data/social-grade/>

¹⁸ For instance, before pursuing YMS, the participant was on an MA (Interior Design) program at University of Birmingham. He did not work while studying and gave the impression that his study was entirely funded by parents. In another instance, he mentioned that he got his parents 'to put some money' in his bank account to provide proof of financial resources to support his YMS application.

¹⁹ Their parents' occupations were, for instance, handyman, trunk driver, construction worker and painter.

3.5.4 Interviews with YMS participants

Semi-structured in-depth interviews with YMS migrants living in London were conducted to understand their motivations and experiences of being part of the scheme, where I also aimed to ascertain the relevance of gender norms and identities within mobility processes. The twenty-nine interviews took place over 8 months and all were interviewed once. Out of the 29 respondents, 27 of them had always intended to live in London and two had lived elsewhere before moving to London. Two of the participants expressed the possibility of leaving for their home countries without completing the visa period, while the remainder were hoping to complete the full two years. One of the participants had shifted to another visa category (spousal visa), although if she had not done so she would still be within the visa period of her initial YMS visa.

The interviews, almost 56 hours in total, were all taped using a digital voice recorder except for one male participant, who refused permission (the ‘transcript’ of this interview is largely drawn from quick notes that I made during and after). Interviews generally lasted between one and a half to two hours and involved an enormous amount of attention from both researcher and participant. The interview process with participants from East Asia revealed the challenges in using English to converse with participants whose first language is not English. I found myself explaining or describing the questions a lot more than I would with a person who is a native English speaker. I say this as a non-native English speaker, who was exposed to a culture of schooling which held English language as first language. This means that I think in two languages (English and Malayalam), while English proficiency is still a sub-standard player to Malayalam (my mother tongue). Having said that, a common point of conversation between me and my East Asian participants after the interviews included their question to me – ‘how do you speak such good English?’, which I read as a relative compliment. Clearly, non-native English contexts can themselves be highly diverse and mediate the interview process.

Drawing from feminist methodologies that seek to minimise asymmetrical power relations between the interviewer and interviewee (Hesse-Biber, 2014; Oakley, 1981), I answered participants’ queries – mostly about my migrant story in the UK – and used a conversational approach, to ‘increase reciprocity and rapport in the interview process, thus breaking down the notions of power and authority invested in the role of the researcher’ (Hesse-Biber, 2014: 199). Despite the interviewing usually sticking to my

loose interview guide, different nationality and cultural contexts often meant diverse experiences, such that the idea of ‘interviews as conversations’(Burgess, 2006 [1984]: 83) was particularly useful. This approach also gave me insights into participants’ lives in the ‘mobile’ field, where further face-to-face interactions were limited. I realised after I left the field that several factors came to bear on the interview situation. For example, when I met participants after their work they were generally exhausted, however still happy to share their ideas and thoughts. I noticed that all the female participants from Japan, Taiwan and Hong Kong were particularly eager to tell me their experiences, often also enquiring about me and my migrant story; perhaps they were keen to promote awareness of the opportunities for young women like them.

Interviews were semi-structured, mostly carried out at the weekend when participants were off work, or sometimes after their work in the evenings, and generally held in public places, including British Library Café, Café Nero, Costa Coffee and Starbucks (two interviews were held at the interviewees’ work-place cafes after they finished work). I had previously agreed with my supervisors to try and conduct interviews in public places, to ensure my safety as a researcher. However, two interviews were held at a participant’s home, where one of them was temporarily living with the other. This was mainly agreed for the convenience of the participants, and gave me some crucial insights into their housing arrangements. One interview was held over skype for the convenience of the participant, who was a freelance market researcher who worked from home; I could classify this meeting as symptomatic of a ‘mobile’ field that criss-crosses work, leisure and virtual mobilities. I transcribed the interviews as soon as possible, incorporating pauses and breaks while I remembered the place and flavour of every interview from my memory and my field notes. Transcribing was difficult at times due to unfamiliar accents. For example, there was a distinct Australian accent and I struggled to make sense of some of the words used. This was especially the case when the participant mentioned ‘heaps’ and all I could hear for a long time was ‘apes’! Similar unfamiliarity with accents also happened in the case of New Zealanders. It was easier for me to understand the Canadian accent due to the close resemblance to American English (I grew up watching American sitcoms). East Asian participants’ accents were also closer to American English than British English.

3.5.5 Participant observation

Participant observation is not only a data-gathering method but also an overall approach to enquiry where the researcher is both participant and observer, and these may be in varying proportions during the period of study (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). By incorporating participant observation, I placed my research within Brantlinger's (1999) dimension of 'gaze', pointing towards others to explore and learn from them in their work and leisure spaces. In the end, I was not able to access the work spaces of the participants as the interviews were mostly held in cafes and restaurants (with an exception of two interviews which were held in the work-place cafés after regular work hours), although I did see one bartender at work. However, I participated in and observed some of the leisure spaces of some participants, the most productive days of observation being the Waitangi Day pub crawl celebrations in London, attending 'monthly drinks' with groups of participants, dining together and watching cherry blossoms with Japanese participants, and attending Anzac day celebrations.

The Waitangi Day pub crawl celebrations mark the Treaty of Waitangi, 6 February, 1840, which formally incorporated New Zealand into the British empire. The pub crawlers follow a traditional route from Paddington to Westminster, followed by Haka (Maori war dance), and I joined the event in 2015. I also attended monthly drinks events organised by Kiwis in London (see section 3.7.4 for more details about KiL). Later in the Spring, I joined two of my Japanese participants and their friends enjoying *Hanami*, the traditional Japanese practice of organising picnics under a cherry blossom tree, in Regents Park, London. This leisure activity brought together many young people who were previously on a JET (Japanese English Teaching) scheme to Japan or had a common interest in learning Japanese as a foreign language. I also observed ANZAC day celebrations on 25 April, 2015, attending the formal and ritualistic ceremony in Whitehall, 'National Commemoration of the Centenary of the Gallipoli Campaign and Anzac Day', and then the 'Anzac Day party' at a *Walkabout* pub. The year 2015 marked 100 years' commemoration of World War 1 and I observed very particular representations of war-memory and forms of identity creation. In the next section, I will focus on social media observations, first made as part of accessing participants, and later evolving into a method of their own.

3.5.6 Social media observation

Postill and Pink (2012: 1) call for a renewed approach to internet research, moving beyond the traditional paradigms of network and community to focus on ‘routine, movement and sociality’. Studying participants in a world shaped largely around the shift to web 2.0 and its profusion of social media platforms also provided a lens on participants’ offline activities of work and leisure. The social media platform of FB was mainly used as a site of access to and observation of the participants. Postill and Pink (2012) observe that social media ethnography is not just a virtual experience but intricately linked with material realities of the new age where people meet and ‘follow’, and can be used to follow their mobility while also becoming part of it. However, my earlier accounts of access reveal the limitations of using social media for research when mutuality to ‘follow’ cannot be assumed in further communication, posing challenges in researching mobilities.

Social media were first chosen by me as a method of access and later as a space of observation. What makes FB ubiquitous among young people is an interesting topic, but for me it held the potential to access YMS participants from eight different countries. I had first-hand knowledge about the relevance of these spaces from my first two interviews with Taiwanese participants; they both told me that they participated in a closed FB group which brought together Taiwanese and Hong Kong nationals participating or interested in YMS, connecting them through common languages of Mandarin and Cantonese. They gave me access to the group, although the use of these languages in group space meant that there was no direct translation available for me. The use of *Google Translate* or FB automatic translation generally proved inefficient, with the rules of sentence formation significantly different between Mandarin and English. This meant that I largely used this space for identifying and contacting potential participants. However, some of the posts were in English and some of them were also largely based on photographs, with some summary in Mandarin. I could understand a lot of these latter posts using FB automatic translation.

Similarly, the first Antipodean from Australia I interviewed mentioned two FB spaces of prominence in organising the lives of those on YMS visa: *AiL (Australians in London)* and *KiL (Kiwis in London)*. These are two public ‘pages’ in FB; unlike a ‘group’ that has participants, a page has followers, and it is implicitly understood that those who follow

the page have some interest in it. I tried to get some confirmation of the percentage of participants on YMS (working holiday) visa who were participating in these community pages. The administrator of the KiL page informed me that 95% of the followers of the 'page' were on a working holiday (YMS visa), while the administrator of the AiL page did not have any such information. However, I continued to observe both spaces since they were mentioned as relevant by the Antipodean participants.

The social media space of FB 'pages' thus formed a primary site of social media observation in virtual space and highlight the extended ethnographic approach used in my research, where I as the researcher located myself in the 'micro life-spaces of everyday' (Dicks et al., 2005: 34) to capture participants' diverse mobilities. The media environment of these 'pages' was thus an important pivot to the study, in understanding how the mediated communication influenced participation in physical practices of leisure.

3.6 Analysis of data

The rich data that I gathered from multiple methods were analysed inductively, in stages. Following Dicks et al. (2005), I was mindful about not clubbing dissimilar sources of data together, but instead analysing each form first in its context, before bringing them together. I employed an inductive understanding of data analysis to code my data using *Nvivo 11* as an analytical aid. However, I then relied on my reading and identification of prominent themes rather than automated word searches. Computer assisted software programmes have a long history of being used as aids in the analysis of qualitative research projects, but they have also faced criticism as being reductionist (Dicks et al., 2005).

I had distinct sources of data derived from the following: 29 interview transcripts with the participants; field notes of participant observation; notes from social media observation; 20 policy documents²⁰ and one official interview. The interview transcripts and documentary sources were exclusively text based. Participant observations of group activities were in the form of written field notes and photographs. Social media

²⁰ Hansard: House of Commons relevant debates are taken as one document, and Hansard: House of Lords relevant debates are taken as another document. Here I focused on debates and written answers pertaining to keywords - 'working holiday' and 'youth mobility scheme'. See Appendix 5 for the full list of documents.

observation yielded visual and textual data from online spaces, and insights were also recorded in written notes. In the following discussion, I will mainly detail how I dealt with one category of data – interview transcripts.

I first read all the transcripts once and made some preliminary notes about what they touched upon. At this first stage, two broad themes emerged on ‘travel’ and ‘London’. Subsequently, I coded the transcripts using *Nvivo 11* software, open coding generating codes like ‘base to travel around’, ‘Facebook’, ‘hotels and restaurants’. This informed my subsequent analysis. Second level coding ensured that these codes were made meaningful in the context of the research. For example, ‘hotels and restaurants’ on its own did not convey what the participants intended here. Immersion and second level coding helped to consolidate this as part of ‘first job in London’. However, the relevance of this information had to be compared with participants’ current job to make any meaningful interpretations about the participant’s labour market participation in the UK. In this way, a process of iterative coding, by continuously placing the emerging codes in the context and aims of the research, ensured that analytical themes emerged around the categories of motivation, work and leisure. Documents were also similarly coded and analysed. The analytical themes that emerged from coding were read alongside field notes to abide by context specific interpretive reasoning throughout the process.

3.7 Reflexivity and power

I will now return to the questions of reflexivity and power which I introduced in my earlier discussions on feminist methodologies, reversing the gaze, and ‘studying up’. The most common question that I faced in the field was ‘Why are you researching this topic?’. Often, even before I attempted to answer the latter question, the second question would have appeared, ‘Is India part of YMS?’. These questions signalled my ‘out of placeness’ in the project, since I was from a country that was not in the YMS, posing broader questions of my ‘belonging’. As a researcher, I was aware of ‘belonging’ as a concept that scholars working in multicultural societies, like Britain, paid attention to (Alleyne, 2002; Back & Sinha, 2012). The questions that I received closely related to assumptions of migrant belonging as a monolith that is set in stone to one’s country of origin or ethnic group. These dilemmas about being a certain kind of ‘outsider within’ (Collins, 1986: S14) in a research setting also posed challenges in terms of designing the methods of research and accessing the participants.

Questions of reflexivity and power relations in feminist methodologies have largely focussed on research with women (Collins, 1986; Harding, 1992; Ramazanoglu, 1992; Stanley & Wise, 1993). However, a reflexive preoccupation must be held as an ongoing concern throughout every research process, whether with men, women and/or gender non-binary participants. This is because power relations are always implicated and are never static, constantly changing through the research process. As a South Asian, Indian woman researcher, working in a Western context among individuals with a variety of nationalities and citizenship statuses (often not one and the same), sexualities and ethnicities, I have grappled with the meaningful use of reflexivity in research. My standpoint as a migrant outsider who is a woman of colour in the first world context of Britain is explicit from the outset. However, my reflexive positioning in Britain is also ‘culturally constructed’ (Brah, 1996 as cited in Gunaratnam, 2003: 36) as the post-colonial other from the Indian subcontinent. The several ways in which I have come to inhabit and interpret the world around me in Britain are shaped by India’s colonial past, the post-war migration streams from India to Britain, thriving Indian communities and a certain familiarity with all things British, through Britain’s legacy in India (political, constitutional, social, official language of English to name a few).

The status of being a migrant in the UK on a limited visa is the common ground between me and my participants. However, the brief discussions so far have shown that this is not an essentialist trap of a migrant speaking for migrants. The differences that played out between me and my research participants can be readily mapped, based on ethnicity, gender, sexuality, education, nationality and citizenship. Despite all the differences and similarities that me and my participants experienced in the ‘field’, I sought to understand their experiences by being mindful of the sociological imagination that initiated my study. Being a non-white, south Asian migrant also meant that I could feel a certain amount of similarity with some of the participants and our shared destined spaces within the UK immigration policy. I realised that some of them didn’t think that I was a migrant (often also not seeing themselves as migrants), but I made sure that I answered any questions they had, although my ethnicity and nationality were not strict points of mention before, during or after the interviews. I allowed them to interrupt me or talk as much as they wanted during the interviews. Now after going through the recordings I realise that the interview is a process of “coconstruction”(Hesse-Biber, 2014: 199) to a much greater extent than I had realised through my undergraduate studies, which relied on secondary sources of data such as statistics. The diversity in their individual stories

of mobility also underlies my difficulty in bringing them together, which necessitated exploring several theories while developing conceptual tools to adequately understand the mobility practices that characterised their migration.

Like many student researchers, I rarely felt like the powerful researcher, especially since I was a young migrant like them, and had met them with great difficulty. Similarly, it was difficult to maintain a distinction between my personal FB profile and my researcher FB profile in the ‘mobile’ field, especially when several of the introductions happened through FB²¹. I was also very conscious of my difference whenever I was at the *AiL* and *KiL* events; conscious of being non-white, and an outsider. I found myself constantly justifying to myself and others my presence at their monthly drinks, pub crawls or socials held after important days such as the ANZAC Day. To conclude, I rarely felt like a powerful researcher, in both my interviews with the participants and with the Home Office staff (discussed earlier in 3.7.1). At the same time, I am aware of my relatively powerful position to ‘analyze and interpret’ the words of the participants (Hesse-Biber, 2014: 199) and my responsibilities to do so with integrity.

3.8 Ethical considerations

My research adhered to the British Sociological Association (BSA) guidelines on ethics (2002) and paid special attention to maintaining the consent, anonymity and confidentiality of the participants. I provided them with my research information sheet before every interview, and this, together with the interview consent form, is provided in Appendix 1, and semi-structured interview schedule (YMS participants) is provided in Appendix 2. I also explained some specific ethical considerations when I met the respondents, namely that if I ever came across experiences of undocumented migrants or migrants who have breached any terms of the scheme, this would be held in confidence. Further, if I were ever to access information about the abuse of any vulnerable groups, this was to be brought to the attention of my supervisors for further advice. I provided a modified version of my research information sheet to the Home Office staff, and this, together with the consent form is provided in Appendix 3 and the semi-structured interview schedule (government officials) is provided in Appendix 4.

²¹ FB rules prohibit having multiple profiles, and one risks getting removed if found out.

Participants were also encouraged to take away the research information sheet, to get in touch with me later or to raise any concerns about the research after the interview. The research information sheet made clear that they could refuse participation at any point. Informed consent was always obtained before recording the interviews. Private places of residence were mainly avoided to ensure the safety of the researcher, interviews largely being conducted in public cafes; however, two interviews were conducted at one house, where two of the participants resided.

Ethical guidelines were adhered to in the virtual spaces of Facebook where the participants were informed of my presence in their forums. I was careful to avoid simply considering the data in social media space as public, a practice that has been heavily criticised (Zimmer, 2010). Using the problem of re-identification of users in social media research, Zimmer (2010: 324) argues that ‘concerns over consent, privacy and anonymity do not disappear simply because subjects participate in online social networks; rather, they become even more important’. When I started the research method of social media observation of the ‘pages’ and ‘groups’ in FB, there was no standard guidance on using social media for sociological research. However, it was clear that questions of consent, privacy and anonymity are at the heart of any sociological research. Hence I used the general ethical guidelines to inform my research practice, as described below.

My two spaces of participant observation in FB were ‘pages’ and ‘groups’, as discussed earlier. These spaces are different in their nature and purpose within the FB ecosystem and my approach to each had to be negotiated individually. This is because ‘questions of whether online postings are public or private are determined to some extent by the online setting itself, and whether there is a reasonable expectation of privacy on behalf of the social media user’ (British Psychological Society 2013, cited in Townsend & Wallace, 2016: 6). ‘Pages’ are intended to be ‘public’ in their set up since they are mostly maintained by ‘public figures, businesses, organizations and other entities to create an authentic and public presence on Facebook’ (Hicks, 2010)²². The two Facebook pages that I observed were self-defined as ‘communities’. They were not registered business entities, although allowed businesses to directly post within the page (mostly along the themes of jobs, events). Despite the ‘public’ nature of the ‘pages’,

²² This is a Facebook publication. <https://www.facebook.com/notes/facebook/facebook-tips-whats-the-difference-between-a-facebook-page-and-group/324706977130> [Accessed on 01/03/2017]

I wrote to the administrators of each of these pages and received their consent before starting observation of the posts and interactions.

‘Groups’ on FB are organised by a small group of people based on common interests and ‘allow people to come together around a common cause, issue or activity to organize, express objectives, discuss issues, post photos and share related content’ (Hicks, 2010). Facebook groups give the administrator/s the option to delineate the group as ‘public’, ‘closed’ or ‘secret’, varying levels of privacy that can be embedded into group ecosystems. As part of my research, I observed a ‘closed’ group in Facebook. This meant that the posts of the group were not public to non-members. I was first referred to the group administrator by one of my research participants and subsequently I was asked to send a request to join the group, which was approved by the administrator. Shortly afterwards, I wrote to the administrator of the group via FB message to ask permission to observe the group space for my research. I was careful to mention how the observation data would be used and let him know that direct quotes would be anonymised. Upon obtaining his consent, I embarked on the observation of the group, having also written a post in the group space announcing my research and my participation. I have then ensured that I do not include any personally identifiable posts or images from this private FB group in my thesis. To summarise, I used the guidelines in the BSA’s ‘Statement of ethical practice’ (2002) regarding conduct of research. My research also abided by the latest guidance by Townsend and Wallace (2016) on using social media for research.

3.9 Conclusions

In this chapter I have highlighted how the ‘mobile’ field necessitated multiple methods, and brought its own unique problems of negotiation and access. Despite an initial access strategy, I finally met participants through chance encounters, walking into pubs and a broader snowball sampling incorporating peer networks. The conduct of my research and methods were particularly shaped by my initial decision to interview participants from the eight participating countries of the scheme. I have also suggested that the multiple methods I used are ethnographic in approach, taking inspiration from ‘mobile methods’, and discussed how the research process evolved from interactions with the participants. For example, after initial interviews with the participants, I decided to observe the virtual spaces in FB which were meaningful for their lives in the UK.

Research on social media is still evolving, but I took care to conduct my research by being attentive to broad ethical guidelines as well as more specific ones. As I have emphasised, the research process was largely influenced by feminist research methodologies in being attentive to questions of positionality, power and reflexivity. It is in this context that this chapter has continuously engaged with questions of positionality and power. I also highlighted the unique advantages and difficulties of multiple methods of research, dealing with different forms of data. That is, the very process of data analysis had to be situated in the contexts in which the data were produced. In the next chapter, I will address my policy analysis and the construction of 'mobile subjects' within the points-based system of immigration control of non-EU nationals to the UK.

Chapter 4

Youth Mobility Scheme: the construction of ‘mobile subjects’

4.1 Introduction

The introduction of the points-based system (PBS) for regulating migration of non-EU citizens to the UK saw the scrapping of the working holidaymaker scheme (WHM) and its replacement by the Tier- 5 Youth Mobility Scheme (YMS) in 2008. The new scheme introduced a quota or cap on participation, and restricted it to four participating countries in 2008, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and Japan, three of them white ‘Old Commonwealth’²³ countries, instead of the 50 countries²⁴ that were part of the WHM scheme. YMS was later extended to Hong Kong, Monaco, Republic of Korea (hereafter Korea), and Taiwan. This chapter analyses this policy shift using the ‘What’s the problem represented to be’ (WPR) approach created by Carol Bacchi (2009), exploring the ‘meaning of policies’ and ‘the meaning making that is part of the policy formulation’ (Bacchi, 2009: vi). Here the approach is to move away from “‘problem” *solving*’ that is part of traditional policy analysis to that of “‘problem” *questioning* – interrogating the ways in which proposals for change *represent* “‘problems”” (Bacchi, 2009: vii, original emphasis). In so doing I address the following research question: ‘What is the UK’s YMS visa, and how does it construct ‘mobile subjects’?’

I have shown in chapter 2 that scholars who have previously studied youth mobility on working holidays start with the participants and their motivations. But I argue that it is vital to start with the state regulations which pick certain subjects out and give them permission to work and study as against those who are excluded: in other words, with national migration legislation. In so doing, I work towards an understanding of the

²³ The first use of ‘New Commonwealth’ can be traced to the 1966 Sample Census of the UK to denote immigrants from ‘India, Pakistan, the West Indies, Africa (excluding the republic of South Africa), Malta and Cyprus’ (Cheetham, 1972: 451). Further, the division of ‘old’ and ‘new’ Commonwealth was used ‘to give some indication of the numbers of Commonwealth citizens resident in the U.K. who might reasonably be expected to be white and those who might be coloured’ (Cheetham, 1972: 453)

²⁴ See Fig. 4.5 later in this chapter

positionality of the participants in working holiday schemes that go beyond the subjective understanding of their journeys.

I selected the WPR approach for its ability to get behind the ‘problem’ of migration in the UK. Conceptualising migration as a ‘problem’ is not exclusive to contemporary and historic political terrains, and instead, has been predominant in academic approaches. For example, Zimmerman (1995: 45) argues that ‘the threat of further increases of unemployment caused by immigration is the essence of the European migration problem’. In the case of Britain, the migration ‘problem’ of 1960s was to be resolved through the ‘project of assimilationism’(Back et al., 2002: 445), which eventually gave way to ideas of ‘integration’, ‘diversity’ and ‘multiculturalism’ (Bhattacharyya & Gabriel, 2004: 63). The historical and contemporary policy context that treats migration as a problem is thereby a fertile ground to apply the WPR approach, to unearth the problem representation(s) in the very first place.

Using the WPR framework, I will argue that the construction of ‘mobile subjects’ within policy documents, i.e. subjects who are permitted to be mobile, and to enter Britain on schemes like the YMS, is linked to the changing representation of ‘migrants’, who are constructed as a problem, and who are not permitted entry. Young people who might wish to come to Britain are therefore marked as either mobile or migrant, depending, as we shall see, on their country of origin, and, implicitly, their colour. This analysis is very relevant to my thesis overall, because we must recognise that participants in the YMS scheme enjoy a form of privileged access to Britain which has its origins in the refusal of access to other young people, those who would in the WHM scheme have had at least the possibility of accessing the scheme. The legal constraints acting upon the YMS participants are (implicitly) based on colour, but as I show, the UK government attempts to ‘fix’ the problem by identifying the ‘problematic migrant’ and dealing with this category in ways that avoided naming colour as the problem. By using the WPR framework, I will also show how the problem representation guiding the current policy terrain pursuant to the change from the WHM scheme to the YMS is consistent with immigration regulation since the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962.

The first section (4.2) will introduce the WPR framework by analysing the document Tier-5 policy guidance, 2014, chosen for its relevance at the time of fieldwork. In the next section (4.3) I will take up the six questions that form the WPR framework to

continue the analysis from the first section. Finally, I will conclude by showing that the construction of ‘mobile subjects’ in YMS has direct parallels to the construction and evolution of the ‘problem representation’ of migration since the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962.

4.2 WPR framework

By using the WPR approach, I analyse the ‘problem representation’ that resulted in the changes from WHM to YMS. So, first, what is the ‘problem’ in the WPR approach? According to Bacchi, ‘It refers simply to the kind of change implied in a particular policy proposal’ (2009: xi). The purpose of the WPR approach is to understand the problem representation in policies, where ‘policies are problematising activities’ (2009: xi). Citing Osborne (1997), who argued that governments cannot get to work without delineating a problem and ‘fixing’ pre-identified ‘problems’, Bacchi builds the foundation of problematisation in her approach (2009: xi). I will deploy Bacchi’s WPR approach to show how the change to YMS aimed to ‘solve’ the ‘problem’ of unlimited mobility (with accompanied notions of overstaying and risk) and immigration, by granting mobility to some young people from a selected few countries – producing privileged mobility²⁵ – while at the same time restricting access to visa nationals²⁶ (mostly in Asia and Africa).

WPR is based on systematic analysis of policy based on 6 questions:

1. ‘What’s the ‘problem’ (e.g. of ‘problem gamblers’, ‘drug use/abuse’, domestic violence, global warming, health inequalities, terrorism, etc.) represented to be in a specific policy?’
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the ‘problem’?
3. How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the ‘problem’ be thought about differently?
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the ‘problem’?

²⁵ Initially to four countries, which later expanded to eight countries.

²⁶ Nationals from countries who require a visa for every trip they make to the UK. The list of visa national countries are also largely standard across the European Union (Neumayer, 2006)

6. How/where has this representation of the ‘problem’ been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?’ (Bacchi, 2009: xii)

My WPR analysis will first focus on the eighth pages of Tier 5-Youth Mobility Scheme guidance for participants (UK Visas and Immigration, 2014). YMS has changed over time since November 2008, in terms of the list of participating countries and their quota allocation. In starting with this 2014 YMS policy guidance, I seek to understand the significance of the dismantling of the WHM category and its replacement by YMS in 2008, while also incorporating the various changes brought to YMS from 2008 - 2014. The analysis will later incorporate examination of discourses from several other official state documents as I work through the six-question framework of WPR. The full list of documents is provided in Appendix 5.

4.3 WPR analysis (Questions 1 and 2)

The following extract from the 2014 policy guidance (Fig 4.1) gives an overview of the terms and conditions of the YMS, and explains the category of the visa, visa validity period and the limitations on switching or extending the visa from within the UK. The extract establishes the home government as the sponsor of every participant. This immediately challenges the association of freedom and choice associated with forms of youth mobility at the outset, since the policy is enmeshed in state control of YMS participants²⁷. Self-employment looks to be excluded, but is in fact permitted provided the young people use rented premises, do not have employees and use equipment not worth more than £5,000. The categories of ‘youth’ and the countries of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) and Monaco that constitute ‘Annex A’ also establish important ‘dividing practices’ (Foucault, 1982 as cited in Bacchi, 2009: 29) that set the context of analysis.

²⁷ However, the Tier 5 YMS guidance document issued in 24/05/2016 marks out only participants from Hong Kong, the Republic of Korea and Taiwan as requiring documents confirming state sponsorship.

Tier 5 (Youth Mobility Scheme) Overview of Terms and Conditions	
Overview of Terms and Conditions	
35. The key features of the Tier 5 (Youth Mobility Scheme) are in the table below. For more information, see paragraphs 245ZI to 245ZL of the Immigration Rules.	
Description of category	<p>The Tier 5 (Youth Mobility Scheme) is for sponsored young people from participating countries and territories who wish to experience life in the United Kingdom. Your government/authority acts as your sponsor. The countries and territories listed in Annex A are currently the only ones participating in the YMS.</p> <p>If your application is successful you will be free to do whatever work you like during your stay in the United Kingdom, except for self employment (subject to certain exceptions), working as a professional sportsperson (including as a sports coach) or working as a doctor or dentist in training.</p> <p>NB Any work in which a YMS participant engages must be compliant with United Kingdom and European Union laws, directives and regulations.</p> <p>YMS temporary migrants may also engage in privately-funded studies, voluntary work* and au pair** placements as and when they wish.</p> <p>NB: The Youth Mobility Scheme Rules in force at the date you are granted entry clearance will apply to the entrant.</p>
Period of grant	2 years' validity of entry clearance
Switching into another route	Switching into any other Points-Based System route or into visitor status is not allowed.
<p>*Information on the National Minimum wage exemption for voluntary workers is included in the NWM guidance in the website link: http://www.berr.gov.uk/files/file11671.pdf</p> <p>**Information on au pair opportunities in the UK can be obtained from the British Au Pair Agencies Association which has the website link: http://www.bapaa.org.uk/</p>	
Extension of stay	Not permitted.

Figure 4.1: Extract from the Youth Mobility Scheme policy guidance (UK Visas and Immigration, 2014: 8)

The first WPR question is ‘What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be in a specific policy?’ (Bacchi, 2009: xii) and I consider this question in relation to the above extract (UK visas and immigration, 2014). I identify ‘extended mobility leading to unlimited mobility and immigration’ as the first crucial ‘problem’ represented in the above extract. First, extended mobility is tackled by selecting ‘sponsored young people’ from the Annex A countries only. In doing so, a small group of young adults are selected from a restricted pool of countries. In the second instance, the document prohibits the shifting of visa category after the period of grant (of two years), thereby preventing the ‘problem’ identified above – extended, or settled migration – from arising. In the third instance, the document reiterates against extension of stay and foregrounds the category of the ‘YMS temporary migrant’. Thus, it allows for ‘flexibility’ between work and study but is quick to forestall any extension of stay (which otherwise might turn into immigration).

At this point, I take up the importance of categories in Bacchi’s (2009; 2012) analytical apparatus to segue into the second question of the WPR framework – What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the ‘problem’? (Bacchi, 2009: xii). Towards this end, the presuppositions or assumptions that take shape through categories must be identified at the outset. The category of ‘youth’ is the most distinctive category in the YMS policy guidance, its first and most obvious requirement being the age of the participants – between 18 and 31 on the date of application for the YMS visa (UKBA, 2008a: 3). The age requirement is also essential for securing 10 points in the points-based system of evaluation, contributing to the 50 points which are necessary for securing the visa (nationality and maintenance requirements secure 30 and 10 points respectively). The expectation of self-surveillance is manifest in the points-based system where prospective candidates must ‘assess’ the points they can claim before an application is made. Technologies of power (Foucault, 2009) exert disciplinary power on the bodies of the prospective ‘mobile youth’ through ‘self-surveillance’ of the applicants’ bodies.

The second requirement to qualify for the scheme – restriction on dependants – responds in very specific ways to the WPR framework’s second question of ‘what presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the ‘problem’?’ (Bacchi, 2009: xii). Figure 4.2 shows how the relevant policy guidance at the time of fieldwork restricted participants from having dependants.

Dependants	<p>Not permitted.</p> <p>In addition, the applicant must not have any children under the age of 18 who are either living with him/her or for whom he/she is financially responsible. Applicants who are married or have partners may participate in the YMS. Although spouses or partners of YMS participants may not enter the United Kingdom as dependants, they may enter if they qualify and obtain entry clearance in their own right under the YMS, or qualify for entry in another capacity.</p>
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Figure 4.2: Extract from the Youth Mobility Scheme policy guidance (UK Border Agency, 2009: 7)

The above representative extract concerns the specific assumptions that inform the category of ‘youth’ in the scheme. A systematic analysis of the presuppositions underlying the representation of the problem delves into the ‘deep-seated cultural values – a kind of social unconscious – that underpin a problem representation’ (Bacchi, 2009: 5). The deep-seated cultural values that underpin this representation of youth – under 30 years, and without children – can be identified as distinctly Western and middle-class,

and cast a filter on the association of youth travel with cosmopolitan pursuits of a bygone era. Such deep-seated cultural values of youth mobility are evident in the account of Home Office staff member, when asked about the restriction on bringing dependants:

If you go back to the original wording on employment in the working holiday maker scheme, it wasn't employment incidental to your holiday, it was never sort of, never intendedly sort of lugging husband and kids around forcefully. It was always a bit, sort of this almost Enid Blyton view of the world, of young folks bruising around and going exploring a new country and all of that, it's bits from a mystic time really (Travis, Home Office, Face-to-face interview).

In the above account, Travis exposes the assumptions that lie behind policy making, in which mobile subjects are free from husbands and children, and are 'bruising around' and operate within a discourse of there being a 'right time', in chronological terms, for travel, education and reproduction. In the initial phase of document analysis, it was not clear if the 'prohibition on procreation' extended to YMS participants once they are in the UK on the scheme. However, a Home Office member of staff revealed that participants would technically face deportation if they were to have children while on YMS visa:

A person's stay may be curtailed if they cease to meet the requirements of the Rules under which they are admitted. So, a YMS participant who had a child while they were present in the UK could be liable to curtailment of their stay if that fact came to the attention of the immigration authorities (Ralph, Home Office, Email correspondence).

The above quote is symbolic of the extent of control over YMS participants. Here, the restriction on having dependants is highly invasive and heightens the everyday 'technologies of control' (Pickering & Weber, 2006 cited in McDowell & Wonders, 2009: 54). This restriction places absolute controls on procreation of the interested participants right from their home countries and throughout their stay in the UK; if female YMS participants conceived, they should have an abortion or risk deportation. If male YMS participants became fathers-to-be in the UK, they should also persuade the prospective mother to have an abortion, seek to deny paternity or risk deportation.

In light of the above discussions, ‘techniques of individualisation of power’ as understood by Foucault (2007 [1976]: 159) are clearly evident in the policy. The disciplinary power that extends the anatomy of power to work on the very bodies of the population was termed by Foucault as ‘anatomy-politics’, an earlier form of power that gave way to ‘bio-politics’ and subsequently to controlling populations (Foucault, 2007 [1976]: 161). Unlike Foucault’s conception of one technology of power giving way to another, these technologies of power operate in a mutually reinforcing manner in this scheme, which will be explored in detail when addressing question 5 of the WPR framework (Bacchi, 2009). In synthesising answers to question 2 and question 5, I will later discuss (in section 4.5) how discursive effects of assumptions in policy discourse close off avenues for the ‘mobile youth’ – their gendered selves and social reproduction. A systematic exploration of the third question of the WPR framework will be taken up in the next section, by identifying techniques of power that have historically been employed in the representation of the ‘problem’.

4.4 WPR analysis (Questions 3 and 4)

‘How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?’ is the third question in the WPR framework and aims to ‘highlight the conditions that allow a particular problem representation to take shape and to assume dominance’ (Bacchi, 2009:11). This question seeks to achieve two objectives – first, to identify the ‘non-discursive practices’ that form the problem representation and second, to identify the formation of the problem representation ‘both over time and across space’, demanding a Foucauldian genealogical approach (Bacchi, 2009: 11). Genealogy goes beyond practices of historicising social phenomena (Saar, 2008). It makes a unique critique of a phenomena by trumping it’s taken for granted nature by showing the historical ‘contingency and contestability of ideas and practices’ (Bevir, 2010: 429). To enable a genealogical approach that befits the tracing of the problem representation in YMS, I focus on the shift in the prior scheme of the WHM, while also discussing the specific history of Commonwealth immigration to UK, since WHM was popular as a Commonwealth scheme. YMS excluded many of the Commonwealth countries that had been eligible for WHM, and this calls for an analysis within a genealogy of the regulation of immigration from the Commonwealth.

I am not aiming at a ‘causal analysis’ and aim rather to contrast the ‘present meanings’ of mobility with ‘past meanings’ (Fraser & Gordon, 1994: 310) in order to examine the historical construction of the ‘mobile subjects’.

Genealogy is gray, meticulous, and patiently documentary. It operates on a field of entangled and confused parchments, on documents that have been scratched over and recopied many times (Foucault, 1984: 76)

In the above passage, Foucault foregrounds analysing documents as central to his genealogical approach. I will discuss the policy terrain of regulating Commonwealth immigrants since 1962 as a way of understanding the historical evolution of the ‘problem’ that I identified earlier – extended mobility and immigration. The aim is to produce the ‘destabilising effect’ of a Foucauldian genealogical approach by tracing the origin of YMS as a route of Commonwealth mobility. In doing so, I aim to expose the ‘normalising’ activities of the ‘carceral institutions’(Burrell, 1988: 227) that regulate bilateral agreements, quotas and the strict regulation of applicants’ bodies. In looking at the regulation 1960-2000 and 2001-2014, I show how the rationale for YMS (inclusive of the dismantling of WHM) traces back to the problem representation of Commonwealth immigration since 1962.

4.4.1 Immigration regulations (1960-2000)

The Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962 was the first legislation to restrict immigration to the UK from Commonwealth countries and restricted entry to those who had work vouchers²⁸, those in the armed forces, students and those coming to the UK on a working holiday who could prove their ability to ‘support themselves and their dependants’(Beale, 2011: 32). As per the act, Commonwealth citizens could come in as long-term visitors on a working holiday, without a work voucher. Gish (1968) notes that the majority of the people in the category of long term visitors came from the countries of Australia, New Zealand and Canada. They constituted ‘65% of the total’ long term visitors in 1963 and subsequently increased to ‘85% of the total in 1965’ (Gish, 1968: 27).The regulations, which were instituted to restrict permanent migration of

²⁸ Vouchers permitting labour migration and issued by the Ministry of Labour.

Commonwealth citizens, were thus intended to regulate migration from the newly independent Asian and African Commonwealth countries (Cohen, 2006; Paul, 1997).

The subsequent Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1968 was swiftly put through in the light of the 'Kenya Asians Crisis' (Gish, 1968: 32), whereby important changes made it difficult for UK passport holders from East Africa to enter the UK unless they, their parents or grandparents were born in Britain (Bloch, 2000: 32). This heightened immigration control excluded UK passport holders from East Africa without parents or grandparents born in Britain from entering Britain and this excluded group were predominantly Black or Asian (Miles and Clearly, 1993 cited in Bloch, 2000: 32).

The Immigration Act of 1971 is so far the most important legislation dealing with immigration in the UK, and is still the basis of immigration control.²⁹ The act aimed to replace a diversity of laws and bring about permanent legislation regarding immigration. The then Conservative government argued in the parliamentary debates which considered the Immigration bill, 1971 that there was a further case for controlling immigration. The Act established different criteria of regulations for Commonwealth citizens, distinguishing between those who can qualify for the 'right of abode' (patrials) and those who cannot (non-patrials):

Patrials, those who have the right to come and go as they please, will be: first, citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies whose parents or grandparents were born here; secondly, citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies who, at any time, have been settled here for five years; thirdly, any Commonwealth citizen who had a father or mother or grandparent born in the United Kingdom. They will have the right of patriality, the right of abode, the right to come and go free of control (Mr Maulding, HC Deb, 8 March, 1971).³⁰

The concept of 'patriality' invoked to ensure privileged movement to some migrants over others is uncontentious in the above extract. In this way, some Commonwealth citizens whose entry would have come under regulation using the Immigration Act, 1971, get

²⁹ 'The current system of immigration control is based on the Immigration Act 1971, which came into force on 1 January 1973, and subsequent amendments to the law' (Home Office, User guide to immigration statistics, 27 February, 2014).

³⁰ See <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1971/mar/08/immigration-bill> [Accessed on 10/11/2015]

treated with certain privileges. The bill proposed to impose control on everyone who was not a patriot. However, it also stressed that the new regulations would not apply to visitors who could support themselves; wherein a group of long-term visitors to the country were working holiday-makers.

My next point is about those who will be subject to control, those who are not patriot. All who are not enabled to claim the right of patriality will be subject to control of admission, but the change in the system of control which we are proposing will apply only to those who are coming to settle here on a working basis. There will be no effect on visitors to this country; no effect on those who can maintain themselves here; no effect on Commonwealth students and no effect on working holidaymakers. None of those are affected by this Measure. The only effect on those who come to work permanently, who are already subject to a form of control, will be that in future they will be subject to a different form of control. (Mr Maulding, HC Deb, 8 March, 1971).

‘Patriality’ itself was a ‘dividing practice’ between Commonwealth migrants, creating a system of privilege to ‘patrials’ ostensibly based on descent, but in effect distinguishing between Old and New Commonwealth. In addition to this, ‘control of admission’ was not to apply to ‘working holiday-makers’ (above extract). A joint reading of the last two extracts makes it clear that channels were preserved for migration using ancestral ties and for working holidaymakers, ensuring that the scheme which was most popular among Australia and New Zealand would not be affected³¹. The ‘different form of control’ of ‘patriality’ was in addition to the already existing forms of immigration control and aimed at restricting permanent immigration from certain groups, explained as a form of ‘state racism’ (Foucault, 2003 cited in Tyler, 2013: 56) in which the state uses the concept of racial difference – here not explicit – in the practice of governance. The legislative introduction of ‘patriality’ meant that the channels of White immigration to the UK were preserved. The exemption of working holiday-makers from these regulations meant that privilege was inherent to this specific form of youth mobility: they could come in as visitors, and not fall under the label of migrants. However, this has

³¹ This will be made clear in further discussions on the number of Antipodeans travelling to the UK on working holiday (pre-PBS). It must also be noted that at this point the scheme was available to working holiday makers from other Commonwealth countries, and not just the Old Commonwealth.

historically been enjoyed by youth from former dominions of the empire – and specifically the white, Old Commonwealth.

Of course, the working holidaymaker opportunity is available for all Commonwealth citizens. Historically, it is a right which so far has been taken advantage of in the majority of cases – not entirely – only by young people from New Zealand, Australia and Canada. There have been a number from other countries, but the essence of this is that it is a temporary visit [The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Robert Carr), HC Deb, 21 February 1973]³²

The discourse of ‘historical right’ inherent in the above extract must be read alongside the Immigration Bill 1971, which continued to control ‘coloured’³³ immigration following the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 (Dean, 1993). The distinction between ‘patrials’ and others suggests that it was based on the ‘problem’ of uncontrolled ‘coloured’ Commonwealth immigration, seen as posing a threat to social cohesion and community relations, ‘where some control had become necessary in the interests of the society in this country’ (Mr Maulding³⁴, HC Deb, 8 March, 1971). However, working holiday-makers were singled out and further privileged throughout these mounting regulations, as seen in the following extract:

Next we have managed to make substantial improvements in the working holidaymaker scheme for Commonwealth citizens. There are two main changes. The first again concerns the initial period. The rules now state explicitly that 12 months shall be the normal minimum visiting period, and they go on to say that the maximum period shall be extended from three years to five years and that the right to go on from 12 months to five years shall be made clear to working holidaymakers as they come in. This change of emphasis is important. It brings out the welcome that we wish to give to those young working holidaymakers in [a] clearer way if for no other reason than that there is now a separate rule whereas before it was necessary to thumb through the rules to see whether any, and if so what, reference was made to them. I hope that we have both improved

³²<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1973/feb/21/immigration-rules> [Accessed on 12/01/2016]

³³ The term ‘coloured’ appears a total of 52 times in the second reading of Immigration Bill, 1971 (HC Deb 08 March 1971 vol 813 cc42173), which eventually became the Immigration Act, 1971.

³⁴ Secretary of State for the Home Department (Conservative government).

and made more obvious the welcome that we give to these people [The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Robert Carr), HC Deb, 21 February 1973].

The privileged position enjoyed by working holiday-makers from Australia, New Zealand and Canada over those from other Commonwealth countries is clear from reading the preceding two extracts. The historical right meant that they could extend their ‘temporary visit’ from twelve months to five years. The ‘problem’ representation of ‘immigration’ was not applicable to these working holiday-makers and they did not fall under strict immigration control. Officially, WHM was in fact open to all Commonwealth youth, although in practice this was not the case.

To understand the scale and importance of WHM’s domination by the Old Commonwealth, and especially Australia, this section will look at portions from the Lords sitting which debated the statement of changes to immigration rules (1980)³⁵, which brought forth the next important immigration legislation, the ‘British Nationality Act’ (1981). In the following extract, Liberal Democrat Peer Lord Avebury, who ‘campaigns for more flexible immigration rules’³⁶ brings out the double standard in preserving privileged routes for working holiday-makers in the face of fresh immigration regulations:

If we had really been concerned with numbers and their effect on employment, then obviously we should have done something about other categories of people, such as the so-called working holiday-makers who come here from Australia, of which there are 15,000 to 20,000 a year. At least, if the Government had stuck to their Buns and banned all foreign husbands, their policy would have been merely sexist rather than both sexist and racist, and the reduction in immigration, although still minute, would not have been manifestly incommensurable with the flow of white patrials, working holiday-makers and EEC citizens who are allowed to come and go as they please (Lord Avebury, HL Deb 20 March 1980).

³⁵<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1980/mar/20/the-statement-of-changes-in-immigration> [Accessed on 10/11/2015]

³⁶The Telegraph ‘Lord Avebury – obituary’ (14 February, 2016)
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/politics-obituaries/12156569/Lord-Avebury-obituary.html>

In the above extract, mention is made of the number of working holidaymakers from Australia in the context of the new rules, which were brought in to restrict the movement of dependants³⁷. Here again, the ‘problem’ of immigration, which aimed to control specific groups of people, overlooked bringing regulations to visa categories which were predominantly used by the ‘White Old Commonwealth’.

The Nationality Act of 1981 defined British citizenship alongside the stripping of ‘entitlements to citizenship from British nationals in the Commonwealth’ (Tyler, 2013: 53). In the Lords sitting (1980) Baroness Birk (Labour Party) further mentions ‘working holidays’ by welcoming the few concessions made towards the scheme:

As regards working holidays the two-year limit still remains, but it no longer includes a period as a visitor or a student. It would be very churlish not to welcome these concessions, and I do welcome them’ (Baroness Birk, HL Deb 20 March 1980).

The above quote by Baroness Birk, the then ‘opposition frontbench spokesman’ on environment³⁸, proves that the two-year limit is the status quo in 1980 (a change from the situation of five years touched upon earlier), thereby highlighting the micro-practices of policy in restricting actual physical mobility. However, a new relaxation in eligibility criteria for the route crops up later in the debate. Lord Belstead, who was the parliamentary undersecretary of state, responded to the concerns and questions raised in the house:

The proposed upper age limit for the entry of Commonwealth working holidaymakers has been relaxed, from 25 years old to 27; these are young people who come here from Commonwealth countries to see the United Kingdom and Europe, before they settle down in life and perhaps marry; and to take account of those whose extended studies could delay their plans to travel abroad, we have raised the age level, which we had intended in the White Paper, from 25 to 27,

³⁷ Evidence was to state that the new rules were sexist and racist with their emphasis on rising immigration from India and Pakistan; and putting restrictions on women bringing husbands or fiancés in as dependents.

³⁸ <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/houseoflords/house-of-lords-reform/from-the-collections/from-the-parliamentary-collections-lords-reform/the-work-of-the-life-peers/almabirk1917-1996/>

and the same provision is made for au pair girls (Lord Belstead, HL Deb 20 March 1980).

Here Lord Belstead clarifies the relaxation of the age limit of the Commonwealth working holidaymakers; the discourse is considerate towards participants' 'extended studies' and takes for granted a particular middle-class life trajectory. The assumed motivation for travel is to 'see' the United Kingdom and Europe before 'settling down', consistent with the contemporary association of YMS youth mobility with the 'Enid Blyton view of the world' discussed earlier in this chapter.

The racializing aspect of immigration control (Juss, 1993; Solomos, 2003) has to be seen in the above contexts, where the state machinery is directly involved in protecting channels of immigration in practice dominated by (almost exclusively white) nationals from Australia, Canada and New Zealand. The statements made in the parliament (Lords sitting) regarding the British Nationality Act, 1980 can be seen to align with Tyler's (2013) assertion that the channels were kept open for white immigration. The preferred routes of immigration from the white Commonwealth countries, such as the WHM, were protected from the continuing regulation imposed on the 'coloured' Commonwealth. The Immigration Act, 1988 introduced strict restrictions on the entry of dependants of Commonwealth citizens, 'ended the right to automatic entry of Commonwealth citizens who settled before 1973' and 'marked the end of nearly all immigration from the Commonwealth countries' (Bloch, 2000: 32).

The Asylum and Immigration Act, 1996 and the Immigration and Asylum Act, 1999 saw major restrictions brought towards restricting illegal migration and illegal working, with a severe emphasis on weeding out 'illegality'. However, the WHM scheme did not go through any major changes during the period of these regulations. It remained a scheme that was open to all eligible Commonwealth young people, even if it was overwhelmingly used by those from the Old Commonwealth. This, however, was to change in the new millennium, as the following sub-section explains.

4.4.2 Immigration regulations (2001-2014)

The first signs of a policy shift from WHM to YMS can be identified with the ‘problem representation’ of illegality as outlined in the Command paper³⁹ – ‘Secure borders, Safe Haven: Integration with diversity in modern Britain’ (Home Office, 2002). This brought the discourse of ‘managed migration’ and measures against ‘illegality’ into the realm of the working holiday, with early signs of the overhaul of WHM into a reciprocal, bilateral scheme. The text below (Fig 4.3) outlines WHM as an ‘extended holiday’ available for young Commonwealth citizens, and makes the case for greater inclusivity in the scheme, although that is far from what was eventually delivered.

Working holidaymakers

- 3.26 There is a long-established Working Holidaymakers' Scheme. Under the scheme, young Commonwealth citizens come to the UK for an extended two-year holiday. Participants can take incidental employment to fund their stay here. Around 40,000 come to the UK each year on the scheme. Some Commonwealth countries have reciprocal schemes with the UK. The UK also has a bilateral youth exchange scheme with Japan.
- 3.27 Apart from the perceived cultural exchange benefits, the Commonwealth scheme provides an additional, temporary, flexible workforce. We are going to conduct a comprehensive review of the scheme in order to see whether we can build upon this element, considering it alongside our wider objectives for managing migration flows, to alleviate recruitment difficulties, contribute to sustainable economic growth, and reduce illegal working. We also want to ensure that the scheme is as inclusive as possible. At present, the majority of successful applicants come from Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa.
- 3.28 We will work closely across Government to consider the different mechanisms and restrictions that can be applied to entrants, and how to achieve a balance between the Working Holidaymaker Scheme and the economic routes of entry to the UK. We will consider extending the principles behind the scheme and its operation to a wider range of countries, including to the EU candidate countries whose citizens will have a legal right to work in the UK in the years following accession. At the same time, we will look for ways to promote the existing scheme more successfully to all Commonwealth countries. We will also review the current restrictions on age and labour market activity, including what occupations people can work in, whilst still requiring participants to be self-sufficient. Removing such restrictions would enable people to undertake work at all skill levels. We will be consulting on these issues together with other matters, such as the size and length of this scheme and whether working holidaymakers should be able to switch into work permit employment. We will be issuing a consultation document in Spring 2002.
- 3.29 The development of these schemes will enable employers to recruit those with legal rights to work, undercutting the demand for labour currently supplied by illegal workers.

Figure 4.3: Extract on working holidaymakers from ‘Secure borders, Safe Haven: Integration with diversity in modern Britain’ (Home Office, 2002)

³⁹ ‘A White Paper is the colloquial term for a paper issued by the Government as a statement of policy. White Papers are usually printed as Command Papers and will often set out proposals for legislative change, which may be debated before a Bill is introduced’ (Received as written advice, House of Commons Information Office, 6 Nov, 2013).

Fig 4.3 gives clues about the changes that will result in YMS. It places an emphasis on ‘some Commonwealth countries with reciprocal schemes’ and the ‘bilateral youth exchange scheme’ with Japan. The silence in the document is manifest; it doesn’t mention the Commonwealth countries with reciprocal schemes.

The extract above says that ‘majority of successful applicants’ come from the four countries of the Old Commonwealth, highlighting the relative success of candidates from these four countries when compared with the rest (New Commonwealth). In this way, the document employs ‘dividing practices’ to cordon off the ‘two Commonwealths’ based on successful applicants, without being clear about the latter.

The ‘problem representation’ of ‘illegal workers’ is briefly touched upon in the above extract, and finds extension in the rationale for the new PBS. The latter is justified by the then home secretary, Charles Clarke⁴⁰, in the following extract from the Command Paper (Home Office, 2005a):

We will bring all our current work schemes and students into a simple points-based system designed to ensure that we are only taking migrants for jobs that cannot be filled from our own workforce and focussing on the skilled workers we need most like doctors, engineers, finance experts, nurses and teachers. The system will be supported by new measures to ensure that it is not abused. We will require economic migrants to have sponsors (including employers or educational institutions) who share responsibility with us to ensure they leave at the end of their time in the UK. We will, where necessary, use our powers to demand financial bonds from migrants in specific categories where there has been evidence of abuse, to guarantee their return home (Home Office, 2005a: 7).

Inadequate provision of measures to ‘prevent abuse’ is the prevalent ‘problem’ in the above extract and asserts the need for sponsors in the form of employers or educational institutions. A more intrusive form of surveillance of bodies that is silent in this representation is that of state sponsorship of individuals, when nation states are the sponsors who ensure return arrangements, as in the case of YMS.

I will now focus on the ‘Statement of Changes in Immigration Rules’ (Home Office, 2005b), which I argue, can be regarded as one of the “‘practical” texts’ which are

⁴⁰ British Labour party

‘written for the purpose of offering rules, opinions and advice on how to behave as one should’ (Foucault, 1986, cited in Bacchi, 2012: 3). It contains vital information about the rules of obtaining leave to remain for working holidaymakers. In fact, changes were brought to the operation of WHM in 2005, as the extract overleaf (Fig. 4.4) shows. The specific changes mentioned in the extract indicate the constant changes that fashion the identity of ‘mobile subjects’ on a working holiday.

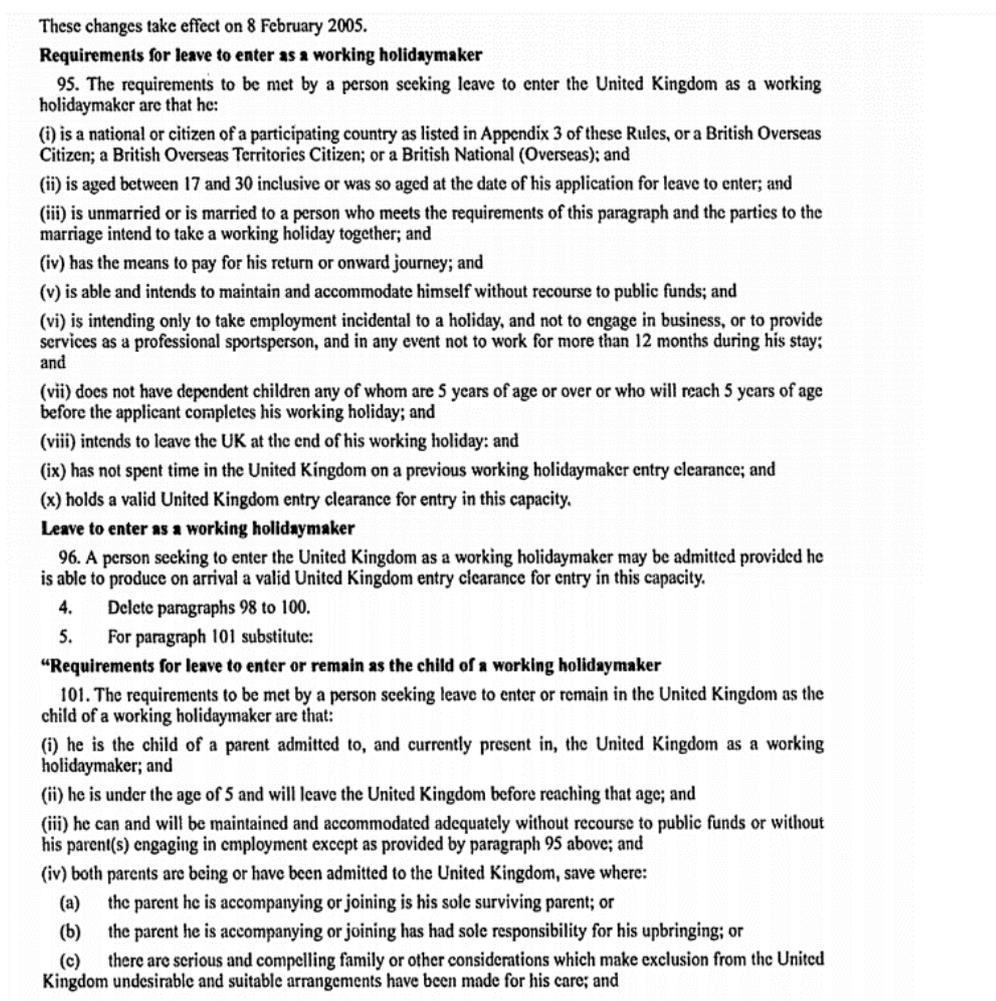


Figure 4.4: Extract from the ‘Statement of Changes in Immigration Rules’ (Home Office, 2005b: 3)

The above extract shows that WHM was available for Commonwealth young people in the age group of 17 and 30 (inclusive), from participating countries in the Commonwealth, and to holders of different types of British Nationality⁴¹. The requirements stipulated sufficient funds and placed restrictions on work – it must be incidental to a holiday and exclude engaging in business, working as a professional

⁴¹ British Overseas Citizens (BOC), British Overseas Territories Citizens (BOTC) and British Nationals (Overseas) (BNO).

sportsperson or working for more than 12 months of the two year WHM visa. The text is replete with provisions about dependent children of working holidaymakers; they must not have dependent children of five years of age or over or who might reach five years of age before the applicant completes the working holiday. The working holidaymakers are also expected to leave UK at the end of their working holiday and not have been previously admitted on a working holiday visa. These rules shape ‘mobile subjects’ in what Robertson (2014) identified as the state’s disciplinary apparatus of ‘temporariness’. The following extract (Fig 4.5) from the same document (Home Office, 2005b), shows that 50 countries were part of the scheme in 2005.

(v) he holds a valid United Kingdom entry clearance for entry in this capacity or, if seeking leave to remain, was admitted with a valid United Kingdom entry clearance for entry in this capacity, and is seeking leave to a date not beyond the date to which his parent(s) have leave to enter in the working holidaymaker category.

Leave to enter [or remain] as the child of a working holidaymaker

102. A person seeking to enter the United Kingdom as the child of working holidaymaker/s must be able to produce on arrival a valid United Kingdom entry clearance for entry in this capacity.

131D. The requirements for an extension of stay to take employment (unless the applicant is otherwise eligible for an extension of stay for employment under these Rules) for a working holidaymaker are that the applicant:

- (i) entered the United Kingdom as a working holidaymaker in accordance with paragraphs 95 to 96 of these Rules; and
- (ii) he has spent more than 12 months in total in the UK in this capacity; and
- (iii) holds a valid Home Office immigration employment document for employment in an occupation listed on the Work Permits (UK) shortage occupations list; and
- (iv) meets each of the requirements of paragraph 128 (ii) to (vi).

Appendix 3 to the Immigration Rules

List of countries participating in the Working Holidaymaker scheme

Antigua and Barbuda	Namibia
Australia	Nauru
The Bahamas	New Zealand
Bangladesh	Nigeria
Barbados	Pakistan
Belize	Papua New Guinea
Botswana	Saint Christopher and Nevis
Brunei Darussalam	Saint Lucia
Canada	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
Cameroon	Seychelles
Dominica	Sierra Leone
Fiji Islands	Singapore
The Gambia	Solomon Islands
Ghana	South Africa
Grenada	Sri Lanka
Guyana	Swaziland
India	Tanzania, United Republic of
Jamaica	Tonga
Kenya	Trinidad and Tobago
Kiribati	Tuvalu
Malawi	Uganda
Malaysia	Vanuatu
Maldives	Western Samoa
Mauritius	Zambia
Mozambique	Zimbabwe

Figure 4.5: Extract from the ‘Statement of Changes in Immigration Rules’ (Home Office, 2005b: 4)

An evaluation of the replacement of WHM with YMS shows major reductions in the list of participating countries with the introduction of quotas and bilateral agreements between just eight countries – Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Japan, Monaco, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Korea. The current YMS rules (as found in figures 4.1 and 4.2) have

also shifted from allowing children of the working holiday makers under five to enter to making it a requirement that young people on the scheme cannot have any dependent children below the age of 18, as previously discussed. YMS retains one important aspect from its practice of governance in WHM in that it is still available to participants who hold different kinds of nationality. Their participation is also not quota-based. Having looked at the representation of a working holidaymaker as it existed in 2005 (Fig. 4.4 & 4.5), I will now discuss the transformation of the scheme from WHM to YMS.

The ‘practical text’ that I examine here is the House of Commons Library Standard note authored by Grimwood & Thorp (2008), of importance because it was published soon after the WHM scheme closed for further applications on 26 November 2008.

Under the UK’s WHM scheme which operated until 26 November 2008, over 50,000 Commonwealth young people a year came to the UK for a holiday of up to two years. They were allowed to work for part of their holiday, generally in unskilled or low-skilled employment. The scheme was intended to allow Commonwealth young people to experience life in the UK and at the same time to provide a significant additional temporary workforce. Under the scheme, the vast majority of working holidaymakers came from Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. The figures for other Commonwealth countries - particularly countries in Africa and on the Asian subcontinent - were much lower. There was no quota for the WHMS - all those who were eligible could participate, though individuals could only have one working holidaymaker visa in their lifetime (Grimwood & Thorp, 2008: 3).

The text highlights the dual aspects of holiday and unskilled or low skilled work expected of the participants, viewed nonetheless as a significant temporary workforce. The text further emphasises that most of the participants were from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa and highlights a lower participation rate from other Commonwealth African countries and those on the Asian sub-continent. I will now discuss another extract (given overleaf) from the same document, evidencing the high refusal rates of WHM applications from countries in certain regions.

Working Holidaymaker applications - regional summary, 2005/06

	Received	Issued	Refused	Issue rate (%)	Refusal rate (%)
Australia & South Pacific	25,311	23,618	76	93	0
Central Europe & Former Soviet Union	112	78	29	70	26
Equatorial Africa	9,211	2,607	6,781	28	74
Far East	136	130	6	96	4
Latin America	41	39	0	95	0
Middle East	201	80	121	40	60
North America	5,211	4,980	169	96	3
North & North East Africa	64	47	15	73	23
South Asia	8,469	1,861	4,825	22	57
South East Asia	649	491	115	76	18
Southern Africa	20,704	17,236	3,639	83	18
Southern Europe	102	89	11	87	11
West Indies & Atlantic	1,153	694	469	60	41
Western Europe	1,097	650	393	59	36
Total	72,461	52,600	16,649	73	23

Source: UK Visas, Entry Clearance Statistics, 2005/06

Fig 4.6: Extract from Standard Note (Grimwood & Thorp, 2008: 5)⁴²

It becomes clear that the issue rates varied greatly according to the country that prospective participants were making applications from, with a high of 93% with respect to countries in Australia & South Pacific and a low of 22% from South Asia, and only 28% from Equatorial Africa. Figure 4.6 also demonstrates that Southern Africa was a region responsible for almost as many applications as Australia & South Pacific prior to its total exclusion from the new YMS, and that it had a high issue rate of 83%. So, any claim that the new scheme was restricted to the countries supplying the highest number of successful applications to the old scheme is obviously problematic.

To further understand the selection criteria for countries in YMS, I take up an extract from the written answers in House of Commons debate (2011). Mr. Jeremy Browne⁴³, the then Minister of State (Foreign and Commonwealth office), was asked in a Commons debate (2011) about establishing a working holiday agreement with Taiwan⁴⁴ and he replied as follows:

The UK operates a single generic Youth Mobility scheme (YMS) to enhance cultural exchanges between young people. All YMS participant countries need to meet certain eligibility criteria, including demonstrating a low level of

⁴² Figures don't only relate to WHM applications from the Commonwealth, eg. Western Europe is also mentioned, presumably pointing to applications from BOC, BOTC and BNO participants.

⁴³ British Liberal Democrat Party

⁴⁴ Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Japan and Monaco were the only countries participating in YMS in 2010. The present scheme (2014) also include Taiwan, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and Republic of Korea.

immigration risk, a satisfactory returns arrangement with the UK and reciprocal opportunities for UK nationals. The Home Office are the lead Government Department on YMS (Mr. Jeremy Browne, HC Deb 15 February 2011)⁴⁵

The discourse of the ‘single, generic’ YMS is now shaped not by Commonwealth youth but by participating countries who meet the triumvirate criteria of ‘low level of immigration risk’, ‘satisfactory returns arrangements’ and ‘reciprocal opportunities’. Membership of the scheme based on meeting ‘certain eligibility criteria’ is potentially universal in its scope, although the criteria are not all specified.

In this section, I showed that the ‘problem representation’ of the change to YMS is heavy on ‘illegal immigration’ and the high percentage of rejected WHM applications from the countries of Asia and Africa. Subsequently, the shift to PBS fits within the larger picture of an ‘anti-illegal immigration policy’ with its focus on controlling illegal migration (Walters, 2010: 73). The problematisation of YMS, together with its silences, will be analysed using questions 4,5, and 6 of WPR framework (in section 4.5).

4.5 WPR analysis (Questions 4, 5 & 6)

Bacchi argues that her fourth question, ‘What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the ‘problem’ be thought about differently?’ (2009: 12), demands a ‘key intervention’ in the form of the question ‘what fails to be problematized?’ and the bringing into discussion of themes that are silent (or silenced) in a problem representation. A starting point to this question has already been taken up in question 2 when I discussed the creation of categories of youth by setting out specific requirements. The creation of categories also inevitably creates binaries, such as having children vs not having children. The problem representation of ‘youth mobility’ imagines the category of youth as being relevant to the scheme if they are from Annex A⁴⁶ countries or hold proof of specific kinds of British nationality.

The silences are important in WPR analysis (Bacchi, 2009) and have to be seen alongside the tropes of emphasis in texts. As mentioned earlier, the rationale for restricting the scheme to a few countries is unclear, and I was keen to raise this when I met members

⁴⁵ Written answer- HC Deb 15 February 2011 Col 718W

⁴⁶ ‘Annex A: List of countries and territories participating in the YMS’ (UK Visas & Immigration, 2014: 14)

of the Home Office. I asked them why YMS was restricted to so few countries and not to the entire Commonwealth, as per the WHM scheme. Their answers revealed assumptions about ‘who is not likely to overstay’:

As I said before I wasn’t involved in the process of development at that stage....but clearly a policy decision was taken at some point that youth mobility scheme was not going to be open to countries who were visa nationals (...) So I mean a decision was taken to move away...was clearly taken to move away from a model in which potential participating countries were not just Commonwealth countries and it changed to a model in which the potential participating countries were a) countries that were prepared to offer a reciprocal scheme b) countries of low immigration risk (Ralph, Home Office)

In the above account, Ralph invokes the category of the ‘visa national’ to explain the rationale of YMS’s restricted access, although his answer begs further important questions about how visa nationals are categorised, who decides, what the implications are etc. I also noticed the way he deflects responsibility to others – he was not involved. His account was consistent with the criteria discussed earlier – reciprocity of opportunities between countries of low immigration risk. However, at this point, Ralph reflected on his answer a bit and thought aloud:

I mean I have no idea actually...because I was not involved in WHMS pre-PBS...how many Pakistani nationals or Indian nationals actually managed to get a visa on this is inconceivable?

At this point, Travis made a very revealing intervention that peeled away another layer of meaning, clarifying bureaucratic unease with a system that was ostensibly open to all young people from the Commonwealth but was *de facto* excluding some of them wholesale:

I think it tends to be more problematic for Africa, than for South East Asia ...larger ...rates of people getting through. But to some extent that would have probably played into the conversation actually. What are the number of applications we are considering and how... and being here, against the number of people admitted? I mean actually there is some amount of... I wouldn’t say falsehood, but it is so not right that a scheme opened to people that you were

never ever going to permit to use...all that would have played into the consideration. Because part of the move towards PBS was that people should know going in what the likely outcome is. And they should have a look at the criteria and say yes or no. Whereas under the old system, it was a bit more nebulous and bit more sort of ...erm *a matter of judgement* (emphasis added)

Travis' comments are notable for the degree of hesitation and tentativeness, but can be interpreted as admitting that applicants from some regions had poor chances of acceptance and that refusals/admissions are largely a matter of judgement, although he says nothing about how judgment was exercised. I maintain that this 'matter of judgement' speaks volumes about the assumptions about potential "harm" from nationals of 'poorer countries' (Anderson, 2010: 312). It further creates the 'problem representation' of immigration risk and about 'state racism' (Foucault, 2003 cited in Tyler, 2013: 56); the concept of racial difference could be argued to be at the heart of such judgements. Predominantly, white Australian young people were almost all accepted to the WHM scheme, whereas acceptance was 'problematic' in Travis' words for those from Africa, and we can assume here that he doesn't include South Africa. It is in this context that the shift to a scheme permitting only selected Old Commonwealth countries to participate must be understood, and the subsequent exclusion of South Africa may well be related to its majority non-white population.

The policy documents are otherwise replete with how participating countries must meet conditions of 'returns, risk and reciprocity'. The Tier-5 Statement of Intent published in May, 2008 (UKBA, 2008b) gives the impression that participating countries must have effective return arrangements, be of low risk and provide reciprocal opportunities for the UK nationals. However, there is a deliberate lack of transparency around the risk formula, as the following footnote from Tier-5 Statement of Intent makes clear:

The YMS risk formula will not be published, but assesses the level of abuse of the UK's immigration controls by each country's nationals. It will be applied consistently to all applicant and participating countries. The risk value ratings will be updated annually (UK Border Agency, 2008b: 13)

The term 'abuse' is noteworthy above and illustrates the extent to which one's national origin governs the extent to which one is framed as a potential or even likely 'abuser' of

immigration controls. I asked Home Office staff if they could tell me more about the calculation of risk and Ralph's reply further clarified the use of quantitative metrics:

Our colleagues on the immigration intelligence side developed a formulae which essentially...look ...sorry sort of identified the cohort that would be going through these schemes...in terms of basically people of a particular age-profile and then, ran those...those...that cohort through a selected set of indicators around numbers of that nationality, and age, etc. that were under existing arrangements [who] were refused entry and/or claimed asylum, removed at port, all the indicators – outside all the potential indicators of risk. I mean that's roughly how ...erm...the formulae worked. And that formula gave...spit out a sort of value...and..erm..it was simply...we agreed in policy as that any country with a value...I mean will be above/below – but anyway outside that – outside an identified value would fail (Ralph, Home Office)

It becomes clear from the above quote that the selection of participating countries in YMS is aligned with the broader framework of countering 'illegality', 'abuse' of the system and overstaying, exemplified by the shift to the new points-based system (PBS). However, the risk value⁴⁷ calculation is still dubious in basing itself on probable cohorts of people, whom they then generalise to a set of indicators around asylum claims, deportations and removals, and Ralph's use of the term 'roughly' is telling. However crude the process, the outcome is quantifiable as a 'pass/fail' binary for particular countries that then takes on very precise meaning in terms of who can participate in YMS. It's also noticeable in his quote that he seeks to shift agency from the people devising these metrics to the system itself: 'the formula... spit out a sort of value', pointing to a larger question about how youth mobility for cultural exchange gets appropriated in contemporary politics of asylum and immigration control. So, what is left unproblematic in the problem representation is the selection of participating countries based on YMS risk formulae. The effects of these assumptions and silences will be addressed below as part of answering Bacchi's question 5.

Question 5 of the WPR framework turns to the effects of specific problem representations. It asks 'what effects are produced by this representation of the problem?'

⁴⁷ 'Risk value' is derived from the 'YMS risk formula' which the Home Office refuses to publish (UK Border Agency, 2008b: 13).

(Bacchi, 2009:15) – broadly divided into discursive effects, subjectification effects and lived effects (Bacchi, 2009: 15). Let me first consider the discursive effects arising from the specific representation of ‘youth mobility’, whereby the problematisation of ‘unlimited mobility’ makes ‘return’ a mandatory condition. The consolidation of various schemes into YMS and the discourse of ‘single generic youth mobility’ work to mask the ‘discursive obliteration’ of the New Commonwealth. The depiction of YMS as a replacement for WHM, which was known as a ‘Commonwealth scheme’ (Home Office, 2002: 45), with no mention of the exclusion of the New Commonwealth is also problematic. The discourse of ‘risk value’ in a scheme that is described as an ‘extended holiday’ brings forth the assumption of migrant illegality, without stating the criteria of calculation. Youth mobility ensured through bilateral agreements with a caveat of ‘satisfactory return arrangements’ is also a peculiar case of surveillance – an operation of ‘anatomopolitics’ (Foucault, 2007 [1976]) beyond the scope of regulating a specific population.

Secondly, what are the subjectification effects arising from the problem representation of shift to YMS? Bacchi argues that subjectification (or ‘subjectivisation’) refers to the ways in which ‘we become subjects *of a particular kind* through the ways in which policies set up social relationships and our place (position) within them’ (2009: 15-16, original emphasis). The strict restriction of two years and the criteria of return arrangements (often enforced) could contribute to YMS participants seeing themselves as deportable. Similarly, the restriction of having dependants could also influence participants in internalising a specific version of youth and their associated mobility. ‘Lived effects refer to the impact of problem representations on people’s embodied existence’ (Bacchi, 2009: 70). Question 5 and its focus on lived effects is very important, and one my study of participants’ experiences will be able to answer in the following chapters. Youth mobility on YMS is based on one significant criteria, that other states sponsor their citizens, which will mean bringing citizen’s bodies under the purview of the state. The embodied citizenship also leads to demarcation and marking of groups (Bacchi & Beasley, 2002), with participants from Hong Kong, Korea and Taiwan requiring additional levels of documentation⁴⁸, heightening control over them.

⁴⁸ At the time of fieldwork (2014-2015) participants from these three countries required to show additional documentation of ‘certificate of sponsorship’. However, this is not applicable to BNO passport holders from Hong Kong. The remaining countries in YMS enjoyed ‘deemed sponsorship’ status meaning that they were exempt from submitting additional sponsorship documents.

Consequently, participants' lives are entangled in the surveillance of the sponsor country, and self-surveillance, to sustain the discourse of 'managed migration' through PBS (Home Office, 2005a), and establishing technologies of power that fuse both anatomo-politics and bio politics (Foucault, 2007 [1976]). Lived effects are also explicit in restricting one's fertility on YMS visa. The lived effects of the two-year restriction might also translate into specific forms of restricted mobility, for instance by leading to limited opportunities for jobs which will only be offered by employers for longer, permanent contracts. (This is something that will be discussed much further in Chapter 6).

The final question in the WPR framework asks 'How/where is this representation of the 'problem' produced, disseminated and defended? How can it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?' Earlier in this chapter, I showed how the problem representation of 'extended mobility and immigration' have been produced, disseminated and subsequently defended in change from WHM to YMS. In this section, I will focus on attempts which have been made to question and disrupt the problem representation of YMS. These 'disruptions' are evident in the public consultations which were held as part of the move to PBS. However, the final policy did not consider the opinions of the public in a way to push through policies.

First, I present two extracts of evidence by the Immigration Advisory Service (IAS), the largest national charity providing immigration advice and representation to immigrants and asylum seekers in the UK.

We regret the seemingly inexorable move to exclude the traditional routes of temporary migration from Commonwealth countries which has benefited the UK so much in terms of cultural enrichment as well as links with those countries which often have their own institutions modelled on British ones, official or semi-official use of the English language and a large expatriate community already settled in the UK: we regard this severance as not in the UK's geopolitical interests and its global influence. The abolition of the Working Holiday Maker scheme and its substitution by Tier 5 Youth Mobility which will exclude many Commonwealth countries is just one example of this (IAS, House of Commons, 2009b, Ev. 151).

In the above extract, IAS argues that the shift to YMS weakens British influence in the Commonwealth. The evidence places importance on shared political institutions and

culture and more importantly the ‘expatriate community already settled in the UK’, bringing shared histories into perspective. IAS also expressed shock at the policy changes seeing the ending of WHM as a sign of weakening ties with the Commonwealth.

In November 2008 when the Government introduces Tier 5 of the Points Based System the Working Holiday Maker scheme will end altogether and will be replaced by a Youth Mobility scheme which will apply only to citizens of countries who are non-visa nationals, where the country has a reciprocal scheme for young people from the UK and an agreement with the UK for returns of its own nationals. In July 2008, the Government announced its intention of applying a visa regime to Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Lesotho, Malaysia, Mauritius, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Trinidad and Tobago and Venezuela (all Commonwealth countries except Bolivia, Brazil and Venezuela) who, therefore, would not be entitled to participate in any Tier 5 Youth Mobility Scheme. In effect, this will end any opportunity for young people to come from most new Commonwealth countries and may be challenged in the courts on the basis that it is racially discriminatory. We see this as a major retraction from the historic links with Commonwealth countries that has been of such benefit to the UK (IAS, House of commons, 2009b, Appendix 2, Ev. 155)

A similar concern with the exclusion of visa nationals from the YMS finds mention in the memorandum by the Immigration Law Practitioners association (ILPA).

ILPA has highlighted that Tier 5 Youth Mobility Scheme is expressly closed to young people from any country that appears on the Government’s visa national list. The Government failed to consult on this issue, which is of significant national and international importance (ILPA, House of commons, 2009b, Ev. 96)

The silences which are dominant in the discourses of the documents already examined are identified in the evidence brought from the public consultations on the shift to YMS. The parliamentary debates since the introduction of the Command paper (Home Office, 2002) and subsequent Command papers (Home Office, 2005a; 2006) are silent on the exclusion of ‘visa nationals’ from YMS. This crucial discrimination is not problematized in the introduction of YMS, although the topic of youth mobility on YMS cannot be understood in isolation from the processes that create ‘visa and non-visa nationals’, which aid processes of inclusion and exclusion.

Neumayer (2006: 81) notes that ‘the [current] era of supposedly unprecedented mobility is only part of the picture, and is at the same time also an era of great, continued and enforced inequality in access to foreign spaces based on the principle of nationality’. Here the ‘dividing practices’ (Foucault, 1982 cited in Bacchi, 2009: 16) between visa nationals and non-visa nationals ensure that the largely Black and Asian Commonwealth and other poorer countries are outside the pale of the supposedly ‘universal’ YMS which is open to any country⁴⁹ that is willing to consider a bilateral agreement for youth mobility. The silences in the problem representation of the shift to YMS thus question the grounds on which managed migration is based, its constitution, and if it was merely a term brought about in the guise of managing, but effectively keeping out, specific groups of migrants.

This section showed that the parliamentary papers and the debates are silent on what constitute illegal immigration or immigration risk. They reveal little about negotiations (if any) between the countries of the New Commonwealth for establishing returns agreements or reciprocal mobility schemes. They are also silent on the reason for exclusion of visa nationals from YMS arrangements. The arbitrariness of excluding large parts of the Commonwealth from a well-established ‘Commonwealth scheme’ to the UK thus point to ‘dividing practices’ (Foucault, 1982 cited in Bacchi, 2009: 16) based on race and nationality.

4.6 Conclusions

The YMS in its contemporary form constructs ‘mobile subjects’ as people hailing from White Commonwealth or from rich countries in East Asia and Europe. The kind of ‘mobile subjects’ who can ‘work and play in the UK’ (UK Border Agency, 2008a) are footloose, without children, and interested in only a two-year visit, while the overall scheme of historical exclusion and restriction of avenues for immigration from New Commonwealth continue to provide the backdrop. In this scheme of things, New Commonwealth youth are treated as potential migrants (who are more likely to be refused entry or slip into illegality), with only White Commonwealth youth eligible to become visitors. This suggests that both white Old Commonwealth and New

⁴⁹ See HC Deb 10 Nov 2010: Column 361W
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201011/cmhansrd/cm101110/text/101110w0002.htm#10111060000651>.

Commonwealth are now co-constructed in oppositional ways. In so far as the law retains rights for white Old Commonwealth youth, it seeks to retain the image of the working holiday-maker carried from the past scheme, in what is indeed a very new context.

The Immigration Act of 1971 still provides the legal framework for immigration regulation, to which new changes are added. The immigration system of the UK went through a systemic change in 2008 with the introduction of the PBS, with its remit to regulate the migration of people from non-EEA countries, in contrast to nationals of the European Economic Area (EEA) and Switzerland who were free to travel and live in the UK, to take employment or start a business. I have argued in this chapter that the introduction of PBS brought about the restructuring of the traditional routes of temporary migration such as WHM. The recasting of WHM into YMS led to the selective inclusion of participants from the White, Old Commonwealth and the exclusion of the countries of the New Commonwealth in the process of constructing 'mobile subjects' with relative privileges (membership in selected participating countries, access to labour market without the need to be tied to a sponsor, permission to study and work on the same visa). The criteria for negotiation of bilateral agreements between participating countries is not touched upon in any of the parliamentary papers that lead up to the introduction of the scheme in the fourth quarter of 2008, when further applications for WHM were stopped.

The exclusion of young nationals from 'New Commonwealth' countries, which constitute the majority population of the Commonwealth, from a scheme that replaced the WHM (well known as a Commonwealth scheme) is also a reminder of the attempt to control 'coloured' migration in the 60s, which could not be put forward overtly on the basis of colour and had to be hinged on the ownership of work vouchers (Dean, 1993). Policy discourses on the change in WHM and replacement with YMS reflects the overall framework of 'management' of migration that is synonymous with the introduction of PBS (Home Office, 2006). The public consultations for the proposed PBS saw concerns raised by stakeholders such as Immigration Advisory Service (IAS) that the shift to PBS and the ending of WHM discriminates against young people and students from the New Commonwealth. Thus the replacement of WHM with YMS can be understood as a continuation of the racialisation of the immigration policy (Juss, 1993; Solomos, 2003, 1995) since the Commonwealth Immigration Act, 1962.

Imaginings of youth mobility

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focusses on the imaginings of mobility that initiate, and sustain mobility on YMS visa for its participants. The chapter directly answers the thesis research question of ‘Who accesses the YMS and how do they explain their motivations?’. My findings reveal the two-fold nature of participants’ motivations. First, they reflect what I call ‘mobility imaginings’ of their home societies about overseas travel, particularly about travel to Britain. Secondly, they reflect participants’ personal reasons that are both practical and strategic.

In this chapter, I will first discuss (in section 5.2) what I mean by mobility imaginings, by bringing it alongside a related concept of ‘social imaginary’. In the next section (5.3), I will focus on participants’ mobility imaginings and identify their sources – historically rooted imaginaries, and globalised imaginings – using participants’ accounts of how they came to know about YMS, and what in their opinion, was the relevance of the scheme to participating countries. In so doing, I do not claim that these two sources are mutually exclusive categories, instead, enable a critical understanding of how some mobility imaginings are colonial-historically laden than others.

I will then examine (in section 5.4) participants’ reasons, such as personal relationships and career building, in taking up temporary migration to the UK. I will be using their motivations depicted in interviews and my field notes to structure the arguments in this section, foregrounding gendered mobilities to explicate discourses of privilege, entitlement, and cosmopolitanism. Finally, I will conclude the chapter by arguing that participants’ motivations on YMS are intricately linked to their gendered and national identities, in which the latter is shaped alongside membership to rich nation states of the global North, or/and membership to the Commonwealth.

5.1 Social imaginary and mobility imaginings

The concept of ‘mobility imaginings’ that I deploy in this chapter to understand motivations of YMS participants draws from scholarly understandings of social

imaginaries (O'Reilly, 2014; Taylor, 2002) and 'imaginings of lifestyle' (Benson & Osbaldiston, 2016: 420). My focus on participants' motivations to travel on YMS is influenced by a 'critical sociology of lifestyle migration' (Benson & Osbaldiston, 2016), which pays attention to both historical and personal reasons (Benson, 2013) that influence migrants' decisions to migrate. Towards this end, I will specifically focus on what I later identify as 'national mobility imaginings' of YMS participants (section 5.3), to show that participants' motivations to travel on the scheme are influenced by historic-colonial and globalised imaginings, alongside personal, and strategic reasons.

Karen O'Reilly (2014: 211) foregrounds social imaginary as central to understanding lifestyle migration, which she argues is 'steeped in imaginings and romanticism'.

Social imaginaries are thus understood as the individual capacity to imagine, the socially shaped lifestyles that are imagined, and the possibilities for enacting on those imaginations. (O'Reilly, 2014: 222)

The above conceptualisation of social imaginary foregrounds structures that shape imaginings, and how individuals act on the latter, to make their choices meaningful in their societal contexts. A similar conception of socially structured travel imagination was explicated by Anika Haverig (2007), who used the concept of social imaginary to understand a related form of youth mobility – young New Zealanders' 'Overseas Experience,' usually shortened to the abbreviation 'OE'. She uses Taylor's concept of social imaginary (Taylor, 2004, cited in Haverig, 2007: 54)⁵⁰ to argue that 'people make sense of social practices through their imaginaries, while the practices also shape these imaginaries' (Haverig, 2007: 102). Consequently, I hold the concept of social imaginaries (O'Reilly, 2014; Taylor, 2002; Haverig, 2007) as important to understand contemporary practices of youth mobility on YMS to the UK.

Having demonstrated the usefulness of deploying the concept of 'social imaginary' in understanding contemporary forms of youth mobility, I argue that a comparative study of youth mobility from different countries must go beyond pre-existing "'forms" of social imaginary' which can be 'conceptualised analytically as social structures'

⁵⁰ See also Charles Taylor (2002: 91), in which he argues that 'social imaginary is not a set of ideas; rather it is what enables, through making sense of, the practices of a society'. For him, it is the 'common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy' (Taylor, 2002: 106).

(O'Reilly, 2014: 220), to a focus on what I call 'mobility imaginings'. I understand 'mobility imaginings' as those fragments of imagination about another country or locality that start and sustain mobility among individuals. I draw inspiration from Arjun Appadurai's seminal work which argues that imagination is central to migration (1996), providing a base to build the significance of imaginings in mobility. Similarly, Noel Salazar's emphasis on 'historically laden imaginaries' (Salazar, 2011: 576) that give rise to practices of mobility (be it tourism, or migration), open a window of opportunity to understanding 'people's personal imaginings' (Salazar, 2011: 576). Salazar argues that 'migration always presupposes some knowledge of or, at least, rumours of 'the other side'' (Salazar, 2010: 56), which give rise to imaginings that sustain mobility. In a similar vein, Raelen Wilding places significance on the 'role of imagination' in global and transnational processes of mobility (Wilding, 2007: 343).

Michaela Benson's study (2011a) of British lifestyle migrants in rural France is of influence in my conception of mobility imaginings. She argues that lifestyle migrants' decisions are influenced by 'imaginings of what a particular destination might offer individuals and what they might be able to make of themselves and their lives there' (Benson, 2011b: 224-225). In this work, her findings point to specific classed, racialized and nationalised dimensions of lifestyle migration – embodying white, British, middle-class imaginings about a better way of life. Consequently, I argue that the concept of 'mobility imaginings' offers potential to probe the structures that influence migrants' personal motivations to migrate. By drawing from scholarly insights that give importance to structures and practices of lifestyle migration (O'Reilly, 2014), I identify national mobility imaginings in YMS participants' motivations for temporary migration to the UK. In the next section, I will elucidate this by discussing national mobility imaginings of participants as arising from two sources – historically rooted imaginaries and globalised imaginings.

5.3 National mobility imaginings

Every national group that I interviewed has understandings of what travel to Britain would involve – revealing ubiquitous nation-centric mobility imaginings. Some of these imaginings were rooted in colonial-historic links with Britain, closely tied to notions of collective belonging to the Empire and Commonwealth. I term these as 'historically rooted imaginaries'. I also identified another source of imaginings among nationality

groups, which were not drawn from colonial-historic imaginaries of travel to Britain, but, were outward-looking and globalised, terming them as ‘globalised imaginings’ in this chapter. Subsequently, I categorise participants’ national mobility imaginings as arising from two sources – historically rooted imaginaries (for countries of the Commonwealth and Hong Kong), and globalised imaginings (for Japan, Korea, and Taiwan).

Among the participants from the Commonwealth countries, New Zealanders have an extremely well-developed understanding of travelling to the UK, through their category of Overseas Experience (OE). Canadians and Australians come close, and the Hong Kongese subscribe to historically rooted imaginaries through contemporary remnants of British rule – in the form of material possession of British National Overseas passports and relative ease of movement to Britain. Taiwanese, Japanese and Koreans have a different globalised sensibility to the scheme, which draws from contemporary bilateral agreements and globalised opportunities of travel, irrespective of any historic-colonial links with the British empire. By first taking up the discussion of imaginings in this section, I will later show how national mobility imaginings further give rise to motivations, which are in turn patterned by nationality and gender.

5.3.1 Historically rooted imaginaries

I will first discuss what I call ‘historically rooted imaginaries’. These imaginaries are closely tied to participants’ belonging to a nation-state and its colonial-historic links with Britain. Different countries seem to differ in how far travel to Britain is central to their national imagination. In New Zealand, it is very strong (see following quote), while in other countries it is less pronounced. Nations also differ in how their identities are linked to colonial histories, for example, regarding membership of the Commonwealth, giving rise to specific national imaginings about travel to Britain. I will first discuss imaginings of participants from New Zealand, which showed historically rooted imaginaries of travel to Britain, closely tied to their New Zealander/ ‘kiwi’ identity.

Jane, a middle-class, ethnic-white woman from New Zealand recounts the popularity of YMS visa among young ‘kiwis’.

Yeah... so basically kiwis, would normally come and work in the UK for two years to do their OE. So, they base themselves in London, and then will try and travel as much of Europe as possible.

(Jane, 29, Female, New Zealand)

In Jane's account, moving to London for what she and the other New Zealanders call overseas experience (OE) is 'normal' for kiwis, and while they do it, they intend to use it as a base for travel. It is also important to not overlook the significance of OE in these kiwis' lives because it takes a meaning of its own beyond individual capabilities. In this way 'the collective imagination of a group of people that begin to feel and imagine things together is pivotal' (Powell & Steel, 2011: 77) to understand the role played by OE, a noun – signifying youth, travel, and London, in Jane's account. She foregrounds OE in the popularity of YMS visa in New Zealand and confirms Conradson and Latham's assertion that New Zealand is a 'nation both founded upon and significantly bound up with mobility' (Conradson & Latham, 2005b: 291). Jane's account is also consistent with Haverig's (2007) findings of OE as 'normal' for Kiwi youth, sustaining and reproducing what Haverig identified as the 'OE imaginary' (Haverig, 2007: 103), contributing to an imagining of 'mobility as norm'.

Similarly, Roger, a male New Zealander from a middle-class background was aware of the popular perception of OE as a rite of passage.

It's perceived, in best... a lot of people [perceive it] as a rite of passage like this...you probably could... and that might be generalising it a bit too much, because, I think people tend to think within the social circles they are in. I mean, I haven't seen the statistics. I mean, obviously not every young person, you know... does an OE. But I think, in certain circles, and maybe socio-economic areas, there is a lot of people who take that up, and maybe in other parts of society, they don't see it as a thing (...) In my experience, it seems a common thing to do, and you know... and it's fully accepted. Yeah, you can go for a series of couple of years, and then come back.

(Roger, 31, Male, New Zealand)

Roger's self-evaluation separates him from others who hold OE as a 'rite of passage', and is attentive to the different enactments of OE, highlighting its confinement to some 'socio-economic circles'. His experience of 'fully accepted' OE points to his social circle, where he as a white, male, middle-class person could tap into OE as a 'rite of passage'. Roger's account may parallel to a finding of Haverig, who argued (2007) that

OE is more popular among youth educated up to tertiary education, than among people who go into trades.

In a similar vein, my interview with Boris revealed instances of ‘concentrated popularity’ of OE among chartered accountants. I give an extract from field notes on my interview with Boris, who he had denied permission to record the interview.

He said he was having a role change in the work place. He was wondering what other avenues he had with the work. His cousins, brothers, and friends suggested. His cousins, brother, friends and others had ‘done’ an OE before. He also suggested that it was a very common thing for CAs (chartered accountants) to go for the OE and do the kind of work he did here.

(Field note at British Library café: Boris, 32, Male, New Zealand)

In the above account, Boris exemplifies ‘mobility as norm’ by mentioning his family members who had done OE before him, who suggested a move to the UK. He adds a new layer of information about the social circles that popularise OE – finance professionals (chartered accountants).

It is important to note here that participants’ accounts above are always about ‘doing’ their OE, as opposed to ‘going’ on an OE to the UK. This distinction is critical since you cannot ‘do’ an OE, unless it is already available in the collective imagination, and waiting to be ‘done’. In contrast, ‘going’ involves planning, organising, and factoring in interruptions or curtailment of the act of ‘going’. In this way, the above accounts point to OE as an already constituted form of privilege and entitlement – available to some ‘Kiwis’ as a ‘rite of passage’ and popular among certain ‘socio-economic areas’.

I will now specifically focus on ‘historically rooted imaginaries’ that draw from participant identities aligned to Commonwealth membership and ‘Overseas British nationality’. I had asked Dennis, a Canadian man from a working-class background, about the relevance of YMS scheme.

To tell you the truth... I think it's... I don't know if this is going to sound weird... But maybe to try to keep that whole Commonwealth life together. Because I have noticed... I am sure most Canadians would feel the same... Australia has tight, strong ties to the United Kingdom. As Canada, I don't feel it does... I feel Canada, is more sorts of follow the United States than anything, if that makes any sense...

(Dennis, 24, Male, Canada)

His reply encompassed his imagining about the scheme – as a Commonwealth scheme. In fact, he associated YMS with a mission ‘to keep that whole Commonwealth life together’.

Similarly, Rose, a middle-class Canadian woman spoke about the relevance of the scheme to the idea of Canadian Commonwealth membership.

I think it’s good for people who do want to broaden their horizons and see more of the world and see more of the UK and it’s great that – sort of the Commonwealth countries are connected.

(Rose, 24, Female, Canada)

Rose’s account is like Dennis’s in appreciating the connectedness between the Commonwealth countries, although she also includes a broader appreciation of ‘the world’ as broadening her horizon. I would argue that her account links cosmopolitan pursuits of young people with YMS, although she is uncritical of structural factors beyond the realm of personal choices to ‘broaden their horizons’. Broadly, the cohort from the Commonwealth did not identify any constraints of mobility to the UK and ascribed Commonwealth connectedness to travelling to Britain, and not to any other member states of the Commonwealth.

Some participants tuned into historically rooted imaginaries of the Commonwealth to complain about what they perceived as shrinking opportunities of mobility to Britain. Peter, an Australian man from a middle-class background rooted in the Commonwealth imagination, frustratingly reflected on restrictions to travel to the UK.

I think it’s bullshit [restrictions]. That... countries under the same freaking Commonwealth... It’s so hard to stay here. It’s so hard for British people to get to Australia. It’s so hard for Australians to get to England. I mean why... We are under the same freaking flag, under the same jurisdiction... We are just on the other side of the world, why is it so hard? I don’t know. Stupid. No one’s coming here, because of that. It’s too hard to stay.

(Peter, 26, Male, Australia)

Peter's frustration with mounting restrictions on Australians wishing to travel to England is palpable in the above quote. His account complains of the loss of automatic entitlement to privileged access to the UK. When he talks about 'the same freaking Commonwealth', he is seen to ascribe to the notion of a 'White Commonwealth' that is connected to the mother country of England. Although the quota allocation of YMS visas is still highly skewed in the advantage of Australians and has been increasing every year since 2008, Peter believes 'no one's coming here'. He imagines a seamless territory of Britain and Australia, with the latter just on the 'other side of the world' – a negligible factor for him.

Similarly, Sandra, a middle-class Canadian woman, although she did not mention the term 'Commonwealth', gave an aspirational account about increasing opportunities between the UK and the white, Old Commonwealth, which she bases on some taken-for-granted connection.

I know that... Boris Yeltsin* [Johnson], the city London Mayor is like trying to open the visa restrictions for Australians specifically... And a lot of comments are, well, if they do it for Australia, they should do it for New Zealand and Canada. It's kind of been their main response... which I totally love the idea that there is a vote in May, or not necessarily a vote, but it is going to Parliament in May, if they should be making changes to it... Because to me, it's an opportunity to come back.

(Sandra, 28, Female, Canada)

Sandra's aspirational account draws from the imagining of a community of countries (Australia, New Zealand, and Canada), which must have equal access to the UK. However, it is ironic that she mistakes Boris Johnson (the then London Mayor) for Boris Yeltsin (first president of the Russian Federation). She seems to know a lot about the discussions around 'Boris bilaterals'⁵¹, however, mistakes London Mayor for the former president of Russia who died in 2007. Her account goes even further than Peter's in hoping for a relaxation of visa restrictions.

⁵¹<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/03/australians-new-zealanders-free-live-work-uk-report>

By using the accounts of Dennis, Rose, Peter, and Sandra, I aimed to reveal historically rooted imaginaries of the Commonwealth, which are evident in the mobility imaginings of these Old Commonwealth participants.

I will now bring another group of YMS participants into this discussion – BNO passport holders from Hong Kong who enjoy ‘Overseas British nationality’. Their identity is rooted in the category of British national (Overseas)⁵², a reminder of the British empire, much like the Commonwealth. To discuss the historically rooted imaginaries of BNO passport holders, I will first examine the account of Cheryl, a BNO passport-holder from a working-class background in Hong Kong.

Before 30 years old, you can always apply [for BNO passport]. But then there is a limited [number of] person, who got the British national (overseas), back in Hong Kong now. It would be our generation, like, my generation, cos like we got back to, we united with China in 1997. So, if you were a citizen, and you born before that, you will get British national (overseas) – if you apply for it. You were eligible to get the passport there (...) And we don't need a sponsor, cos we were part of the British, like... nationals. Though, we have to have like visa to work in here (...) And they have not [do not have] limit every year [for YMS]. So, you just apply for it, and then you get it.

(Cheryl, 27, Female, Hong Kong)

Cheryl's account points to the advantages enjoyed by BNO passport holders from Hong Kong. In her case, like the above accounts from those in New Zealand, Australia and Canada, she was always aware of opportunities to travel to the UK on a BNO passport. She pins her identity to both Hong Kong and Britain, nurturing a sense of belonging to Britain. Her sense of privilege on YMS visa links to BNO passport, as opposed to HKSAR passport holders, who have a quota limit on their participation to 1000 places a year. The privilege of quota-free travel on BNO passports is nevertheless a shrinking opportunity. As made evident from the starting sentence of Cheryl's account, one can only avail YMS visa till the age of 30. Thus, the youngest person from the cohort of

⁵² British National (Overseas), commonly abbreviated to BNO - ‘someone who was a British overseas territories citizen by connection with Hong Kong’ and ‘was able to register as a British national (overseas) before 1 July 1997’, Source: <https://www.gov.uk/types-of-british-nationality/british-national-overseas> [Accessed on 4 September, 2017]

BNO passport holders would now be 20 years old, and this opportunity will not be available in another ten years (if the upper age limit of YMS doesn't change).

Jianah, another woman from a working-class background in Hong Kong also knew about opportunities for BNO passport holders to travel to the UK, flowing from the historic-colonial relations between Britain and Hong Kong.

I think, I think the historical link is just for me...it's like...I know I'm, I will be [able to] quite easily adapt to UK because...cos basically when you think of the hardware, it's just the same I mean the way of transport...how these things are done here...so and also language...so it's for me it's just like...more practical...But yeah, it's not that kind of emotional. But then that's practical that came from historical reason, because Hong Kong is like copying UK, so that's why everything is the same. We have the same traffic light for instance, we have the same tube and over ground system in Hong Kong...so it's like daily life.

(Jianah, 31, Female, Hong Kong)

Jianah's account, rooted in British colonial history, brings to light an idea of 'sameness'. Her account is consistent with participants' accounts from Australia and New Zealand (will discuss these in section 5.4) who moved to the UK due to its sameness – a shared history, English language, and culture. In this section, I showed how Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Hong Kong, as former colonies of the British empire, influence particular mobility imaginings in participants' accounts. I will now examine what I identify as 'globalised imaginings' among YMS participants.

5.3.2 Globalised imaginings

Previously, I discussed participants' accounts from three countries that form the Old Commonwealth and Hong Kong. The participants from Japan, Taiwan and Korea⁵³, were seen to lack 'historically laden imaginaries' (Salazar, 2011: 576) of colonial-historic travel to Britain. However, as mentioned earlier, participants' mobility imaginings were moored to national identities. Japan's place is unique in this categorisation since the UK

⁵³ Based on data from World Economic Outlook database (October 2016), International Monetary Fund, these three countries rank high in GDP (per capita) when adjusted for Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) Source: <https://www.gfmag.com/global-data/economic-data/richest-countries-in-the-world?page=12> [Accessed 4 September, 2017]

and Japan had a bilateral youth exchange scheme since 2001. Japan also stands out among the other East Asian countries because of its inclusion in the first list of countries⁵⁴ of YMS in 2008 and is also the only East Asian country whose nationals are exempted from producing ‘certificate of sponsorship’ letters along with their YMS application.

Arguably, fifteen years of bilateral youth mobility arrangements could constitute ‘historically laden imaginaries’ (Salazar, 2011: 576) for Japanese participants. However, I could not gauge this from their accounts, which were like those from Taiwan and Korea. Taiwanese and Korean participants attributed their imaginings to globalisation and bilateral agreements initiated at the behest of their governments – demonstrating their countries’ global standing in the world, and trustworthiness that they enjoy with the West (particularly, the UK).

Participants from Taiwan, Korea, and Japan had internalised a notion of mobility based on the existence of global opportunities. Globalised opportunities of mobility in their accounts, however, do not transcend participants’ belonging to nation states. In this section, I understand ‘globalised imaginings’ as collective imaginings enabled by ‘state-driven globalisation’ (Kang, 2000, cited in Yoon, 2015: 76), in which nation states take an active role in moulding ‘a global generation’ (Yoon, 2015: 76). In this section, I argue that such discourses of globalisation must be understood in the context of bilateral youth mobility arrangements (like YMS). To elaborate on this, I will first examine the account of Harry, a Taiwanese man from a middle-class background.

I don’t think I have heard [about] this scheme in school either in Taiwan or in Britain and...because it was the, it is ...it has just been the second year of the scheme. Not so many people know about it (...) yes it’s kind of ... it’s kind of like, once the government promised the young people for when [to enable] to go somewhere, if they couldn’t afford to study there...At the moment there is Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United States, Japan and Singapore...and Britain, Ireland, erm..Austria...Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary and Germany.
(Harry, 25, Male, Taiwan)

For Harry, the construction of YMS links to the ‘promise’ made by the Government of Taiwan to ‘young people’– producing imaginings drawn from state’s role in the

⁵⁴ Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Japan were the only four countries in YMS scheme in 2008.

provision of global opportunities. Harry acknowledges the nascence of the scheme and a subsequent absence of social imaginary associated with it; he is part of the second cohort of Taiwanese participants to the UK. He could, however, recollect similar arrangements to several countries, pointing to a rising number of bilateral working holidays between Europe, USA, and East Asian powerhouses (example: Singapore, Taiwan).

Similarly, Dai, a Taiwanese man of middle-class background, linked the increasing global opportunities for Taiwanese young travellers to a discourse of trust which he associated with Taiwan, contrasting it with China.

They [Foreign governments] trust these travellers from these countries... they are [at] present better than other countries they reject... like Chinese... I heard about Chinese...they are very poor... because some of my friends from university who are Chinese... and... they got interviewed before they come here right? And... and the people ask them questions... and they must answer 'I will leave as soon as possible after I graduate', because if they have some... few say, probably I want to [start] working here, and the visa will be rejected. Because they will think, the government will think if you want to stay here, and never go back... Yeah, its' true. So, I think, probably the government trust me a lot, trust our country a lot. So, they apply [allow] for the visa for us.

(Dai, 26, Male, Taiwan)

Two important themes emerge from Dai's account – trust and perception of governments, and his understanding of who may overstay. Interestingly, his account aligns with the British Home Office's idea of risk, and associated assumptions of managing migration (explored in the previous chapter). The accounts of Harry and Dai are indicative of young people's awareness of opportunities for youth travel/mobility becoming available for them, and Dai at least is also acutely aware of processes that make them 'eligible' as opposed to others who do not qualify. In doing so, their mobility imaginings are also laced with ideas of 'deserved eligibility' as they see it. Ironically, these accounts also give critique to the discourse of globalisation and a borderless world,

since negotiation of borders is clearly based on perceptions of trust and arbitrary risk values⁵⁵.

Another participant – Ji Hu, a Korean woman, of middle-class background, was very proud of the South Korea-UK relationship and believed that the youth mobility visa was a testament to this.

It proves that we're really in a good relationship between two countries. I feel like this, other countries, like those like China, or... Some countries doesn't have this kind of opportunity.

(Ji-Hu, 25, female, Korea)

Ji-Hu was acutely aware of the increasing opportunities for youth mobility for young Koreans, unlike those from China. As for Dai, this national pride in his country's good relationship with the UK contrasts with China's lack of youth mobility agreements. It is interesting to note that China was regarded as a competitor by Ji-Hu, a young Korean, as it was less obvious when compared to Taiwan's competition with China. In doing so, Ji-Hu reiterated the notion of 'deserved eligibility' that manifested in Dai's account (discussed earlier).

I will now examine the accounts of Japanese participants for final discussions in this section. I treat their globalised imaginings separately because as discussed earlier, Japan and UK have had a working holiday arrangement⁵⁶ since 2001. Japan and UK have also had a mobility arrangement for British graduates to teach in Japanese schools, under the aegis of Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET), operational since 1987. Mee-Ling Lai argues that despite the emphasis on English language and teaching, the JET programme was always connected to Japan's 'cultural and political targets that are more important to the country' (Lai, 1999: 218). In this way, Japan and UK have a longer history of bilateral temporary mobility arrangements, calling for a different approach to understanding globalised imaginings arising out of the latter.

⁵⁵ As I argued in the case of YMS risk formula in chapter 4.

⁵⁶ Japan operated "Working Holiday Scheme" for the British, and the UK operated the "Japan: Youth Exchange Scheme" for the Japanese. See http://www.uk.emb-japan.go.jp/itpr_en/index_000072.html [Accessed on 1 September, 2017]

Suoko, a Japanese man of middle-class background, recounts the popularity of the YMS programme to the UK and offers a glimpse of the ‘competition’ that such youth mobility arrangements entail.

[YMS] is very very popular. About... It is often said... 10000 people is [are] applying for that visa... But... only, you know 1000 people can get that... Yeah, so it is very very difficult to get the visa. (...) Youth Mobility scheme is not only for the Japanese people but also the British people as well. So, I think government wants to save [keep] the opportunity to go to Japan (...) you know, for European people to work in Japan is very very difficult to get the visa, and of course, language is very very difficult.

(Suoko, 29, Male, Japan)

Suoko emphasises the intense ‘competition’ for YMS visa, pointing to the limits of choice and agency among participants. Interested candidates apply to the concerned authority in Japan, which then uses a lottery system to choose the 1000 participants in each year. His account also serves as a reminder of Japan’s closed approach to foreigners and reflects what Lai (1999) identifies as Japanese policy in maintaining a homogenous nation-state in which ‘inhabitants of non-Japanese origin exceeded 1% for the first time only in 1993’ (1999: 216).

From the accounts discussed so far, YMS is aimed at promoting international relations and bilateral co-operation, much like the aims of the JET scheme. Yulia, a Japanese woman of middle-class background, recount similar difficulties in getting a YMS visa.

It’s popular in Japan. YMS is... Japan has many countries [with] YMS connection, I think almost [all] young guys knows [know about] this scheme. But everyone choose London, Australia or Canada, New Zealand too... Yes... And always more... is too difficult to get visa [to the UK], because [of] London.

(Yulia, 31, Female, Japan)

Yulia believes young people mostly end up going to London, Australia, Canada, or New Zealand because these are the most popular destinations. Consequently, I argue that Yulia’s account reflects Japanese government’s internationalisation efforts that parallel the JET scheme (Lai, 1999), criticised for its Western orientation and exclusion of less developed countries (Lincicome, 1993 cited in Lai, 1999: 220). Her account is replete

with mention of competition for visas for some countries above others and problematizes the notion of choice and freedom or the ‘taken-for-granted’ mobility imaginings which draw from historically rooted imaginaries, discussed in 5.3.1. In the above accounts, the participants from Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan do not talk a language of entitlement and normality of travelling to the UK. Instead, they speak about competition⁵⁷, to get on these government-initiated opportunities. However, some of them talk the language of ‘deserved eligibility’ which may eventually solidify into notions of entitlement.

Restricted mobility through a lottery system and basing one’s overseas travel on luck is far from the sense of entitlement expressed by participants from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and Hong Kong⁵⁸. The globalised imaginings discussed in this section contrast historically rooted imaginaries, by not being linked to colonial histories of the Empire. They also challenge notions of entitlement and privileged mobility to Britain. Consequently, their mobility imaginings draw from discourses of state-led globalisation, trust, and perception of their own countries in global geo-politics. In the next section (5.4), I will shift to participants’ motivations, which are both personal and strategic, and patterned on privilege – drawing from nationality and gender.

5.4 Gender, nation, and motivations

YMS participants’ accounts reveal diverse motivations to move to the UK. These motivations reflect self-identity constructions that weave together gender and nation. In this section, I identify five motivations that emerged from participants’ accounts. These are 1) travel and cosmopolitan aspirations; 2) self-discovery and the pursuit of independence; 3) buying more time in the UK; 4) romantic relationships and 5) career advancement. By identifying these five motivations, I distinguish between the timing of

⁵⁷ During my fieldwork, participants from Taiwan and Korea also mentioned national lottery systems, highlighting competition in securing a place within the quota allocation of 1000 a year. Selected candidates secured ‘certificate of sponsorship’ from their countries, which was an eligibility requirement for YMS visa. Latest changes to YMS visa mean that selection of candidates from Taiwan and Japan are currently managed by UKVI. The latest country-specific selection criteria: Taiwan - <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/youth-mobility-scheme-2017-for-taiwanese-nationals-2nd-ballot> ; Japan - <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/youth-mobility-scheme-2017-for-japanese-nationals-2nd-ballot> [Accessed 4 September, 2017]

⁵⁸ All the participants whom I met from Hong Kong were BNO passport holders.

migration from its overall motivations and do not make any claims that participants' motivations singularly belong in one category or the other.

Classifying YMS participants' motivations is essential for locating gendered processes of migration. Gendered migration literature has mainly relied on 'labour migration framework' (Kim, 2010: 433) to explain why people migrate⁵⁹. Labour migration frameworks dominated by an assumption of economic determinism may also be inadequate to understand temporary forms of migration, which are found to blur the boundaries between work and leisure, for instance, in studies of young budget travellers and working holiday-makers (Duncan, 2008; Rice, 2010).

Crucially, Kim argues that lack of academic attention to voluntary patterns of middle-class migration (to which voluntary forms of youth travel are most frequently associated)⁶⁰ 'has made it more difficult to understand diverse forms of migration among women' (Kim, 2010: 433). Further, Reilly (2015: 476) argues that 'working holidaymakers do not represent a homogenous group of migrants', since 'they straddle a range of identities including tourist, economic migrant and prospective citizen'. Robertson (2014) also reiterates the conceptually difficult terrain occupied by young adults on working holiday-maker schemes to Australia. A focus on respondents' motivations aims to find a way out of the conceptually fluid terrain held by young adults on YMS visa, between tourism and migration, to situate them within the framework of lifestyle migration. I will first discuss their aspirations linked to travel and cosmopolitanism.

5.4.1 Travel and cosmopolitan aspirations

Thirteen participants mentioned that opportunities to travel and explore Europe were the primary motivation for taking up YMS visa. In this way, their travel aspirations connected goals for self-discovery and experiencing difference – pointing to cosmopolitan aspirations. They also wanted to keep their avenues open for new

⁵⁹ This is not to ignore that women have historically been studied as part of family migration. However, I argue that their migration can also be understood within 'labour migration framework' (Kim, 2010: 433), considering that women travelled as spouses of men who migrated for work. Further, there is evidence that dependent women are a significant proportion of migrant labour force in destination countries (McDowell, 2016).

⁶⁰ See chapter 2 for scholarly association of middle-class youth with voluntary youth travel.

opportunities to meet people and in some cases, learn the English language. However, as noted above, some participants were motivated by the sameness of language and culture that Britain offers when compared with their countries. In this section, I will first discuss accounts of participants who were motivated by the opportunities of travel.

Adrian, a Taiwanese man nurtured cosmopolitan aspirations of meeting people from different countries and travel in Europe.

The most important thing is... I like this country and I like the British culture. ... I want to do something... it's like... I can contact more people, just around, from around different [countries in] the world, and different nationalities, and I think the most important thing is I can travel to Europe.

(Adrian, 26, Male, Taiwan)

Adrian's account speaks of a cosmopolitan desire, as defined in chapter 7, to meet people from different countries. His comment above is also an interesting contrast to 'sameness' valued by most of the Antipodean and Canadian participants. At the same time, he expresses affinity with British culture, and points to a desire to accumulate what Salazar calls "cosmobility capital"—resources, knowledge, and abilities that facilitate social as well as geographical mobility' (Salazar, 2011: 582). It also occurred to me that he was more inclined towards multiple opportunities to travel and mingle with different people in London. However, his motivations had multiple layers, since at another instance during the interview, he mentioned the following:

For me, I think, if I got this opportunity, I just try because this experience is special and I don't... I don't want to be the same as my classmates... because everyone just comes out of school, has same degree, and same language skill and maybe the same computer skills... yeah... everyone is the same! So, you should be something special for you... that is why I didn't want the same thing.

Adrian 'didn't want the same thing' as his classmates and was pursuing 'distinction' from his cohort in Taiwan. His account closely resembles what Conradson and Latham identified as a desire for 'self-realisation' and 'self-fashioning' among Antipodean 'transmigrants' in London (Conradson & Latham, 2005b: 300). Adrian's desire was however fraught with conflicts over appropriate roles for men. His father was opposed to his plans to move to the UK because his father believed Adrian must 'take more

responsibility' in Taiwan. Temporary mobility for non-economic reasons went against gendered assumptions regarding male migration.

Another participant, Donein, a man from Hong Kong, said that he wanted to live and travel with his girlfriend.

I made a decision with my girlfriend, and we come over and we quit the job and then come over on working holiday... So, we just want to maybe, I actually wanted to go travelling in Europe... that is more close, more cheap. In Hong Kong, we never live together because its...erm ...also its high rent in Hong Kong actually. So, we usually stay with family in Hong Kong but it's the first try to get [have] a relationship and stay in London.

(Donein, 26, Male, Hong Kong)

Donein associated his primary motivation with extensive budget travel. However, this was not his sole motivation, since he was also hoping to experience living together with his girlfriend (another BNO passport holder on YMS visa) in London. The family norms that prohibited co-habitation and economic rationale of high rents in Hong Kong resulted in Donein longing for 'openness' (Kim, 2010: 439) in London. His aspirations of travelling were thereby double-sided in wanting to live and travel with his girlfriend.

In contrast, Minita, a New Zealander woman, wanted to travel around and immerse herself in the local cultures.

I wanted to get immersed in different cultures, and which was also why I didn't live in London, because I knew if you lived in London, you'd ended up hanging out with Kiwis and Australians, and I was just not interested in doing it. I can do that at home, and that's why I went to Edinburgh and Warwickshire. So, what I wanted to get out of travelling, or coming here was kind of like – Do as does the Romans do, you know like... do the things that locals would do. I had no desire to go to the big cities and see the big hotspots. I think I see myself more as a gypsy, because I am not fixed about what it changes.

(Minita, 27, Female, New Zealand)

Minita's account exemplifies cosmopolitan desires, and she saw herself as a 'gypsy', taking pride in her practice of mobility. Her motivation for backpacking around the UK denotes a cosmopolitan sensibility. In this way, she seeks different experiences of travel

and work. However, there is an interesting contradiction within her accounts; at one point, she had asserted 'sameness' as the reason she travelled to the UK, and argued that the UK felt like 'another New Zealand – just bigger'. However, in her desire to experience 'different cultures' and 'the things that locals would do', she is closer to cosmopolitan traveller whose 'embodied cosmopolitanism'(Molz, 2006: 17) shines through her gypsy identity. Minita did not readily associate her gender with motivation to travel, although it was evident that her gypsy identity was often at conflict with the gender norms in some places she travelled to, for example, Turkey, where she 'got a bit sick of being just stared at'.

Similarly, Rose's account pointed to 'multiple mobilities' punctuating a life of travel and working abroad, and she aspired to further travel on YMS visa.

Well, before I went to do my undergraduate, I went to Eastern Europe, sort of Greece, a little bit of Middle East, Turkey.... yeah, just to travel, and then I came to Ireland and did the working visa there, and then couldn't find work, so I came back and did my degree and now that I am done, I have come here. I just wanted to you know...have an experience of my own. Sort of open my minds out to ...there's a world outside of where you grew up. Sort of you know...the other part is having a mobility scheme that you can travel to, and being in the UK, you are so close to so many other countries and cultures...so I think just kind of developing that sense of other cultures.

(Rose, 24, Female, Canada)

For Rose, YMS offered avenues to further travel and new experiences. Like Minita, her account displays cosmopolitan aspirations. However, she asserted that gender norms in Canada affected her confidence about travelling alone and sees gendered limits to cosmopolitan aspirations.

I think the biggest thing is... not too ingrained in us but it's just kinda seen as – women don't travel on their own. It's not deep like it doesn't stop us from going on our own, but I have often been asked – why am I travelling on my own, if I am crazy or...you know... I don't know the best way to say it. I don't see it myself. But yeah it's more common for men I guess to do – these sorts of things. But it's becoming a lot more common for women now (Rose)

Rose had made use of mobility in response to a rupture in her personal life. Her partner of five years never wanted to travel, so when the relationship ended, she moved to the UK. Relationship rupture and timing of travel thereby signal important facets of Rose's motivation, although she expressed it to primarily understand 'a world outside of where you grew up'.

In contrast to Rose, Kate, a speech therapist from Australia, had never travelled to Europe before, believed in equal opportunities for travel for men and women, and wanted to travel in Europe while basing herself and her boyfriend (also on YMS visa) in London.

So before I started this scheme, I had not been to Europe and I definitely wanted to travel Europe and London itself... I mean obviously – English speaking, so that's a good start. I can't speak any other language fluently, and I definitely need to speak fluently for my profession, and then on top of it all, like... who I spoke to [in] London, just saying it's easy to get work.

(Kate, 26, Female, Australia)

Kate's account brings an element of sameness between the UK and Australia as English-speaking countries. She wanted to travel in Europe, choosing London as base due to its work opportunities in health care. She argued that in Australia 'women can quite easily travel on their own if they wish to', and so she didn't see gendered constraints as holding her back.

Similarly, Jane, a New Zealander woman also loved travelling and hence wanted to move to the UK.

I had [have] a couple of cousins, who had been to the UK already and done their two-year work visas and they had to come back obviously...mm so I thought... Yeah... Why not... I love travelling anyways. So yeah, it was a good opportunity to come over now.

(Jane, 29, Female, New Zealand)

While recognising that coming to the UK is an expected part of young adulthood for many New Zealanders, Jane expresses her own excitement about travel. She also believed that 'definitely more women travel from New Zealand and Australia to here'. In her opinion most of them are teachers, in which 'teaching profession is mostly female' – revealing national and gendered patterns of travel and work on YMS visa.

Overall, participants' accounts weighed heavily on opportunities to travel around Europe, national identity and gendered assumptions of travel. Interestingly, all participants had done a lot of travelling and had visited at least five countries on average on YMS visa, except for Rose, Vicky, and Dai who were unemployed at the time of interview. In this way, participants' motivations to travel and explore Europe never reflected a single aspiration, but was often shaped by familiarity with work opportunities, as well as seeking self-discovery and pursuit of difference.

5.4.2 Self-discovery and pursuit of independence

Earlier, I mentioned how participants' motivation to travel and explore Europe are related to ideas of self-discovery and pursuit of difference. I will now discuss how some participants attributed their mobility solely to self-discovery and pursuit of independence. Anna, a Taiwanese woman from a working-class background, wanted to challenge herself by becoming independent from her parents.

I live in Taipei, with my parents. And my work, and my school, always in Taipei. So, I always... I even, [did not] leave my parents to ... you know... just... Yes, and in Taiwan, if you... when you live in university or working...if you didn't... you didn't, live yourself... and before you are married...maybe you have to just always [live] with your friends, and marry the other friend. I think I need try to 'how can I do', or 'how can I'... I just want to try, maybe I can do more, or different thing or something, because...because... I always do ... I always go safe way. I need... I think I need to challenge something.

(Anna, 28, Female, Taiwan)

Anna wanted to be independent of her parents and wanted to 'challenge something', by moving away from an approach that she identifies as a 'safe way'. She also wished to experience difference by living on her own before getting married.

Similarly, Moina sought independence by living in a different culture and place – in Europe.

I always wanted to live in Europe... somewhere... but I liked European culture... and I had experience in Canada... so it was always my dream to leave Japan and

live somewhere outside... It's pretty much about like... how I can survive still [and live] outside of the country, because I have to make money to live...
(Moina, 30, Female, Japan)

Moina had already enjoyed a working holiday in Canada and was a serial working-holidaymaker. Her motivation to live outside Japan and pursue life in a different country aligns with Anna's, regarding independence and challenging oneself. She also believed that more Japanese women than men travelled on YMS, showing a clear feminisation of YMS mobility.

Similarly, Atien, a Japanese male from a working-class background asserted that 'I haven't met Japanese men coming with working holiday visa', although he is an exception since he had self-fashioned a London life.

I think I really like, like...UK culture, like literature. Or, I think the theatre, [is] also wonderful. And, I think it's a huge influence from my first boyfriend, like he was British and I met him when I was 20 and I couldn't speak English at all. But, he just showed me, lots of English programs, like TV programs, and I started getting more interested in [the] UK, and just as I was very young, so my motivation was just to come to London and have a life here.
(Atien, 27, Male, Japan)

Atien sought difference in 'UK culture' and theatre spurred by boyfriends who were native English speakers⁶¹. Interestingly, later conversations with Atien revealed relationship pressures (discussed in the next section 5.4.3). In this way, it becomes clear that participant motivations are rarely unilateral, encompassing multiple aspirational profiles of the destination. His identity as a Japanese gay man was also in sharp contrast to those he saw as 'men [who] need to have career to work', and have restricted freedom to take up an overseas stint of two-years on YMS.

Similarly, Dennis, a Canadian gay man from working-class background aspired to find himself.

⁶¹ First a British boyfriend and then an Irish boyfriend.

Just something about Europe, erm... London. I have always wanted to go to.... I just wanted yeah... I guess it's almost finding myself - learning some more about myself...

(Dennis, 24, Male, Canada)

Dennis pinned his motivation on self-discovery and concurs with Conradson and Latham's (2007: 234) finding of young New Zealanders' motivation to discover 'both oneself and the world'. Similarly, Matt, a Canadian man of middle-class background wanted to challenge himself and get out of his comfort zone.

The reason I travel most of the time is to get out of my comfort zone (...) it challenges you and from that you can grow a lot personally. So, yeah but once you are settled and you have a job and a routine, and like a place to live, you become a local and then it means, it's not as exciting as it is in the beginning. It's not like you stop growing and learning but it's just, I feel...I feel at home, which means I could as well, I might as well be back home in Canada, and it would be same thing, same feeling right now.

(Matt, 23, Male, Canada)

Matt is attracted by the excitement of challenges and pins his motivation on self-discovery and opportunities to grow and learn in a new setting. However, the sedentary nature of periods of 'dwelling' lessens the sheen of youth mobility in his account. He also recounted meeting more women wherever he travelled and reached the conclusion that – 'if anything women can do it easier'.

Another participant, Mayoso nurtured a dream to go on working holiday since her childhood. At that time, she wanted to study abroad and experience difference. She had attempted to travel on working holiday visa to the UK many times, but never got selected. She was married by the time she got selected.

I was interested in working holiday, since I was in junior high because I was thinking about studying abroad at first... (...) For me, I think it was important and it was a big decision, because actually I am married, and I have left my husband in Japan and it's a really unusual thing to do, I think so (...) Well, my husband was really supportive from the beginning. That is why I love him. But, I don't know about his family... I have very rarely heard their...their

voice...Yeah their real voice. But everyone is supportive at the end. But I think my husband's family is not that happy of course.

(Mayoso, 31, Female, Japan)

Mayoso believed that it is very unusual for married women to travel on YMS, leaving their husbands in Japan. Moving to the UK on YMS visa had been part of her self-project since she was in junior high school. She confessed that her father did not know that she was away in the UK and her mobility was contentious because of her marital status. The gender norms that dictate against a married woman's mobility and the lack of acceptance of her coming to Britain alone meant that her participation in YMS was an act of resistance to existing gender norms of overseas travel and work. Again, national and gender identities (and marital status) played out in participants' motivations for youth mobility to the UK, especially because they relished the challenges that it brought.

5.4.3 Romantic relationships

Although many of the participants already discussed in the chapter mentioned their personal relationships, I will now focus on the influence of romantic relationships on YMS mobility more directly. Eight of the 29 participants (seven women, one man) moved to the UK due to personal relationships. While five of them (four women, one man) wanted to live with their boyfriends in London, the other three (women) had timed YMS visa in conjunction with a rupture in their relationships⁶². For instance, Sandra and Rose from Canada were in long-term relationships with men who did not like travelling or want to move abroad and sought the YMS visa after breaking up with them. However, mostly they said that the break-up was not their main motivation for moving to the UK. For example, Rose, who wanted the opportunity to experience life outside where she grew up, also followed a rupture in the relationship by joining YMS. However, Raisa from Australia mentioned relationship break-up with her boyfriend as the sole reason she moved to the UK. Interestingly, while, as I said, eight individuals (seven women and one gay man) moved in the hope of sustaining their relationship, one New Zealander man mentioned breaking up with his girlfriend to go to the UK.

⁶² Sandra (Canada), Rose (Canada) and Raisa (Australia)

In this section, I will first examine the accounts of participants who primarily moved to the UK for romantic relationships. Hannah, a Korean woman, moved to the UK solely to live with her English boyfriend, whom she had met while travelling in Asia.

I met my husband when I was travelling in Asia... So, we met on the bus from Cambodia to Laos. (...) So...And then we started having a long-distance relationship. And so ... always working out the way...how I can live with my husband because of the visa issue. And then, I found this visa.

(Hannah, 27, Female, Korea)

Hannah is from a middle-class background and had taken up YMS visa to live with her English boyfriend. At the time of the interview, she had already shifted to spousal visa, with two months left on her YMS visa. Similarly, Vicky, a Taiwanese woman from a middle-class background, chose YMS visa, to live with her boyfriend in London. However, her mobility to the UK is characterised by multiple ruptures, so that 'mobility as a norm' seems to characterise her lifestyle. I had asked Vicky what had motivated her the most to take up the YMS visa, and she said:

At the moment, I was with my ex-boyfriend. So, I decided to stay here. Because my ex - he works here, and then he... I think he will get the UK visa next year, which is like a few days after. And so, I decided to ... to stay as long as I can... But then we broke up... So, erm... anyway, I think I already got it, [YMS visa] so I don't want to just go back to Taiwan. It's quite wasteful. So, I stay here. But now I have a new boyfriend. He is in Taiwan so now... (laughs). It's quite like... I am thinking what should I do now.

(Vicky, 26, Female, Taiwan)

It becomes apparent from Vicky's account that she sought the YMS visa to continue living with her boyfriend in London. However, gender constraints also played a larger role in her thinking, made evident in the following account.

I think I give myself some...I won't say its pressure, just like...I want to have some... I really want to have children, but I know like if you want to have children then you have to give birth earlier than 30 ...it's like yeah...or I won't have any energy to raise them...just too tired!

(Vicky, 26, Female, Taiwan)

At the time of the interview, Vicky was with another boyfriend in Taiwan and was contemplating moving back (after her YMS visa) to Taiwan to be with him, to marry and have children. In this way, gender norms and relationship considerations drive her mobility.

Similarly, Atien's accounts featured multiple mobilities to the UK, based on both ruptured and nurturing relationships. Initially, he had told me that he loved English literature and England and always wanted to live in London. However, halfway through our interview, it became clear that he wanted to meet his former boyfriend:

After I got enough money, I got student visa to London. So yeah, that is the reason why I broke up with the Irish man because I wanted to go to London. And then, when I arrived in London, so I started doing... gay dating site – *Gaydar*, and then I met the guy who became my third boyfriend. Then, so we were together for a year and a half again... And we broke up because I needed to go back to Japan because the visa expired. And, yes... but when I came back to Tokyo and started working and I did not have any partners and I started thinking about my former boyfriend. And I wanted to come back to London again. I think that is the major reason why I wanted to try the working holiday visa. (Atien, 27, Male, Japan)

Atien is a gay man who had three boyfriends in the past, and at the time of the interview, he was living with his fourth boyfriend, whom he had met through *Gaydar*. He had always dated British or Irish men and broke up with his second boyfriend (referred to as the 'Irish man' above) when he got a student visa to study English in a language school in the UK. He met his third boyfriend through *Gaydar* and broke-up with him when his student visa expired. Atien recounts missing his third boyfriend, for whom he decided to take up YMS visa. Upon his return to the UK, he realised that his third boyfriend was dating another man. I have given a detailed record of Atien's love life because it is essential to his primary motivation of travelling to the UK.

To conclude this section, it seemed that getting over or sustaining personal relationships were important aspects of motivation, although usually not the only one. I also noticed that personal relationships often played out in the background of main motivations mentioned by participants. For example, Cheryl (Hong Kong) told me that she was looking for a change in her career and new opportunities in London, although her move

was timed to live with her boyfriend who studied in London. Similarly, Melissa (Hong Kong) and Ji-Hu (Korea) studied in the UK on Tier-4 student visas, and moved onto a YMS visa to explore work opportunities in the UK, although also influenced by the prospects of living with their British boyfriends (of Hong Kong descent) in London. I will examine Melissa's and Ji-Hu's accounts in detail in the next section, as their accounts weighed heavily on spending more time in the UK.

5.4.4 Buying more time in the UK

In this section, I will discuss participants' accounts that saw YMS as the way to extend their time spent in the UK. The participants I discuss in this section had been on Tier-4 student visas, but were later denied the opportunity of gaining work experience on the Post-Study Work (PSW) visa which the UK government phased out in 2012. Hence they attributed pragmatic reasons for travelling to the UK on YMS visa. For instance, Harry, a Taiwanese man, made use of YMS visa to negotiate his precarious position when faced with the dismantling of PSW.

To be honest, because I didn't really...intend to [do] working holiday here. It was because, when I was in the the university in Britain and a lot of time the coalition governments already stopped the post-study working visa... Yeah, so I know that I couldn't stay here like after my studies. So I has to... have to find other alternative either be sponsored by the company here or I could get... find a visa to stay here, and much more freely and individually...

(Harry, 25, Male, Taiwan)

Harry's use of YMS visa to buy more time in the UK embodies a spirit of resistance. Alberti (2014: 6) pitches mobility as a 'terrain of agency and resistance for migrant workers in precarious employment', who strategize around their relatively disadvantaged positions in the labour market.

Melissa also wanted to work in the UK after her Tier-4 student visa expired:

By the time we almost graduate... I mean for the same... Hong Kong, the Hong Kong overseas students who are at the same year as me were trying to look for some jobs who can grant us visa. So I did apply [for] some, I think I applied like more than 20, but no reply obviously. It's really hard because... whenever, I

mean... most UK companies, they don't grant working visas for like Overseas [students], especially when you are not in the professional industry like pharmacists, like doctors, or like, I don't know... finance or something.

(Melissa, 25, Female, Hong Kong)

Melissa could not find work in England after graduating from the University of Leicester due to visa issues (PSW was unavailable, and the Tier-2 sponsored visa was hard to get) and returned to Hong Kong. She was looking for 'exciting opportunities' in London, where she could also live with her British boyfriend (of Hong Kong descent)⁶³, before starting a family. Melissa also recounted that more women travel on working holidays, in contrast to men, who 'have to think about their career, you know career path' – further showing the gendered patterns of YMS participation from Hong Kong. Overall, gendered patterns of youth mobility are also evident from the accounts of participants who were previously international students in the UK. In the final section of this chapter, I will examine participants' accounts that primarily featured career goals.

5.4.5 Career advancement

For some participants, the YMS visa is an opportunity to advance their career prospects, and this was especially true for male finance professionals from New Zealand who held the professional qualification of Chartered Accountant (CA). The existence of a global labour market and prospects for career development (Inkson & Myers, 2003) are the main motivations in their migration. The credentialed work and related occupational mobility for skilled professionals (Beaverstock & Smith, 1996; Conradson & Latham, 2005c; Yeoh & Huang, 2011) are only relevant for a few of the participants. All participants who used YMS for career advancement were also heterosexual men from Commonwealth countries.

Boris, a male New Zealander wanted to advance his career by obtaining overseas work experience in the UK. I talked to Boris at the British Library café, London. He denied permission to be recorded. I provide his account from field notes below.

Boris expressed an instrumental approach to YMS visa where he decided to make the move to London when things were not working out for him in New Zealand,

⁶³ Melissa's boyfriend (who was her colleague at British Council, Hong Kong) has a British passport since his father works for the British government and has been living in London for the past ten years.

despite holding CA professional qualification. He was working with the private client servicing industry soon after leaving university and was working as business advisor to banks and other clients in the retail industry. Later he joined a major media and entertainment firm for 1.5 years but was not happy with the roles. So, he 'quit the job and met friends and discussions led to the move to London'. Opportunities to explore Europe were important and so was career where 'lot of New Zealand finance professionals have work experience in the UK, so to compete with them it was the best to do this'

(Boris, 32, Male, New Zealand)

Boris, a middle-class New Zealander of Chinese descent, was keen on earning work experience in the UK and advancing his career. That way he could 'earn his stripes' in accounting profession by showing work experience. He was making close to £ 100,000 per annum by contracting financial services through the company he set up in London. He was also planning to go to Hong Kong and Canada in the future to gain experience from similar contracting services. He did not think gender played any role in travel and asserted that 'I don't think it matters if you are male or female'.

Similarly, Roger, a male New Zealander asserted 'I don't think it's a gender issue at all'. He wanted to travel Europe and 'get the overseas work experience' which is crucial to his profession.

I have always wanted to travel Europe. That was a key motivation, I think. Ermm... There is also the added benefit of, the experience you can get here as well. And I probably really haven't reflected on it until now but becoming a contractor, which is essentially the only option really that you have, when you're only here for two years (...) It's something I have never done before. But it's a good opportunity. It's you know...it's quite different, from being permanently employed and being quite settled. So, but you know it opens doors and give you exposure to, a lot of potentially different roles and learning new skills and that sort of thing. So, I think for professional development, it's quite good. (Roger, 31, Male, New Zealand)

Roger found himself doing different roles compared to 'being permanently employed and being quite settled', but the knowledge of it adding value to his professional development was important to him. Roger was also willing to break up with his girlfriend

of the time and had moved on with his life in London, setting up his company and contracting financial services and dating a Polish woman in London.

Another participant, Ajay, an Australian man (of Indian descent) revealed that familiarity of work opportunities in his field was the main reason he moved.

If your work offers you an opportunity, I think, I [it] would be quite safe to say that 9.9 out of 10 people will say 'Yes'[to YMS], because, now I don't have to worry about things... I just have to get on a flight and land there, I can get work, and get accustomed. So, people are much more comfortable with that sort. Yes, youth mobility visa is popular in the sense that it is very desired. But, very few people will actually go ahead with it. And I think for us, what I have noticed in my friends' circle is, when one of us did it, the rest of us did it. So, my friend who moved over, then I moved over, then another few friends, and now worst part is, we actually have no real British friends... we...pretty much all our friends here, are just our friends circle, from Australia, who are now in England.

(Ajay, 31, Male, Australia)

Like Boris and Roger, Ajay did not see gender norms as relevant to YMS participation, although believed the finance industry in Australia 'might be more [male] dominated, but I don't think it's based on gender...just the way it kind of works out'. However, Ajay's account also points to gendered, industry-specific friendship networks in temporary mobility. In contrast to these male participants, gendered constraints were mentioned by most of the women participants.

The importance of friendships and networks from New Zealand for participants on OE was highlighted by Conradson and Latham (2007). However, their finding was that friendships are important in 'organising and giving content' (2007: 301) to mobility, without being specific about opportunities for work and career advancement that may flow through gendered (male) industry-specific networks, and producing gendered mobility aligned with particular nationalities (Australia and New Zealand in this case). On a related note, Suoko, a Japanese male, came to the UK on the YMS visa to obtain the experience to later set up his company.

I will go back to Japan next February, and then I will found [set up] my company. It is a study abroad agency. Erm... So, I have a plan... to publish the... how do

I say? Do you know Manga? I am going to publish the Manga about studying in UK, or studying all over the world for Japanese people, because I want them to be interested in studying or working in other countries. And then, I will make a study abroad program, mainly studying in UK program for the Japanese university student (...) For example, if they want to study... Do you know social enterprise? If they want to study social enterprise, I will introduce them about the UK social enterprise and my friend can do that. Do you know, this is a place [London] for social entrepreneurs? So, I want them to experience the social enterprise and some kind of study they are interested in all, over the world. So, that means I want to globalise the Japanese people.

(Suoko, 29, Male, Japan)

Suoko had lived in London as a child along with his banker father, and was interested in gaining experience towards building his company. He had contacted one of his father's colleagues (a Japanese CEO in London), who told him about YMS visa, and the opportunity to be self-employed on the visa. Suoko's father's network enabled his subsequent career-related mobility to the UK, highlighting the salience of gendered (male), ethnic and industry-specific networks. Suoko's YMS experience was now going to form the building blocks to envisioning his study abroad company 'to globalise the Japanese people'.

Overall, in this section, I highlighted national identities and gender norms that pattern youth mobility on YMS visa. Most of the people who moved for reasons related to relationships are women, and those who moved for jobs are mostly men – showing gendered patterns of youth mobility on YMS visa. Similarly, the only person who broke up an existing relationship was a man, in contrast to women who never travelled/postponed travel due to male partners' disinterest in travel.

5.5 Conclusions

In this chapter, I sought to answer the thesis research question – 'Who accesses the YMS and how do they explain their motivations?'. To explicate the motivations of participants, I first identified national mobility imaginings that shape motivation. In doing so, I presented two sources of national mobility imaginings – historically rooted imaginaries and globalised imaginings. I also showed how mobility imaginings influence motivations of youth mobility.

The historic youth mobilities between the UK and Old Commonwealth was frequently mentioned by the participants from Australia, New Zealand and Canada, and a similar discourse of ‘belonging’ to Britain was discernible in the accounts of BNO passport-holders. The opening of youth mobility routes between the UK and East Asian countries drive imaginings centred on the contemporary state-led globalising world rather than the colonial past. The opportunities for youth mobility based on bilateral agreements between countries construct a rigid conception of ‘youth’ as between 18-30, in which motivations for youth mobility take shape along the lines of privilege arising out of nationality, ethnicity, class, gender, and historic-colonial mobilities.

YMS also presented examples of what I call a ‘gendered mobile field’ in youth mobility. The participants’ motivation of doing YMS before starting a family and the visa restrictions which prohibit the participants from having children highlight the importance of both the ‘reproductive sphere’ and ‘productive sphere’ in labour movements across countries (Yeoh et al., 2000: 154). The mobility of unaccompanied married women was rife with tensions regarding performing gender roles ascribed in their home cultural contexts. Gendered mobilities are also visible when their motivation to travel on the scheme closely relate to who can take up the opportunity to live abroad and travel before getting settled in their home country (Kato, 2010; Yeoh et al., 2000) rather than freedom and choice to explore themselves. However, the male participants from Old Commonwealth seemed to be freer in their choices, and especially successful in using the YMS to enhance their future careers. The gender-inflected motivations of East Asian participants revealed greater freedom for women due to the absence of career expectations on women in Japanese society.

Chapter 6

YMS Participants' Employment Patterns in London

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will mainly answer the following research question: 'What work do participants obtain and how do they access labour market opportunities?' I will also answer a component of another research question: 'What, if any, are the key differences between the participants with regard to work?' In this chapter, I also consider the significance of ethnic and nationality-based networks 'at-a-distance' (Elliot & Urry, 2010: 10) to YMS participants' strategies for finding jobs, something which is novel in approach. Although the literature on migrant labour highlights the importance of the social networks in destination countries which link local labour markets to the global circulation of labour (Poros, 2001; Ryan, et al., 2008; White & Ryan, 2008), existing research on working holidaymakers has not paid attention to the role of ethnic and nationality-based networks in participants' employment strategies nor how these channel them to specific kinds of jobs.

In the previous chapter, I discussed the participants' motivations, identifying differences between participants from the Old Commonwealth and East Asian countries as a crucial dimension of the overall picture. In this chapter, I will extend my discussion to how nationality and other differences relate to employment. I have shown in chapter 4 that, overall, YMS participants are relatively privileged in their mobility to the UK, by way of bilateral agreements with their home countries, as compared to other PBS migrants⁶⁴, giving them relatively free access to the UK labour market. What we also find, however,

⁶⁴ This can be seen through two levels: YMS participants fall under Tier-5 of the UK points-based system (PBS). Every other Tier-5 category mandates a sponsor, for whom the prospective migrant is expected to work for, with little movement permitted in the labour market. Tier-4 students (another group that have temporary rights to residence) are permitted to work, although are restricted to 20 hours per week during term time. Similarly, Tier-2 (most prominent work category for non-EU nationals) specify strict sponsor guidelines for working rights and subsequent settlement.

is that a significant proportion of the Old Commonwealth participants enjoy better employment opportunities⁶⁵, as compared to East Asian participants.

To understand the variations in employment outcomes among my relatively privileged sample I will draw from Benson's (2015) approach to privilege to identify hierarchies of privilege that shape participants' strategies to obtain work. YMS participants' privilege is in turn shaped by what Benson (2015: 23) calls 'global asymmetries of power'. Building on Vered Amit's focus on 'hierarchies of status and privilege' (Amit, 2007), Benson argues that privilege must be understood through 'the recognition that it is contextual, influenced by situational, relational and historical contingencies' (Benson, 2015: 23).

Gender-inflected hierarchies of privilege are manifest in participants' disparate access to historically established, predominantly white, networks in the UK that cater to temporary migration on a working holiday. These networks reflect the positive 'social valuation' of migrants from particular countries, based on Britain's past colonial links with some of the participating countries. Consequently, I argue that the labour market experiences of YMS participants on the scheme are polarised along the lines of nationality, gender, race, ethnicity and first language. While at first it appears that being on a two-year visa with similar restrictions is an equaliser among participants; it quickly becomes apparent that this is too simplistic. The respondents repeatedly asserted that the limited visa restricted to two years is a big disadvantage for them in the labour market, but the result is that they then have to depend on co-ethnic employers, become self-employed, or take up jobs way below their educational qualifications, leading to big differences in their employment outcomes.

This chapter is divided into four main sections. In the following section (6.2), I discuss three concepts that I will be deploying: 'temporariness' (Robertson, 2014), 'network capital' (Elliot & Urry, 2010) and 'racialised gendering' (Brah, 1993). 'Temporariness' is a concept drawn from research on similar working holiday arrangements in Australia that seeks to capture crucial constraints on the work lives of the participants. I then critically review the concept of 'network capital' to help set up my later argument that network capital mediates analytically and historically prior forms of privilege, including

⁶⁵ Understood in this thesis as either jobs commensurate with qualifications or/and guaranteed job on arrival.

‘race’, ethnicity, language, and historic mobilities, in terms of my participants’ labour market experiences. I will also use the concept ‘racialised gendering’, which was coined to understand the labour market experiences of ‘young Muslim women of Pakistani origin’ in Britain (Brah, 1993: 441), but which also appears applicable to the gendered experiences of YMS participants.

In the second section (6.3) I present an overview of the industries and occupations in which the young adults are employed, showing that this is clearly patterned along lines of nationality and gender. The third section (6.4) uses the participants’ own accounts to explore possible reasons for this patterning, showing how the job roles and industry participation are mediated by nationality, first language and racialized gender. In the fourth section (6.5), I analyse the strategies adopted by the participants to access paid work which result in different outcomes: the channels and social networks they use in the context of ‘temporariness’ (Robertson, 2014). Finally, I will conclude by bringing the concepts of ‘network capital’ (Elliot & Urry, 2010) and temporariness (Robertson, 2014) to bear on these strategies to identify hierarchies of privilege in YMS participants’ labour market participation in London.

6.2 ‘Temporariness’, ‘network capital’ and ‘racialised gendering’

One thing my participants have in common is their limited visa period of two years, which can be understood through the concept of ‘temporariness’ (Robertson, 2014). Shanti Robertson has done extensive research into student migration and forms of work taken up by those on student, temporary graduate worker (TGW) and working holidaymaker (WHM) visas in Australia. She argues that ‘temporariness’ is a ‘disciplinary practice of the state’ (Robertson, 2014: 1917) which distinguishes among migrants and their access to employment. Primarily, ‘temporariness’ can illuminate the temporal constraints that shape the boundaries of youth mobility in YMS visa. It is already well known that temporary status affects migrants’ opportunities in the host country labour market (Mountz et al., 2002, Goldring & Landolt, 2011 cited in Robertson, 2014: 1918). What Robertson’s concept does is to argue that ‘temporariness’ as a disciplinary practice affects participants’ overall experience as migrants – highlighting the processes that filter “desirable” and “non-desirable” migrant subjects

at the point of eligibility’ and ensure their ‘differential inclusion within the labour market’ (Robertson, 2014: 1928-1929)

Robertson (2014: 1924) found that WHM visa holders in Australia were denied jobs outright by employers when they tried for professional roles. However, their status could be due to the specificities of WHM visa requirements in Australia, which limit participants to work with one employer for no more than six months. The evidence from my research, discussed in section 6.3 below, partially confirms Robertson’s finding that employers reject applicants based on their visa status. However, I will show that some of my participants could get professional work, which requires further explanation. It is in this context that I see their disparate access to ‘network capital’ and its mediation of pre-existing power relations as important, enabling some young adults to navigate ‘temporariness’ in the UK more successfully than others.

The concept of ‘network capital’ evolved in the mobilities literature, where possession of it is seen to promote unrestricted mobility – equated ‘normatively’ with advantage (Martin, 2017: 2). In *Mobile Lives*, Elliot and Urry (2010) argue that ‘network capital’ supports mobility:

Network capital is a fundamental aspect of current social processes and lies at the core of generating novel experiences in distant places and with others at-a-distance (Elliot & Urry, 2010: 10).

They identify eight core elements of ‘the constitution and reproduction of network capital’ (Elliot & Urry, 2010: 10) which I broadly classify as ‘material possessions’ and ‘immaterial connections’. The material possessions are things like ‘documents, visas, money, qualifications’ and ‘communication devices’ (Elliot & Urry, 2010: 10). The immaterial connections are ‘others (workmates, friends and family members) at-a-distance’, ‘movement capacities in relationship to the environment’, ‘location-free information and contact points’, ‘appropriate, safe and secure meeting places’, ‘access to car, road space, fuel, lifts, aircraft, trains, ships, taxis, buses, trams, min(i)buses, email account, internet, telephone’, ‘time and other resources’ (Elliot & Urry, 2010: 10-11).

Citing Urry (2007), Fran Martin (2017: 2) argues that the concept of network capital was constructed as a replacement for Robert Putnam’s (2000) concept of social capital, as better suited for analysing the connections of people who are on the move. However, my

reading suggests that elements of ‘network capital’ in fact derive from Bourdieu’s concept of social capital, as one of several forms of capital:

Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 119)

Similar to Bourdieu’s emphasis on networks (‘durable networks’ to be exact), Urry argues that ‘to have high network capital is to join a field of expanding networks (...)’ (Elliot & Urry, 2010: 11). However, the premise that ‘network capital’ confers power on individuals is problematic. Jaume Franquesa (2011: 1016) argues that such a premise is tautological:

In a rather tautological way, therefore, mobility and power become interchangeable: the powerful are mobile and the mobile are powerful; power confers mobility, and mobility confers power.

In a similar vein, Martin (2017) also makes a case for moving away from simplistic assumptions that equate ‘mobility’ with advantage. I will build on these critiques to argue from my data, later in the chapter, that ‘network capital’ is not powerful on its own, rather it mediates existing power relations flowing from already existing forms of advantage, including ‘race’, first language and perceived common histories. In doing so, I assert that ‘network capital’ alone is unable to account for patterns of inequality amongst my YMS participants, who, despite their relatively privileged mobility, fall into the category of “‘middling’ forms of transnationalism”(Conradson & Latham, 2005b: 229). I argue instead that the networks that allow people to accrue advantage are strongly linked to pre-existing forms of power, and thereby return to Bourdieu’s understanding of social capital as ‘exclusionary’ (Gauntlett, 2011: 3). I will return to discussing ‘network capital’ later in this chapter (section 6.5) when I discuss strategies used by participants in accessing the London labour market.

I also bring in the concept of ‘racialised gendering’ (Brah, 1993: 441) to understand the ‘intersections between gender, class, ethnicity, racism, religion and other axes of differentiations’ (Brah, 1993: 441) in the London labour market. Avtar Brah (1993) is particularly attentive to the ‘social representations’ that ‘construct “Muslim woman” as

a racialised category' (1993: 443). Further, she focusses on how 'stereotypes might serve to structure their position in the labour market' (Brah, 1993: 443). Thus, a focus on 'social representations' and 'stereotypes' that construct migrant labour, in turn, demonstrate 'processes whereby labour markets become racially gendered' (Brah, 1993: 443).

Secondly, she argues that one must also be attentive to how women 'reinforce or contest' discourses that represent and stereotype them in the labour market (Brah, 1993: 443), demonstrating the dynamic and interconnected ways in which 'racialised gendering' takes place. Drawing on insights from Brah's study, I highlight the 'interconnectedness of the macro and micro' spheres in understanding contemporary labour markets that are both racialised and gendered (Brah, 1993: 442). In doing so, I argue that 'racialised gendering' enables a fruitful analysis of the sources of privilege that differentiate employment outcomes for young men and women on YMS visas in London.

Having outlined the concepts that I use in this chapter, in the next section, I identify the industries and jobs of the young men and women, showing that they are clearly patterned along the lines of nationality, gender, and first language.

6.3 Work lives: industries and occupations

In this section, I provide a broad-brush picture to show where YMS participants found jobs, and how this corresponds to differences between them in terms of nationality, and gender. As will be seen there is a fair amount of disparity between the 12 participants from Old Commonwealth and the participants from East Asia. Although there is an overlap when it comes to having to settle for low-skilled jobs below their qualifications, the 17 East Asian participants are much more concentrated in such jobs. While 10 out of the 12 Old Commonwealth participants obtained jobs commensurate with their qualifications, only 6 out of the 17 East Asian participants got jobs that matched their qualifications. The gender dimension of job attainment is more complicated, and I will discuss it in more detail in Section 6.4.

I will start by identifying the spread of participants' jobs across twelve of the 21 industries listed in the UK Standard Industrial Classification (SIC 2007)⁶⁶ to identify the industry patterns evident in the sample. Further, I use the UK Standard Occupational Classification (SOC 2010)⁶⁷ to classify the jobs performed by respondents. I will also be linking the occupations to the skill-level demanded of them, using the UK's National Qualification Framework⁶⁸ (NQF) to identify the lower-skilled and higher-skilled jobs performed by the participants.

Figure 6.1 (overleaf) displays the breakdown in the total number of jobs (54 in total) and corresponding industries of the participants. Employment experience for my sample respondents is itself a 'mobile field', with several jobs taken up during their duration on YMS visa, which averaged 12 months at the time of the interview. Three participants reported a total of four jobs; seven participants reported a total of three jobs, five participants reported a total of two jobs, with just 11 participants reporting only one job. Perhaps not surprisingly, those in better paid work that is commensurate with their qualifications tend to stick to one occupation and industry, while others are more mobile between and within industries over time. However, at the time of the interview, three were unemployed, having been unable to find a job they were willing to accept. All three of them had been in London on the YMS scheme for less than three months.

Fig 6.1 shows that more jobs are found in Accommodation and Food Service activities than in any other industry, with a total of 15 of the 54 jobs held by participants over the course of their time in YMS up to the time of the interview. These 15 jobs were held by 10 people. Jobs in accommodation and food service activities are mostly work deemed unskilled or semi-skilled in hotels, hostels, bars, and cafes. Shanti Robertson's concept of 'temporariness' (2014) helps to explain YMS participants' concentration in low-paid jobs with high labour-turnover rates.

⁶⁶<https://www.ons.gov.uk/methodology/classificationsandstandards/ukstandardindustrialclassification/economicactivities/ukasic2007>

⁶⁷<https://www.ons.gov.uk/methodology/classificationsandstandards/standardoccupationalclassification/soc/soc2010/soc2010volume2thestructureandcodingindex>

⁶⁸https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/423732/codes_of_practice_april_2015.pdf

In having to depend on these low-paid jobs, YMS participants resemble other migrants. Jon May and her colleagues argue that migrant workers occupy ‘60 per cent of jobs in London’s hotels and restaurants’ (May et al., 2007: 155). They argue that minimal welfare provision and restrictive immigration policies ensure a polarisation of jobs in the London labour market, with foreign-born workers disproportionately in the low-paid jobs. However, there is an assumption that low-paid workers in unskilled jobs in London have migrated from the global south (to what Sassen (2001) calls ‘global cities’) whereas all the YMS participants come from countries of the global north.

The second largest industry for participants was professional, scientific and technical activities (seven jobs, held by five individuals), dominated by chartered accountants and financial management professionals. The jobs in administrative and support services, the third largest sector for the participants (six jobs, held by six individuals), were also diverse. However, most of the jobs they performed can be classified as lower-skilled (travel agents, customer service, receptionists). An equal number of jobs were also performed in information communication. Between 1 and 5 participants were distributed between the other industries listed in Figure 6.1.

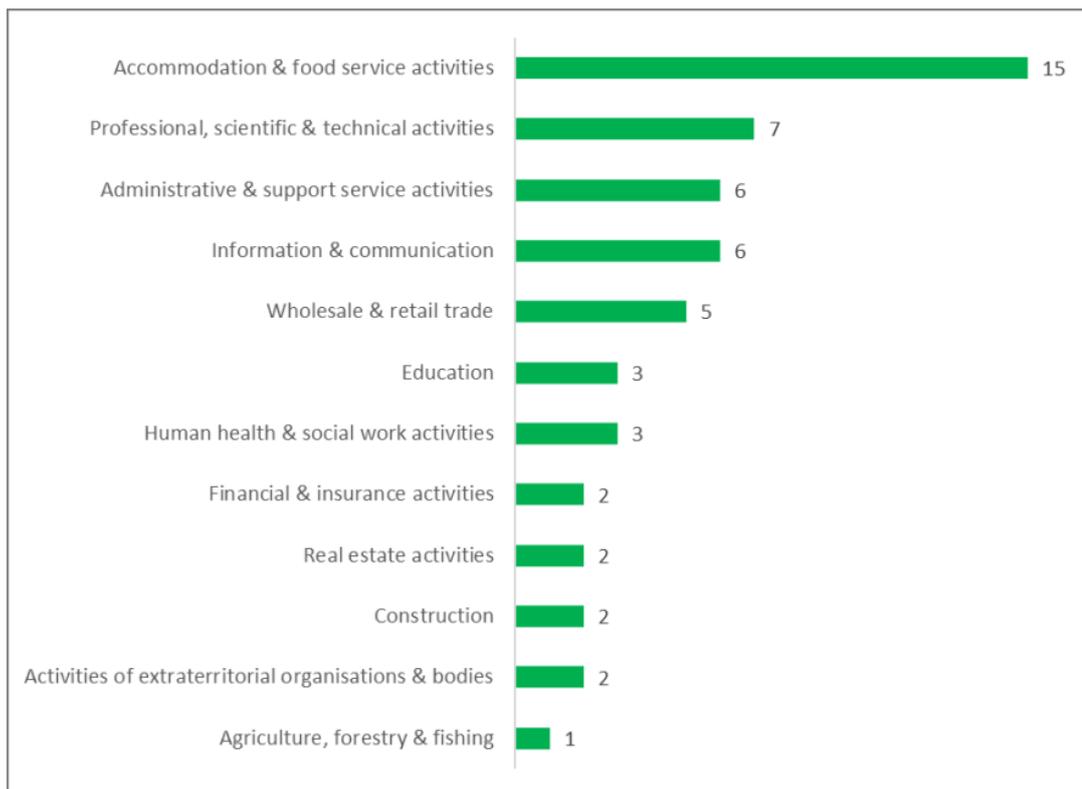


Figure 6.1: Total number of jobs taken up by participants categorised by industry

Although participants are spread across many industries, participants from different national backgrounds are more or less concentrated in particular industries. Figure 6.2 shows how participants from Old Commonwealth and East Asian countries are distributed between the industries listed in Figure 6.1. It shows that accommodation and food service activities have high level of participation from both Old Commonwealth and East Asia.

However, there are considerable differences in other industries, with participants from East Asia concentrated in administrative and support services, information and communication, wholesale and retail trade, and activities of extra-territorial organisations. On the other hand, Old Commonwealth participants are concentrated in professional, scientific and technical activities, real estate activities, human health and social work, and agricultural, forestry and fishing.

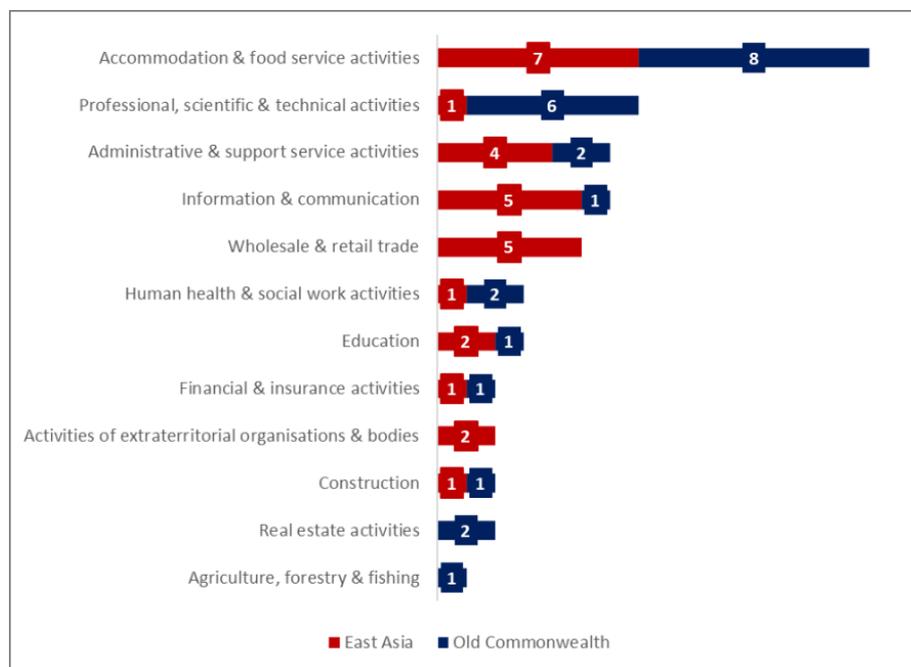


Figure 6.2: Total number of jobs performed by participants, divided along industry & their region of origin

We also need to note that when we look at actual jobs, this shows an even greater disparity between participants from Old Commonwealth and East Asia. Fig. 6.3 shows how the jobs are divided, according to the NQF framework of skill levels. Out of the total 54 jobs, only 10 are to be found in the top category of NQF 6, and eight of these jobs were done by Old Commonwealth participants. Fig. 6.3 also shows that YMS participants are largely concentrated in casual and lower-skilled jobs. This finding is consistent with Robertson’s study of student-workers and tourist-workers (working

holidaymakers being prominent in this group) which found that ‘casualised, informal and low-skilled work is the most common source of employment’ (Robertson, 2016: 2276). Similarly, Kathleen Rice has also demonstrated that Canadian youth on a working holiday in Edinburgh took up ‘low-paid, low-skilled work’, although she claimed the decision to take up temporary, low-skilled work among working holidaymakers was a matter of choice to facilitate their extended travels (Rice, 2010: 37). Another possible explanation is offered by Robertson (2016; 2014), who argued that student workers and tourist workers desired to take up jobs commensurate with their qualification, but were not able to, due to temporal visa restrictions.

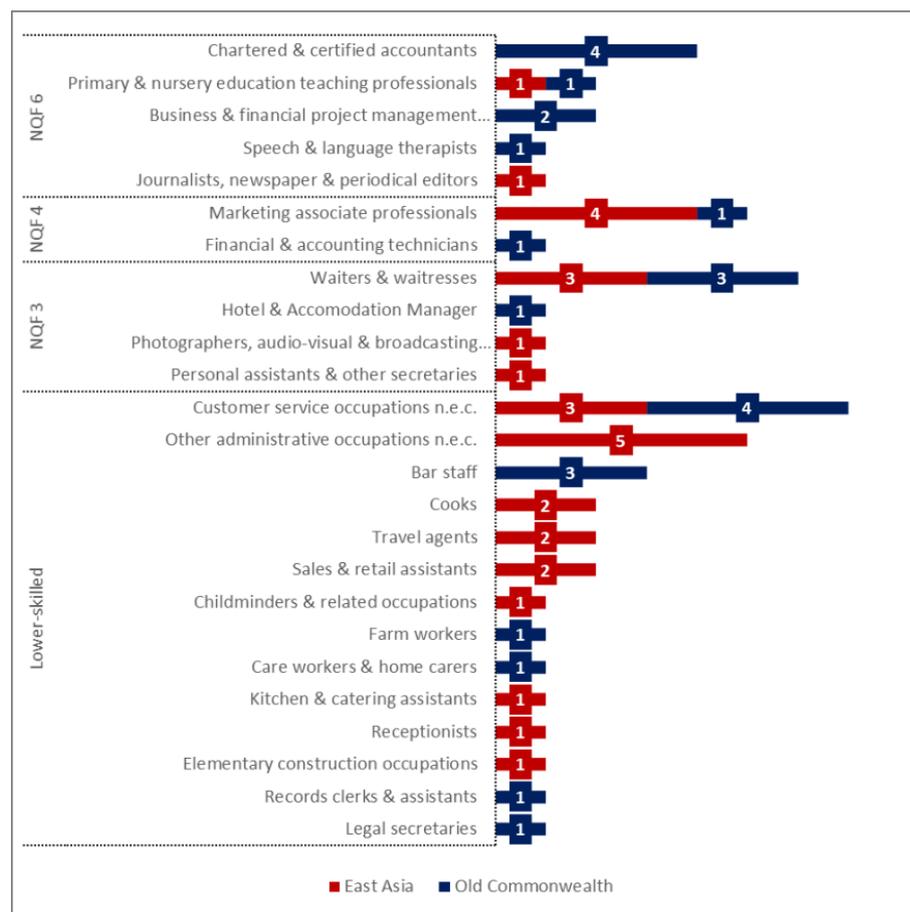


Figure 6.3: Total number of jobs and corresponding skill levels, divided along region of origin

Figure 6.3 also shows that some participants hold higher skilled jobs in NQF 6, but that these are monopolised by Old Commonwealth participants. As we go down the table we can see that participants from East Asia are more concentrated in low-skill jobs. How this disparity should be explained will be discussed at length in later sections (6.4. and 6.5). There are several possibilities: race and ethnicity (as suggested by Robertson 2016), first language, and participants’ access to network capital.

In the concluding discussion of this section, I will show how gender shapes the labour market participation of my respondents. In the following figures (Fig 6.4 and Fig. 6.5) I show how the industry-occupation pattern is distributed differently by gender of the participants. Fig 6.4 shows clear gender-concentration of jobs, in which men performed 8 out of the 10 higher-skilled jobs in NQF 6. Contrastingly, women performed 21 out of the 28 lower-skilled jobs.

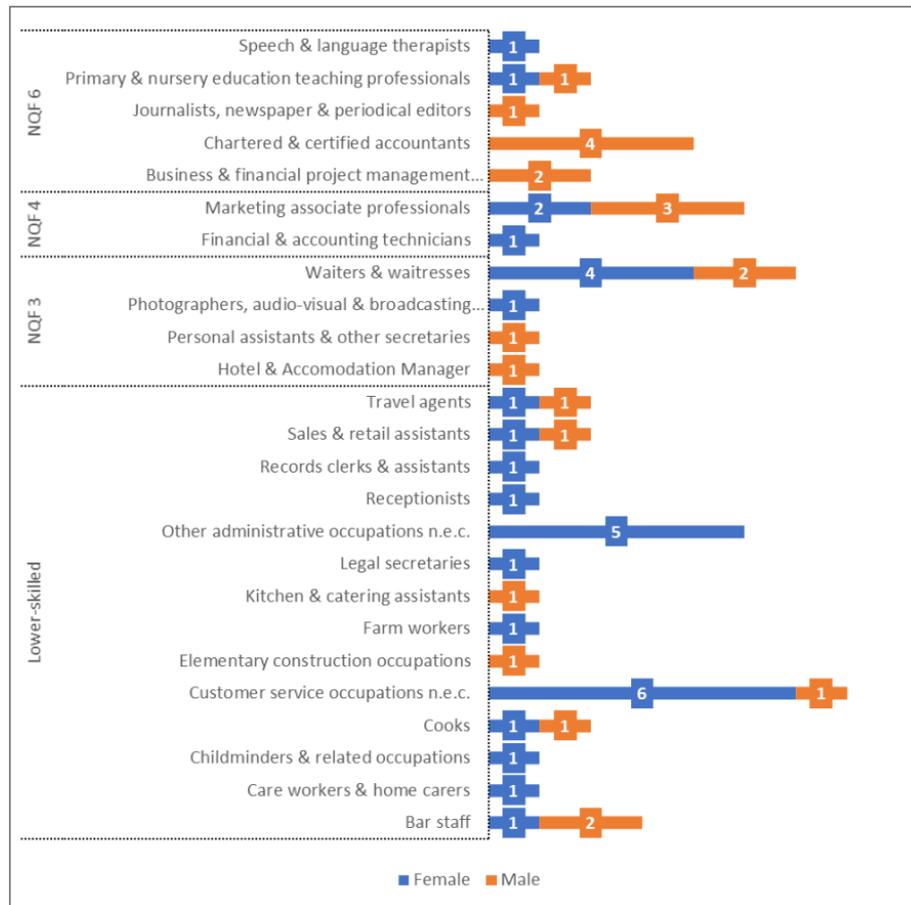


Figure 6.4: Total jobs and corresponding skill levels, disaggregated by gender of the job holders

There are also big differences in the occupations (in Fig 6.4), with NQF 6-classified finance and accounting jobs (chartered accountants, business, and financial project management) entirely taken up by men. Occupations classified under NQF 4 and NQF 3 show similar levels of participation from men and women, although significantly vary on the job roles, with a higher proportion of women as waiting staff. When we move down the chart (in Fig 6.4), it becomes clear that some occupations are exclusively done by women – care workers, childminders, farm workers, legal secretaries, other administrative occupations, record clerks and assistants, and receptionists. In the next

Fig (6.5) below, I show the industry breakdown of jobs done by participants, disaggregated by gender.

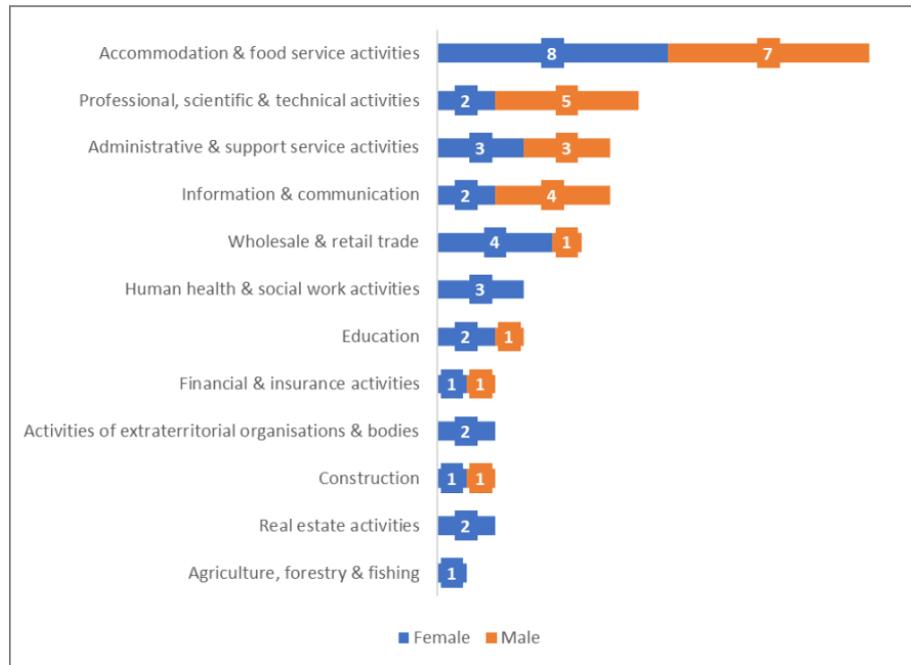


Figure 6.5: Industry breakdown of jobs, disaggregated by gender

Fig 6.5 shows distinct gendered patterns in YMS participants' industry participation, in which women have higher participation in accommodation and food services, wholesale and retail trade, human health and social work, education, activities of extraterritorial organisations, real estate activities and agriculture, forestry and fishing. Contrastingly, men concentrated in professional, scientific and technical activities, and information and communication. Upon comparing Fig 6.3, 6.4 it also becomes clear that lower-skilled jobs of customer service and other administrative jobs are largely performed by women from East Asia. These figures show overlap between nationality and gender – making a case for the operation of racialized gender (which I will discuss in section 6.4.3).

6.4 National, racialised and gendered segregation in employment

In this section, I will draw on participants' accounts to explore some possible explanations of the distribution of East Asian and Old Commonwealth participants into different jobs. But I begin by providing a detailed table (Table 6.1) showing all jobs and industries in which participants found work, disaggregated by nationality and gender, to make the discussion easier to follow.

Old Commonwealth					
Country	Gender	Pseudonym	Job No.	Industry	Job
Australia	Male	Peter	1	Accommodation & food service activities	Bar staff
			2	Information & communication	Marketing associate professionals
			3	Accommodation & food service activities	Bar staff
	Female	Ajay	1	Financial & insurance activities	Business & financial project management professionals
			2	Professional, scientific & technical activities	Business & financial project management professionals
			1	Human health & social work activities	Speech & language therapists
		Raisa	1	Administrative & support service activities	Customer service occupations n.e.c.
			2	Accommodation & food service activities	Waiters & waitresses
			3	Human health & social work activities	Care workers & home carers
4	Accommodation & food service activities	Bar staff			
Canada	Male	Dennis	1	Accommodation & food service activities	Waiters & waitresses
			2	Accommodation & food service activities	Hotel & Accomodation Manager
			1	Administrative & support service activities	Customer service occupations n.e.c.
	Female	Rose	1	Unemployed	Unemployed
			1	Accommodation & food service activities	Waiters & waitresses
		Sandra	2	Real estate activities	Customer service occupations n.e.c.
			3	Real estate activities	Financial & accounting technicians
			4	Construction	Records clerks & assistants
New Zealand	Male	Boris	1	Professional, scientific & technical activities	Chartered & certified accountants
			2	Professional, scientific & technical activities	Chartered & certified accountants
			3	Professional, scientific & technical activities	Chartered & certified accountants
	Female	Roger	1	Professional, scientific & technical activities	Chartered & certified accountants
			1	Accommodation & food service activities	Customer service occupations n.e.c.
		Minita	2	Agriculture, forestry & fishing	Farm workers
			3	Professional, scientific & technical activities	Legal secretaries
Jane	1	Education	Primary & nursery education teaching professionals		
East Asia					
Country	Gender	Pseudonym	Job No.	Industry	Job
Hong Kong	Male	Donein	1	Accommodation & food service activities	Cooks
			2	Wholesale & retail trade	Sales & retail assistants
			3	Accommodation & food service activities	Waiters & waitresses
	Female	Cheryl	1	Accommodation & food service activities	Waiters & waitresses
			2	Accommodation & food service activities	Customer service occupations n.e.c.
			3	Education	Other administrative occupations n.e.c.
		Jianah	1	Wholesale & retail trade	Sales & retail assistants
			1	Accommodation & food service activities	Waiters & waitresses
			2	Wholesale & retail trade	Customer service occupations n.e.c.
3	Wholesale & retail trade	Customer service occupations n.e.c.			
Japan	Male	Suoko	1	Information & communication	Marketing associate professionals
			2	Information & communication	Marketing associate professionals
			1	Administrative & support service activities	Travel agents
	Female	Mayoso	1	Wholesale & retail trade	Other administrative occupations n.e.c.
			1	Administrative & support service activities	Travel agents
		Moina	2	Financial & insurance activities	Other administrative occupations n.e.c.
			1	Administrative & support service activities	Receptionists
Korea	Male	Pong	1	Unemployed	Unemployed
			1	Activities of extraterritorial organisations & bodies	Other administrative occupations n.e.c.
			2	Professional, scientific & technical activities	Marketing associate professionals
	Female	Hannah	3	Information & communication	Marketing associate professionals
			1	Activities of extraterritorial organisations & bodies	Other administrative occupations n.e.c.
Taiwan	Male	Adrian	1	Construction	Elementary construction occupations
			1	Accommodation & food service activities	Kitchen & catering assistants
			2	Information & communication	Journalists, newspaper & periodical editors
		Harry	3	Administrative & support service activities	Personal assistants & other secretaries
			4	Education	Primary & nursery education teaching professionals
	Female	Dai	1	Unemployed	Unemployed
			1	Accommodation & food service activities	Cooks
		Anna	2	Human health & social work activities	Childminders & related occupations
			1	Information & communication	Photographers, audio-visual & broadcasting equipment operators

Table 6.1 YMS participants' industrial and occupational participation divided by gender & nationality

In this section, I show that Old Commonwealth participants from Australia, Canada and New Zealand (including non-white individuals) enjoy much greater access to relatively well-paid jobs commensurate with their highest qualification, despite none of them having UK educational qualifications. They were granted privilege through recognition in the UK of their degrees and professional qualifications, which can be attributed to the 'legacy of colonial ties with Britain' and the similarity of university systems in the Old Commonwealth and Britain (Conradson & Latham, 2005a: 293). Similar claims about recognition of overseas educational qualifications, often also understood as the 'compatibility' of professional qualifications between countries, benefit some migrants

over others (Helleiner, 2015). As discussed clearly by Helleiner (2015), in the case of the Canadian immigration system, the claims about similar systems of education and recognition of overseas qualifications are largely also used to mask the racialising aspects of contemporary immigration control. In this way, the racialised privilege of belonging to a white-settler society looks to be more relevant for my participants than individual 'race'/ethnicity itself, which Benson (2015: 23) highlights, in understanding what she calls the 'localized- inflections' of privilege. I say this in part because the Old Commonwealth participants included two individuals from minority ethnic backgrounds who enjoyed the same access to better jobs as their compatriots. The participants reaped the benefit of historic mobilities and established networks between their countries and the UK, which I discuss later.

In contrast, participants from Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Korea often held lower-skilled jobs despite having a post-graduate degree and professional qualifications in teaching, nursing, architecture and industrial product design. They were also more likely to have a UK university qualification when compared to those from Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. Their disadvantaged positions in the labour market contrasts with the evidence from an earlier study of youth mobility (on OE), which found a correlation between their participants' levels of qualifications and the jobs they obtained. Conradson & Latham (2007: 234) found a direct correlation between participants' higher qualifications, largely understood as 'some form of tertiary education' and their obtaining skilled, professional jobs in the UK. Interestingly, all the East Asian participants in my study were university educated and a significant proportion of them also held post-graduate qualifications from the UK. However, they still ended up taking up casual employment in hotels, pubs and restaurants in London – similar to the jobs that Conradson and Latham (2007: 234) identified as jobs that were done mainly by younger New Zealand youth who had not yet obtained tertiary education and lacked much work experience. The East Asian participants were doing jobs well below their qualifications, whereas several of the participants from the Old Commonwealth who did low-paid jobs did not have the high qualifications of either some of their compatriots or of the East Asian participants. For instance, although Australian respondents reported five different lower-skilled jobs, three of the jobs were done by participants with only high school qualifications. Similarly, one of the Canadian respondents who worked as customer support agent in a call centre (lower-skilled work) did not even have a school-leaving certificate and had been doing similar jobs at home in Canada.

In contrast, first language, racialised gender, and differential access to various forms of network capital all play a part in locating East Asian participants in lower-skilled jobs throughout their time on the visa, or in making it harder for them to obtain better jobs. This is generally because having been unable to obtain jobs commensurate with their qualifications, they fall back on their language skills or racialised appearance to obtain jobs where these are advantages. Sometimes this means working in ethnic or foreign owned businesses, but they also sometimes work in mainstream businesses which need people to talk to customers in Asian languages. Hence, the pattern of East Asian jobs does not fit neatly into the categories of ethnic enclave, i.e. businesses owned by members of ethnic groups which are segregated by locality. Although some of the employers of the East Asians operate within an ethnic economy, not all of them do (discussed later in 6.4.2). First, I will discuss how nationality shapes participants' job destinations in London.

6.4.1 Nationality and job destinations

Nationality makes a big difference in the skill level of jobs that participants were employed in, and this was shown earlier in Fig 6.3. The most successful individuals, in terms of finding a job that matched their qualifications upon entering the UK, are those from the Old Commonwealth. Boris and Roger, both from New Zealand, were contracting their services as Chartered accountants. Similarly, Ajay, from Australia, was contracting his services as a finance director. Kate from Australia worked as an NHS speech therapist and Jane from New Zealand worked as a supply teacher.

An example of the employment pattern of one of these participants who were successful in obtaining well-paid work is Boris, a CA-qualified professional from New Zealand, who started his own financial services company in London, and was contracting out his services to media clients. When I met him, he was providing accountancy services, as a chartered accountant, for a mainstream media company⁶⁹. He was initially coy about his income, but as I noted in my fieldwork diary (he did not give permission for our interview to be recorded), it eventually became clear that he was a high-earner:

⁶⁹ He preferred that I refrain from mentioning the name of the company.

Boris was not sure about telling me the exact income and the money he was making. This was also the part of the interview where he thought the most. He enquired if his friend whom I had spoken to and was also in the same field as him told me his income. I informed him that his friend was rather discrete about it, so he kept mulling over it and then said ‘but I want to tell you’. He added that it was better to get the day rate since with the project rate you end up incurring more taxes. He started saying: till £4000 no taxes, till £10000- 10%, 10,000-20,000-20%, 20000-30000-30% and 30000-40000-40% taxes, so at one point of time he could earn more than £50000 which meant that he was liable to pay the 40% tax. He was clearly not happy with it and said that a lot got lost in tax.

(Field note at British Library cafe, Boris, 32, Male, New Zealand, Chartered accountant)

Boris is a middle-class New Zealander of Chinese descent; his father was born in New Zealand and his mother was born in China. He knew friends and colleagues who had gained the UK work experience after getting their CA qualification. It was clear that he was not disadvantaged by his ethnicity, and instead, was familiar with opportunities for overseas work for New Zealanders in the UK. Roger, another contractor from New Zealand, mentioned the ‘good reputation’ enjoyed by New Zealand accountants in the UK, and, like Boris, noting his familiarity with overseas work:

I have been told by various recruiters...and...mostly recruiters that New Zealand accountants have a good reputation in the UK. So, that’s obviously a good thing. It helps.

(Roger, 31, Male, New Zealand, Chartered accountant)

Roger had also set up his own company and asserted that his experience in the UK was good for ‘professional development’, which in his opinion ‘opens doors and gives you exposure’. Similarly, Ajay, an Australian man of Indian descent, relied on his familiarity with the London labour market to secure work, via his experience in banking and finance and through friends who had worked in London:

I mean coming from a banking and finance perspective [in Australia], I knew that the sector is doing really well... markets [are] doing well and it will be easy for me to get a job and top of that I will be so high on travel and then I can make extensive travel plans. (Ajay, 31, Male, Australia, Finance director)

Ajay and his other Australian friends on YMS visa were doing extremely well in terms of their income. At one point, he remarked: ‘we have all generally found that we are pretty much paying off our mortgages before we go back home to Australia’. The above accounts by Boris, Roger and Ajay demonstrate how ‘localized-inflections’ of privilege (Benson, 2015: 23) in the UK (specifically London) are evident in some participants’ employment outcomes.

However, not all Old Commonwealth participants have higher skilled jobs. Four of the 12 Old Commonwealth participants had jobs with skill levels similar to the jobs that East Asian participants had obtained. For instance, Raisa and Peter, from Australia worked in lower-skilled jobs. Peter worked as bartender and Raisa worked as a personal carer. In her spare time, she bartended on luxury boats. Minita, a New Zealander woman, worked as a legal secretary and Matt, a Canadian man, worked as call-centre staff. All these jobs are classified as lower-skill in the NQF discussed earlier. For instance, Raisa worked as a carer for a quadriplegic patient. It was however clear that her nationality presented her with advantages in the labour market.

The care agency I work with now... they actually prefer hiring like Aussies and Kiwis.. apparently, we are bit more friendly and outgoing..

(Raisa, 24, Female, Australia, Personal carer)

Raisa earned day rates for her care job, which she thought was well-paid:

With the care agency, it is pretty good – I get a daily rate. I started off at £75 and now with the pay rises and stuff its gone up to 90... so not too bad.

Despite being in a job which the NQF categorises as lower-skill, Raisa was able to get ‘pretty good’ pay for her educational qualifications, using her nationality. Her account demonstrates the ‘intertwining of whiteness (inseparable from nationality)’ (Benson, 2015: 23) in shaping Kiwi and Aussie identity as ‘friendly and outgoing’– shaping differential privilege in lower-skilled jobs.

Some East Asians also used their national identities to get jobs, although they were relegated to lower-paid and more exploitative working environments. For example, Ji-Hu worked for a Korean government-owned organisation in London. According to her, ‘temporariness’ of YMS visa, pushed her into lower-paid employment that often took advantage of her skills:

I am feel [feeling] like some Korean companies are taking advantage from us. (...) They know, that we have a two year visa, and that is enough to teach people and make them work for them.

(Ji-Hu, Female, 25, Korea, Administrative staff)

Ji-Hu also gave possible reasons why East Asian participants who may have lacked English language proficiency end up in low-paid jobs:

You know. They are not ready to give me visa after work. But they are still want to use us with less salary. Many people went to work for in that kind of conditions, to the workers. Because of the language maybe.

(Ji-Hu, 25, Female, Korea, Administrative staff)

A possible explanation for participants' disadvantage thus emerged to be language. For instance, Dai, who completed his MA (Interior design) in the UK, could not obtain any jobs that matched his qualifications.

It's just hard to find a job here now, because all Europeans wants to find a job here. There are more opportunity for them, and they don't need visa... So, even I got a two-years of visa, but I still think it's hard because I speak Mandarin, and probably English is not good as the other European. And they don't need to apply visa for them, so it's still hard for us... even [though] I got two-years visa.

(Dai, 26, Male, Taiwan, Unemployed)

Dai's account links his insecurity about what he says is his 'probably' lower proficiency of English language with his reduced prospects in getting a job. He also compares himself to Europeans, who he thinks are more advantaged in getting a job.

To summarise, it is clear that there are significant differences in job prospects and job participation of respondents based on national identities. First language also features in their accounts as an important aspect of their identity that may be adding to the constraints that they face in the labour market. I will discuss first language as an important parameter for differences in employment outcomes in the next sub-section.

6.4.2 First language and ethnic economies

In the earlier sub-section, I showed that there are significant differences in participants' jobs prospects and job participation based on national identities. In this section, I will show how there is also a relationship between national origin, first language and working in what has been termed the 'ethnic economy'⁷⁰. Light, Sabagh, Bozorgmehr and Der-Martirsian (1993, cited in Fong & Ooka, 2002: 134) suggest that 'an ethnic economy refers to all ethnic-owned business firms and their co-ethnic personnel irrespective of geographical location'. By this they mean that the enterprise does not need to be in a geographic location with high concentration of businesses owned by minority ethnic communities, instead, focussing on the 'co-ethnic nature of the working environment and its business activities' (Fong & Ooka, 2002: 134). Accordingly, I have classified respondents as participating in ethnic economy when they informed of working for co-ethnic employers, alongside co-ethnic co-workers. Fig 6.6 shows a total of 16 jobs performed in ethnic economy and a total of 38 jobs in mainstream economy.

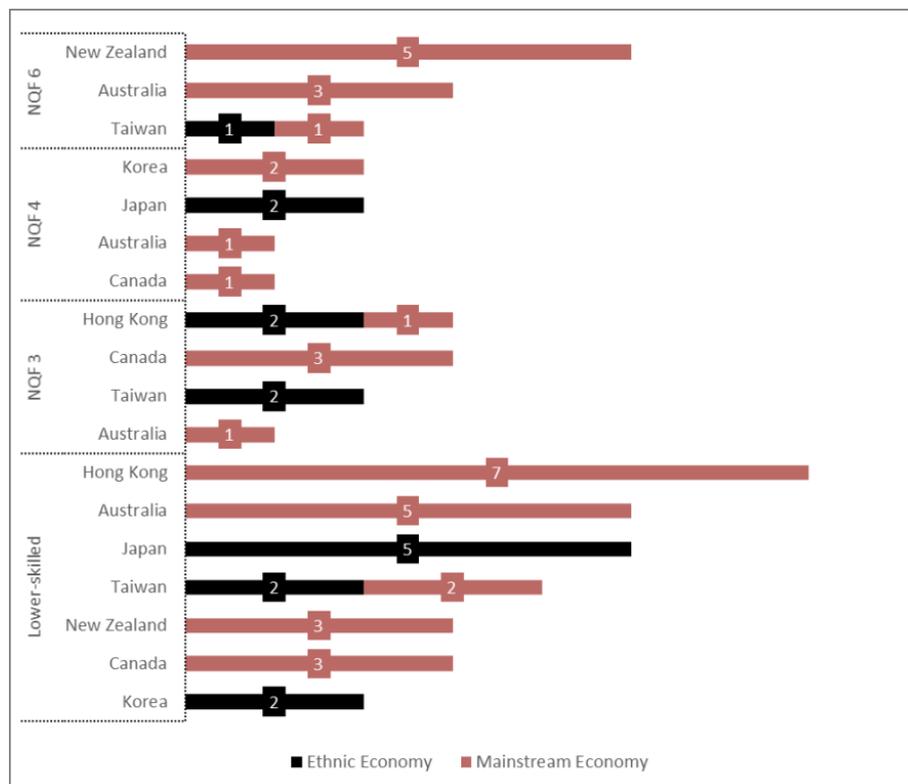


Figure 6.6: Jobs within mainstream and ethnic economy

⁷⁰ A concept used to understand minority ethnic communities' labour market participation and integration in destination countries (Zhou, 2004).

Figure 6.6 also shows that jobs in ethnic economy are mainly located in occupations which are classified as ‘lower-skilled’ and ‘NQF 3’. For instance, four participants (Melissa, Donein, Harry, Anna) worked in restaurants or cafes owned by ethnic minority employers, while three Japanese participants (Moina, Yulia and Atien) worked in travel agencies owned by Japanese companies.

The aspect of ethnic first language (Reitz, 1980; cited in Fong & Ooka, 2002: 127) is also salient in understanding the working of ethnic economy. However, it also poses challenges in understanding what I identify as the ‘ethnicised fringes’ of the mainstream economy, discussed later in this sub-section. Before that, I will first use Figure 6.7 (provided overleaf) to show the distribution of all 54 jobs done by participants in relation to their first language. Significantly, it shows that among the total 29 jobs categorised as lower-skilled, 11 jobs were performed by native English speakers, whereas 18 jobs were performed by participants with other first languages (Korean, Japanese, Mandarin/Cantonese).

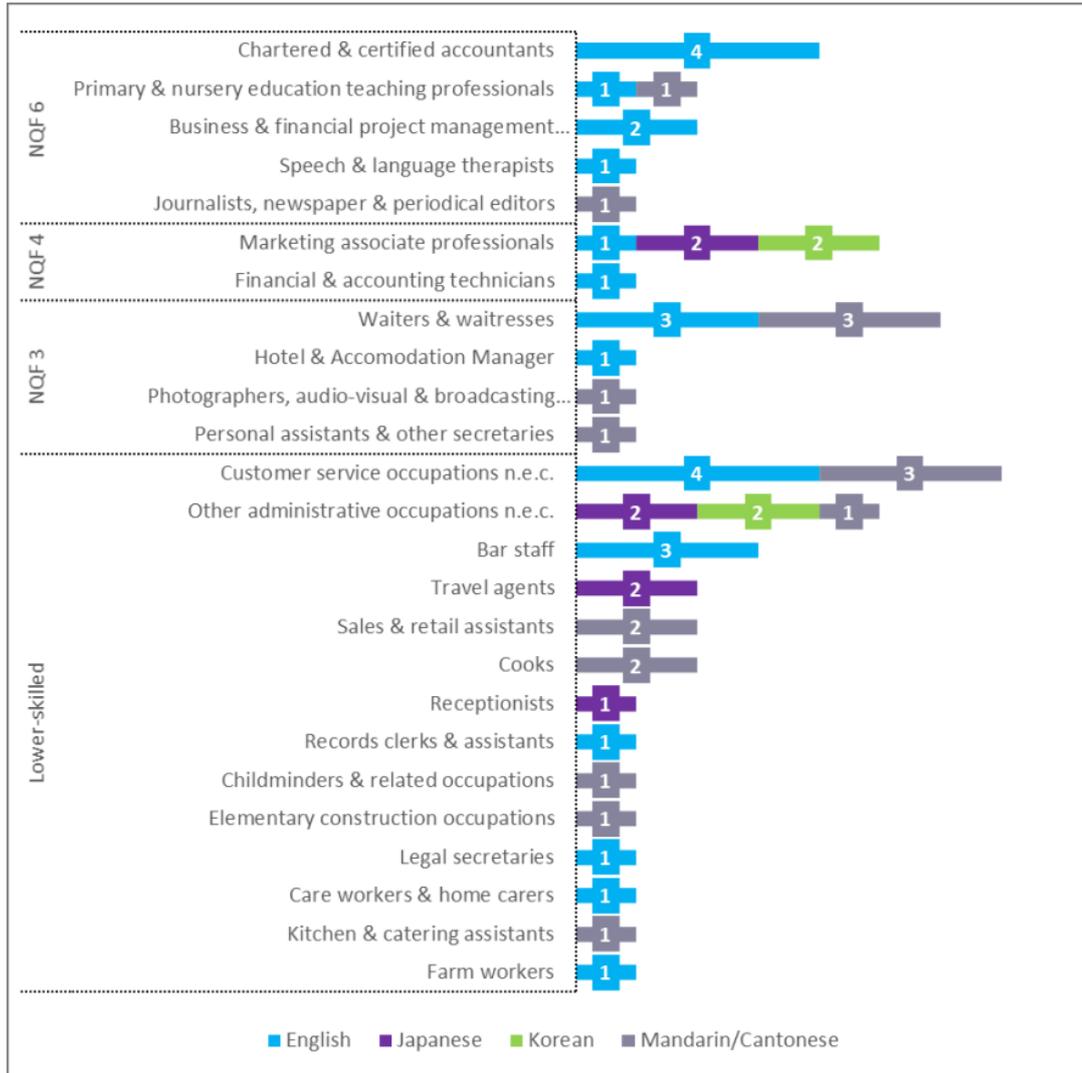


Figure 6.7: Jobs and corresponding skill levels, divided along first language of participants

Fig. 6.7 also shows that NQF 6 jobs are predominantly occupied by native English speakers when compared with non-native English speakers in lower-skilled jobs. In their interviews, East Asian participants said that they had struggled to find work equal to their educational qualifications and/or work experience, usually unsuccessfully. From Ji-Hu's and Dai's account in an earlier section (6.4.1), it emerged that lack of proficiency in English (or self-perceived lack of proficiency) acted as a constraint for participants.

In a similar vein, Vicky, a Taiwanese woman from Taiwan, had previously finished a diploma (fashion) in London before returning to the UK on the YMS visa. She initially found short-term work in a media production unit of a Taiwanese producer temporarily working in London (which thereby fits the definition of being part of an ethnic economy), although was unsuccessful in her job applications for more permanent jobs.

Consequently, she believed that her chances are restricted to jobs that required her foreign language skills, often in ethnic restaurants.

I heard lot of others' experience. Like people want to get like.. the job as they did in Taiwan. But end up... they can only be sales or...yeah... work in restaurant.

(Vicky, 26, Female, Taiwan, Unemployed)

Similarly, Harry, a Taiwanese man, had taken a first job working on a street barbeque stall, notwithstanding his MSc Intercultural Communication from the University of Warwick. When I met him for interview, he was working three jobs at once – as a freelance writer for a Chinese online magazine, as an assistant to a Chinese business consultant in London and as a part-time Mandarin teacher in a primary school in London. In this way, it was clear that he had relied on his language skills in obtaining jobs in London.

Although not categorised as working in ethnic economy, Donein, Melissa and Jianah (all from Hong Kong) worked in retail sales, in which they relied on language skills to interact with customers – what can be regarded as the 'ethnicised fringes' of the mainstream economy where knowledge of an ethnic foreign language was a requirement and advantage. Melissa in her online retail fashion job interacted with her customers over phone and email, and Donein and Jianah with customers (specifically Chinese tourists) in retail stores in London.

For instance, Melissa worked in the customer service team of a luxury fashion brand – 'facing' the big buyers from China online. I asked Melissa if she was able to find jobs commensurate with her qualification, to which she said:

I feel like it's really hard to get a job (...) I mean the reason why I get the job now is because I have multi-language skills. That's the only reason I think I have this job offer. And if I don't apply with any Chinese speaking or Cantonese speaking job, I don't think I can even get a chance to have the interview. (Melissa, 25, Female, Hong Kong, Customer service)

Melissa's account shows that she relied on her skills in Mandarin and Cantonese in getting jobs in London.

Similarly, Donein, a male from Hong Kong, was working part-time at a Chinese restaurant and as a cook/barista at a café. He said that

If I have time I will go to another job... in a Chinese restaurant...I'll go to a Taiwanese - Chinese restaurant to maybe have 6 more hours to get [take] a waiter's [job].

(Donein, 26, Male, Hong Kong, Waiter)

Although he had four years of experience working as an industrial designer (in a mobile phone company) in Hong Kong and internship experience in a Brighton-based company, he found himself taking up lower-skilled jobs in ethnic economy or 'ethnicised fringes' of mainstream economy using his language skills in Mandarin/Cantonese.

It is important to note that a few white Old Commonwealth participants also worked in jobs associated with their language use, for instance accent, and nationality-specific cultural knowledge, for instance, Peter, an Australian man who worked in the Australian-themed *Walkabout* pub in London. It was evident that being an Australian in London helped him secure this job. He also worked with other Australians. However, his labour market participation cannot be understood within the concept of ethnic economy, since it is theorised in contexts of ethnic minorities' participation in the destination country. Similarly, Raisa (mentioned earlier) worked in a care agency that favoured Aussies and Kiwis, showing how ethnic-white labour is channelled into some lower-skilled jobs. In the next sub-section, I suggest a possible explanation of this discrepancy in employment pattern – racialised gender.

6.4.3 Racialised gender

Another way of grasping differences in participants' employment destinations is probably the notion of 'racialised gendering' (Brah, 1993), as defined above. This is because needing to have the appropriate language skills was usually associated with having the appropriate appearance. For example, Jianah, a woman from Hong Kong, worked as a salesperson in a retail skin care store. She vouched that having a 'Chinese face' and 'the ability to speak in Mandarin and Cantonese' was the reason she got the job, since she was hired to target rich customers (tourists) from China, so her racialised appearance also played a role. She was employed in the retail store of an international skin care brand, not the ethnic economy, and did not mention working with other co-

ethnic employees. However, her ethnicity played a major role in her labour market participation. Jianah emphasised the importance of what I would term ‘aesthetic-linguistic labour’ within the spaces of consumption in London.

So, I know...we know what kind of jobs is[are] available in different countries... for instance, in London it’s always like being in sales, in either luxury brands...you [have]... like Chinese face and you have the ability to speak like Mandarin and Cantonese [...] I am working in a skin care brand called Aesop as a sales person.

(Jianah, 31, Female, Hong Kong, Retail staff)

Her job requires racialised gender, since it is clearly a highly gendered sales role. Later, Jianah mentioned that the majority of staff at the store were women or gay men. She also puzzled over the idea of why heterosexual men would ever work in luxury sales – implying it as a ‘female job’. In this way, Jianah did not contest gendered expectations of her job role. The feminisation of retail sales also came through in the account of Donein, who had worked as a retail assistant, and told me that it was difficult for men to perform docility and touch in skin care:

You have to speak like softly... you have to pretend that..ermm..how to sell products properly...and so you you have to ...how you use that cream and you have to put on your hand and then you can feel the texture and then its creamy and you can feel water inside going [to] your deep skin. Something like that.. yea you have to do like that..so actually it is the Chinese image even for the Asian men..but for the female I think that they...they can easily put down their character and then work.

(Donein, 26, Male, Hong Kong, Waiter)

At the time of interview, Donein was working as a cook and waiter. However, he had worked as a salesperson for the Body Shop (on a 3-4 months contract). He was uncomfortable with the experiences of feminising himself, and later moved into jobs which he thought were acceptable for Chinese men – cooks or waitors in restaurants. What is remarkable is how he associates feminisation and ‘Chinese image’ for retail sales in London – similar to Jianah’s account mentioned earlier.

Jianah also had some interesting thoughts about linguistic skills in retail sales:

Because it is retail...I mean London is always about retail, and when you talk about retail, the big spenders are always from China... So, it is just simply that if you know Chinese there's an advantage. (Jianah)

As well as looking and speaking Chinese, Jianah performed touch as part of her job, by applying the cream on herself and inviting customers to touch and see how soft her skin was and also applying skin care products to customers. As she noted, 'skin care is all about touching'. This 'body work' (Wolkowitz, 2002) performing touch on the customers was important to her work. Interestingly, Jianah's case also illuminates the preference for diversity by employers in London, who may seek out ethnically defined and gendered 'aesthetic labour' (Warhurst & Nickson, 2009) in order to diversify their market for fashion consumption (Pettinger, 2004) and thereby make sales. What is worth noting from Jianah's and Donein's accounts are how luxury retail is patterned along ethnicity, gender and 'aesthetic labour' in London. Thus, it seems that first language on it's own is not so important, because some employers are looking for appearance.

Another example of a participant being placed in a job through explicitly racialised gendering was Melissa, whom I mentioned above, who also mentioned the gendering of the work she did:

Women can communicate better than guys did [do]. And for my these two jobs [in retail sales] we have to talk a lot with the customers and you have to build up like stable relations with some potential big spenders! So I think it's more like you have to be approachable, you have to be friendly and you have to be like really willing to talk to people. And I think it's a job for women.

(Melissa, 25, Female, Hong Kong, Customer service)

Melissa's and Jianah's accounts reveal participants' internalisation of gendered and sexualized assumptions about who is suitable for luxury retail work.

Racialised gendering also applies to the women participants working in the feminised fields of education and health. As Glenn (1992) argues, with respect to the United States, white women are usually associated with the above fields, and obtain the more prestigious jobs, which are seen as involving professionalised caring, whereas racialised minorities are more concentrated in low-paid menial work in the same fields. Among the participants, only white women from the Old Commonwealth enjoyed well paid jobs in

health and education, although the reasons for this also involve access to network capital, discussed later (6.5).

All three respondents who reported working in human health and social work activities were women. Two respondents were from Australia – Kate, who worked as an NHS speech therapist, and Raisa, who worked as a personal carer to a quadriplegic patient; Anna, from Taiwan, worked as an au-pair. The Australian women were much more satisfied with their employment than Anna.

Kate recognised speech therapy as a feminized field, ‘even back home’ and sees her working life in the UK as a great success in providing what she wants.

So far I have done two different jobs. I am loving here. The first one was for about three months, and that was for Watford hospital...and that was just...well, actually most of the time I spent there, it was just one role on the Stroke ward. And then... I then said I was going to go travelling for a month, and they said ‘Okay, we’ll need to find someone to replace you for the time, had you not been here for a month, and then when I came back, I found my second job, which was at Edgware community hospital. Again, consistent, two different roles, but the same two roles, the whole week. And they are a lot more flexible with me taking hold of their time, so, so far, taken 3 weeks, 3 and a half weeks’ block and I have taken another 2-week block and I haven’t needed to find another job when I came back, I had gone back into the same job.

(Kate, 26, Female, Australia, NHS locum)

Kate has been able to find work consistent with her speech therapy qualification and which pays well enough to allow her to travel. Her location in the health sector of the UK speaks less of the phenomenon of ‘assembling a supply of migrant labour’ in the health and hospitality sectors (Batnitzky & McDowell, 2013) and instead displays the transnational mobility of skilled professionals to London (Beaverstock & Hall, 2012).

Similarly, Raisa was able to find work as a live-in carer despite having no qualifications towards it.

With the care work I think I do like...erm I know someone who does kind of similar work at home. And you need to be qualified...here you do not need to be qualified. Erm like they put you through like 5 days training kind of thing..but

its more.. since everybody is different and everybody's injury is different, its more kind of like they'd rather you learn on the job ..rather than have this set idea of what everything does..which is good but yeah... you learn a lot.

(Raisa, 24, Female, Australia, Personal carer)

Interestingly, Raisa knew that she would not be able to do the same work in her home country without specific qualifications, although in London she could make use of agencies that preferred her gender, whiteness, and Aussie identity. She told me that care work is highly gendered since 'women can work with both men and women whereas men can only work with men'.

However, Anna, from Taiwan, the third woman in health and care work, had a less enviable job working as an au-pair. She worked for twenty hours a week and looked after two children in a British household. According to her 'the normal [pay] is £7.00', although she got £8.00 per hour (for a total of twenty hours per week), since she gave the children informal piano and Mandarin lessons. But £80 per week was deducted by the family for her room and board, so she was only able to save a meagre £80.00 per week. The accounts of Kate, Raisa and Anna point to racialized gendering of human health and care work activities, and demonstrate how 'localised-inflections' of whiteness and nationality (Benson, 2015: 23) privilege some over the other.

Further, three participants (two women and one man) worked in education. Here again we find that only one of them had a well-paid, secure job. Jane, a white New Zealander, worked as supply teacher in primary schools:

So, it's like a supply agency. Erm... I don't know you call them different things around the world. So, in New Zealand, they're called relief teachers, and in the UK, they call them supply teachers. So basically, if a teacher calls in sick for the day, the school will then call the agency... 'So, we need a full teacher for the day, and then the agency will then call you... they call you between 7 and 7:30 in the morning...and they say, 'are you up and ready? got a school for you – here's the address'.

(Jane, 29, Female, New Zealand, Supply teacher)

Although Jane had secured a diploma in primary teaching in New Zealand, she had no work experience as a teacher⁷¹. Regardless, she could get a supply teaching job through familiarity with a teaching agency which ‘recruit[s] Australians, New Zealanders and Canadians to come and work in the UK’.

In contrast, the other two participants who worked in education had less secure and less well-paid jobs. Harry, a Taiwanese man who had obtained a part-time job teaching Mandarin in a primary school, did this job only after a succession of jobs below his qualifications, and Cheryl, a woman from Hong Kong, who worked as administrative staff at a public health educational organisation, had also had periods without work. She had navigated a waitressing job, a charity internship and a customer service role at a student accommodation company before obtaining her job in education.

I did some casual work once I have been here like waitering [waitressing]... like doing event waitress which is kind of fun actually (...).so I go for...sign up for event waitressing and I think I just do less than 10 shifts and then I struggle in applying for jobs but at the end I decided to take up an internship in a small charity called like HostUK...I don't know if you have heard of it (...) HostUK...and I worked for... I think just I worked for two... four weeks there and I got a full-time job.

(Cheryl, 27, Female, Hong Kong, Administrative staff)

Doing a charity internship (unpaid) was strategic to landing a job for Cheryl, since she could demonstrate her office experience in the UK. She later secured a stable six-month contract with the educational organisation. At the time of the interview, she was also planning to take up a part-time position with a human rights organisation, as cover for maternity leave.

Overall, and albeit from a small number of cases, it appeared that the secure and skilled jobs in health and education were mostly available for those from Old Commonwealth. In contrast, East Asians (Anna and Cheryl) did several unpaid/low-skilled jobs before they secured work in health/education, and often simultaneously worked on part-time or temporary contracts, with little stability.

⁷¹ She had worked as a call centre staff for an airline company in New Zealand.

‘Racialised gendering’ also applies to some of the masculinised jobs obtained by young men. For instance, Peter, who is a marketing graduate, told me about the relationship between his Aussie identity and finding jobs in London:

Finding a marketing job is hard ...like for manual labour they love Aussies... because we work hard...so yea it does work,it does help me being an Aussie a little bit.

(Peter, 26, Male, Australia, Bar worker)

In Peter’s account (above), he acknowledges that stereotypes of (white) Australian men also influence the jobs they are offered – and which they seek out. ‘Social representations’, to use Brah’s term, about being an Aussie in London had influenced Peter to apply for bar work in an Aussie-themed pub, and he may have had to perform a kind of ‘aesthetic-linguistic labour’ as part of his job role.

To summarise, the respondents who found jobs in ethnic economies and ‘ethnicised fringes’ of mainstream economy were largely concentrated in lower-skilled jobs in retail sales and restaurants. Racialised gendering was also evident in these jobs, with women concentrated in retail sales, and men in restaurants. Lack of English language proficiency pushed the participants into jobs that required the knowledge of particular languages and, sometimes, a particular physical appearance. Among the jobs in health and care work, which was gendered, white Old Commonwealth participants got better pay and better opportunities to combine travel with work – demonstrating ‘localised-inflections’ of privilege (Benson, 2015: 23) in London that must be analysed through networks that sustain such privilege. It is in this context that I focus on network capital and strategies to access work among the participants.

6.5 ‘Network capital’ and strategies to access work

Earlier in this chapter, I discussed the concept of ‘temporariness’ (Robertson, 2014), a common positionality of YMS participants given that their visa is only valid for two years. However, I then argued that it is inadequate in itself to understand their labour market position, given the diverse work experiences of my participants and the generally more advantaged position of those from the Old Commonwealth. I also considered the concept of ‘network capital’ (Elliot & Urry, 2010) and its potential to make sense of the capital endowments at the disposal of participants from different countries. On the basis

of their labour market participation and its polarisation, I argued that ‘network capital’ mediated other, analytically prior and historically previous forms of relative advantage and disadvantage, in terms of nationality, gender, first language and ethnicity. In this section, I will return to these discussions and critically review the concept of ‘network capital’, by examining four types of network capital used by participants to access work: relocation companies; recruitment agencies (both formal), familiarity and co-ethnic networks (both informal).

6.5.1 Relocation companies

Relocation companies sell services of relocation to prospective migrants. Conradson and Latham (2007: 246) argue that ‘a diverse architecture of recruitment agencies, low-cost telecommunication providers, relocation companies and advice organisations has grown up in recent decades to facilitate and support Antipodean transnational mobility’. My sample respondents mentioned three relocation companies – *Britbound*, *Working Holiday Club* and *London Pub Company*. These companies offered several services, including visa application, booking of flight tickets and hotels, setting up an Oyster card with credit on arrival, arranging initial stay at a hostel on arrival, guaranteed job on arrival, linking with employers and recruitment agencies in the host country, networking facilities and social gatherings of cohorts that use their services.

The common refrain among participants about the area of operation of these relocation companies was the ‘Commonwealth’. In fact, however, these services only existed for those from the Old Commonwealth, and scripted an exclusivity of access to the UK labour market. The exclusive ‘network capital’ on offer from these relocation companies, over and above pre-existing advantages of ‘common language and preferential visa access’ (Conradson and Latham, 2007: 246) is that they are able to provide skilled jobs that match qualifications (‘good jobs’) or access to a job on arrival (in both skilled and unskilled jobs), which hedges uncertainty and vulnerability in a new country and stands in sharp contrast with unemployment – reflecting hierarchies of privilege in London labour market.

Five out of the 12 respondents from Australia, New Zealand and Canada moved to the UK using *Britbound /SWAP*⁷², *Working Holiday Club* or *London Pub Company*, most of them female. Three of them used *Britbound* – two Canadians (Matt, Rose) and Minita from New Zealand. Raisa from Australia used the *Working Holiday Club* and Sandra from Canada used *London Pub Company*. All of them (except Rose who was unemployed at the time of interview) waitressed at restaurants or worked as customer support staff (call centre) at least once on their YMS visa, suggesting that the relocation companies secure access to a job, rather than a ‘good job’. Three were graduates⁷³, and all four women who used relocation services were single. Relocation services were seen to offer a quick and easy route to the UK, in an institutionalised form, perhaps seen as safer.

I will first take the case of Raisa from Australia. She had worked at a call centre in Australia and had a high school certificate. She got jobs in hotels and call centres in London through *Working Holiday Club*.

I already had a passport... it's, only so that... they just help out with the visa. So, like, they will ... they will send you the paperwork and you fill it out, and they just sort of go through it making sure that you haven't stuffed it up. (...)...yeah... cos when you come over... they put you up in hostel for a couple of days, and you meet people there, and cos' you have come over at the same time, and we are all looking for houses together - So, you're all more likely to move into the same place. (...) August is a quiet month for work, 'cos I do a lot of hospitality work. So, did call centre work for about 4 weeks and then I went to Lata Mattina in Valencia and then I'd come back. 'Cos I didn't want to do that anymore... And then I did some hospitality, did some temp work and then I got my... the job that I am doing now... So, I have been with them since October 2013.

(Raisa, 24, Female, Australia)

In the above account, Raisa traces the role of the relocation company from the time of visa application, to sorting out her accommodation and finding her work around her

⁷² SWAP operates in Canada. When a participant who registers with SWAP moves to the UK, they are taken care of by the allied company, *Britbound*.

⁷³ Matt (Canadian man) did not have school leaving certificate. Raisa's (Australian woman) highest qualification was high school certificate.

travel schedules. Through *Working Holiday Club*, she not only accessed networks of lower-skilled customer service and waitressing jobs in London that sustained her extensive travels, but also gained friends on similar visas who put her in touch with the care agency she was working with at the time of interview (discussed earlier in section 6.4.3). She also continued in job roles that were consistent with her work experience and highest qualification of high school certificate. In doing so, when she moved to London she was able to tap into ‘network capital’ that provided her with a job on arrival.

In contrast, Sandra, from Canada, had five years of work experience in wealth management and a degree, although she was put in a waitressing job through a relocation company, *London Pub Company*.

I figured if I was making the change, if I was packing up and moving to Europe, erm... I should try something new... And I had it in my mind and I am pretty sure it's Hollywood's fault, because they are the easiest to blame (laughs) that working in a five-star hotel would be glamorous and exciting... NO it's not. It really isn't! But I came and I said I would give it a year... and I did. I made it through an entire year working in that industry...erm... which was hard and a big change from being in wealth management where there is perks and there is this and there is that... So, it's not only a change in like where I was living but drastic change in kind of...expectations with career.

(Sandra, 28, Female, Canada, Financial & accounting technician)

Sandra's account highlights the generally limited labour market access offered by relocation companies. On the one hand, she had the comfort of not worrying about the move in the planning stage – hedging possible financial uncertainty. On the other hand, she struggled to make sense of her deskilling. However, it gave her enough time to build networks in the UK and ultimately move into three short-term contracts in real estate: working as records clerk, customer service staff, and financial and accounting technician.

The services offered by relocation companies offer forms of ‘network capital’ that can secure employment, although the case of Sandra highlight the challenges in understanding this form of capital. Her case is a reminder that ‘network capital’ is context-specific, and mediates other forms of power. Relocation companies have segregated ‘network capital’ in the different industries of London labour market:

particularly in accommodation and food services, and administrative and support services. The network capital from the relocation company fails Sandra because it has never been able to offer high-skilled jobs in finance and wealth management, relying on arrangements with relatively lower-skilled, low-paid jobs in hospitality, and call-centres. It is telling that none of the highly paid chartered accountants (discussed in section 6.4.1) used relocation services. To summarise, networks are themselves embedded in power relations and may compound existing inequalities, further highlighting that a Bourdieusian concept of ‘social capital’ that acknowledge pre-existing power relations (Bourdieu, 1984; Gauntlett, 2011) is more adequate than that of ‘network capital’ to understand the hierarchies of privilege that structure labour market participation.

6.5.2 Recruitment agencies

The role of recruitment agencies in the global assemblage of workforces is well-established (McDowell et al., 2008); what is less explored is the role of recruitment agencies in youth mobility and strategies to access temporary work. Young people can access the ‘diverse architecture of recruitment agencies’ which has mushroomed due to the established patterns of transnational mobility – for example in the case of ‘Antipodean transnational mobility’ (Conradson and Latham, 2007: 246). The emphasis on Antipodean transnational mobility is important here, since recruitment agencies may be nationality-specific. To elaborate on this, I consider an example of a post from *Kiwis in London (KiL)* page in Facebook (Fig 6.8)

Figure 6.8 is a representative example of a sponsored job post on the KiL page in Facebook. The ‘sponsored post’ specifically claims that it is a ‘Kiwi and Ozzie friendly agency’. It gives us an opportunity to understand how exclusive agencies use Facebook to recruit specific nationalities on temporary visas. KiL functions as a nationality-specific recruitment space (see chapter 7 for a detailed examination of KiL page), and it is notable that there were no equivalents for participants from East Asia. The potential work listed on this site directly by companies is a notch up in terms of skill and pay from the restaurant/bar/hotel and call-centre work accessed through Relocation Services; these are ‘better jobs’.



Figure 6.8: Commercial post from ‘Kiwi and Ozzie friendly agency’

Although no participant mentioned using this specific company to access work in the UK, the description of ‘Kiwi and Ozzie friendly agency’ has strong resonance to Raisa’s account (discussed earlier in section 6.4.1) about how the care agency where she worked preferred Aussies and Kiwis.

Similarly, Roger and Boris, both CA professionals from New Zealand, had used similar nationality-specific agencies that helped ‘Kiwis’ in getting jobs in the UK.

I did go to one information evening for a company that specialise in helping Kiwis make the move over here. Erm and so through them, they set me up with around 6 interviews with different recruitment agencies so that’s what I did pretty much the first week that I arrived.

(Roger, 31, Male, New Zealand, Chartered accountant)

In the above account, Roger talks about companies that operate directly with Kiwis, and how they helped him in finding jobs. Similarly, Jane, from New Zealand, herself working as a supply teacher, mentioned the teaching agency *Vibe*, highlighting its provision of access to teaching jobs in the UK exclusively to ‘Old Commonwealth’ participants:

It might be just...like Commonwealth countries I think... So, I think they recruit Australians, New Zealanders and Canadians to come and work in the UK... 'Cos they have massive teacher shortages here... And it's so hard to get a job back in those three countries...So they try and get them all over here.

(Jane, 29, Female, New Zealand, Supply teacher)

Here she draws on familiarity with the UK labour market, in terms of sector shortages and ensuing opportunities for relatively well-paid teaching supply work, and takes for granted that Vibe only recruits Australians, New Zealanders and Canadians.

For Kate, an Australian woman, 'network capital' manifests through familiarity through recruitment agency staff who had visited her university when she was in her final year.

There was actually a company - a recruitment company called Reed... In our fourth year, just before we graduated [in Australia] they visited us...like all the speech therapists who were going to graduate and told us about how they could find us work in UK (...) so it was kind of in my mind that after I had two years of work back in Australia, that if I wanted to go to the UK then I could have two years of work over there.

(Kate, 26, Female, Australia, NHS locum)

The familiarity of a recruitment company that specialised in her field worked as a form of 'network capital' for Kate. Eventually, she did not use this company to find a job in London, instead, contacting another health recruitment agency suggested by her friends in Australia, who had done similar work in London. In doing so, she found locum work directly with the NHS, showing how participants draw from 'network capital' which derive from familiarity (both formal sources like recruitment companies and informal channels like friendship networks).

The above accounts highlight the importance of familiarity and transnational networks in the securing of employment by those from the Old Commonwealth, in addition to formal relocation services and recruitment agencies. At this more informal level, these participants benefit from the long history of colonial and post-colonial links with the UK and historic youth movements between the Commonwealth and the UK, in themselves forms of 'network capital', which also demonstrate how hierarchies of privilege hinge

on ‘situational, relational and historic contingencies’ (Benson, 2015: 23) of the destinations.

Informal knowledge and networks were particularly important for five of the 12 respondents from the Old Commonwealth, including the three men doing very well by contracting financial and accounting services –Ajay, Roger and Boris. Familiarity with the destination country labour market, friendship networks and exclusive nationality-based recruitment agencies helped two of them to start running their own business service companies, commensurate with their qualifications, as well as career advancement and large incomes. It is however important that all three of them were contracting services, and not employed at any firm – a familiar strategy that they deployed to deal with ‘temporariness’. Nevertheless, such kinds of familiarity contribute to forms of ‘network capital’ (Elliot & Urry, 2010: 10), producing hierarchies of privilege when interacting with the ‘dominant-subordinate’ power relations (Bonacich et al., 2008: 341) along ‘race’, ethnicity, class and gender in the destination country, accentuating the meaninglessness of ‘network capital’ without an understanding of analytically prior forms of power.

As explained above, it was largely only Old Commonwealth participants who reported using relocation services and recruitment agencies as a strategy for accessing employment; indeed, there are hardly any such services targeting more recent participants in YMS from East Asia. In the following section, I address the strategies that this latter group used to secure work, namely co-ethnic networks.

6.5.3 Co-ethnic networks

In the earlier discussion of relocation companies and recruitment agencies, I showed how familiarity works as a form of network capital in the co-ethnic and co-national networks used by those from the Old Commonwealth. Here, I will argue that the use of co-ethnic networks by East Asians to secure work is another form of network capital, albeit one associated with more marginal employment and more likely to lead to lower-skilled, lower-wage jobs that are not necessarily commensurate with levels of qualification. In doing so, I will continue earlier discussions on ‘dominant-subordinate’ power relations (Bonacich et al., 2008: 341) that structure the labour market participation of YMS visa-holders.

The participants from East Asia did not have access to relocation companies connecting their countries and the UK, and only one participant, Mayosa, from Japan, mentioned the existence of a recruitment agency in her country of origin. Instead, they generally relied on nascent social networks and websites which ran in their first language to seek work. *Hellouk* and *mixB* were two of the websites that participants mentioned. Adrian, a Taiwanese male participant, found construction work through *HelloUK* (in Mandarin) after coming to the UK (and after several failed attempts to secure work commensurate with his qualification in business administration):

The first job...by the internet. It's the HelloUK [website]...I don't know, the....It's like the oldest one...the Taiwanese group, the internet... and [there] is so many information you can find on it about the UK, and some...some Taiwanese, maybe Taiwanese people want recruitment, you can find the information on it. I try to get help from agency. And, not it's not great help...And I try to use the Facebook, because on Facebook group, now we got Facebook the group, some recruitment was on it...HelloUK. Yeah, But I also use the HelloUK. (Adrian, 26, Male, Taiwan, Construction worker)

Adrian reveals the challenges in using British agencies and other Facebook groups in the above quote. Finally, he could find work with *HelloUK* because 'Taiwanese people' are looking to recruit from 'Taiwanese groups'. His account brings out the significance of co-ethnic spaces as a strategy for finding work. The construction industry is not a traditional ethnic labour market for Taiwanese migrants in London, although it has been mentioned as located within globalisation of construction industry (Raftery et al., 1998 cited in Batnitzky & McDowell, 2013: 2000).

Three Japanese participants (Moina, Yulia and Atien) used *mixB* (a Japanese language website) to find work after coming to the UK. All three of them worked in ethnic economies, in Japanese travel agencies and Japanese banks. Similarly, YMS participants also engaged in actively creating new forms of 'network capital' using social media spaces. This became clear in the interviews with participants who discussed taking part in Facebook groups to help each other. The co-ethnic spaces of Facebook closed groups (such as for those on working holidays to the UK from Hong Kong and Taiwan) enabled communication through Mandarin (or Cantonese) and helped to mobilise networks of information by way of shared language and culture.

All of them took part in co-ethnic spaces such as Facebook closed groups during their application to the YMS or after coming to the UK. Two out of the five participants from Taiwan found out about their present work through websites in Mandarin/Cantonese or closed groups in Facebook. Anna, a Taiwanese female, found her first job in a Japanese restaurant while she was still in Taiwan, through Facebook, and her second job (as au-pair) through the same closed group for YMS participants from Taiwan and Hong Kong:

I think I saw a message in Facebook and ...because I can speak Japanese, and...the man... the girl tells me... the girl told me, I can try, because they want somebody [who] can speak Japanese, English and Chinese.

(Anna, 28, Female, Taiwan, Au-pair)

She is a particularly interesting case because she found work in an East Asian, but not specifically Taiwanese, ethnic restaurant, which she attributes to her language skills. However, Anna's account also reflects what Shanti Robertson terms as 'performing ethnicity' (2016: 2285) among migrant workers who are hired based on 'their capacity to "pass" as particular ethnicities for the gaze of the cosmopolitan Western consumer'(2016: 2284) .

Two Taiwanese participants were unemployed, a status they attributed to their reluctance to accept work below their skill-set. Dai, a Taiwanese man, had completed post-graduate training in the UK as an interior designer and said he did not want to take the sort of lower-skilled work that was available to him. When I interviewed Dai, he had only spent two months on his YMS visa and was living off his savings. His unemployment status is partly related to the point at which I interviewed him. However, he had lived in the UK on student visa prior to YMS. Vicky, a Taiwanese woman who was unemployed at the time of the interview⁷⁴, recounted her difficulty in finding jobs that match her qualification, and relates this to racism and xenophobia on the part of recruiters:

I heard lot of others experience. Like people want to get like.. the job as they did in Taiwan. But end up... they can only be sales or...yeah... work in restaurant., because in UK, they are really, they want people who has... like done internship or have any work experience in Europe... So, if you don't have any, it's really

⁷⁴ She had worked as an assistant photographer for a Taiwanese director who wanted to make a music video in London. This was a short-term role and she had been unemployed since then. She also mentioned doing freelance photography work, often without pay, for a friend who works in media.

hard to find the job. And I tried, when I just came back, after I got the YMS visa, I tried to send out few CVs to find like assistant jobs, or just internship, but I got no reply (...)I think still..like... still have some hmm....how would you say that.. I won't say racist but...but like, of course, if I am in Taiwan and I can choose two people, one is Taiwanese one is from another country, I might give the Taiwanese the chance first. So..yeah..

(Vicky, 26, Female, Taiwan)

Vicky's account is consistent with the overall data, whereby East Asian participants are concentrated in retail, accommodation and food services. At the time of interview, she had spent five months on the YMS visa without work. She was supported by her family who sent her money for rent and food. She had previously done a diploma in fashion photography in London but, notwithstanding her UK-based qualification and familiarity with London, she was unable to secure her desired job. I would argue that Vicky's surveillance of her own thoughts about racism in the labour market is symptomatic of the disciplining power of anti-immigration rhetoric; she chides her thoughts and unintentionally justifies exclusionary policies that keep foreigners out.

All four participants from Hong Kong were British nationals (overseas) and three had previously been in the UK, as a postgraduate student or on a student exchange or internship. They were more familiar with the labour market and had applied directly for their jobs, although two of them had to find work in ethnic economies (in accommodation and food services) as their first job – Donein and Melissa. Earlier in this chapter, I mentioned how Donein and Melissa had relied on their language skills in finding jobs. Melissa had first waitressed in a Chinese restaurant, although when I met her, she was working in retail sales. Both of them had found these jobs through co-ethnic networks. Everyone mentioned using the new closed group in Facebook for Hong Kongese YMS participants, although they did not report using it to find work.

When I met Donein, he was working two jobs: as a barista/cook in a Starbucks café and as a waiter in a Chinese restaurant. He worked sixty hours per week in the part-time barista job and then put in extra hours at a Chinese restaurant, the latter definitely part of an ethnic economy. He would have preferred not to work a lot in the restaurant due to economic exploitation: 'you know in the Chinese restaurant they maybe... just give you 5 pounds [per hour]'. Donein's account points to the fact that networks can only get you

into jobs where your network has connections. When networks have negative or less ‘social valuation’ (Anthias, 2015), migrants may be unable to gain significant advantages from them, thereby showing that network capital mediates existing social divisions and networks.

In this section, I examined participants’ use of nationality and ethnic networks that are proximate and ‘at a distance’ (Elliot & Urry, 2010). I have shown that colonial-historical links with the UK operate as a form of ‘network capital’ for the Old Commonwealth participants, providing familiar job routes of overseas work, and through established relocation services that operate in the white Commonwealth, resulting in either better paid jobs or more secure work upon entering the UK. Contrastingly, East Asians are forced to take what they can get and rely on first language to get jobs in the ethnic economy. By taking the case of East Asians who relied on co-ethnic networks, I showed that ethnic-minority networks that are already marginalised and have low ‘social valuation’ (Anthias, 2015) in the labour market do not correspond to powerful ‘network capital’ in the destination country. Consequently, I argued that ‘network capital’ alone is not sufficient to ensure advantages in employment, and that network capital mediates other ‘situational, relational and historic contingencies’ (Benson: 2015: 23), resulting in hierarchies of privilege in the London labour market.

In demonstrating the above, I suggest that ‘network capital’ mirrors existing power relations and thereby can correspond to both lucrative and marginal networks, problematising the assumption that network capital is necessarily linked to elite privilege. Overall, I am critical of Elliot and Urry’s (2010) conception of ‘network capital’ to understand contemporary patterns of mobility, since it does not account for existing power relations in the destination country that go beyond the realm of the economic capital of ‘mobile subjects’.

6.6 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have argued that while being a temporary migrant to the UK on a limited duration visa might at first glance give a semblance of equality among YMS participants, paying attention to labour market experiences rapidly belies this. There are tendencies towards equalisation and towards polarisation in the accounts of participants’ labour market experiences, but the latter are stronger.

Some respondents repeatedly asserted the restriction of the two-year visa, pointing towards ‘temporariness’ (Robertson, 2014) as their biggest disadvantage on the scheme. Many were dependent on co-ethnic employers and/or were undertaking jobs below their educational qualifications. However, hierarchies of privilege were clear in both the strategies to obtain work and the sorts of work secured. Hierarchies of privilege manifested in the mediation of ‘network capital’ with pre-existing forms of advantage and disadvantage. The Old Commonwealth participants – from Australia, New Zealand and Canada – have the advantage of familiarity and powerful networks derived from long histories of movement, as well as institutionalised relocation services and recruitment agencies targeting them specifically. The East Asian participants do not. This is not just a story of the spatial distribution of migrant labour, but one intermingled with historic mobilities, whiteness and privilege, and a labour market that restricts job opportunities for foreigners (e.g., resident labour market test with its compulsory job advertising for a stipulated period) and is increasingly casualized. The participants’ access to the labour market contrasts significantly and is polarised along the lines of nationality, English language proficiency, gender and ethnicity.

Accounting, auditing and financial administration jobs are mainly accessed by Old Commonwealth men. The processes of gendering in the labour market ensure that women from Australia, Canada, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, and Japan mostly worked in feminised service sector: accommodation and food services; administrative and support services; human education, and health and social services; wholesale and retail trade. The possession of cultural capital through UK educational qualifications/ internship experience aside, East Asian participants generally find work in ethnic economies of accommodation and food services, wholesale and retail trade, and administrative and support services – pointing to racialised spaces of temporary work. East Asian participants were also aware of the sectors that they found employment in – hotels and restaurants (Chinese/other oriental cuisines), and luxury retail (catering to Chinese tourist consumers). The racialised stereotypes about opportunities in luxury retail were internalised by participants, pointing to processes of ‘racialised gendering’. The temporary nature of work found in YMS was thus incompatible with the nature and purpose of hegemonic masculinity in Japan, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. However, women could negotiate the decision to go the UK on YMS due to its temporary nature, with leaving a career trajectory at home being socially acceptable (previously discussed in chapter 5). The polarisation of strategies to obtain work is thus along the social categories

of gender, 'race', ethnicity, nationality, and linguistic skills. Further, the chapter criticised the usefulness of 'network capital' in understanding contemporary patterns of transnational mobility.

The research evidence shows that accommodation and food services and retail are the biggest ethnic economies for YMS participants from non-white, East Asian countries. Further, they are typically employed in industries which demand interaction with tourists from their home country (e.g. Japanese travel agency in London). Communicating with prospective buyers in China over the telephone, being the face of fashion brands or becoming shop assistants at skin care brands, all to attract 'big spender' customers from China, these young people produce and reproduce global consumption patterns through their youth mobility. In this way, the participants who work in retail stores and travel agencies are selling their services to people from their own ethnicity/nationality, wherein their jobs depend on other 'mobile' people – especially tourists – showing the linked nature of the mobility streams.

This chapter has highlighted the common relocation services, such as Britbound, which are accessible to young men and women from Old Commonwealth and help to forge a white youth identity beyond nationality for Antipodeans/Canadians. These, together with recruitment agencies, play a role in the temporary work sectors that the young men and women find themselves in London. Relocation services also provide work that may be below qualification levels, but offer a degree of financial security and an institutionalised route in. Recruitment agencies seem to be associated with higher skill/status/paid work. In significant contrast to the entitled transnational mobility and common history of young, white, Old Commonwealth youth are those from Japan, Republic of Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. A further nuance in this latter group of participants are the British nationals (overseas) (BNO) from Hong Kong. On the one hand, they enjoy a history of established transnational youth mobility to the UK, since the old WHM scheme was always open to BNOs. On the other hand, they still find themselves in racialised sectors of the labour market and ethnic economies below their qualification levels.

Chapter 7

Leisure, youth mobility and the limits to cosmopolitanism

7.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the aspirations, opportunities, and practices of leisure of the sample respondents, in order to answer the research question: ‘How are participants’ leisure opportunities structured by participation in YMS?’ The chapter will also address a component of the research question: ‘What, if any, are key differences between the participants in terms of leisure?’ As I mentioned in chapter 1, my foray into participants’ leisure practices arose from an early government document on YMS (UKBA, 2008a) that set it up as an avenue for young people to ‘work and play in the UK’. Upon comparing scholarly literature on youth mobility, and leisure, I found a strong association of the concept of ‘play’ with leisure (Duncan, 2008; Adler & Adler, 1999; Deem, 1986). Feminist studies on leisure have also paid attention to the dimension of ‘sociability’ in leisure, understood as ‘the opportunity to mix with other people’ (Green et al., 1990: 7). Engaging with the ‘Other’ is also an important leitmotif of the concept of cosmopolitanism that is associated with contemporary patterns of youth mobility (Amit, 2015; Amit & Gardiner Barber, 2015; Kawashima, 2014).

This chapter is particularly attentive to the relationship between leisure aspirations and leisure practices of YMS participants by situating them in conceptual debates on cosmopolitanism, particularly Vered Amit’s concept of ‘circumscribed cosmopolitanism’ (2015). Finally, this chapter will argue that disparate sources of privilege result in fragmentation of leisure activities along lines of nationality, ‘race’, gender, and historic links to Britain. Thus, the exploration of the actual practices of leisure by the YMS participants shows the limits to cosmopolitan attitudes and opportunities in leisure activities, revealing insularity in participants’ leisure terrains.

This chapter is divided into four main sections. The first section (7.2) will examine the leisure aspirations of the YMS participants. This section will bring out their broadly similar aspirations, which revolve around travel. In many cases these are framed by a discourse of cosmopolitanism, in which participants say they want to meet or mix with people different from themselves, or who have a different way of life. The second section

(7.3) moves from leisure aspirations to examine some of the opportunities to spend their leisure time socialising with others that are offered to the participants, including on the online sites that target them. Here we will see that the participants can be distinguished by variations in their discourses of entitlement, which are drawn from nationality and gender identity. The third section (7.4) discusses the ways in which the participants' different experiences of leisure are related to their differential positioning in hierarchies of privilege, especially those relating to nationality and gender. I show that these differential locations, and the strategies participants adopt to deal with them, limit the experiences of cosmopolitanism they say they sought. In the fourth section (7.5) I further analyse the limits to cosmopolitanism related to nationality, through the concept of 'similar others', and also pick up the theme of gendered privilege. I therefore conclude that contemporary practices of youth mobility on the YMS visa lead to rather insular experiences for the participants, differentiated along the social axes of nationality, gender, 'race', ethnicity, and historic links to Britain. Hence we should be wary of associating youth mobility too readily with cosmopolitanism, at least when it comes to actual experiences of migration.

7.2 Leisure aspirations

In this section, I will be exploring the leisure aspirations of the YMS participants. As shown in chapter 5, the popularity of the scheme for these participants hinged on the opportunities it offers for being on the move within and outside London, for travel around Europe, and for living and working in London. Travel was the most important leisure aspiration and is arguably unique to their life stage. Bagnoli (2009: 327) argues from her research in Italy and England that travelling is an 'identity-defining experience' for young people. Their predominant idea was to experience life differently from life at home, and is similar to the desire for an alternative to everyday and mundane existence, which Urry (2002) saw as central to the tourist gaze. The cosmopolitan imagination was implicit in my participants' aspiration to experience a culture different from that of their home country. Seeking difference as a lifestyle choice for an extended period brings participation in YMS into the category of 'lifestyle migration' (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009), a form of migration in which, as discussed in chapter 1 and 2, migrants primarily seek different lifestyles rather than the economic betterment usually associated with migration patterns. Among my participants, though, migration was combined with a strong sense of their entitlement to enjoy the varied experiences the world offers.

All the young people who participated in YMS shared an image of London as a multicultural global society, but their notion of multiculturalism was filtered through their location in historic power differentials which are related to different national migration histories and movements of people (Harris, 2009). Towards this end, the participants' aspirations reflected a sense of entitlement based on nationality and gender identity. A sense of entitlement was particularly strong in my interview with Dennis, a Canadian man who was very much aware of the position he held in the world as a Canadian:

As Canadians... we are taught like growing up, .um... well...well... they tell us we are one of [the] most liked nations in the world – if you have Canadian flag on your backpack, you are pretty much golden (laughs)
(Dennis, 24, Male, Canada)

For Dennis travel seems to be a way of enjoying power, derived from Canada's 'most liked' and influential position in the world. Even his leisure aspiration to go backpacking, a relatively modest form of travel, was mediated by his sense of privilege and entitlement (although he associates this with how much Canada is liked, rather than its status as a rich country). He knows that he can 'claim' advantages by being the passport holder of a 'most liked' country, with few visa restrictions on its citizens, and that a Canadian flag on his backpack will make him 'golden' in his mobility.

Similarly, Jane, a New Zealander woman's aspiration to see 'as much of Europe as possible', as discussed earlier in Chapter 5, draws on the 'normality' of OE to the UK for young New Zealanders (Kiwis in her parlance). The cultural identity of being Kiwi in London gets constructed through the history of OE in which young Kiwis base themselves in London and explore Europe, thereby also reflecting her sense of entitlement as a New Zealander.

I will now discuss the role of gender in leisure aspirations, which usually operates along with nationality. Peter, a male graduate from Australia, aspired to adventure and risk in his leisure aspirations. He said that he had travelled to thirteen countries in the first year of his YMS visa and when I expressed my amazement at this, he replied:

Well do it... There is nothing stopping you... Why don't you get a flight to Spain tonight? 50 quid. Go! It's not hard... It is not hard. Book a ticket, seal your house

in (inaudible), fly there. Go! Don't think of it as a challenge. It's not, Don't... But it's easy... just it's nothing hard, get on a plane, ticket, done! In. Go to Madrid. Fly with some shitty Spanish airline, scares the shit out of you the whole time, it's a fun story at the end mate!

(Peter, 26, Male, Australia)

In the above interview excerpt, Peter tried to convince me that anyone can travel as he does, if only they just choose to 'do it'. He found spontaneous travel of the kind he describes exciting. But he seemed oblivious to sources of privilege that underpin such spontaneity. To start with, not everyone can just book a ticket and take up international travel the next day, due to visa regimes (for example, visa nationals like myself must obtain visas for European countries in advance). Peter's leisure aspiration is rooted in the privilege attached to Australian citizenship, such nationals are free from passport control for purposes of tourism within the European Union.

However, Peter's account is also underwritten by gendered assumptions, although he does not admit this. His account is gendered in the way he shares his story of 'daring-do' with his mates, read as male, afterwards, performing a particular version of masculinity as brave and autonomous. Yet he dismissed gender identity as totally irrelevant, arguing that 'it's not a gender thing' and that 'it's a mindset'. His refusal to acknowledge gender privilege may be because he assumes rather than explains the privileges supporting his leisure aspiration. This may be typical of the backpacker identity he embodies, described in the travel and tourism literature (Elsrud, 2001; 2005), which revolves around adventure and uncertainty in the experience of travel.

Sandra's leisure aspirations were more modest. She had come to expect a degree of freedom as a single woman which she felt could not be enjoyed at home, implying that lifestyles revolve around coupledness at home:

You know... you go out after work for a few drinks [in London], then it turns into dinner, whereas at home, it will be like... they will have one drink, and they have got to go home... because, life, dog, kids... whatever... And I think a lot of it is because I do see myself as single, and I want to take opportunities, I want to do things... Erm... it's just an environment that gives you that ability...

(Sandra, 28, Female, Canada)

Sandra's leisure aspirations were associated with the cosmopolitan environment of opportunities in London, which she seemed to assume were shared (she starts her account with the phrase 'You know'). She associated leisure in Canada with normative versions of leisure tied to the family but now enjoyed new opportunities as a single woman. Her leisure aspiration is thus imaginative, although highly gendered in her identity as a woman who has limitations on leisure opportunities in her home country.

Some of the participants were more explicit than others about their cosmopolitan aspirations. Like Sandra, Roger made a clear distinction between 'home' and London, although his leisure aspirations are structured around socialising and meeting people from other countries:

I did feel consciously, when I got here.... like I didn't want to just live with Kiwis, and be surrounded by kiwis and obviously, I know some people who are [from] New Zealand, sort of here... not a huge number, but a few... So, that's a bit of support that is good. But I didn't want to, just really be in a flat full of New Zealanders and just hang out with them the whole time. So, I do want to have the London experience of meeting people from other countries, going out and doing other things. But in saying that, I have done some... New Zealand things, 'cos of Kiwis in London Facebook page, which you might be aware of...

(Roger, 31, Male, New Zealand)

Meeting diverse groups of people and having the 'London experience' meets Roger's leisure aspirations. He aspires to be part of leisure terrains in London that are diverse, and is eager, as Cohen would put it, to 'acquire some level of everyday cosmopolitan consciousness' (Cohen, 2004: 141). His sense of entitlement also draws from his ability to choose his leisure terrains in London.

Similarly, Suoko's leisure aspirations grew out of his interest in meeting people from different countries.

I didn't want to travel before coming here... Because, I am not... I am not interested in the travel. But, I am interested... I am interested in the people who are living there. So, the reason why I travel is simple. I will meet people who are living there. So, I went to 4 countries during living here. One is Milan, and...

second is Paris and third is Sri Lanka and the fourth is Barcelona.
(Suoko, 29, Male, Japan)

Suoko's lifestyle aspirations for meeting people came to fruition through travels to several countries. Like the other participants he did not show much awareness of how privileged he was in his freedom to take up international travel to meet friends, but expresses, even more strongly than some of the others, a version of Ulf Hannerz's view of cosmopolitanism as 'an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other' (Hannerz, 1996: 103).

In contrast, for Atien, a gay male from Japan, cosmopolitan aspirations were linked to his prospective consumption of high culture, through museums and art galleries:

I think... that it gives me more opportunity to see the shows and exhibitions. Yeah, I think Japanese kind of theatre and maybe exhibition[s] are not really like for everyone. I mean, like quite expensive... I think the price maybe twice more... Yeah, that's why maybe, yeah I can see more here, and especially after the earthquakes in Japan, so there are not many... like stars [in entertainment industry], don't come... not many stars come to Tokyo to perform. So, worried about that.

(Atien, 27, Male, Japan)

Atien's aspirations to consume high culture (shows, exhibitions and theatre) are examples of what John Urry calls 'aesthetic cosmopolitanism' (1995, cited in Vertovec & Cohen, 2002: 7), whereby elites and non-elites come to appreciate high culture in the contemporary world. Atien makes an assessment of non-privilege in accessing spaces of Japanese high culture in Japan as compared to his access in London. In this way, Atien, who is from a working-class background in Japan, aspired to an egalitarian cosmopolitan potential of accessing Japanese theatre and art in London. His leisure aspirations embody his sense of comparative privilege. Similarly, Yulia, a Japanese female of middle-class background, also highlighted the accessibility of museums to her in London. The comparative difference in the pricing of art consumption in Japan and the UK enabled affordable consumption of art and high culture in London:

So, here it's all good ... almost [all] museums is [are on] donation... free. That's nice, because Japanese [museum] is so expensive, everything I think. That's why I like this culture... and food.

(Yulia, 31, Female, Japan)

Yulia's leisure aspirations, rooted in her greater access in London than to comparable spaces of arts and culture in Tokyo, showed appreciation of British culture and food. Living in London, for Yulia and Atien, provided cultural outlets that enabled greater access to consuming (high status) cosmopolitan art from different parts of the world.

Similarly, Jianah, a female BNO passport holder from Hong Kong and of working-class background, is a seeker of a 'different lifestyle' and aspires to travel and consume the art and culture available in the cosmopolitan city:

Travelling and I'm just living in London and being able to be exposed to all art and culture... a different lifestyle...for me it's... Hong Kong is a cultural desert...so...of course it is not always true but compared to London – I think you find this... you may rarely find a city... maybe New York? and Paris – just a couple in the world that have like, that kind of intensity and variety in terms of art and culture...So I am just...I always end up in museums... all my friends know me.

(Jianah, 31, Female, Hong Kong)

Jianah's place-bound aspiration to live in London illuminates cosmopolitan possibilities. Atien, Jianah and Yulia, who are from East Asian countries, showed a greater propensity to associate leisure aspirations with art and culture than the participants from Old Commonwealth, who tended to draw from a position of entitlement and privilege in considering London as a base for further travel. But there is also a sense that their feeling that they can visit a museum or theatre anytime they like bespeaks a sense of entitlement they have come to relish. Overall, participants' aspirations were cosmopolitan in outlook.

7.3 Leisure opportunities

In this section, I move from considering participants' aspirations to considering the actual opportunities for leisure, in particular opportunities to travel and socialise with other young people in their leisure time and therefore engage (or not) with others in a

cosmopolitan manner. My discussions in this section will draw from my analysis of fieldwork data in both digital and physical places of the participants' lives. I will first examine digitally mediated experiences of leisure consumption in 'page' and 'group' within the social media of Facebook (FB), which have the potential of contributing to participants' identities and sense of belonging to a community. I then examine physical places of fieldwork, which for some focus on drinking and outdoor activities.

During my first interactions with the participants to arrange the interviews it became clear that the online place of Facebook was important to them. All of them took part on Facebook in some capacity – to find work, accommodation, friends, social activities of interest and to structure their lives on YMS. As explained in chapter 3, the importance of Facebook as a place of daily relevance to the participants meant that my project incorporated observation of selected 'pages' and one 'closed group' mentioned by the participants. I observed two 'pages' (AiL and KiL) and one 'closed group' whose members included YMS visa holders from Taiwan and Hong Kong.

The first page I examine is AiL (Australians in London). It is a 'page', which under FB rules means that it is not exclusively for Australians on YMS visas to the UK. Situated in a transnational space that nurtured aspirations, the page advertised leisure opportunities, mediating the practices of consumption on the working holiday. It is a public page and anyone can follow the page by 'liking' it. This means that people who live in Australia and aspire to travel to the UK can also follow this 'page'. AiL organised and advertised regular monthly drinks on the page. The page promised excitement, travel, and adventure for the followers in several ways. It appeared to target young Australians living in London for only a few months or years, not settled migrants in the UK. The various posts on the 'page' encourage a life that is different from the routine, a life that wanders and travels but which also revolves around the particular interests of young people from Australia. The newsfeed of the page featured information about travel, Australian football league matches in London, rugby matches, news from Australia, monthly drinks organised by the page and guidance on moving and living in London. Some posts in AiL exhorted cosmopolitan virtues of travel. I give an example of one such post in Figure 7.1 overleaf.

The educational importance of travel is emphasised in Figure 7.1(overleaf), which also unintentionally has a nice pun on 'page'. The words of St. Augustine, considered as

having contributed to western Christianity and philosophy, feature in the post. This post is an uncritical way of looking at travel, hiding the power asymmetries that support those ‘who can travel’. Aimed at privileged young adults who can embark on a life of travel, the post normalises a view of travel as simply a matter of choice. I argue that posts like these, which encourage travel, influence youth mobility in very specific ways. They enable youth to connect to the ‘imaginative’ and ‘virtual’ forms of travel which Urry (2000 cited in Urry, 2002a: 256) noted as being pervasive in contemporary societies. I argue that such posts also normalise those forms of mobility which are voluntary, with little recognition of involuntary/forced movement of people. In doing so, this way of talking about opportunities normalises privileged mobility by an uncritical association of movement with human agency, and almost makes travel sound as easy as reading a page, with little attention to institutional barriers (such as visa controls).



Figure 7.1: An example of a post on AiL encouraging the importance of travel

Upon contacting the administrator of AiL page (who never revealed details about him/her) by messaging to the page, it became clear that it was not possible to verify how many of the followers were on a working holiday in the UK. Nonetheless, the ‘page’ displayed information for young travellers, with information about hostels, part-time work and travel plans over the weekend. I argue that this ‘page’ is also a transnational space of flows in its orientation to helping consumers of the page to build an identity as

‘an Australian in London’. In this vein, the following post (Fig. 7.2) relates to the importance of travel and the opportunity to ‘run away’ to London. I argue that this image is symbolic both of the familiarity of London as a popular destination among Australians and of London’s accessibility in imaginative and physical travel.

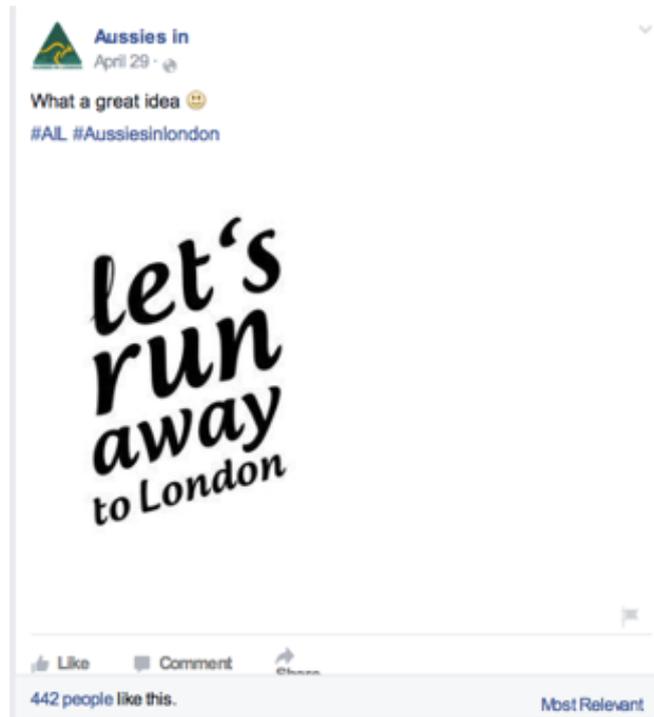


Figure 7.2: A photo post encouraging travel and a move to London

The above post invites the viewer to ‘run away’ to London, evoking at the same time an opportunity to ‘run away’ from social norms and obligations. It was particularly popular with the followers, getting 442 ‘likes’. Here physical travel is presented not only as an individual goal, but as collective action (let’s or let *us*, it begins) of moving. Specific travel opportunities advertised in such posts may influence contemporary mobilities. I present another example of a post encouraging travel in Fig. 7.3 overleaf. Although many of the posts on AiL are directed at interests which might be conceptualised as narrowly Australian, there is also a note of cosmopolitanism in this post.

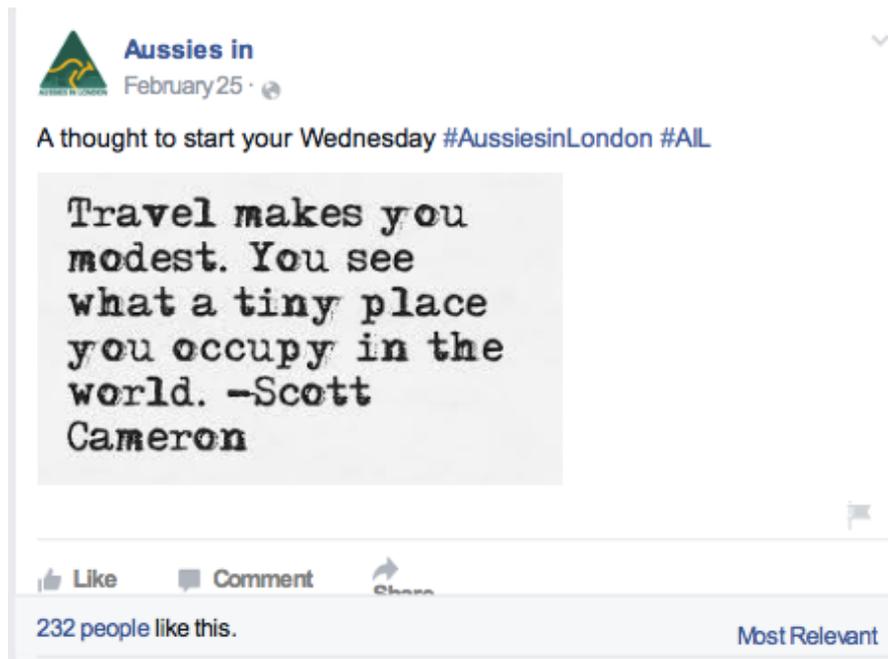


Figure 7.3: A photo post encouraging travel

The above post can be understood as extolling the virtues of travel associated with cosmopolitanism as ‘openness toward divergent cultural experiences’ (Hannerz, 2004: 70) and associated notions of world openness. Unlike the preening pose Dennis and Peter adopted in their interviews (discussed earlier in section 7.2), here the post takes a more modest position, equating travel with humility and self-transformation. In this way it relates to scholarly interpretations which equate cosmopolitanism with openness (Beck, 2004) and a ‘desire to go beyond ethnocentricity and particularity’ (Delanty, 2006: 42). Citing Ang et al. (2006), Harris (2009: 197) argues that young Australians are more open to cosmopolitanism than their elders and tend not to harbour ‘strong nationalist feelings’. While the post above supports this, extolling a cosmopolitan outlook and presenting cosmopolitan opportunities to the followers, it is one of many other posts presenting a narrower outlook.

For New Zealanders in London, KiL (Kiwis in London) was another important ‘page’ that organised monthly drinks, had regular posts about travel plans that the participants could make, and advertised several jobs. Most of the posts were by the administrator of the ‘page’, although he allowed the followers to ‘post to page’ directly. The latter, however, did not show up in the main newsfeed of the page. The administrator of the page had been living in the UK for 11.5 years. He said that being on the working holiday visa at some point was the reason he got interested in starting a page to help Kiwis

coming to London. In the following quotation from our correspondence he explains why he started the page:

I started the page because there was a lot of misinformation out there about how to set up in London, the job market and finding flats. Plus, there were a lot of companies out there who were making a lot of money from people. Preying upon other people's insecurities.

(Chris, 38, KiL administrator, Facebook messenger conversation on KiL page)

In the above quote, Chris makes it clear that he started KiL to help kiwis moving to London. His message also makes it clear that there was a large market ('a lot of companies') catering to this group making such a move, foregrounding an established, if mobile, market. I asked him if all the 'followers' of the page were on a working holiday to the UK, and he replied 'Yes, about 90% minimum are on their working holiday. Probably closer to 95%'. He also made clear that commercial posts were available on the 'page', giving job seekers the opportunity to establish direct communication with a possible employer:

The ones I advertise directly they come to me to put the word out. The rest on the wall are the companies advertising themselves to reach the audience. My job classifieds was [were] me approaching those who advertise on the wall for information for me to add to it – for the benefit of those seeking work in London.

(Chris, 38, Male, KiL administrator)

Chris's comment makes it clear that he puts sponsored posts on the FB page. However, his words also point to the individualized touch that he offers in his role as administrator, as he advertises for companies which then directly approach him.

The KiL 'page' gave several opportunities for the followers (consumers). These related to opportunities for leisure and work, so the page serves as a place where employers, event organisers, and travel agencies can directly market their products (sponsored posts). In the representative post, Figure 7.4 (overleaf), the space advertises outdoor leisure activities to page followers.

 **Kiwis in London** updated their cover
July 1, 2014 · 🌐

Our friends at [Beats Working](#) are putting on a series of outdoor events starting on July 20th.

Details Here:
<https://www.facebook.com/events/333151766831852/?ref=ts&ref=ts>



Like Comment Share

3 people like this.

Figure 7.4: Commercial post advertising outdoor summer events

Figure 7.4 is an advertised post on the page about opportunities for leisure in Brixton, London. It also implies a personal connection between the administrator of the post and the event organisers; he refers to them as ‘our friends’, and that perhaps implies that they are reliable. It points to a form of personalised advertising whereby the FB administrator endorses particular organisations. In the next sponsored post (Fig. 7.5), followers are urged to attend the festival of San Fermin (bull running), which is held every year from 6-14 July in the city of Pamplona, Spain⁷⁵.

⁷⁵ <http://www.bullrunpamplona.com>



Kiwis in

June 28, 2014 · 🌐

Thinking of a last minute trip to Pamplona?!
Do it with the festival experts at [First Festival Travell!](#)

Dates 4th-9th July 2014.

Coaches departing from London on the 4th July One Way or Return ···
[See More](#)



Like Comment Share

3 people like this.

[Chronological](#)

Figure 7.5: Commercial post from an organisation that specialises in travel to festival destinations

The above post advertises leisure activities outside the UK. The image also tries to capture a spectacle of leisure, showing young festival revellers. This image particularly combines the availability of youth travel and leisure opportunities in Europe, while one is based in London. The headline also assumes that the reader already knows the significance of Pamplona, suggesting it is addressed to young people with a high awareness of travel hotspots. The next post (Fig 7.6) highlights several opportunities for leisure in London for Kiwis.

Missed out on [South West Four Festival](#) tickets? Never fear!
 Across the road from the common at [Gigalum](#) we are having a [Kiwis in London](#) SUB SW4 Party this Saturday between 1-6pm!
 Awesome DJs! 2 for 1 Kiwi punch! Mention KIL to get a burger and a Kronenbourg for £8!

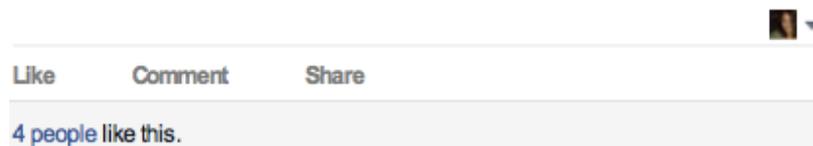


Figure 7.6: Commercial post advertising KiL party with discounted rates on food and drink

I understand the image in Figure 7.6 as a hybrid post: the primary aim is to advertise KiL monthly drinks gatherings in London but the post also advertises the pub that hosts the drinks. The image also signifies a hybrid personhood. The Kiwi fruit is prominent in the image and relates to the participants' identity as Kiwis and Kiwis in London in this context. The image also features a sliced gherkin, symbolising the iconic gherkin building in London. The gherkin and kiwi come together in the participants' 'portable personhood' (Elliot & Urry, 2010: 3) in London.

Adler and Adler (1999), whose work on resort workers coined the identity category of 'seekers', those who prioritise experience and travel over material concerns, is an important starting point to understand KiL, as a space offering leisure opportunities. The posts direct their 'followers' to specific organisations and restaurants. Targeted advertising of goods and services that cater to working holiday aspirations of travel and

leisure dominated the 'page'. For example, my thematic analysis of the posts from June 2014 to September 2015 revealed that job posts and events that include social drinking featured prominently in the space. The information that influences the practices of the mobile traveller in the pages of 'AiL' and 'KiL' is about being an Aussie or Kiwi in London on an 'OE', also varyingly understood in the tropes of travel, OE to London, and life stage adventure.

KiL has merged digital marketing with a Kiwi community identity. The page offers material to support critical insights on digitally mediated leisure experiences of Kiwis, by analysing what they are offered in terms of the consumption of places and products that have an association with New Zealand through their travel, both for the young people already in London and for those planning to come. The centrality of culturally significant imagining in lifestyle migration (Benson, 2012) can be seen in the practice of overseas experience (OE) by the Kiwis. The trans-territorial reach of the flows of information about OE and life in London enabled by the digital place of KiL give opportunities for interested young adults based in New Zealand to plan their move to London. An example of a similar post is in Fig 7.7 (below).

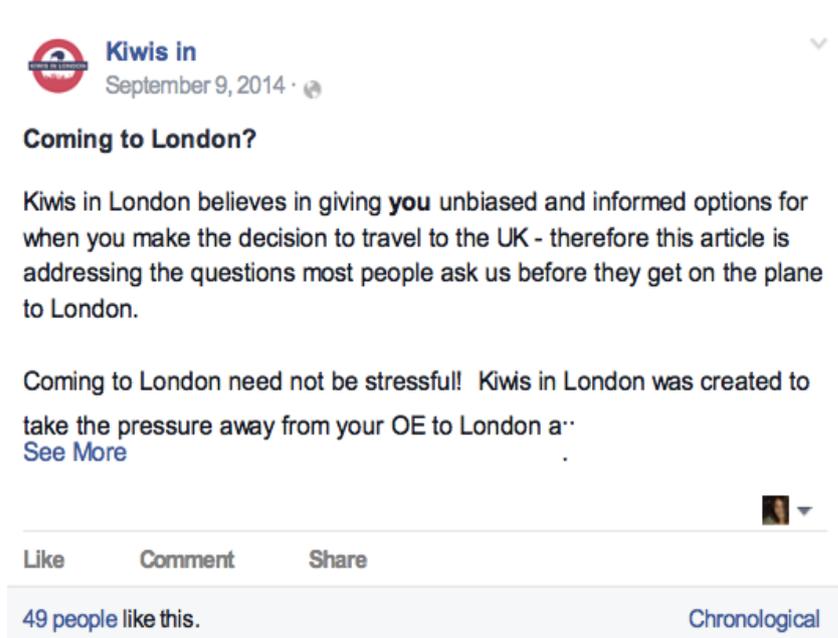


Figure 7.7: Post about helping Kiwis on an OE to London

In the above post, the administrator of the page details the purpose of the KiL page. The post gives information that can serve as a support system. I suggest that the virtual presence of these 'pages' constitutes a form of 'network capital' for the YMS

participants, with ‘location-free information and contact points: fixed or moving sites where information and communication can arrive, be stored and retrieved (...)’ (Elliot & Urry, 2010: 11). As I argued in chapter 6, ‘network capital’ provides access to a privileged form of mobility, by mediating pre-existing advantages: historic links with Britain, whiteness and white-settler country, and preferential treatment in immigration policy. The ability to access ‘network capital’ fuels circuits of privileged mobility in contemporary societies, where ‘freedom to move’ is increasingly becoming a ‘scarce and unequally distributed commodity’ (Bauman, 1998: 2).

Similar digitally mediated opportunities existed in the Facebook group for East Asian young people in London. This was a closed group [英國打工度假情報站 (UK Working Holiday)] for working holiday-makers from Hong Kong and Taiwan. I got permission to see the posts on this group and noticed that they were mostly in the nature of queries, although the site offered some individual posts about leisure opportunities. I will not be discussing any individual posts from the group, so as to abide by ethical guidelines concerning a closed group in Facebook which is not open to the public (Townsend & Wallace, 2016). However, I will briefly discuss the cover design of the closed group (shown in Fig 7.8), since it does not give any information on the group members or their posts.



Figure 7.8: Cover image of the ‘closed group’ 英國打工度假情報站 (UK Working holiday)

The image on the cover of the group clearly directs it to those on a working holiday. Despite the working holiday-maker visa (WHM) changing its name to YMS, the term working holiday is still prevalent here. There are also several motifs within the design that are of interest. First is the sketch of James Bond inside a swirling London Eye (iconic

symbol of London). The second is a faceless body in formal, black tie (a Bond image), with a large lipstick print on the suit. The association of a British working holiday with the British movies that YMS participants probably grew up watching, and an icon of London is clear here. The faceless body with a torso resembling a gym-fit body of a man could connote masculine, able-bodied mobility on a working holiday. However, this cover image did not lead to any explicit discussions about British movies or James Bond in the 'group' space.

In contrast to the AiL and KiL Facebook pages, which mainly advertised events, travel or jobs, the posts on this group were mainly queries related to applying for the certificate of sponsorship, and applying for a national insurance number and tax refund in the UK. The posts were less about leisure opportunities and were more about finding one's way around YMS rules and guidance for application. Although some posts did relate to free or discounted events in London, sponsored posts did not feature in the group space, unlike for the pages previously discussed. Some posts promoted personal blogs of the participants, about their working holiday. Participants' recording and sharing of travel and leisure experiences on the scheme is an example of the 'retelling' of the adventure and experience that is characteristic of independent youth travel.

The discussion in this group space relied on a shared model of leisure opportunities and manifested attempts to create 'network capital' for East Asian participants, in contrast to the already available forms of 'network capital' accessible to participants from the Antipodes (in the form of AiL, KiL, relocation services and exclusive recruitment agencies). For instance, organised leisure opportunities in the form of sponsored posts were exclusively found in AiL and KiL pages. These pages catered to 'followers' with an established mobility to the UK, unlike the closed group comprising of nascent networks of participants from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Towards this end, it functioned as a support network. Especially important, the imaginative travel conveyed in this space is not framed as an entitlement; instead, it implied group members who were cautious in their plans, and who saw themselves as needing mutual help in following visa guidance, and getting set-up in London.

The historic mobilities and higher quota allocation of YMS visa places to Old Commonwealth young people, as compared to East Asian participants, also mean that

there is a discrepancy in the size of market⁷⁶ they offer commercial interests. In this way, the formation of communities of young adults on YMS visa can be understood by using the concepts of ‘post-coloniality’ and ‘privilege’ (Benson, 2013), which derive from historic relationships between the countries that participate in the scheme. Benson (2013) argues that privilege is not just about affluence or middle-class status, but also about membership of affluent or powerful countries, and colonial and historical relationships that ease channels of free movement

Having discussed the disparate opportunities for leisure that are available online, which are polarised along nationality and historic links, I will now examine the actual practices of leisure of the sample respondents, so as to critically discuss how they are patterned according to gender, nationality, and ethnicity.

7.4 Leisure practices

In this section, I will focus on the participants’ leisure practices that emerged from the interviews and participant-observations in their physical group spaces. The accounts of the participants from Australia and New Zealand largely confirm the predominance of drinking and outdoor sport cultures portrayed on the AiL and KiL ‘pages’. Antipodeans in London seem to celebrate not only the amount of choice and variety in activity but also the ready availability of alcohol. For instance, Ajay, an Australian man (of Indian descent), is fascinated by the differences between the drinking cultures of London and Sydney (where he owns a home):

And then you come to London, where no one day is similar to the one before it. Even when you go to work it’s different. Because, okay fine... you go to work, and work might be the same... But the second it strikes five, you don’t know what’s going to happen. Am I going to be at home? Am I going to be going for drinks in Holborn, or am I going to be in Marylebone, or, am I going to play squash with a friend, or am I going to sit at home, and plan my next holiday? Like you know, you just don’t know where your 5’0 clock to 10 o’ clock at night is going to look like, every night.

(Ajay, 31, Male, Australia)

⁷⁶ In 2014-2015, the quota allocation for the countries were – Australia: 38500, New Zealand: 9500, Canada: 5500, Japan: 1000, Taiwan: 1000, Hong Kong (HKSAR): 1000, Korea: 1000, Monaco: 1000

Ajay's account of the wide possibilities for leisure closely follows the act of drinking as a necessary ingredient. His account also reveals more about his work and friends. His privilege in not having to work unsocial shifts to survive in London comes across in the quote, although he does not speak of it. He can afford to spend about five hours a day on leisure activities and seemingly go drinking every night if he wishes. Drinking is expensive in London, although this never featured in his account. He had previously mentioned how all his friends are male and from Australia and doing similar kind of well-paid work (discussed in chapter 6). Ajay's account is revelatory with respect to gender, class and nationality, constituting privilege in leisure practices.

Similarly, Minita, a female New Zealander, reflected on the centrality of drinking in leisure practices, and specifically the pubbing culture in London:

I like the pubbing culture, how you could just go to... you could go to the pub at lunchtime and it's okay. That's quite different to home. At home, we don't have the same, 'Go to the pub everyday – type culture'...or some people do... But not nearly to the extent that I do here, or certainly they did in Scotland. And I think there is a lot more drinking here... and load... shit tonne more smoking.
(Minita, 27, Female, New Zealand)

In the above account, Minita, a white woman from a middle-class background, recounts views similar to Ajay's on pub culture and drinking during the daytime in London. However, she also associates the pub and drinking with a culture of smoking, which she does not like.

I will now bring in data on two group leisure practices of participants, both specific to particular nationalities with different degrees of historic links with Britain. These data were generated through participant-observation (as was a third example discussed in the following section, 7.5). Moina (a Japanese female participant) had tried to organise events to enable socialising among female YMS participants like her. There was no Facebook page or Facebook group for Japanese participants at the time of my fieldwork, although some of them, like Moina and Mayoso (YMS participants), had organised small meetings via MixB, a Japanese online space⁷⁷. Moina invited me to one such meet-up with her friends for lunch, followed by cherry blossom ('sakura' in Japanese) viewing in

⁷⁷ MixB is a Japanese version of Gumtree which offers opportunities to buy and sell goods, find out about accommodation, and helped in organising meet-ups.

Regents Park. I realised that sakura or cherry blossom is culturally significant to Japanese outdoor culture, particularly what is known as *Hanami* – a traditional practice of organising picnics under a cherry blossom tree.

I met Moina and her friends at the Royal Oak restaurant, their first meeting point of the day, continued by sakura-viewing at Regents Park. Overall, there were eight people (and two babies) in this meeting: Three Japanese women on YMS visa (including Moina), one Japanese woman settled in London (and her baby), two British men, one British woman and her Korean-American husband (and their baby). I realised that a common interest in Japanese language or Japanese culture connected all her friends. Moina's British friends had previously been on JET (a Japanese English Teaching) scheme⁷⁸ to Japan, or had a common interest in learning Japanese as a foreign language. The historically significant youth mobility of the JET scheme between UK and Japan was relevant here. The long culturally established mobility of Japanese youth to the UK is an exception to the other East Asian countries in YMS scheme, although I argue that, nevertheless, they had limited opportunities to interact with the 'Other' (discussed in section 7.5).

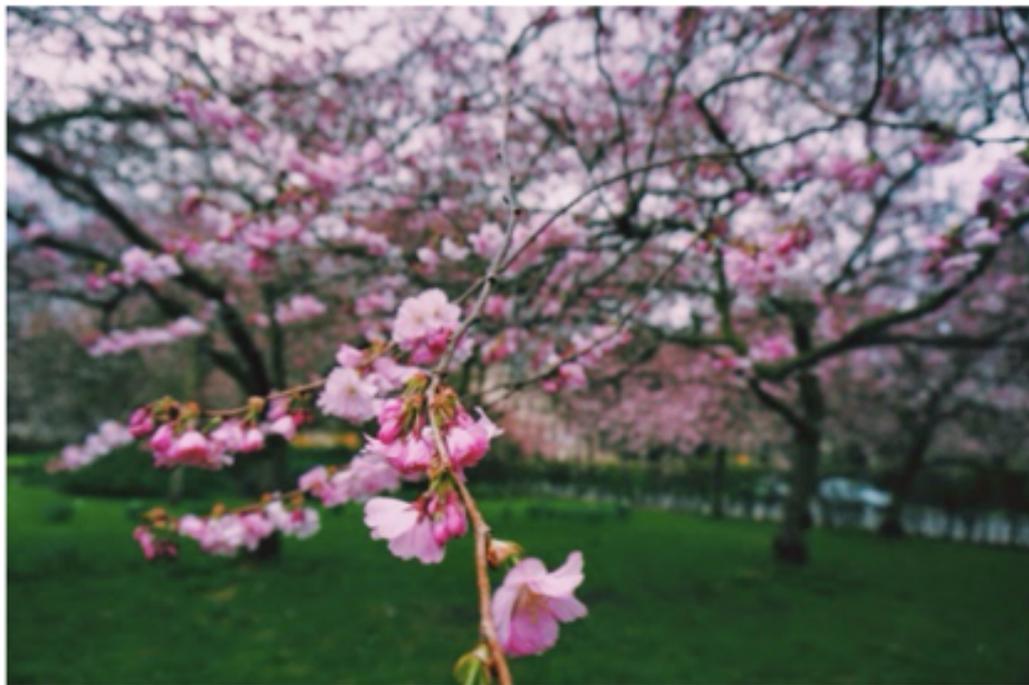
The main activity of the afternoon was enjoying the cherry blossom, although lack of sunshine and light showers meant that we did not sit under the trees. 'Sakura' viewing symbolised the trans-territorial consumption of cultures that characterised their lives in London. Moina's Japanese friends on YMS visa recounted experiences of travelling to the UK and aspirations they associated with their mobility. A sense of freedom to explore life and culture was predominant. The strong gendering of mobilities was apparent when they talked about the popularity of YMS among women as compared to men. They said that the normative expectations on men to build their careers in Japan stifled their participation on schemes like the YMS, while women were free to travel and work casually as there was no expectation on them to build careers. Moina captured the experience of the evening in her photo blog, given below in Fig 7.9 and Fig 7.10 (overleaf), where she recounted the experience of being out with friends.

⁷⁸ The JET scheme has operated between the UK and Japan since 1980.

週末は友人たちとバブ&公園散歩へ。お花見の予定だったけど、寒くてとても外で座って桜を楽しむ天気じゃなかった。。



Figure 7.9: Moina's blog post on watching the fountain near sakura trees



桜にも会えました

Figure 7.10 Moina's blog post, which captured 'sakuras' in the park

These images displayed Moina's life 'on the move' and symbolize how mobility has become a 'way of life' for her (Urry, 2000, cited in Urry, 2002a: 256). Through the act of publishing her practices of leisure and everyday life, Moina is contributing to 'imaginative' mobilities, which may eventually take shape in others' physical travel on a YMS visa to London. The private dining together in a restaurant and enjoyment of parks that characterised the contours of leisure in the case of Japanese, Taiwanese, Hong Kongese and Koreans was quite distinct from the Aussie and Kiwi youth cultures of leisure, that centred instead on nationality, hedonism, and historic links with Britain. I will now highlight these quite different leisure practices through my observation data on the Waitangi Day Pub Crawl, 2015 in London.

Waitangi Day is a public holiday in New Zealand and celebrates the anniversary of the Treaty of Waitangi, signed on 6 February 1840. The Treaty marked the relationship between the *Maoris* (native indigenous people of New Zealand) and the British at the time, making New Zealand part of the British Empire. Thus, the day is important to the contemporary constitution of 'modern' New Zealand. Nowadays the occasion is also marked by protests by activists, who highlight the differences in the Maori version and the English version of the treaty and its different meanings for white settlers and Maoris. For instance, differences over the extent of violations and the treaty's failure to recognise the land rights and autonomy of the *Maoris*⁷⁹. I situate the Waitangi Day pub crawl celebration, 2015 in London in this history of empire and contemporary protests.

The day's events started with a short performance of *haka* at the *Pride of Paddington* pub, at which the crawl started. Some of the pub crawlers could alternatively start from Notting Hill Gate at 11 am, at which point the group from Paddington joined those assembled in front of the *Old Swan* pub. As I noted in my field notes at the time, the event featured young people in costumes drawing on New Zealand popular culture.

They were dressed as kiwis, kiwi fruit, sheep, captain America and a few of them were in princess dresses and had a Miss New Zealand banner across them. I walked into the pub and saw many costume-clad young people. I approached a table with two young women who were wearing police uniforms. They were the 'kiwi police' for the day. I spoke to one girl while she was getting her badge in

⁷⁹ See also <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/waitangi-day/waitangi-day-1970s>

order and she said she is an Aussie ‘helping out’ her kiwi friends. I could sense the Aussie-Kiwi bond coming to life on such occasions. (Field notes, 7 February 2015)

The photograph (Fig 7.11) in the next page, taken by me, shows pub crawlers wearing costumes, undeterred by the showers. The most commonly spotted costume was of sheep.



Figure 7.11: Young people dressed in costumes braving light showers

Although various pubs collaborated with the pub crawl and the street drinking ban in London appeared to be waived for this celebration, there was hardly anyone buying drinks from the pubs.

London pubs are expensive and they [pub crawlers] knew it the best. I was party to occasional crowding at small off-license shops for supplies of beer and crisps. This was the pub crawl- London style, since everyone is trying to make the best of it and mostly there is not enough money for all that London offers! (Field notes, 7 February 2015)

The spectacle of the event, with predominantly white young adults celebrating a treaty signed 160 years ago, can be viewed analytically through the lens of ‘post-coloniality’ and ‘privilege’ (Benson, 2013), which I associate with privileged forms of migration. The take-over of streets and the temporary waiver of rules related to drinking, seem to indicate the ‘privilege’ accorded to these young adults. It was also clear that the event

was not only popular among kiwis, since the occasion was also attended by participants from Canada and Australia, which were also white settler countries (dominions) in the British empire. Their presence emphasised the privileged postcoloniality of the occasion still further.

My interview with Sandra a few weeks later in the British Library revealed that some Canadians on YMS also take part in a number of events that are popular among Kiwis and Aussies. Sandra, a Canadian woman, revealed that Canadians on YMS did not have an established presence as prominent as those from Australia and New Zealand, although a closed group in Facebook provided opportunities to meet.

It's odd for me to meet other Canadians here on that [YMS] visa... Like, it's not something that... like... Unless I have done like a Canadian meet-up... I haven't met other Canadians... like I meet a lot Australians, New Zealanders, people from South Africa... I don't know if they are on that visa or not... and British... That's what [whom] I tend to interact with. I find those groups together. The Australians come here, and then go to Australian pubs... and stuff like that... And Canadians don't do that as much... erm... so Yeah I don't really know other Canadians on that... the program and... I like I know that one guy at home that's done it... and that's it...

(Sandra, 28, Female, Canada)

There are three prominent themes in Sandra's account. One is about the ongoing interactions between participants from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa (Old Commonwealth countries), and the near exclusion of participants from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, and Korea from these groups. Second is the paucity of group leisure practices among Canadians on YMS visas. This relates to my own observation about the absence of 'pages' for Canadians on a working holiday.⁸⁰ Third, Sandra points to the leisure practices of Australians who 'come here, and then go to Australian pubs', as she puts it. This highlights the predominance of ethnocentric practices of leisure and therefore the limits to cosmopolitanism, pointing instead to what seem quite insular practices of mobility. These young people mix with others, as enjoined by cosmopolitan

⁸⁰ I could locate a closed Facebook group 'Canadians in the UK', although this space was not exclusively for working holiday. The administrator also gave limited permission to observe the group and its posts for research.

discourse, but the people they mix with are what I call ‘similar others’. My concept of ‘similar others’ takes inspiration from the work of Helene Cixous who argued that ‘construction of the Other is dependent upon a simultaneous construction of “the Same”’ (Aitchison, 2000: 136).

For instance, Sandra, who came to London through the relocation services of the *London Pub Company*, did not often meet other Canadians but could find opportunities to interact with those I call ‘similar others’ from the Commonwealth. In this way, relocation companies which work exclusively in the Old Commonwealth countries structure a limited form of cosmopolitanism, by bringing together ‘similar others’. Towards this end, my findings partially align with Vered Amit on what she calls ‘circumscribed cosmopolitanism’ (2015) in which sample participants’ travel practices were shaped by institutional arrangements. Consequently, they experienced ‘bounded clustering’ (Amit, 2015: 563) in their leisure practices. However, insularity was not always the product of institutional arrangements. I will discuss this in detail in the next section on historic mobilities to the UK.

7.5 Historic mobilities and limited cosmopolitanism

In this section, I further build my analysis of limited cosmopolitanism and insularity for mobile youth, drawing substantially on a third leisure practice that I participated in, the Anzac Day celebrations, and also highlighting the salience of gender. Matt, a Canadian man, used the relocation service of *Britbound* to move to the UK on a working holiday. His thoughts on highly clustered interactions with people from the ‘Commonwealth’ bring to light the importance of conduits that shape overseas youth travel. He says,

Everybody I met was from the Commonwealth. Most of them. (...) but yes, erm that’s basically Australians, New Zealand, the Canadians. Only because in majority, Britbound takes care of people from the Commonwealth. I don’t know why, it’s just the way it is...so most of the people I met were from the Commonwealth. Although I did met [meet] Britbounders that were...Britbounders are people from Britbound (laughs) erm...but I did meet Germans that were in the same organisations ...erm so yeah I mean, I didn’t meet different kind of people and although...like the Commonwealth is not really different culturally... because it’s like everybody speaks English, everybody is like kind of western culture. - (Matt, 23, Male, Canada)

Matt reinstates in his comments on his social life today the importance of colonial and historic movements of people for the institutional structures of youth mobility. His limited and highly clustered interactions with ‘similar others’ from white Commonwealth countries can help us to further identify the limits to cosmopolitanism and the insular mobilities that result. In the participants’ accounts, the Commonwealth was more than just a political union of 52 sovereign countries. Instead, it was an imagined community, formed around what they believed to be shared identities (Anderson, 2006) in which ‘everybody speaks English, everybody is like kind of western culture’. It is here that I locate ‘similar others’ as an important theme in YMS participants’ lives. I argue that Matt’s words also contain an implicit association between whiteness and the Commonwealth, inferred from his quote, since, despite meeting Germans at *Britbound*, he was of the belief that he ‘didn’t meet different kind of people’. The idea of ‘similar others’ is also strong when he asserts that the ‘Commonwealth is not really different culturally’.

I identify two dimensions to ‘similar others’ among Old Commonwealth YMS participants: Commonwealth as English-speaking and Western and Commonwealth as white and constituting Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Vered Amit (2015) places importance on the circuits that enable youth travel, which, when seen alongside my concept of ‘similar others’, foreground the relevance of Commonwealth identity in the opportunities for and practices of leisure on a youth mobility visa. Rose, a Canadian female who used *Britbound*, mentioned how everyday social activities are shaped through it:

They [*Britbound*] have different events depending on what you are interested in – so there’s pub nights, there’s card nights...and sometimes there will be specific events like tramping. There was a bingo [game] last night. I didn’t go to that, but yes. There are nights, like... where they’ll go to, sort of a Broadway show or a movie night.

(Rose, 24, Female, Canada)

Rose’s account reveals the leisure events that are available through *Britbound* and offers an opportunity to understand these exclusive leisure spaces as an example of the limits to participants’ cosmopolitanism, in so far as they operate as an Old Commonwealth conduit. Interestingly, *Britbound* also played a role in Rose’s living arrangements. She

lived with fourteen flat mates (predominantly from New Zealand), two of whom she met through Britbound. Similarly, Raisa, an Australian woman, lived in a flat share with 18 people, whom she listed as ‘one French guy, one Turkish guy and everybody else are Australians’.

A different picture of youth mobility shapes the experience of participants from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, and Japan. Adrian, a Taiwanese male, recounts the relative novelty of the scheme in Taiwan, and how the participants must establish connections through limited avenues like ‘closed groups’ in Facebook. Unlike the AiL and KiL pages, which promote job and leisure opportunities, the discussions in the closed group for Chinese speakers⁸¹ on YMS centred around survival tips, such as how to deal with the visa application/job interview:

Because the first, the first group... they come here, they finish, because only just two year[s] [since YMS opened to Taiwan], and someone will share their interview experience, and, or their working experience, and how is the job – like – [in] Harrods or Uniqlo. And someone will share their experience on it. And then you will know, what the recruitment [is like], ... the manager will ask you about the question. And you can prepare [for] it. Yeah... So, it’s many many information you can find [in] it.

(Adrian, 26, Male, Taiwan)

Adrian’s account highlights the role played by the ethnocentric Facebook closed group⁸² for young adults from Taiwan and Hong Kong in helping the participants and providing them with a support network. Vicky, a Taiwanese female, also pointed to the highly clustered experience of the participants within their ethno-linguistic communities:

Most of my friends are Asian...So just I think, I don’t really...I have no British friends...So, sometime you don’t get that deep into their culture, yeah.. so, but still you can see lots of different things from Asia...

(Vicky, 26, Female, Taiwan)

⁸¹ Participants mentioned both Mandarin and Cantonese being used in these online spaces.

⁸² This is also the only Facebook group that I observed for this research. Adrian had suggested that I write to the administrator of the group and ask for permission to join the group.

Vicky's words reveal the limits of forms of youth mobility as a contribution to cultural exchange. Her account shows that Asian participants find it difficult to make friends in Britain and can only superficially explore the culture. The absence of cultural exchange points to their insular experiences on the visa. However, Vicky was more eager to have an authentic London experience and meet locals and had made the decision to move out of her expensive apartment (in a gated community complete with a staffed reception) to a flat in East London, identifying it as 'real London'.

Mayoso, a Japanese woman, pointed to a similar limitation, owing to the kind of jobs available to temporary visa holders on YMS. These cluster people from one nationality, limiting interaction with others in the UK. Despite being on the YMS visa, she is limited in her opportunities to meet 'foreign people' and must organise or be part of other meet-ups outside her workplace.

Through other meet-ups actually, because where I work, it's mostly Japanese. We don't have many foreign people. So, yeah... for like meet-ups... for like language exchange...

(Mayoso, 31, Female, Japan)

Mayoso indicates the limits to cosmopolitanism and her insular experiences at work, due to employment in ethnic economies of London labour market, as discussed in Chapter 6. She worked in a Japanese trading company and most of her colleagues were also Japanese. This meant that she had limited interactions with people from other countries. Moina, another Japanese female, revealed similar limits to meeting people from diverse cultures:

I wanted to have some more friends, like make more friends with YMS visa in the same situation... I always thought it is good to have more friends in London...like you can [get] lonely actually. So, people come and go, come and go. So, I put the advertise[ment] on MixB, 'We are going to have a meet-up, just just... ladies and, I wanted to have it with actually a bit more older ladies, like over 25 or 26. So, ... and I have meet [met]... I met more than 15 girls and yes and it's growing...

(Moina, 30, Female, Japan)

Lack of meaningful friendships at the workplace, or events to go to collectively, mean that participants like Moina from Japan must devise ways to make friends and form networks, more likely to be single sex than the Antipodean and Canadian networks.

Drawing on my participant observation data from the Anzac Day Commemoration (2015), I will end this section on insular leisure practices by seeing how closely war-memory of Empire and the idea of Commonwealth are tied to whiteness. This amplifies our understanding of privilege and belonging because the participants at this event were explicit about who was excluded.

Anzac Day was an event that found frequent mention in the KiL and AiL public pages. The Dawn service and Commemoration ceremony were popular topics of discussion and people enquired about group attendance and how others could join in. The year 2015 also marked the 100 years' commemoration of the first world war across Britain. I attended the commemoration ceremony, formally titled 'National Commemoration of the Centenary of the Gallipoli Campaign and Anzac Day', at Whitehall on 25 April 2015. There were dignitaries from the Commonwealth countries of Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, India, Nepal, Pakistan, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Papua New Guinea, Tonga, Malta, and New Zealand. Dignitaries from Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, and Turkey were also present.

I received several uncertain looks from the ethnic-white families with young children who devotedly sang the anthems of three countries – Australia, New Zealand, and England – to commemorate the martyrs of the First world war. I at once realised that as an Indian woman at an Anzac Day commemoration I was somehow out of place. To me, the event exposed multiple layers of bordering, mediated by war memory and identities. While Anzac forces and those from British India (then including present day Pakistan, Bangladesh, parts of Sri Lanka and Nepal), as well as from other colonies of the Empire in Africa and Caribbean, fought alongside Britain, as British subjects, some of them were wilfully forgotten thereafter.

I argue that 'transnational commemoration' ceremonies like this one 'encourage the formation of new collective memories of the past' (West, 2015: 24). Who belongs, and does not belong to the social fabric of a country is still relived in the war memory that imbues the present with its past. The selective choosing of the national anthems of Australia, New Zealand, England and Turkey (the location of the battle of Gallipoli,

where Anzac troops fought) meant that ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Anderson, 2013) were clearly demarcated in this ritual of memory. The commemoration ceremony concluded with the Turkish Air Force band playing ‘Marche Mustafa Kamal Atatürk’ by Fazil Caglayan, which was followed by a procession of descendants whose ancestors were involved in the Gallipoli campaign. No racialised ethnic minorities from former British colonies were part of this retreat procession. I suggest that the commemoration and the annual marching around the cenotaph is a ritual of exclusion. Whiteness was the undeniable marker that separated ‘us’ and ‘them’, also setting up ‘similar others’. This will further become clear in my account of what followed the formal ceremony.

Soon after the commemoration, I attended an Anzac Day party at a *Walkabout* pub. It is here that I encountered the nuances of ‘everyday othering’ and their contrast with the inclusion of ‘similar others’. The *Walkabout* pub near Temple tube station is a prominent Australian themed pub among the Walkabout chain of pubs. Youth drinking culture was at the heart of the event, manifest as an important identity practice on Anzac Day, and I took part by drinking a cocktail. Most of the participants were dressed in smart formal clothes and there were also young men with medallions pinned to their suits (See Fig 7.12).



Figure 7.12: The medallions pinned to the suit of the young man at my table

I found an empty spot at a table, where three people who were obviously friends were sitting. They asked me where I come from and it was clear that my country of origin being India meant that I was expected to explain why I was attending this gathering. I

introduced myself as doing research with young people on a YMS visa, which is popular as a route to a working holiday. The young white man to my right exclaimed that he had been on a working holiday and later settled down in London using the ancestral visa. A young white woman who was on a YMS visa remarked that most of them were on an ancestral visa or the two-year visa (YMS). The third person in the group was a young white Australian man who had served with the British army. The medals he wore on his suit declared his participation in the occupation of Iraq, 2003, and his participation in Timor Leste (with no clear demarcation of the years of participation). He had also served briefly in Myanmar.

These young adults' drinking and chatting were also reinforcing their 'unique' ways of belonging to Britain through them and/or their ancestors having fought in British wars. It was also clear that a systematic institutional forgetfulness led them to associate with 'similar others' in Old Commonwealth. The young man who had previously been on a visa and later settled down in the UK was surprised to hear that Indian forces also fought in the war. The surprise took a new turn when he realised that India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh are also part of the Commonwealth. Up until that point, he had passionately engaged in a conversation about how movement between the Commonwealth and Britain should be made smoother. He lifted my hand, turned it over and held out his arm in the same way and then exclaimed sarcastically: 'Not much of a difference in colour, is it?', later clarifying that when he said Commonwealth, he did not mean India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

This conversation from the leisure terrain of an Anzac Day party can be brushed off as the ignorance of a young man about all the countries that constitute the Commonwealth. It can also be held as a telling reminder of 'the judgements about who belongs and who can be included legitimately that are made routinely in the spaces of everyday life' (Back & Sinha, 2012: 149). Everyday judgements about who belongs are an important aspect of 'flying the flag' or partaking in nationally and culturally relevant activities, like partying after remembering the fallen soldier. 'Cosmopolitan belonging' (Jones et al., 2014) in this case manifests in the fantasy of smooth movement between Britain and the white, Old Commonwealth (specifically Australia and New Zealand), churning out imagined privileges outside institutional bordering.

7.5.1 Gendered limits to cosmopolitanism

I now continue my discussion of the limits to cosmopolitanism that emerged in my data by examining the role of gender as a form of privilege in shaping leisure practices. Bagnoli (2009: 334) points to the ways in which female backpackers ‘transgress stereotypical gender boundaries’ through planning and carrying out travel both alone and with others. She argues that traveling has the potential to ‘re-appropriate one’s own gender identity’ (2009: 334). For geographers especially, place is an important aspect of the formation of gender identities, and it also enters into the analysis of gender and travel. Nayak and Kehily (2013) point to the importance of place in the formation of masculinities and femininities. Femininities are argued to be shaped by globalisation, which imagines a ‘new female subject’ who is ‘liberated from the confines of the domestic sphere’; ‘late modernity unshackles women from the patriarchal past’ (Kehily & Nayak, 2008: 325). However, the above conceptualisations of gender emancipation through travel does not really deal with how some women who travel alone are perceived in their home societies, or the stigma they may face in attempting to create their own identities. An exception to this is Elsrud (2001: 614) who argued that ‘historically founded “risk and adventure narrative of travel” is still at least partly gendered’. Gendered vulnerability (through risk perceptions) was also mentioned by a number of the women participants. Gender therefore may limit some women’s access to the cosmopolitan life styles they sought.

It is within the assumptions of gender emancipation associated with late modernity and wider opportunities of travel and leisure that the female participants understood their lives on YMS. However, the structuring of young women’s lives within patriarchal modes of surveillance and control persisted in the account of Ji-Hu and others. They bring a contested perspective to freedom, highlighting important limits to cosmopolitanism.

Ji-Hu, a Korean female, recounted a case of gendered stigma associated with solo women travellers in the context of women’s matrimonial prospects at home in Korea:

Some people would say, if they had [said]... I am going to travel a lot all around alone, or stay in airport alone, they might think (...) It’s [a] risk. It’s dangerous. So, it’s interesting, [it] is like they see – what do you say - Matching company? They are matching man – if they are registered for it. But, they check for all your

information, before they match you to the guys. And then if you travel alone, for long time, Or, if you do the YMS, it's. ..You're... you [will] have less points... (Ji-Hu, 25, Female, Korea)

Ji-Hu's words speak about the assignment of 'risk' to the personhood of the woman traveller who comes from Korea. The gender norms that associate women with domesticity are transgressed by solo sojourns by unmarried women like Ji-Hu. She says that this gives rise to suspicion and risk to the purity of their bodies and decreases their attractiveness for potential arranged marriage partners and their families.

Despite her aspirations for traveling and exploring London and other parts of Europe, Ji-Hu was aware of the stigma attached to solo travel by women. She found marriage related stigma attached to prospective alliances through match making companies. As she went on to say,

If you travel like alone for a long time abroad, it's minus points, for you about a year. Because they think it's a big dangerous [danger]. You never know what you done there!

(Ji-Hu, 25, Female, Korea)

Ji-Hu's account reveals that doubts are cast on the morality of independent women travellers. Mobility is fraught with patriarchal stigmas that view unaccompanied women travellers with suspicion. My interview with Anna, a Taiwanese female, also brought out the gendered limits to practices of cosmopolitanism:

Because I am... I am in [from] Taiwan, I am not (inaudible) ...So, if some...something I don't know...why... some guys... I think I was scared (...)
Yeah, well, one time, when I ... when I [was] off my work...in Japanese Restaurant, I just wait for bus. And I ate...ate a Salmon roll... the Indian food, and it's...samosa. I think it's like Indian men, I am not sure... And he walked and asked me, 'what are you eating', and I say, 'I don't know, my friend gave me'. And then he asked me if I would like to go to party with me. 'oh no, it's okay' and he said - 'okay okay bye'.

(Anna, 28, Female, Taiwan)

Anna felt scared to go out and mingle with strangers in London. She voices the vulnerabilities of being a young, ethnic minority woman in London. She also expresses her lack of confidence and fear at such instances. Her words highlight the gendered limits to freedom and choice in accessing practices of leisure.

Similarly, Moina, a Japanese woman, also remarked that she often felt annoyed at the behaviour of men in London, and had made a conscious decision to avoid unforeseen dangers. It is telling that most of the women who expressed these gendered fears were visible ethnic minorities in London. It seemed that they were 'hit on' more than the ethnic-white women on YMS visas:

I have felt annoyed or bothered by men's behaviour many times (...) we are being told to be careful about men, like don't follow anyone because... (laughs)... not mens [men]... not all mens [men] are dangerous, but you have to be smart right...And, I think it's also based on cultural difference... because I also ..I also found, that Japanese girls don't know how to say no. Yeah, it's in our culture, like in our culture, saying yes or no clearly is not really seen as a good thing. If you are too clear on everything you might [be] seen as a quite strong...and people kind of like to say 'Maybe... let's do this...'

(Moina, 30, Female, Japan)

Moina reiterated the gender norms of socialisation in Japan in the above quote. She also expressed vulnerabilities that may arise due to cultural differences between Japan and other cultures. I asked Moina if this was unique to the way women are socialised in Japanese culture:

Not really... it's in our society, part of our culture... like general culture not for women or men, so by that kind of behaviour, we can cause misunderstanding living here. Because if you don't say no like other people, other men, would think since she is not saying no that means 'Yes'? [or] 'maybe'.

(Moina, 30, Female, Japan)

Moina's account reveals a strong interplay between national and cultural aspects of identity in being Japanese, which result in gendered limits to cosmopolitanism, drawing from gendered vulnerabilities and risks experienced by solo women travellers.

Similarly, Melissa, a female Hong Kong national, defined herself as sociable and outgoing but at the same time was very aware that as a woman she took special precautions around safety:

I think for my personality I am really outgoing, I am really sociable. So, I am not like worried or scared of anything. But when I try to... like meet some strangers like...even, especially, when you know you are going to meet male strangers, I might be aware, and I might take my friends as well (...) And I try to avoid to meet strangers in those like pubs, or like late night[s]... I mean, as a female, I still have to like protect myself. I am here for work or something, but I don't want to risk my life. Still... I am very aware of it. (...) Yes, especially, I think like for most like Asian females, like physically, we are much shorter, and smaller. So, you feel like you can't really protect yourself whenever you are in danger... So, we try to avoid it.

(Melissa, 25, Female, Hong Kong)

Melissa's understanding of what constitutes fear, ways of protecting herself and reasons to protect herself was situated in an intersectional lattice of gender, ethnicity, and the wider construction of her female Asian body in London.

Interestingly, the male participants from East Asian countries concurred with the predominant gender norms that expected women to be careful in practices of travel and leisure. Dai, a Taiwanese male, pointed to his understanding of differences between men and women in staying safe while hanging out in London late at night.

I think (...) for [a] Western country it's still quite dangerous, for hanging out at night. I mean it's nice...so it's just...if you want to hang out you just... you must have big group... I think it's safe for not only female, but also male. But the one group, you must have a male, it's more safe. As female, you need to worry about more, even [if] you take taxi.

(Dai, 26, Male, Taiwan)

In the above account, Dai acknowledges some risks associated with nightlife in London, although he believes women must 'worry about more'. His solution is to stay in groups, since he perceives this as safer for both men and women. However, Dai's egalitarian proposition breaks down when he asserts that every group must have a male – to ensure

the group's overall safety. Pong, a Korean male, remarked that men are more adventurous and contrasted this with his understanding of timidity in women:

I am not being not being... discriminative of gender, but males have more... males are more tend to ... have spirit of exploring new places... I think... whereas [women] maybe are more timid... of meeting new people, and being in a new environment. So, I think they tend to go back home early...

(Pong, 22, Male, Korea)

Pong's account reveals the gender stereotypes associated with travel. It is ironic that male participants still held such views alongside an awareness of more women travelling on YMS visas.

When compared to those of female participants from East Asian countries, the accounts of female participants from largely white Commonwealth countries hardly mentioned fears associated with doing an overseas stint in London. Jane, a female New Zealander, had already travelled quite a bit and relied on her confidence in being 'street smart':

I travelled to India all by myself, as a solo female, and like took overnight trains and slept on trains and things like that... And, I have done a lot of travelling before I came to London... so, pretty street smart! (Jane, 29, Female, New Zealand)

Jane's words reveal her self-confidence in travel. She rarely acknowledged gender as a relevant category in travel and mobility. In this way, she held an empowered view of travel, especially since she thought women dominated youth mobility on YMS visas. Sandra, a Canadian female, also saw herself as a confident traveller and told me that 'I don't get scared and it's not something I expect to have a problem with'. Yet she knew her experience was different from what a man's would be. She recounts her gendered experiences of worrying for her safety in public places in London.

There's definitely some very, very aggressive people here, who do not take 'No' at a pub as 'No', they see it as a challenge. Erm...especially if you go into places like... places that are knows as touristy places - like central London - the Zoo, Tiger Tiger [club], stuff like that... where they know you are going to be a tourist. They get really aggressive. And I know a few girls here who have had problems with guys getting aggressive and they get scared... My response is 'Hmmm, one

second, walk up to a bouncer and then I'll be like, 'this guy is getting out of control, he is starting to scare me'.

(Sandra, 28, Female, Canada)

In the above account, Sandra reveals some of the challenges in the practices of leisure in London, identifying 'touristy places' as dangerous. Her account highlights the gendered limits to practicing 'openness' in London and the cautious performance of leisure in such circumstances. Similarly, Minita (New Zealander) recalled the gendered limits to her mobility in Turkey, where she was stared at and made uncomfortable. Another participant, Rose (Canadian) mentioned that Canadian society does not encourage solo travel by women (see chapter 5 for a related discussion about Minita and Rose's gender identities and travel).

In this section, I have documented participants' accounts to show the gendered fears, norms and stereotypes that may limit their practices of leisure and cosmopolitanism. While ethnic minority women participants from East Asia mostly battled with gendered fears in their leisure avenues, the ethnic-white women expressed fewer such fears.

7.6 Conclusions

YMS participants' overall aspirations for living in London were connected to their seeking self-transformation, as seen in Chapter 5, and a different way of life than at home. But there was a disjunction between their aspirations and their actual practices of leisure, as the latter were shaped by the need to negotiate power asymmetries, especially those associated with more or less privileged positions in post-colonial Britain, and gender identities. My findings partly align with Vered Amit's concept of 'circumscribed cosmopolitanism' (2015), through the instances of 'bounded clustering' (Amit, 2015: 563) that is evident in participants' leisure practices. However, I argued in this chapter that limits to cosmopolitanism evident in their leisure terrains move beyond institutional arrangements of youth mobility.

The participants' aspirations can broadly be grouped under their desire for travel and exploration, although the East Asian participants expressed more appreciation of the value of visiting museums and other elements of what we can call 'high culture'. The opportunities for meeting people with whom to socialise in their leisure time, however, are polarised along lines of gender, ethnicity, nationality, and historic links with Britain.

Disparate access to network capital, when combined with pre-existing dominant power relations between groups, also influenced the relative privilege of YMS participants in their opportunities for leisure. The participants from the Old Commonwealth also expressed a much higher sense of entitlement, both online and off-line, than the East Asian participants.

The chapter also brought out the limits to practices of cosmopolitanism among the participants, whose life styles were often more insular than cosmopolitan. The impact of these leisure practices in London on how we understand youth mobility centres on practices of ethnocentrism, with participants either focusing on close ties formed around their Commonwealth identities or close ties formed around linguistic and nationality groups. Their location in nationality-specific workplaces, owing to the limited opportunities available on the YMS visa, also restricted their interaction with 'Others'. The educational and enlightening potential of cosmopolitan travel is mandated on association with the 'locals' and people different from you, but this took place only to a limited extent. The practice of cosmopolitanism is also limited by racialised-gendered stigmas and fears which limit women's mobility and their leisure terrains, especially as discussed by the East Asian women, flagging up the tension between aspirations and everyday practices of cosmopolitanism.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

I started this research seeking to better understand the ‘mobile subjects’ in Tier-5 YMS of the contemporary UK immigration regime. I was specifically interested in analysing their construction within the policy realm, researching how they understand their motivations to participate and exploring their experiences of work and leisure in the UK. Part of my motivation in undertaking this research was my personal interest in expanding gendered analyses of non-economic (or non-exclusively economic) forms of migration, and this early interest later expanded into an analysis of sources of privilege which shape contemporary YMS migration, of which gender is only one. In this chapter, I will first return to my research questions to discuss the empirical findings from my study (section 8.2). I then discuss the significance of my findings, dividing them into methodological and theoretical contributions to knowledge (8.3). In this section, I will also elucidate the relationship between methodology and analysis, identifying limitations in my project. I will then discuss future research agendas that arise from my project (8.4). Finally, I will conclude the chapter by reiterating the main arguments of my thesis (8.5).

8.2 Research Questions and Findings

I will first reiterate my research questions and say how I have answered them; my answers constituting an original contribution to the empirical literature on youth working holidaymakers.

1. What is the UK's YMS, and how does it construct 'mobile subjects'?
2. Who accesses the YMS and how do they explain their motivations?
3. What work do participants obtain and how do they access labour market opportunities?
4. How are participants' leisure opportunities structured by participation in YMS?
5. What, if any, are key differences between the participants in terms of motivations, work and leisure?

8.2.1 What is the UK's YMS, and how does it construct 'mobile subjects'?

As a temporary migration scheme, YMS is shaped by the 'managed migration' rhetoric (Home Office, 2006) of the PBS. The current operationalisation of YMS is directly linked to the changing discourse of migration controls to the UK, which when introduced in 2008 were heralded by then Minister of State for Borders and Immigration, Liam Byrne, as 'the biggest changes to the immigration system for 45 years' (UKBA, 2008b: 4). My research constitutes the first policy analysis of YMS, which I argue is consistent with efforts to control the migration of specific populations since the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962, and which constructs 'mobile subjects' as privileged.

In chapter 4, I analysed how 'dividing practices' operate in the YMS, that is 'practices that set groups of people against each other' (Bacchi, 2009: 29). The concept of 'dividing practices' was first used by Foucault to show how 'the subject is either divided inside himself (sic) or divided from others' (Foucault, 1982: 208 as cited in Bacchi, 2009: 29). Using the post-structural policy analysis framework, WPR, propounded by Carol Bacchi (2009), I argued in chapter 4 that different layers of 'dividing practices' are evident in YMS from its inception in 2008.

First, the heuristic device of 'visa national status' is used to exclude countries in the Indian sub-continent, Caribbean and Africa from ever participating in the scheme. This is striking because WHM, the predecessor of YMS, was available to all countries of the Commonwealth. My research highlights that the working holiday-maker status, informally in place since the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962, was formalised into a visa category at some point, although there is no clear source that points to this development. It must be presumed that policy-makers were later concerned that the British state could not control people from the former colonies which now comprise the 'New Commonwealth' from travelling to the UK on working holiday arrangements. Removing their eligibility through the category of 'visa nationals' may look like a technicality at first glance, but is a clear racialisation of immigration policy. Thus, I argue that the UK's YMS can be understood as a continuation of a racialisation traced back to the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962 in the literature on race and migration.

Second, 'dividing practices' are evident in the conception of 'risk value' that the Home Office uses to decide which countries are eligible to participate in the scheme. The discursive apparatus of 'risk value', derived from a 'YMS risk formula' which the Home

Office refuses to publish (UKBA, 2008b: 13), effectively divides potential youth migrants into ‘risk’ and ‘non-risk’ subjects. I contend that risk is negatively correlated with a country’s income level, *inter alia*, and this further reinforces the division between citizens of the ‘developed’ Old Commonwealth and citizens of the ‘developing’ ‘New’ Commonwealth. It also sheds light on why the expansion of the scheme beyond the Commonwealth has been to generally prosperous, East Asian countries. Nonetheless, these countries are not treated in the same way as those from the Old Commonwealth. For example, all East Asian countries in the scheme are lumped together, with a so far unchanged, static quota limit of 1000⁸³, established in 2008 (when YMS was introduced), as opposed to the steady increase in the already much higher quota limit for Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.

Third, ‘dividing practices’ constitute eligibility for the scheme on the basis of age, and parenting, the latter carrying particular weight for women’s reproductive lives. The scheme is gendered⁸⁴ in its construction of YMS mobile subjects as aged between 18-30 and having no children, with any breach in the latter amounting to possible deportation. Fourth, ‘dividing practices’ separate out YMS participants from ‘other’ non-EU young migrants to the UK, who must comply with sponsor regulations in other categories of visas for both work and study. In the brochure published by UKBA in 2008, YMS is advertised as an opportunity for young people from participating countries to ‘work and play’ in the UK (UKBA, 2008a). YMS migrants are less ‘patrolled’ than those on other visa-types, with minimal restrictions on study and work. Furthermore, the conceptualisation of ‘work and play’ can be understood alongside concepts of freedom, choice, travel, and cultivation of cosmopolitan attitudes identified in scholarly literature on youth travel and tourism (for instance, Cohen et al, 2015; Amit, 2015; Conradson and Latham, 2005a); all signifiers of privilege in this literature. This is a far cry from the forced or desperate migration of young refugees. At the same time, I argue that privileged youth mobility has been appropriated in state immigration frameworks (see also Robertson, 2014; Reilly, 2015); border controls do not only impinge on ‘asylum seekers’ and ‘economic migrants’.

Consequently, these ‘dividing practices’ construct ‘mobile subjects’ on YMS as footloose, agentful, potentially cosmopolitan young people from wealthy, ‘non-risk’

⁸³ BNO passport-holders (from Hong Kong in this sample) do not have quota-limit on participation.

⁸⁴ Women’s reproductive ‘window’ in the life-course is generally shorter than men’s.

countries whose nationals are not subject to strict visa regulations, privileging the mobility of young adults from a small group of countries. Using the WPR framework, I also showed how immigration policy in the UK is as much about impressions about who must be allowed relatively free access to the borders and who shouldn't than it is about evidence of non-compliance with immigration rules by nationals of some countries.

8.2.2 Who accesses the YMS and how do they explain their motivations?

In terms of who accesses the YMS (beyond the obvious characteristics of nationality that YMS dictates), my research findings only partly align with earlier studies of young working holidaymakers whose participants were well-educated and from middle-class backgrounds (Conradson & Latham, 2007; Helleiner, 2015; Wilson et al., 2010). Certainly, most of the participants were 'tertiary educated' (Robertson, 2014: 1923) – twenty-one graduates, and four post-graduates (three participants had high school certificates and only one participant did not have a school-leaving certificate). Most of the participants (fourteen) were aged between 26-29, eight participants were in the range of 22-25 and seven participants were aged between 30 and 32. While most participants were from middle-class backgrounds, six were from working-class backgrounds, countering the idea that working holidays constitute 'young and ostensibly "middle class" mobility' (Robertson, 2014: 1928). Moreover, significantly, the participants who performed lower-skilled jobs in the UK were from both middle-class and working-class backgrounds. Further, being well-educated, and hailing from middle-class backgrounds did not automatically ensure favourable employment outcomes in the London labour market. Thus, while my participants were generally compatible with a 'middling' form of transnational migration (Conradson and Latham, 2005b), there were exceptions.

As I explained earlier, my own background and upbringing led me to associate mobility with men more than with women, so I might have expected more men than women to access YMS. It was thus striking that for participants from East Asia at least the gendered effect is reversed in my research; women were more likely to participate than men. This might have reflected my difficulty in recruiting men from Hong Kong and Korea, such that women are over-subscribed in my sample from these countries (although not from Taiwan), but is in fact reflected in other research. As Yoon identifies, working holiday mobility from Korea is a 'gendered process, as more female than male working holiday-makers were enthusiastically seeking individualised biographies'

(2014: 1025). Similarly, Kato (2010) and Kawashima (2012) highlighted that working holidays are more popular among Japanese women, when compared with Japanese men, who have an expectation on them to get life-long careers in the tough graduate employment market of Japan. My research confirms this phenomenon and extends it to Hong Kong and Taiwan, highlighting that the participation of young men is circumscribed by societal expectations on them to become primary breadwinners.

In contrast, gender did not seem to be structuring who accesses YMS from Australia, Canada and New Zealand, although it did feature in perceptions of travel and in reproductive time-frames. Accounts revealed an awareness of gendered perceptions of solo female travel, safety, and expectations about getting travel out of the way before settling down. My findings thereby point to what I call a 'gendered mobile field'. Moreover, my research highlights the importance of considering the 'reproductive sphere' as well as the 'productive sphere' in labour movements across countries (Yeoh et al, 2000: 154), given the participants' motivations of participating in YMS before starting a family, and the visa restrictions which prohibit the participants from having children. While the literature on working holiday-maker mobility has assumed participants to be unmarried, compatible with the construction of YMS participants in policy discourse, my research identified that some married candidates are participating in the scheme, a new finding. Two of my respondents were married, one Japanese woman who had to 'leave' her husband in Japan, and an Australian man (of Indian descent) who travelled with his wife (also on a YMS visa). Married women may face heightened tensions about the extent to which they are seen to be performing their 'proper' gendered roles as wives, if their husbands could not pursue the working holiday at the same time as them (as seen in the case of the Japanese woman whose husband could not apply for YMS visa due to his work obligations).

In terms of why the YMS is pursued, I argue in chapter 5 that the (retrospective) motivations of YMS participants are at least partly based on prior imaginings of what youth mobility to the UK would mean. Thus, I agree with Wilson, Fisher and Moore (2010: 17) that national cultures and 'mechanisms within the home societies' influence contemporary patterns of movements. While previous studies that have given prominence to national cultural imaginings of travel in understanding forms of working holiday have mostly done so in the context of single countries (for instance, Wilson et al., 2010; Haverig, 2011 in the case of New Zealand, Yoon, 2015 in the case of Korea),

my research offers a seven-country analysis. As such it responds directly to Yoon's call for better understanding of 'different types of transnational youth mobility and their influence on youth identity and transition' (2014b: 1025).

I identify national mobility imaginings in YMS participants' motivations, drawing from two sources: historically rooted imaginaries and globalised imaginings. The accounts of the participants from Australia, New Zealand and Canada revolved around an idea of belonging to the Commonwealth, specifically the white, Old Commonwealth, and the normality of travel to the UK, entitlement even. For example, young adults from New Zealand were seen to draw their aspirations for a lifestyle of travel and living in London from a palpable sense of a 'national culture of mobility' (Conradson & Latham, 2005a: 299). Previous studies have also considered young New Zealanders' mobility through 'the cultural norm of the OE' (Conradson & Latham, 2005a: 298), normalising it as accessible to everyone. However, my research has shown that a lifestyle of travel on OE is not accessible to everyone; as one respondent told me it is only popularised in certain 'socio-economic circles', demonstrating the salience of social class in the participants' access to YMS. Another kind of historically rooted imaginary is the discourse of belonging to Britain, discernible in the accounts of British National Overseas (BNO) passport-holders from Hong Kong. Despite Hong Kong not being a member of the Commonwealth, possession of a BNO passport meant that participants' identity constructions were linked to British nationality and their historic mobilities to the UK through earlier working holiday-maker arrangements.

I also demonstrated that the opening of routes of youth mobility between East Asian countries (Taiwan, Korea and Japan) and the UK are associated with imaginings centred on a contemporary globalising world, which I call 'globalised imaginings'. This concept can be related to what Yoon identifies as the 'making of a global generation' and its relation to Korean students' overseas working holiday (Yoon, 2015: 76). Towards this end, globalised imaginings take shape in aspirations of becoming a 'global' and 'cosmopolitan' citizen, by means of an overseas working holiday (UK being just one of the destination options). In chapter 5, I also identified participants' motivations that are both personal (relationship ruptures, desire to foster romantic relationships) and strategic (career enhancement, and extending time in the UK).

8.2.3 What work do participants obtain and how do they access labour market opportunities?

In terms of participants' labour market participation in London, my research findings generally align with earlier studies on working holidaymakers which found a large concentration of participants in low-skilled work (Rice, 2010; Robertson, 2014). However, my findings also show a large disparity in participants' employment outcomes, and considerable mobility between jobs (within and between industries) for many participants, demonstrating 'hierarchies of status and privilege' (Amit, 2007) in the London labour market. For instance, while most East Asian women were concentrated in lower-skilled jobs, high-skilled NQF-6 jobs were mostly taken up by men from Australia and New Zealand. Similarly, credentialised jobs were mostly performed by those from the Old Commonwealth, with a high proportion of participants being able to secure jobs that are commensurate with their qualifications, as opposed to East Asian participants who worked in lower-skilled jobs, despite their professional qualifications in teaching, nursing, architecture, and at times having UK educational qualifications.

Citing Leonard (2010a, 2010b, 2010c), Sarah Kunz argues that the 'globalised labour market offers disparate rewards based on personal characteristics like 'race', gender and citizenship' (2016: 93). My research findings align with this assertion, demonstrating that YMS participants' opportunities for work are polarised along the axes of 'race', nationality, gender, first language and historic links with Britain. I also paid attention to the role of social networks in YMS participants' work opportunities in London, by using the concept of 'network capital'. Network capital is 'the capacity to engender and sustain social relations with those people who are not necessarily proximate [...] which generates emotional, financial and practical benefit' (Urry, 2007: 197-198). While some YMS participants seem to have benefitted from 'network capital', constituted in the specific ways in which participants use relocation services and recruitment agencies to find work, I argue that it reflects hierarchies of privilege in YMS participant' employment patterns. Thus, network capital alone is not useful in understanding participants' labour market opportunities.

Old Commonwealth participants from Australia, New Zealand, and Canada have the advantage of networks derived from long histories of movement to the UK, and English language proficiency, which further interact with 'race' and nationality to produce

powerful ‘network capital’ that provides them with advantages in the London labour market. In this way, my research aligns with that of Conradson and Latham (2007) who found similar networks of relocation companies, recruitment agencies and communication providers to have helped OE travellers to the UK from New Zealand. However, my findings add to the above scholarship by showing that such networks are also enjoyed by participants from Australia and Canada, constituting privileged labour market access. Moreover, I found that the East Asian participants are in significant contrast, lacking such powerful networks given their recent eligibility for YMS and different historical relationship with the UK. Japan stands out in this group, having had a working holiday arrangement with Britain since 2001; nonetheless, Japanese participants did not mention having used any relocation services catering specifically to them. Consequently, while YMS is a privileged form of migration, offering labour market opportunities, it is more privileged for some than for others. It is clear that, as Benson argues (2013: 314), contemporary forms of lifestyle migration ‘make post-colonial relations manifest at a local level’.

Shanti Robertson’s study of student-workers⁸⁵ and tourist-workers⁸⁶ in Australia (2016) found that non-white participants worked in ‘ethnic’ hospitality and retail businesses. In chapter 6, I elaborated on similar findings, showing how East Asian participants mostly found work in the ethnic economies of accommodation and food services, retail, administrative and support services. This was especially true of all Japanese participants, employed at Japanese owned travel agencies, banks, or trading companies. A similar finding was reported by Satō (2001) in her study of Japanese lifestyle migrants in Australia:

An overwhelming majority of Japanese lifestyle migrants find employment in Japan-related industries and occupations and hardly step outside the Japanese network when it comes to job opportunities. A good number of these permanent residents work in the hospitality industry where they are hired as shop assistants, tour guides and service personnel in travel agents for Japanese tourists, personal assistants in Japanese companies, and telephone operators at call centres (p.156)

⁸⁵ For example, young migrants on temporary graduate workers scheme (TGW) in Australia.

⁸⁶ For example, working holidaymakers on two visa subclasses of the working holidaymaker programme (WHM) in Australia.

I found that YMS participants from Taiwan and Hong Kong were typically hired as customer service and telesales agents, or as shop assistants at luxury retail stores. Communicating with prospective buyers in China over the telephone, being the face of fashion brands or becoming shop assistants at skin care brands, all to attract 'big spender' customers from China, these young people produce and reproduce global consumption patterns through their youth mobility. In this way, the participants who work in retail stores and travel agencies are selling their services to people from their own ethnicity/nationality, wherein their jobs depend on other 'mobile' people, especially tourists, showing the linked nature of contemporary mobility streams. Thus my findings point to the ways in which the racialized mobility of young participants in London plays a role in global consumption patterns, and may be part of attempts to increase tourism mobilities from certain countries, although there are no data in my study to substantiate the latter.

In contrast to experiences of segregation in ethnic economies for YMS participants from East Asia, those from the Old Commonwealth found jobs in the mainstream labour market. They also found jobs commensurate with their educational qualifications, in health, education, information and communication industries. In chapter 6, I argued that nationality, first language and racialised gender play a part in the kind of jobs and industries that such participants were employed in, with female participants mostly concentrated in health and social work, administrative and support services, accommodation and food services. In contrast, male participants were mostly employed in professional, scientific and technical activities, and information and communication. I also discussed in chapter 6 the ways in which the scholarly understanding of 'ethnic economies' limits our understanding of how ethnic-white migrants are channelled into jobs that are identifiable with their nationality, ethnicity and 'aesthetic-linguistic labour'. For instance, the white Australian man who found work in an Aussie-themed pub, and the white Australian woman who found work with the care agency since they preferred the friendly nature of 'Aussies and Kiwis'. Further, I also identified important differences in the participants' strategies to access work, patterned along the lines of nationality and historic-colonial links with the UK.

Overall, my research findings show tendencies towards similarity and polarisation in the accounts of participants' labour market experiences, but the latter are stronger. Many of the respondents reported that the restriction of the two-year visa, pointing towards

‘temporariness’ (Robertson, 2014), was the biggest disadvantage of the scheme. Many were dependent on co-ethnic employers and/or were undertaking jobs below their educational qualifications. However, not all of them were at a disadvantage in building their careers, with those from the Old Commonwealth being particularly privileged in securing jobs commensurate with their qualifications, and I attributed this to hierarchies of privilege drawing from historic-colonial mobilities and positively valued ‘social networks’.

8.2.4 How are participants’ leisure opportunities structured by participation in YMS?

In this thesis, the concept of leisure is explored to identify the sites of ‘play’ in YMS participants’ lives. There are contesting definitions of leisure within scholarly debates in the sociology of leisure (Aitchison, 2003; Green et al., 1990). Citing de Grazia (1962), Aitchison points to the definition of leisure as the opposite of paid employment, which often comes to mean ‘merely “free time”’ (Aitchison, 2003: 41). As explained in chapter 1, I bring participants’ aspirations and opportunities of a different lifestyle of travel to my concept of leisure. In doing so, I subscribe to an alternative definition of ‘leisure as *activities*’ and its closely related ‘concept of recreation’ (Aitchison, 2003: 43), alongside an understanding of leisure to include the dimension of ‘sociability’: ‘the opportunity to mix with other people’ (Green et al., 1990: 7). Consequently, by comparing the leisure aspirations of participants with their leisure practices, I identified limits to cosmopolitan attitudes and opportunities in leisure activities, revealing insularity in participants’ leisure terrains.

In their aspirations for self-discovery, YMS participants were akin to Kato’s ‘self-searching migrants’ (2010: 51) ‘seeking identification of their “true self” (47). The centrality of travel in the lives of young working holidaymakers on an OE was clear in the study of Conradson and Latham (2005a: 291), who argued that their sample participants ‘left apparently secure and well-paid professional jobs to go travelling’. Similarly, opportunities to travel were an important leisure pursuit for my participants. These themes of self-discovery and self-development when attributed to travel are symptomatic of an association of cosmopolitanism with mobility, which originated in European grand tours (Brodsky-Porges, 1981; Thomson & Taylor, 2005).

Vered Amit (2015) in her extensive studies of different forms of transnational mobility was attentive to practices of cosmopolitanism, particularly ‘self-awareness and the consonance or *disjuncture* between this consciousness and the actual experiences of travel’ (2015: 553). She found a disjuncture between this consciousness and everyday experiences of travel, resulting in ‘circumscribed cosmopolitanism’ (2015: 560), arising out of institutional provisions for youth travel (for instance, formal student exchanges and accommodation in international student halls). My findings partially align with Amit’s (2015) in that, at times, sample participants’ experiences were shaped by institutional arrangements. For instance, participants from the Old Commonwealth who used relocation companies to make their move to the UK experienced ‘bounded clustering’ (Amit, 2015: 563) in their leisure practices. The experiences of ‘bounded clustering’ were also evident from the limited data that I had on the sample participants’ living arrangements. For instance, the participants from Australia, Canada and New Zealand, were more likely to live in flat share arrangements with other Old Commonwealth migrants on a working holiday. For instance, Rose and Dennis (both from Canada), Jane and Minita (both from New Zealand), and Raisa (from Australia) lived with other Old Commonwealth participants in South-West London.

In contrast, six East Asian participants (Jianah, Cheryl, Harry, Anna, Mayoso and Yulia) rented a room from live-in British landlords (often from migrant backgrounds themselves), who were likely to be also renting rooms to other young people. Four of the above participants rented a spare room from live-in British landlords who belonged to Black and Ethnic Minority communities in the UK. East Asian participants also lived in diverse neighbourhoods in North, Central and South London, largely relying on linguistic-based networks of *MixB* and *Kakaotalk* for getting information about accommodation. Two participants, Atien (from Japan) and Hannah (from Korea) lived with their British partners in Central and East London respectively. In this way, East Asian participants displayed more openness and willingness to experience the multicultural landscape of London.

Old Commonwealth participants benefitted from relocation companies and the nationality networks that were tailor-made for them in both living arrangements and leisure opportunities. They also tended to frequent parties organised by relocation companies whose services they had paid for and in doing so, they made friends through the aforementioned nationality networks. Overall, participants’ living arrangements

largely drew from their location in linguistic and nationality groups, or access to relocation companies, which often meant that they approached the former for finding accommodation and work. Towards this end, the living arrangements were also seen to influence their ways of socialisation and leisure activities in London, further highlighting the limits to cosmopolitanism. My own experiences of racism and non-inclusion in their leisure terrains, however, extend beyond ‘circumscribed cosmopolitanism’ to highlight ethnocentric and insular leisure practices.

Insularity was not necessarily just the product of institutional arrangements. For instance, only five out of 29 sample participants had used relocation companies to make their move to the UK, yet most participants displayed ‘bounded clustering’ (Amit, 2015: 563) in their leisure activities, polarised along the lines of nationality, first language and Commonwealth connections to Britain. Most participants from the Old Commonwealth socialised with ‘similar others’, belonging to the Commonwealth and the English-speaking West. Similarly, employment in ethnic economies favoured single nationality leisure activities among the East Asian participants. Although avenues to meet the ‘Other’ were limited for East Asian young people, they took efforts to socialise with people from other countries through language exchange meet ups, personal gatherings, and/or seeking out ‘high’ culture in museums and theatre – displaying less insular actions in their leisure practices.

I also encountered a range of leisure opportunities in the lives of the participants. Organised trips, outdoor games, bogan bingo nights, pubbing, pub crawls were mostly popular among the Australians, New Zealanders and Canadians. In contrast, East Asian participants mostly spoke about walking in parks and gardens, meeting up with friends at restaurants, or cooking together. However, one of my Taiwanese respondents also mentioned that he and some of his friends from Hong Kong and Taiwan made use of opportunities to play basketball in London.

My findings further add gendered dimensions to the discussion of youth mobility and cosmopolitanism, by showing that patriarchal stigmas and gendered fears associated with women’s mobility limit cosmopolitan practices. In doing so, I contribute to gendered analyses of contemporary forms of youth mobility that have highlighted ‘uneven cosmopolitanism’ among Japanese female migrants in Australia (Kawashima, 2014: 106). My findings also sit within larger scholarly discussions that have problematized

‘gender’ in studies of cosmopolitanism and its association with world openness (Vieten, 2012).

8.2.5 What, if any, are key differences between the participants in terms of motivations, work and leisure?

In this thesis, I have used the concept of privilege as a way of understanding key differences between YMS participants. Patricia Hill Collins’ (1993: 26) famously argued that people derive ‘varying amounts of penalty and privilege from the multiple systems of oppression’. She also identified the ‘major system[s] of oppression’ as ‘race, social class, religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity, age or gender’ (Collins, 1993: 25). Drawing from Hill Collins’ (1993) approach of viewing systems of oppression as also contributing disparately to privilege, I mainly focussed on nationality, ‘race’/ethnicity, class and gender as sources of privilege for the YMS participants in study. On the one hand I have argued that, overall, YMS participants are privileged in their positionality as migrants from developed countries of global north, and as migrants who are free to work, study or holiday for their two-years in the UK. On the other hand, I agree with Coston and Kimmel (2012: 109) that ‘mechanisms of marginalization may mute or reduce privilege’ within the members of a privileged group. Consequently, I argued that hierarchies of privilege manifest in YMS participants’ motivations, work and leisure experiences in the UK, through the operation of differential sources of privilege.

To take nationality first, privilege draws from the wealth of the participating countries, all being high GDP countries. They are either rich, white settler countries of the Commonwealth (Australia, Canada, New Zealand), or emerging power-houses of Asia (Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, and Japan), or wealthy principalities of Europe (Monaco). Subsequently, the ‘excluded Other’ countries get set up as ‘visa national’ countries. Unsurprisingly, all countries whose citizens need a visa to travel to the UK (hence the label of ‘visa nationals’) are deemed as poor or developing countries⁸⁷. Hence, one’s country of origin and nationality are important sources of privilege at the outset in ensuring relative freedom of movement or less restricted access at borders.

⁸⁷ I choose ‘developing’ over ‘under-developed’ to consciously deny the pejorative association of the latter term.

Nonetheless, different nationalities enjoy different types and degrees of privilege. Benson (2013) has particularly focussed on the contemporary workings of 'postcoloniality' in granting 'privilege' to North American lifestyle migrants in Panama. In my thesis, postcoloniality can stand in for citizenship, the route through which postcolonial privilege accrues most of all to Old Commonwealth participants. I showed in chapter 5 that nationality influences participants' mobility imaginings, which draw from historically rooted imaginaries and globalised imaginings. I also showed that mobility imaginings further shape participants' subjectivities and motivations, which may also be personal and strategic. Participants can grow-up in New Zealand secure in the knowledge that they might spend time working in the UK in the future (although in reality this may still be a class-bound entitlement). They simply can't grow up in Korea in the same way.

Similarly, in chapters 6 and 7 I showed how nationality makes a big difference to the industries and skill level of jobs that participants are employed in, and their leisure opportunities. Privilege derives from existing processes of racialization in the UK labour market and has consequences for forming participants' networks. The relative privilege at the time of accessing the scheme (drawn from their nationality and preferential access to the scheme) is retained and fully benefitted from only if participants command specific network capital that can be utilized in the UK, and here Old Commonwealth participants are favoured compared with those from East Asian countries. Similarly, 'network capital' (Urry, 2007) drawing from relocation companies in particular resulted in 'circumscribed cosmopolitanism' (Amit, 2015), whereby participants interacted most with those I have called 'similar others' on a YMS visa, pointing to insular leisure terrains. Nationality and language-specific channelling into ethnic economies, and gendered insecurities, also demonstrate the limits to cosmopolitanism in the lives of the participants.

'Race' is a form of privilege for those at the top of the socially constructed hierarchy – in other words the white participants – although sometimes nationality trumps lack of privilege in relation to 'race' (as I showed in chapter 6 in the case of non-white participants from Australia and New Zealand who were successful in finding well-paid and high-skilled jobs). In chapter 4, I argued that the change from WHM to YMS must be seen in the context of the racialisation of immigration policies in the UK since the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962. In chapter 5, I showed that nationality shapes

participants' mobility imaginings, through colonial-historical imaginaries which are arguably racialized, and globalised imaginings that construe a working holiday as a (limited) dream ticket to experience the West (and associated whiteness). In chapter 6, I showed how racialisation in the London labour market resulted in East Asian participants' dependence on nascent ethnic-linguistic networks that channelled them into ethnic economies to find work (mostly in low-paid, lower-skilled jobs). In contrast, participants from the Old Commonwealth generally made use of whiteness and relatively powerful 'network capital' to get better jobs in the mainstream economy.

Social class is a form of privilege for those who are middle or upper class. However, whereas the literature suggests that all young people on this kind of youth mobility schemes are middle-class, my own research shows that this is not the case. Six respondents in my sample were from working-class backgrounds. They performed jobs that can be classified as working-class jobs: cook, bar tender, care worker, au-pair, hostel & accommodation manager, customer service, waiter, travel agent and retail assistant (all these jobs are classified as lower-skilled or NQF 3). The large proportion of middle-class respondents could also point to class being a vital source of privilege when it comes to accessing the scheme, concurring with the scholarly understanding of a working holiday as a form of middle-class youth travel.

Gender might be assumed to be a form of privilege that accrues to men, but my research findings show that this is more complicated. It appears that women from East Asian countries are in a better position than their male counterparts. Gender is always complicated, like 'race', because it operates in conjunction with other systems of oppression. As I showed in chapter 4, YMS is itself gendered in the way it approaches 'mobile subjects' as those in the age group of 18-30 and having no children – having a more profound effect on women and their child-bearing age. Similarly, gender dimensions are evident in the motivations of the participants, such that women's personal reasons were mostly linked to romantic relationships (either a rupture or prospects of fostering a relationship), whereas men were mostly motivated by career enhancement, even at the cost of breaking up personal relationships. In chapter 4, I showed how gender operates along with 'race' to channel white women into better jobs in health and social work, and minority-ethnic women to administrative and support services, retail, accommodation and food services. In chapter 7, I compared the leisure aspirations and

practices of the respondents to show how gendered insecurities constitute the limits to associating youth travel with cosmopolitanism.

To summarise, the topic of privilege is implicit in youth mobility studies that directly link patterns of youth travel to pursuits of cosmopolitan ideals and identity constructions. Social class is the source of privilege that is explicitly identified in this literature on youth travel – broadly studied under forms of tourism such as backpacking, gap year, budget travel, and working holiday. In this sense, the existing literature focuses on white participants from Anglophone countries who are free to go to various places, without asking the important question of how the world got set up that way. Although more recent studies since 2010 are more attentive to differences among participants in youth mobility schemes, particularly of non-white participants, these are mostly based on studies in the context of Australia and Canada where scholars have studied Japanese and Korean participants' access to bilateral working holiday schemes.

Recent studies have also been attentive to other nationalities who are student-workers or tourist-workers on several temporary migration visas in Australia (Robertson, 2016). However, there has been a lack of comparative analyses of participants from a wide range of participating countries in a given bilateral working holiday-maker scheme. Such a lack of focus has meant that these studies have not had the opportunity to compare the positioning of participants from different countries, and global regions (like the Commonwealth), to analyse differentiations that give rise to differential privileges in contemporary transnational youth mobility arrangements. I have redressed this by focusing on the hierarchies of privilege operating along the axes of nationality, 'race', class and gender, in the lives of YMS participants from seven participating countries, an opportunity that arose from my methodological choices, as discussed further below.

8. 3 Significance of findings

8.3.1 Methodological Significance

The most productive choice that I made methodologically was to obtain a sample from seven different countries and this has enabled me to compare the experiences of the Old Commonwealth and East Asian participants on YMS to the UK. As I argued in chapter 2, the existing scholarship on working holiday/youth mobility arrangements has focussed on one nationality group, traditionally from Anglophone countries (for instance,

Conradson & Latham, 2005; Haverig, 2011; Rice, 2010; Wilson et al., 2010), and more recently from developed East Asian countries (Kato, 2013; Kawashima, 2010; Tsaur & Huang, 2016; Yoon, 2015). Thus, it has not been able to compare the experiences of participants from these two groups. My thesis presents a unique opportunity of a comparative analysis of the different nationalities in a contemporary working holiday scheme.

The multiple methods I employed in my research enabled me to be attentive to the structures that shape the youth mobility scheme, and how they interact with migrant agency. By conducting policy analysis and official interviews, I could understand how the YMS came into being and how it constituted relatively privileged and ‘desired’ ‘mobile subjects’. Semi-structured interviews with the participants enabled me to understand how they lived their lives on the scheme, particularly their motivations and their work and leisure experiences in London. Participant observation in their leisure spaces (physical) made me aware of how the latter were shaped by their national, racialized and gendered identities. Social media observations provided insights about the interconnections between participants’ work and leisure terrains in London, as well as how networks operated ‘at-a-distance’ (Elliot & Urry, 2010). If I had not observed the social media spaces, I would not have known how the networks function differently among the different nationality groups.

By observing the FB closed group of young adults from Hong Kong and Taiwan, I could see how network capital is not only ‘out there’ and ‘accessed’ by privileged travellers, but also actively created by ethnic and nationality networks that are based on a common language or common nationality. Social media observation has enabled me to see how the internet (especially Facebook) functions as an immaterial possession in the lives of YMS participants, and enabled me to observe and analyse this feature independently of the retrospective accounts of my participants. What I have shown is that online social networks influence participants’ job opportunities; they are not just for recreational use. I have also understood how nascent networks of East Asian participants, function as online support groups, and differ from the more powerful, well-established and fully-fledged networks of Old Commonwealth participants.

Pursuing this research as a migrant myself has brought my research into the realm of ‘reversing the gaze’. As a South Asian woman scholar from India, I reversed the gaze by

moving to the UK, to study a UK policy (a scheme in which Indian nationals are excluded); most PhD students in my position study their own country or other post-colonial countries. By interviewing two members of Home Office staff, I also embarked on 'studying up'. I say this because the UK state controls and regulates migrants like myself through the Home Office. Consequently, by combining analysis of policy documents (the WPR approach which I chose for this will be discussed shortly) with 'studying up', I got unique insights into how power works in policy-making. By using multiple methods in my research project, I showed the complex ways in which power asymmetries are produced by the structures of the state, and the micro-interactions of individuals in the larger background of historical-colonial and contemporary migration to the UK.

In the WPR approach, 'policies are problematising activities' (Bacchi, 2009: xi). My decision to use Bacchi's WPR framework for analysing policy documents meant that I was not merely looking for ways to understand how a policy affects people, especially those it targets; instead, I was interested in how the policy came into being in the first place and how it contributes to, and legitimises, wider discursive categories. By choosing the WPR approach, I was particularly attentive to the 'dividing practices' embedded in the policy, as reprised in section 8.2.1 above.

Inevitably, there were also limitations in my study that arose from my chosen methodology. My thesis draws from semi-structured interviews and participant observation with a small sample of 29 young adults from seven countries, out of the eight eligible countries of YMS. I could not establish access with any participants from Monaco. Similarly, despite my attempts to meet with HKSAR passport holders⁸⁸, all the participants I interviewed from Hong Kong are BNO passport holders, so I was unable to explore the experiences of HKSAR passport holders in my study. Further, my research is based on YMS participants who were living and working in London at the time of fieldwork. Consequently, my findings may not capture the lives of YMS participants who base themselves in other parts of the UK.

⁸⁸ Entry requirements are different for BNO passport holders from Hong Kong and HKSAR passport holders from Hong Kong. The latter group is regulated by a quota allocation of 1000 places. No such quota limits operate for BNO passport holders.

I also did not ask questions about my participants' sexual relationships in London, although I was told about romantic relationships that they said had led them to come to London, or about a break-up that spurred them to join the scheme, as discussed in chapter 5. In retrospect, asking about their personal relationships might have provided more information about their life styles, for instance their relations with 'similar Others' or 'other Others'. However, at the time I did not feel comfortable asking them for information that did not seem directly relevant to the topic, or which might have dissuaded them from participating in the interview.

8.3.2 Theoretical Significance

This thesis contributes to knowledge about the temporary migration route of YMS, what motivates the participants in their mobility and how they lead their lives in the UK, a topic which has not been studied before. It also enables a comparison between the experiences of YMS participants and those researched as working holidaymakers elsewhere. As such, my thesis directly answers the call of Robertson (2014) to study different types of temporary migration schemes in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the UK, for comparative purposes. Furthermore, as detailed above, by considering participants from different nationalities on YMS I have been able to address differences between participants in the same scheme.

Theoretically, my study contributes to the lifestyle migration scholarship and its focus on relatively privileged mobile subjects who are not primarily motivated by economic rationale, but instead by an imagining of an overseas lifestyle. It also contributes to critical discussions initiated within the scholarship on expatriate movements, high-skilled migration, and retirement migration from developed countries on the importance of being cautious about labels of separation, that make 'migration' seem applicable only to scholarly understanding of the movement of racialized minorities from less developed countries of the global South (Croucher, 2012; Kunz, 2016). By insisting that my participants are first and foremost migrants, I open out the category, while still attending to differences between them.

By looking at them as migrants I highlight their similarities with others in the migration literature; they are residents in the UK who are regulated by the current immigration regime and are not in a process of continuous movement. At the same time, seeing them as migrants enabled me to identify the complex hierarchies of privilege (and

marginalisation) operating in their lives. If I approached them as tourists, I would not have been attentive to the inequalities that result in disparate work experiences. Similarly, if I only approached them as workers, then I would not have known the role of play or/and aspirations of leisure that signify their mobility. Thus, by approaching YMS participants as migrants, I have been attentive to the inequalities and challenges they face in the labour market and leisure terrains, highlighting systematic advantage or disadvantage based on nationality and racialised gender. I have also shown that for the Old Commonwealth participants, advantages arising from nationality can trump any disadvantages arising from ‘race’ in their everyday lives.

Categorizing my participants as *lifestyle* migrants in particular has focussed attention on their aspirational lifestyles of leisure and travel and their agency, contributing to scholarly debates that have given prominence to the social imaginaries that shape migration (O’Reilly, 2014). However, remaining attentive to structure of oppression and how they are negotiated has enabled me to contribute to a ‘critical sociology of lifestyle migration’ (Benson & Osbaldiston, 2016: 407). In chapter 5, I have shown that participants’ mobility imaginings arise from historically rooted imaginaries and globalised imaginings that differ with nationality, and that personal motivations may be gendered. Hence I argue that we need to be wary of generalising about participants’ motivation for youth mobility. I have also highlighted the limits in practice to aspirations of cosmopolitanism that may motivate some youth mobility.

My research also contributes to debates about how working holidaymakers typically end up as temporary migrants in low-skilled sectors (Reilly, 2015; Rice, 2010), seeking to explain this rather than just to document it. For example, I argue that the jobs YMS participants do are not an automatic outcome of their levels of qualification and experience, but relate also to hierarchies of privilege, including processes of racialization in the labour market. While participants from the Old Commonwealth are more likely to obtain credentialised work, those from East Asia are more likely to be in low-skill jobs, regardless of their credentials. Yoon (2014a) has spoken about racialized mobility based on the jobs that Korean working holidaymakers get in Canada. Similarly, Robertson (2014) has noted that non-white participants tend to be segregated in specific industries. She has also rightly pointed out that urban spaces have specific effects on labour markets. For instance, she demonstrates that telesales and other front-desk services were mainly occupied by ethnic-white participants. What my research in the

cosmopolitan, 'global-city' image of London has shown is that non-white participants can also find work in these sectors, albeit as part of 'ethnicised fringes' of mainstream labour market, catering to specific mobile subjects, particularly tourists. Overall, I have demonstrated that migrants' group membership, and concomitant ethnic and nationality networks, are more important than their individual characteristics in determining their labour market position, as participants are advantaged or disadvantaged based on their citizenship and origin country's historic links with Britain.

Social networks and their importance are generally acknowledged in the migration literature (Ryan, et al., 2008; White & Ryan, 2008), although not in the specific case of forms of youth mobility such as working holidays. Thus, this thesis contributes to the knowledge of how such networks work in this context, and especially about the kinds of network capital that predominantly middle-class young adults access in their temporary overseas mobility. Significantly, no existing studies of youth mobility look at networks as a source of capital, and how they mediate existing power relations (except Conradson & Latham, 2005a who explored the case of friendship networks).

Finally, my findings contribute to existing debates by scholars like Amit (2015), who have explored the associations of youth mobility with cosmopolitanism. In her study of young adults on student exchange/working holidays, Amit coined the concept of 'circumscribed cosmopolitanism' (2015), to show the influence of institutional arrangements of mobility on young people's realisation of cosmopolitan desires. My study findings partially align with Amit's case for 'circumscribed cosmopolitanism', although my research moves beyond this. By using the concept of 'similar others', and drawing on my own experiences of the participants' leisure spaces, I argued in chapter 7 that limits to cosmopolitanism from insularity and racism must also be recognised in youth mobility studies, beyond the theme of circumscription.

8.4 Future Research Agendas

While my study focussed on Tier-5 YMS, critical policy analysis of the PBS of immigration in the UK is an underexplored area of analysis in policy studies, and in the sociology of migration. This means that future research could focus on contemporary relationships between the different Commonwealth countries and the UK in other tiers of the PBS immigration regime. Drawing from my project findings, I intend to conduct future research to explore the interplay of whiteness and 'postcoloniality' in the lives of

Commonwealth nationals in the UK, around two research questions: 1) How do Commonwealth nationals from different countries construct their identities in the UK?; 2) How does the Commonwealth hold salience in the current immigration policy of the UK? I believe that such research is particularly topical, considering the impending Brexit, since its impact on the labour market may herald new relationships with the Commonwealth. Future research could also particularly focus on the continuing role of Empire in contemporary patterns of mobility.

Another topic that my project findings speak to is the role of temporary migration in the contemporary UK immigration regime. Dauvergne and Marsden (2014: 225) argue that there has been a ‘resurgence of temporary labour migration initiatives in the post- global era’. Citing an OECD report, 2008, they show that entries of temporary labour migrants to OECD member countries were ‘three times the number of permanent migrants to the same countries’ in the year 2006 (Dauvergne & Marsden, 2014: 227). This is associated with a marked shift towards temporary migration schemes in countries previously associated with “settlement” migration, like Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the UK (Stasiulis, 2008, cited in Robertson, 2016: 2277). Such marked shifts in the immigration patterns of developed countries have also caught the attention of scholars interested in comparing current temporary migration/mobility schemes with previous European guest-worker schemes (Castles, 2006).

In addition, the trend towards an increase in temporary migration schemes in the West is complicating student and tourist mobilities (Robertson, 2014). Young adults on working holiday visas and temporary mobility schemes are rarely ever positioned as temporary labour, which serves ‘to “mask” the migration of thousands of workers through their associations with tourist and student ‘sojourn’ rather than labour migration’ (Robertson, 2014: 1928). By firmly positioning YMS participants as migrants in my project, and by adhering to a ‘critical sociology of lifestyle migration’ (Benson & Osbaldiston, 2016: 407), I have initiated an approach to understand the role of state immigration regimes in constructing temporary mobile subjects. My framework can be further developed to understand the concepts of ‘temporariness, the labour market and rights’ (Dauvergne & Marsden, 2014: 224) in contemporary immigration controls of the UK, and other developed countries of the West.

8.5 Concluding remarks

In the concluding section of this chapter, I will retrace the main arguments and contributions of my project. Broadly, my thesis has demonstrated the construction of ‘mobile subjects’ through ‘dividing practices’, fashioned alongside ‘risk’ perceptions of government officials and policymakers in the UK. The ‘dividing practices’ and ‘silences’ create mobile subjects with different sources of privilege, notwithstanding that YMS participants within the PBS system are situated in a relatively privileged position when compared to other PBS migrants to the UK. However, their privileged positionality within YMS is only valorized in the work and leisure spaces by commanding privileges that draw from gender, class, ‘race’/ethnicity and nationality. The use and mobilisation of traditional forms of capital are not sufficient for those participants who are racialized in the labour market, who depend on ethnic economies for work. The command of non-traditional forms of capital – such as network capital – along with their location in the labour market also affects leisure opportunities for the participants and results in rather insular experiences, in contrast to their cosmopolitan motivations of travel and pursuits of difference.

When people think of migration, they tend to associate it with ‘problematic mobility’ (Anderson, 2017) and disadvantaged people. In this thesis, I have argued that this is one reason why when researchers wanted to talk about migration of people not travelling for economic reasons, and from developed countries, they have kept inventing new terms. In so doing, they have reproduced the bias in the migration literature towards economic migration from less developed (poor) countries as Croucher (2012) has shown, the academic literature has mirrored common-sense assumptions about migrants. In insisting that YMS participants are migrants, I have shown that their two-year visa structures their migrant positionality, although hierarchies of privilege are evident in their work and leisure experiences.

Finally, my research project has generated findings that are relevant for both policy makers and academia. At one level, I have demonstrated that the scheme is discriminatory in its approach towards the Commonwealth, sharply distinguishing between the entry of Old and New Commonwealth citizens. I have found that the

decision to drop 47 countries from eligibility for YMS visas⁸⁹ was arbitrary and predicated on ‘a decision [that] was taken at some point to exclude visa nationals’ (to quote Ralph, Home Office staff), based on a ‘YMS risk formula’ that the Home Office is not willing to publish. If the scheme was about cultural exchange and getting to know the UK, it is unclear why it cannot provide an opportunity for every country to take up formal channels which could lead to a bilateral agreement to participate in YMS. There is a semblance of universality to the scheme, in the claim that YMS is ‘open to any country which believes it meets the criteria for acceptance on the scheme to enter into discussions with us about reciprocal arrangements’ (Damian Green, 2010)⁹⁰. The reality, however, is that it excludes countries in the Indian sub-continent and Africa entirely. The reason given for such a move is predicated on a decision to exclude visa nationals however the logic here is circular and fails to conceal that the scheme is discriminatory from the outset.

⁸⁹ When compared with fifty countries eligible to participate in the erstwhile WHM scheme as per ‘Statement of Changes in Immigration Rules’ (Home Office, 2005b: 4).

⁹⁰ Damian Green, HC Deb 10 Nov 2010: Column 361W
<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201011/cmhansrd/cm101110/text/101110w0002.htm#10111060000651>

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Appendix 1: Participant information Sheet and Consent form

Purpose of the Study. As part of the requirements for my doctoral research at University of Warwick, I have to carry out a research study. The study is a gendered analysis of the youth mobility scheme (YMS) to the United Kingdom. It is to see how the state immigration framework shapes young adults' mobilities and work patterns and how young adults themselves make sense of their participation in the scheme, while also observing the gender norms and the gendered identities of the participants in the scheme.

What will the study involve? The study will involve observing and participating in the social media spaces of the YMS participants, interviews with the participants and being involved in the participants' work and leisure spaces.

Why have you been asked to take part? You have been asked because you have been/are in the YMS to the UK.

Do you have to take part? The participation is voluntary. Once you have signed the consent form to participate, you will get to keep the project information sheet. You also have the option of withdrawing before the study commences (even if you have agreed to participate) or discontinuing from the project after the data collection has started.

Will your participation in the study be kept confidential? Yes, I will ensure that no references or clues to your identity appear in the thesis. Any extracts which have direct quotes will be entirely anonymous.

What will happen to the information which you give? The information received from you will only be used in the domain of research and research dissemination in conferences and publications. It might be used for purposes of further study and policy studies while adhering to a code of research practice and dissemination. The data will be retained securely in a personal password protected computer. The interviews will be kept separately from any information about you and will not be given to the media or any authorities of any kind. On completion of the thesis, the data will be retained for a period of ten years after which it will be destroyed.

What will happen to the results? The results will be presented in my doctoral thesis. They will be seen by my supervisors and the internal and external examiners. The study may be published in a research journal, presented in conferences and be used in further policy studies.

What are the possible disadvantages of taking part? I don't envisage any negative consequences for you in taking part.

What if there is a problem? At the end of the interview [participant observation], I will discuss with you how you found the experience and how you are feeling. If you subsequently feel distressed, you can tell me and I can refer you to resources and support organisations which may be of help to you.

Any further queries? If you need any further information, you can contact me: Elsa T. Oommen, 07999258605, elsa.oommen@warwick.ac.uk.

If you agree to take part in the study, please sign the consent form overleaf.

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Project Title: Migration for ‘work and play’: A gendered analysis of the youth mobility scheme to the United Kingdom

Name of Researcher: Elsa T. Oommen

(To be completed by participant)

I confirm that I have understood the information sheet provided by the researcher on(Date), for the above project and which I may keep for my records and have had the opportunity to ask any questions.

I agree to take part in the above study and I am willing to:

- Participate in an audio recorded interview

I understand that information will be:

- Used for academic purposes (knowledge generation and dissemination)

When information from the interview is used, I understand that I will not be personally identified and all direct quotes will be anonymised.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Date	Signature

_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

Appendix 2: Semi-Structured Interview Schedule- YMS participants

Section 1

(To be completed by the researcher during/after the interview)

Biographical Data

1. AGE:		<input type="text"/>
2. SEX:	<input type="checkbox"/> MALE	<input type="checkbox"/> FEMALE
3. EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION:		<input type="text"/>
4. NATIONALITY:		<input type="text"/>
5. PARTNERSHIP STATUS:		<input type="text"/>

Section 2

Knowledge about working holiday and decision to travel

<p>1. Could you tell me how you found out about the youth mobility scheme?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Was it ever discussed in school?- Is the idea of a working holiday popular in your country? Have your parents/ relatives ever been on a working holiday?- What was your first reaction when you heard about the scheme?- Are others among your circle of friends also aware about it and interested in travelling?- Have you ever participated in/used internet forums/blogs to find out more about the scheme?
<p>2. Why did you decide to travel to the UK on the scheme? What motivated you the most in that decision?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Did you think it was important to do this as a young person? What would you have done if you were not on the scheme?
<p>3. What did your family think about it? What was the reaction of friends?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Do you think there are any perceived differences between the travel aspirations of men and women?- Did your family's reaction have anything to do with your gender identity?- Did the reaction of friends reflect any gendered notions of travel?- What do your parents do? (parents' occupation)
<p>4. Have any of your immediate family or friends previously been on a working holiday to the UK?</p> <p>5. Do you believe your society allows men and women equal freedom to travel and explore the world? Are leisurely travel options available to women travelling alone? How do you think this relates to travel and migration for economic reasons?</p>
<p>6. What did you hope to get out of the experience? Were you ever scared about the thought of the experience?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- A desire to travel?- A better way to travel and explore a country than a tourist?

7. How does the experience of the scheme compare to what you had imagined it to be?

Section 3

Experiences of being part of the youth mobility scheme

1. Could you tell me how you got selected for the program?
 - Personal application
 - Application through agency
 - How did you get the specific information about the programme?
 - Which year?
 - Which authority did you submit the application to?
 - Was there an interview for the visa?
 - Are there any quota limits from each country?
 - Were you issued a limited period visa?
 - How much time did it take to get processed?
 - How much contact was required with the officials?
 - Did you need a prior arrangement of work in the UK? Or was it a general temporary work permit?
 - Are there any restrictions on the type of work?
 - Did you need to confirm where you would be living?
 - Was there any requirement for stipulated savings in your bank account?
 - Did you find it difficult to arrange any of these requirements?
 - Did you have to get the deemed sponsorship letter? If so, which agency issues it? Was the process easy or difficult? Do you know any others who applied along with you/otherwise and got rejected?
 - Was the application process intimidating or were the officials friendly?
 - Was it difficult to find out about all the changes within the scheme while you were applying? Did you know that you were applying for a working holiday? Has the scheme changed while you were here in the UK and did this affect you in any way?
2. If this is the first time in the UK, could you tell me a bit about your travel to the UK? Did you come across any hurdles while travelling, immigration checks at the airport asking about your visa type etc., any privileges of travel since you are from a particular country?
 - -Did you have to register with the police on arrival?

- -Did you have any specific intention to settle and work in a particular part of the UK?
- -If so, how did this work out?
- -Why did you decide on a particular region to live and work in?
- -Were you influenced by the options to travel?

How did you find your first job while on the YMS? Were there any restrictions in your work?

- Which part of the UK?
 - Did you ever feel discriminated against in making job applications because of your ethnicity, nationality and gender?
 - Were you covered by the minimum wage? Or do you think you were paid less than normal?
 - As a man/woman, do you think you benefitted more on the job? If yes, then why do you think so?
3. If you travelled on a working holiday with your partner, what was the kind of job he/she did?
- Were there any instances of lower wages being paid for the same job?
 - Did you or your partner experience any gender inequality in the type of work or the pay?
 - In your opinion were there any gender stereotypes operating in the type of work women were able to find?

4. Where are you working now? Is the type of work similar to any previous job you have had?
- Are you working for a temping agency?
 - Public/private sector?
 - What is the nature of your work contract, if any? Or is it mostly a temporary worker agreement?
 - Have you benefited from the type of work (performed during YMS)? Any transferable skills?
 - Have you ever been working in any other country on a similar scheme?
 - Does the type of job you were able to find give you enough options to explore both work and play? Will you include travels/holiday within play? Or does the nature of the job combine work and play?
 - Would you do similar work at home?
 - What sector were you working in in your home country?

5. Have you been able to explore life and culture in the UK while on YMS? Do you also try to stay close to your culture while you are away from home? If

so, what are the means through which you do this? Examples could be food, music, ethnic social groups and so on.

6. Were you able to meet and socialise with others on the programme?
 - -Have you been able to make friends in the UK? Have you got any avenues to meet others on the scheme?
 - -Do you have any informal groups (social media, ethnic groups) where you all meet and participate?
 - - Where do you hang out in your free time?
 - - As a man, did you find it easier to be outgoing and make more friends?
 - -Did you make friends with other women who were on the programme?
 - -As a woman, have you ever felt stressed or worried about going out and socialising with others from different countries? Or have you found it to be easy. Tell me all about it.
7. Have you been able to make friends from Britain and other parts of the world?
8. What made you choose London as the place of residence? What are the factors that affected this decision? How do you find the neighbourhood where you live? What are the living arrangements (example- flat share, private rented property, council housing, living with friends/ relatives/others on YMS)
9. How do you understand the 'work' and 'holiday' aspects of the scheme despite it having been renamed as YMS?
 - What are the benefits of the scheme?
 - From your experience, is the programme equally popular among men and women (back in your own country and in the destination)? If not, then how is it different? By destination, I mean with employers and the general public you have come across and interacted with.
10. Were you able to stay in touch with family and friends in your home country?
 - -If yes, tell me how?
 - -Was there any medium you chose to record your experience of being overseas? (e.g.: Travel blogs, Facebook)
 - -Why do you think staying in touch and representing your travel on any of these media are important?
11. What was your most striking experience while on the scheme?

12. What do you think is the relevance of YMS to participating countries and participants?

- Do you think there should be more options and destinations available to young people?
- Do you know to how many countries you can travel on similar schemes?

13. What was the best thing about the programme for you?
What was the worst thing about the programme for you?

14. Would you recommend the scheme to others? Do you know anyone else who is currently on YMS to the UK? Who do you think will not be able to do YMS?

Appendix 3: Information sheet & consent form (Government officials)

Project Title: Migration for ‘work and play’: A gendered analysis of the youth mobility scheme to the United Kingdom

As part of the requirements for my doctoral research at the University of Warwick, I have carried out a qualitative study of the youth mobility scheme (YMS) to the United Kingdom. My research explores how the state immigration framework shapes young adults’ mobilities and work patterns and how young adults themselves make sense of their participation in the scheme, while also observing the gendered norms and identities of the participants in the scheme.

I have requested an interview with you to enhance my knowledge of the Tier-5 YMS and to get a perspective on the actual working of the scheme. As for confidentiality of data, I will ensure that no references to your identity appear in the thesis. Any extracts which have direct quotes will be entirely anonymous.

The information received from you will only be used in the domain of research and research dissemination in conferences and publications. It might be used for purposes of further study and policy studies, while adhering to the code of research practice and dissemination. The data will be retained securely in a personal password protected computer. On completion of the thesis, the data will be retained for a period of ten years after which it will be destroyed.

The results will be presented in my doctoral thesis. They will be seen by my supervisors, and the internal and external examiners. The study may be published in a research journal, presented in conferences and be used in further policy studies.

Consent Form

I.....agree to participate in the above research study.

The purpose and nature of the study has been explained to me in writing.

I am participating voluntarily.

I give permission for my interview to be audio-recorded.

When information from the interview is used, I understand that I will not be personally identified and all direct quotes will be anonymised. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

I understand that information will be used for academic purposes (knowledge generation and dissemination).

Signed.....

Date.....

Appendix 4: Semi-structured interview schedule (government officials)

1. Why is youth mobility scheme (YMS) not open to all the Commonwealth countries, unlike the working holidaymaker scheme (WHMS) which it subsumed?
2. How does a country initiate participation in YMS with the UK?
3. How is the yearly cap on YMS participants from each participating country decided?
4. Could you elaborate on the YMS risk formula for YMS candidate countries? What is meant by 'low risk' countries? What is the current maximum YMS risk level permitted for countries?
5. Could you discuss the sponsor obligations of the participating countries who act as sponsors on behalf of the YMS participants?
6. Can the participants who hold different types of British nationality (BOC, BNO, BOTC) extend their YMS visa from the UK?
7. If a young person who holds a BOC passport from Tanzania applies for YMS, would she be allowed to participate in YMS, despite Tanzania not being a participating country of the current YMS?
8. How are the returns arrangements ensured for participants who hold different kinds of British nationality?
9. Do return arrangements also constitute deportation of the participants in the face of non-compliance with the two-year period of visa validity?
10. How was deemed sponsorship guaranteed for countries of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Japan at the year of introduction of YMS in 2008, with no prior YMS arrangements with these countries?
11. Could you elaborate on the reason for the restriction of visa national countries from participating in YMS?
12. The tier 5 statement of intent highlights a needs-based approach to the points system. Could you discuss the need-based assessment of Tier 5 YMS?
13. Why is there a restriction on participants of previous WHMS from applying for YMS, when there is no such restriction on previous participation in other youth mobility- like provisions which were also subsumed within YMS?

14. Youth mobility scheme within Tier-5 is the only temporary work arrangement to have strict restrictions on dependent children (both biological children and those children whom the participants are financially responsible for). Could you elaborate on why this specific limitation in YMS?
15. Could you elaborate on the 'principle of balances'?
16. What are the other countries that are currently being considered for inclusion in YMS?
17. What are the responsibilities of the sponsoring country with regard to the YMS participants from their country?
18. Could you provide some insights from your experience working with the changes in the immigration regime to PBS - why was the PBS introduced, how was the tier structure brought into place?
19. Despite YMS being a new scheme, why do you think the scheme is still popular as a working holiday among the participants? Why is it known as a working holiday visa in the reciprocal schemes of the participating countries?
20. Could you provide some insights on how YMS may be affected by changes in EU immigration regulation following the EU referendum?

Appendix 5: List of policy documents (documentary method)

Command papers

Home Office (2002) Secure borders, safe haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain. Cm 5387. London: The Stationery Office.

Home Office (2005a) Controlling Our Borders: Making Migration Work for Britain. Five Year Strategy for Asylum and Immigration. Cm 6472. London: The Stationery Office.

Home Office (2006) A Points-Based System: Making Migration Work for Britain. Cm 6741. London: The Stationery Office.

House of Commons Papers

House of Commons (2009a) Managing migration: Points Based System. Thirteenth Report of Session 2008-2009, Volume I, Report, together with formal minutes. Home Affairs Committee. HC 217-i.

House of Commons (2009b) Managing migration: Points Based System. Thirteenth Report of Session 2008-2009, Volume II, Oral and written evidence. Home Affairs Committee. HC 217-ii.

Tier 5 (Youth Mobility Scheme) visa

Tier 5 (Youth Mobility Scheme) visa Overview (2014)

<https://www.gov.uk/tier-5-youth-mobility/overview> (GOV.UK)

UK Border Agency (2009) Tier 5 (Youth Mobility Scheme) of the Points-Based System Policy Guidance.

UK Visas & Immigration (2014) Tier 5 (Youth Mobility Scheme) of the Points-Based System Policy Guidance. Version 04/14

UK Border Agency (2008a) Work and Play in the UK. Your Guide to the new and exciting Youth Mobility Scheme. Youth Mobility Scheme brochure (October, 2008)

UK Border Agency (2008b) Temporary workers and youth mobility under the Points-Based System – (Tier 5) Statement of Intent. UK Border Agency Communications Directorate. May, 2008.

Statement of Changes in Immigration Rules

Home Office (2008) Statement of changes in immigration rules. HC 1113. London: The Stationery Office.

Home Office (2005b) Statement of changes in immigration rules. HC 302. London: The Stationery Office.

Standard Note

Grimwood, G. G., & Thorp, A. (2008) Immigration: The working holidaymaker and youth mobility schemes. Standard Note: SN/HA/1400, Home Affairs Section: House of Commons Library. 1-14.

Immigration Rules

Home Office (2014). Immigration Rules part 6A: the points-based system. Tier-5 (Youth Mobility Scheme) Temporary Migrants. Points-based system (paragraphs 245 ZI to 245ZL).

Acts

- Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962
- Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1968

Hansard

House of Commons

- HC Deb 08 March 1971 vol 813 cc42-173
- HC Deb 21 February 1973 vol 851 cc577-646
- HC Deb 23 July 2002: Column 1063 W

- HC Deb 11 July 2003: Column 1057W
- HC Deb 20 Nov 2003: Column 1319W
- HC Deb 14 January 2008: Column 1049W
- HC Deb 31 March 2008: Column 609W
- HC Deb 11 June 2008: Column 349W
- HC Deb 8 July 2008: Column 1443 W – 1444 W
- HC Deb 22 July 2008: Column 1346W
- HC Deb 17 September 2008: Column 2260W – 2261W
- HC Deb 8 December 2009: Column 219W – 222W
- HC Deb 10 Nov 2010: Column 361W.
- HC Deb 2 December 2010: Column 968 W
- HC Deb 15 February 2011 Col 718W

House of Lords

- HL Deb 20 March 1980 vol 407 cc360-431
- HL Deb 25 November 2008: Column 1434
- HL Deb 25 October 2010: Column WA 242

Immigration Statistics

- Home Office (2014) Statistical News Release Immigration Statistics. October – December 2013, Published on 27 February, 2014.

ILPA

- ILPA information sheet: Points Based System – Youth Mobility (Tier 5). Date: 19 September, 2008

Appendix 6: Socio-biographical information of YMS participants

Pseudonym	Country	Gender	Ethnicity	Age	Highest Qualification	Social class	Marital Status	Sexual Orientation
Ajay	Australia	Male	South Asian	31	Master's Degree	Middle class	Married	Heterosexual
Kate	Australia	Female	White	26	Bachelor's Degree	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Peter	Australia	Male	White	26	Bachelor's Degree	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Raisa	Australia	Female	White	24	High School Certificate	Working class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Dennis	Canada	Male	White	24	Bachelor's Degree	Working class	Unmarried	Homosexual
Matt	Canada	Male	White	23	No school leaving certificate	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Rose	Canada	Female	White	24	Bachelor's Degree	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Sandra	Canada	Female	White	28	Bachelor's Degree	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Cheryl	Hong Kong	Female	East Asian	27	Bachelor's Degree	Working class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Donein	Hong Kong	Male	East Asian	26	Graduate Diploma	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Jianah	Hong Kong	Female	East Asian	31	Bachelor's Degree	Working class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Melissa	Hong Kong	Female	East Asian	25	Bachelor's Degree	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Atien	Japan	Male	East Asian	27	High School Certificate	Working class	Unmarried	Homosexual
Mayoso	Japan	Female	East Asian	31	Bachelor's Degree	Middle class	Married	Heterosexual
Moina	Japan	Female	East Asian	30	Bachelor's Degree	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Suoko	Japan	Male	East Asian	29	Bachelor's Degree	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Yulia	Japan	Female	East Asian	31	Bachelor's Degree	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Hannah	Korea	Female	East Asian	27	Bachelor's Degree	Middle class	Married	Heterosexual
Ji-Hu	Korea	Female	East Asian	25	Master's Degree	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Pong	Korea	Male	East Asian	22	High School Certificate	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Boris	New Zealand	Male	East Asian	32	Bachelor's Degree	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Jane	New Zealand	Female	White	29	Bachelor's Degree	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Minita	New Zealand	Female	White	27	Bachelor's Degree	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Roger	New Zealand	Male	White	31	Bachelor's Degree	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Adrian	Taiwan	Male	East Asian	26	Bachelor's Degree	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Anna	Taiwan	Female	East Asian	28	Bachelor's Degree	Working class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Dai	Taiwan	Male	East Asian	26	Master's Degree	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Harry	Taiwan	Male	East Asian	25	Master's Degree	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual
Vicky	Taiwan	Female	East Asian	26	Bachelor's Degree	Middle class	Unmarried	Heterosexual