



CHRISTOPHER BRENNAN

Precarious Working Tourists

Working Holiday Makers in Australia



ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

To be presented, with the permission of
the Board of the School of Social Sciences and Humanities
of the University of Tampere,
for public discussion in the Väinö Linna-Auditorium K104,
Kalevantie 5, Tampere,
on May 9th, 2014, at 12 o'clock.

UNIVERSITY OF TAMPERE

CHRISTOPHER BRENNAN

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Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 1929
Tampere University Press
Tampere 2014

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION
University of Tampere
School of Social Sciences and Humanities
Finland

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Cover design by
Mikko Reinikka

Distributor:
kirjamyynti@juvenes.fi
<http://granum.uta.fi>

Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 1929
ISBN 978-951-44-9437-6 (print)
ISSN-L 1455-1616
ISSN 1455-1616

Acta Electronica Universitatis Tamperensis 1413
ISBN 978-951-44-9438-3 (pdf)
ISSN 1456-954X
<http://tampub.uta.fi>

Suomen Yliopistopaino Oy – Juvenes Print
Tampere 2014



Abstract

Among the hundreds of thousands of international backpackers that travel to Australia each year, many do so under the auspices of the Australian government's *Working Holiday Maker Program*. The program allows young travellers from distinct countries to legally live and work in Australia for up to one year, with a chance for some to stay for a second year if performing specified work in certain Australian regions. This thesis investigates working holiday makers in Australia as precarious working tourists through a five-month autoethnographic study of their work situations, perceptions related to work, holiday, and working holiday, and their potential naivety to undertaking paid employment in Australia. In our contemporary world, workers rights and standards of employment have regressed, with a rise of precarious work becoming more and more commonplace. Not only do working holiday makers take on many jobs typically associated with precarious work, reported as doing jobs most Australian's won't do, their attitudes toward paid employment and lack of knowledge of basic workers rights can put them further at risk of pursuing questionable work situations and susceptible to devious treatment by employers and agencies. The resulting autoethnographic monograph from this research aims to provide insight into new manifestations within international contexts of precarious work involving foreign workers and working tourists.

Thanks & Gratitude

This dissertation and my doctoral pursuit could not have been made possible without the support of numerous people. First and foremost, I would like to thank my parents, Mark and Nancy Brennan, for their unconditional love and support.

Next I would like to thank my advisors, Harri Melin and Pertti Koistinen for their guidance and reassurance along this journey. I'd also like to thank the Finnish Doctoral Program on Labour and Welfare Studies, *LabourNet*. My ability to participate in *LabourNet* courses and seminars from within Finland and abroad played an intricate role in maintaining the progression of my studies, and funding from *LabourNet* has helped bring this dissertation to life. I would also like to thank The Finnish Work Environment Fund, Työsuojelurahasto, and their financial support of my research in its latter stages, which helped with the finalization of the dissertation you are about to read. Additionally, I would like to thank Dr. Jennifer Lerner for opportunities and encouragement at various junctures during my research. Further, I would like to thank both my pre-examiners, Professor Karen O'Reilly and Professor Jarkko Saarinen, for their beneficial and constructive comments regarding my research. I also appreciate Professor O'Reilly agreeing to be my opponent, graciously taking time from her schedule to travel to Finland to participate in my public examination. Lastly, I would like to thank the many individuals in addition to those above who, whether they know it or not, have supported me in a myriad of ways, helping me push forward through tough times and when difficult choices had to be made at crossroads; thank you Ida, Eino, Amanda, James & Wendy, Mike & Amy, Frank & Sara, Ibby & Paul, Ari & Alain, and Burgess.

For anyone who reads this, remember:

Aut viam inveniam aut faciam

Contents

1	An Observation (Introduction)	12
2	The Working Holiday Maker Program	16
2.1	Overview of the WHMP	16
2.2	Previous Studies	24
3	Research & Methodology	30
3.1	Location and Duration	31
3.2	Ethnography & Participant Observation	32
3.2.1	Covert Participant Observation	39
3.3	Autoethnography	44
3.3.1	What is Autoethnography?	45
3.3.2	Writing Autoethnography	48
3.4	Qualitative Interviews	50
3.4.1	Interview Data	60
3.5	Criticisms, Limitations, Ethics	65
3.5.1	Generalizability Amongst Thousands	65

3.5.2	Covert Research Ethics	67
3.5.3	Replication of Research.....	69
3.6	Between Participant, Observer, & Researcher	72
4	Precarious Work & Working Tourists.....	76
4.1	Precarious Work.....	77
4.1.1	Precarious Work In Australia	88
4.2	Working Tourists & “Working Holiday”	93
4.3	The ILO.....	98
5	Work & Holiday.....	103
5.1	Work.....	103
5.1.1	Brief History of Work.....	104
5.1.2	What is work?.....	113
5.2	Holiday.....	119
5.2.1	Backpackers.....	131
6	Tourism in Australia.....	136
6.1	A brief history of Australian tourism	136
6.2	The importance of the tourism industry	144
7	Availability, Or Choice?	148
7.1	Agricultural Work.....	148

7.2	Casual Work.....	151
7.3	Work Restrictions.....	157
8	Willing Workers.....	160
8.1	Desperate.....	161
8.2	Naïve?.....	172
8.3	“Working Holiday” Jobs.....	181
8.4	A Second Working Holiday.....	194
9	Precarious Working Tourists.....	200
9.1	Precariously Naïve.....	201
9.2	Ambivalent.....	216
9.3	Backpackers or Working Holiday Makers?.....	235
9.4	A Personal Journey.....	255
10	Why Does It Matter.....	264
10.1	Tragedy.....	264
10.2	Consequences for Australian Tourism?.....	272
10.3	Small Changes Possible.....	280
11	A Conclusion.....	282
11.1	A new form of exploitation?.....	282
11.2	“Work” in the context of its opposite?.....	289

11.3	Re-examining a “Working Holiday”	292
11.4	Where to go from here.....	297
12	References.....	300
13	Appendices	328

Figures

Figure 1. Australia's Working Holiday Maker visa agreements.....	20
Figure 2. Number of WHMs coming to Australia 1983-2008.....	22
Figure 3. WHV Grantings 2006-2011.....	23
Figure 4. Major Localities Visited by WHMs.....	31
Figure 5. Interview Schedule.....	52-56
Figure 6. Stages in the process of thematic analysis.....	61
Figure 7. Stages of modified thematic analysis.....	62
Figure 8. Sectors identified with precarious work.....	83
Figure 9. Nature of non-standard work.....	84
Figure 10. Types of 'traveling workers' and 'working tourists'.....	95
Figure 11. Types of Societies.....	111
Figure 12. Correlations between work and activities.....	115
Figure 13. Public and private work.....	116
Figure 14. A framework for the organization of labour.....	118
Figure 15. The Backpacker Phenomenon: An Evolutionary Framework.....	126
Figure 16. Cohen's typologies of tourists.....	129
Figure 17. Economic importance of tourism to Australian regions.....	146
Figure 18. Eligibility requirements for WHV 417.....	162
Figure 19. Eligibility requirements for WHV 462.....	163
Figure 20. Drop in Employment in Australian Agriculture.....	195
Figure 21. Tourism spending contribution to Australian GDP.....	221
Figure 22. Tourism activities in Australia.....	223-225
Figure 23. Value of work versus funds.....	227
Figure 24. WHM Visas issued 1983 – 2009.....	238
Figure 25. Backpacker Arrivals 1999-2008.....	238
Figure 26. Number of second WHV 417 grantings over past 2007-2012.....	253
Figure 27. Working Holiday explanations.....	256
Figure 28. International Student enrolments in Australia 1994-2011.....	273
Figure 29. Traveller decision making to Australia.....	275
Figure 30. Loss in approval ratings for Australian Tourism.....	276
Figure 31. Dimensions of precarious work for WHMs.....	283-284
Figure 32. Push and pull factors.....	294

Images

Image 1. Picking watermelons during fieldwork.....	149
Image 2. Estonian watermelon picking crew.....	150
Image 3. Job advert from hostel job board – Casual Rates Apply.....	156
Image 4. Job advert from hostel job board – English required.....	158
Image 5. Online job advert – Good English required, Working Holiday Visa do NOT Apply.....	159
Image 6. Online question about proof of funds when entering Australia with a WHV.....	164
Image 7. Hostel job search assistance advert – Job Club.....	167
Image 8. Hostel job search assistance advert – Backpacker Work Centre.....	168
Image 9. “Backpacker Tax Refund Services” for WHMs.....	176
Image 10. Working on a Working Holiday Visa.....	183
Image 11. Tourism Australia’s on-line campaign for the WHM visa in the UK 2009.....	184
Image 12. STA Travels Outback Ranch Hand work program.....	187
Image 13. Working holiday advertisement images.....	189
Image 14. BUNAC Work Australia.....	190
Image 15. Norwegian working holiday agent.....	191
Image 16. Downloadable Harvest Trail Guide published each year.....	194
Image 17. Second Working Holiday Visa.....	197
Image 18. Picking Watermelons in Australia.....	206
Image 19. Rotting Watermelons.....	208
Image 20. Mango picking burns.....	210
Image 21. My holiday part of a “working holiday”.....	222
Image 22. Trial Shifts.....	233
Image 23. Hostel advert – Tours, Jobs & Local Info.....	242
Image 24. Hostel advert – Job Search Assistance.....	243
Image 25. Hostel Advert – Job, Tour & Travel Info.....	244
Image 26. Hostel advert – Guaranteed Work.....	245
Image 27. Backpackers steal.....	248
Image 28. Death of a Working Holiday Maker.....	265
Image 29. Fair Work Website.....	270
Image 30. 2009 Indian Protests in Melbourne.....	272
Image 31. Working Holiday in Canada.....	278
Image 32. Workers rights.....	281

Abbreviations

ATEC = Australian Tourism Export Council

DIAC = Department of Immigration and Citizenship

DRET = Department of Resources, Energy and Tourism

TA = Tourism Australia

TRA = Tourism Research Australia

WHM = Working Holiday Maker

WHMs = Working Holiday Makers

WHMP = Working Holiday Maker Program

WHV = Working Holiday Visa, Work and Holiday Visa

WHV 417 = Working Holiday Visa Subclass 417

WHV 462 = Work and Holiday Visa Subclass 462

1 An Observation (Introduction)

Backpacka's...[laughing to himself]...there's nothing like slave labour...

- Overheard comment of Australian traveller gazing at a hostel job board in Melbourne's Greenhouse Backpackers hostel, August 2008.

In 2008, I journeyed to Australia on a 4-month category *416 Special Program* visa obtained through the British Universities North America Club, or BUNAC, with the right to legally work in Australia for the duration of my visa granted by Australia's Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Having to choose between arriving in Melbourne or Sydney as dictated by BUNAC requirements, I chose Melbourne, ultimately living and working in the capital of Victoria for 3 months, after which time I travelled down the east coast of Australia for a month with my then girlfriend, snorkelling on the great barrier reef, learning to surf, and holding koalas, amongst other typical tourist activities in Australia, along the way.

My journey back then was primarily to work in order to take a break from my academic pursuits at that time. While living in Melbourne, I was often surrounded by other foreign workers known as working holiday makers, or more colloquially "backpackers", who had obtained work visas through Australia's *Working Holiday Maker Program*. My visa limited me to a shorter stay compared to these working holiday makers (WHMs), yet I was immersed in the same world as them – living with them in hostel dormitories, working beside them throughout Melbourne, frequenting the same pubs, and discovering the same local tourist hot-spots. Like them, I was a foreigner in Melbourne looking for employment while on a visa with a limited working period length, mine being 4 months total and theirs being 6 months maximum with one employer. A perceived difference, however, was that I was there intent on finding work and not on a "working holiday" so to speak. I personally navigated through numerous employment options, including many of

those advertised directly to WHMs in hostels, until I found one that was legal with a reasonable wage; I did not simply stick with what was initially available to me or easiest to procure as many incorporated questionable remuneration structures. For example, my then British flatmate, who was an auto mechanic by trade, worked a door-to-door sales position selling home milk delivery services in which he was only paid a commission if successfully signing up customers for the service. He literally would work a 40 to 50-hour workweek and be paid nothing if no sales were made. As someone preoccupied with finding gainful employment, for me this seemed a ridiculous choice for work regarding the pay structure and was hard to understand why he undertook such, yet he inevitably did so simply as it was a “job” easily available. This too appeared to be the case with many WHMs around me in observation – most were willing to take any job they could get. They appeared, as most appropriately put, *desperate* for any type of work.

During these 4 months, I worked a variety of jobs in the hospitality sector, joining the on-call staff of a temp agency, working as a bartender and event waiter at the MCG, Etihad Stadium, Crown Casino, and other various venues throughout Melbourne and its surrounding suburbs. Before securing this position, however, I began my stay in Melbourne working as a labourer for a lawn and landscaping services contractor, “Robert”, who operated primarily in the eastern suburbs. I found the job through a job board advert in a hostel I was living in in St Kilda. On my first day with this contractor, beside myself, worked with us a young backpacker named “Charlie”. Toward the end of this first day, the three of us were just beginning our last “job” of the day at an upscale residence; I was tasked with mowing the front lawn, Charlie mowing the back, and Robert adding gravel to a footpath along the side of the house. Whilst I was mowing, I heard a yell to come quickly to the back of the residence. As I turned the corner of the house into the back yard, I saw Charlie lying on the ground convulsing and shaking about, Robert on a knee looking over him wondering what was happening. I joined the contractor alongside Charlie and we held him secure, yet gently, as the convulsions slowly decreased and he gained more control of his body. I had had some basic wilderness first-aid training yet had never witnessed or experienced someone having an epileptic seizure, which we later learned from Charlie was what had just happened. As Charlie came to, regaining control over his body and, slowly, his mind it seemed¹, Robert was deliberating what to do as it became obvious he had

¹ It took a few minutes for him to consciously recognise where he was and what had just happened.

never experienced or seen someone have an epileptic seizure either. He turned to me and suggested we escort Charlie over toward his car and trailer, sit him on the curb, and leave him while he and I returned to finish the work that had to be done at his customer's house. I was in a bit of disbelief – was he telling me we should simply put this young traveller who had just had a seizure off to the side and keep working? I thought for a moment, and then suggested Robert take Charlie back to his hostel where his mates were and I would remain and keep working. As neither of us honestly knew the ramifications of, or how to deal with, someone who had just had a seizure, it seemed safer to take him somewhere where people who knew him could at least look after him and he could have access to any medical attention if needed. Robert thought for a moment, and then agreed.

Amongst my many memories from this trip to Australia, seeing the inclination of an Australian contractor to ignore the wellbeing of a hired “backpacker” who had just had an epileptic seizure proved quite unforgettable. It was this experience, coupled with watching other foreign “backpackers” or working holiday makers play a role of disposable and vulnerable workers in Melbourne, who desperately take up difficult jobs that paid sub-standard wages, or no salary, and offer no protection, that inspired the dissertation you are about to read. What will follow is an autoethnographic² account of research conducted in Australia in 2011, where I returned for a working holiday of my own under the auspices of the Working Holiday Maker Program, to travel, work, and investigate the potentially vulnerable, or precarious, employment conditions of working holiday makers, often simply referred to as “backpackers”, as they navigate both worlds of “holiday” and “work” in the context of the oxymoronic concept of a “working holiday”.

Using a deconstructive approach, beginning with an explanation of the program and visa categories which make a “working holiday” in Australia possible for international travellers and previous studies of them, I will present my research methodology and discuss a strong empirical link between working holiday makers and precarious workers before further pondering their association to other study groups in previous research, suggesting a more compatible likening to working tourists. Further, I will discuss theoretical and working holiday makers’ motivations, perceptions, and priorities of “work” and “holiday” in the context of a “working holiday”, which will ultimately explain further supplementation in their potential situations of precariousness, afterwards discussing why this research

² If not familiar with autoethnography as a research method, it will be explained later on.

assumes any weight of importance in contemporary society. Throughout, I will comment on and examine, most often through empirical observation, previous reports of WHMs as well as media from other actors and agencies involved with the phenomenon that is a “working holiday” in Australia, in order to draw attention and give insight to the work situations and conditions of employment undertaken by these working tourists.

2 The Working Holiday Maker Program

Within the “backpacker” hordes that seek sun and surf in Australia each year, many do so under the auspices of the Australian government’s *Working Holiday Maker Program* (WHMP). This program, or more accurately, visa subclasses³, allows young travellers from select countries to legally work and live within Australia for up to one year, with the possibility for a second year stay for some upon completion of specified work in certain Australia regions⁴. While working holiday makers (WHMs) are often categorized as *backpackers*⁵, not all backpackers can be necessarily considered WHMs since WHMs have a specific legal right to work afforded them by a visa obtained from the Department of Immigration and Citizenship, and with such a visa comes taxation of wages earned. Regardless, this “backpacker” label often remains due to WHMs exploratory ambitions and touristic tendencies, not to mention their enormous contribution in spending toward the Australian tourism industry⁶.

2.1 Overview of the WHMP

The program began in 1975 as a, “...temporary migration mechanism to allow young people...from the UK and Canada to travel, work and study in Australia”

³ *Working Holiday Visa Subclass 417* and *Work and Holiday Visa Subclass 462*.

⁴ This possibility is only available to WHV 417 holders

⁵ WHMs are included in demographic studies of backpackers in Australia, such as those of Allon et. al 2008a and 2008b, and Locker-Murphy and Pierce 1995.

⁶ As reported by the Australian Tourism Export Council in their positionary paper *The Importance of the Working Holiday Visa (Subclass 417)*, dated February 2012, “Backpackers stay (in Australia) an average of 73 nights and spend over \$5400, while working holiday makers have an extended stay averaging 8 months and spend \$13,000 each”.

(Tan et al. 2009, 1)⁷, yet expanded over time with the reciprocal arrangements made with other countries such as Japan in 1980, the Netherlands in 1981⁸, the Republic of Korea in 1995, Malta in 1996, and Germany in 2000 (Tan et al. 2009, 1). As of March 2013, there are 28 countries included in the program that are divided into two groups of visa subclasses⁹. The countries in the *Working Holiday Visa Subclass 417*, or WHV 417, include:

- Belgium
- Canada
- Cyprus
- Denmark
- Estonia
- Finland
- France
- Germany
- Hong Kong (HKSAR)
- Ireland
- Italy
- Japan
- Korea, Republic of
- Malta
- Netherlands
- Norway
- Sweden
- Taiwan
- United Kingdom

⁷ Ireland was also amongst the first countries included in the program yet Tan et al. did not state such in being tied to a “temporary migration mechanism”.

⁸ Tan et al. state that an agreement was made with the Netherlands in 1981, however, DIAC does not show their WHV 417 visa agreement coming into effect until 2006. This is possibly a new agreement perhaps updating stipulations in reciprocity as changes were made to the WHMP in 2005.

⁹ It is important to maintain that although visa subclass names are different – “Working Holiday” versus “Work and Holiday” – Australian government reports continuously analyse visa holders from both subclasses as one group. For example, both the *Working Holiday Maker visa program* report released by DIAC on June 30th 2011 and June 30th 2012 state that the term Working Holiday Maker specifically “Refers collectively to both the Working Holiday (Subclass 417) visa and the Work and Holiday (Subclass 462) visa”.

The countries belonging to the *Work and Holiday Visa Subclass 462*, or WHV 462, include:

- Argentina
- Bangladesh
- Chile
- Indonesia
- Malaysia
- Papua New Guinea
- Thailand
- Turkey
- United States of America

(DIAC 2011, Working Holiday)¹⁰.

In order to be eligible to apply for a WHV 417 or WHV 462, applicants must be aged 18-30 years old at time of application, hold a passport from an eligible partner country, and not be accompanied by dependent children during their stay in Australia. Further, they must meet health, proof of finances, and background character requirements. Some applicants in the WHV 462 groups are subject to further education, language, and governmental support requirements in order to obtain their particular subclass visa (DIAC 2011, Form 1150; Form 1208; see also Appendix for exact details per application forms).

All WHMs are initially granted a 12-month stay in Australia with a right to legally work, however, they may not remain with any single employer for longer than six months. Besides work, they are also entitled to study at educational institutions, for example universities or language schools, for a period of up to four months during this year-long period. Applicants are generally limited to being

¹⁰ DIAC web pages, when consulted during this research, continued to list Iran as belonging to the Subclass 462 group although the official agreement with them ceased in June of 2007 according to the *Evaluation of Australia's Working Holiday Maker Program*. If applicants pursue the visa process instructions further for the WHV 462 on the web pages, it will eventually state that applicants from Iran are no longer eligible for this visa type. Also, Papua New Guinea has a WHV 462 agreement with Australia, but it has not come into effect as of the time of this writing.

granted only one “Working Holiday” visa or “Work and Holiday”¹¹ visa in their lifetime, however, WHV 417 visa holders who undertake 88 days “specified work” in regional Australia at some point during their 12 month stay are eligible to apply for a second such visa. This opportunity for an extended stay was introduced as of November 1, 2005, but is not available to WHV 462 visa holders (DIAC 2011). It is pertinent to mention that the work stipulation of 6 months with one employer used to be limited to 3 months per employer and no right to study was provided by the visa. However, this stipulation changed in 2006 from 3 to 6 months work limitation and granting of study rights (Jarvis and Peel 2009, 5)

These visas are offered only to certain countries due to overarching bilateral agreements, usually in the form of a “Memorandum of Understanding”, between Australia and each visa partner country. The main differences between the two categories of visas are that WHV 462 agreements generally have limits on the number of visas granted annually (see Figure 1), in addition to the added eligibility requirements of language skill, education, and government approval. WHM agreements, by nature, are reciprocal, thus providing Australians with similar work and travel opportunities in partner countries overseas. When considering the addition of new WHMP partner countries, the Australian Government evaluates a scope of factors, such as an offer of reciprocity for Australians, and the “...strength of any cultural or people to people links” (DIAC 2011; DIAC 2012).

¹¹ Visas are connected to passports thus, in theory, one could apply multiple times if having multiple passports from dual-citizenship

Commencement Date	Country/Region	Type of Agreement	Cap
1975	United Kingdom	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
1975	Ireland	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
1975	Canada	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
1 December 1980	Japan	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
1 July 1995	Korea, Republic of	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
1 July 1996	Malta	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
1 July 2000	Germany	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
1 July 2001	Sweden	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
1 July 2001	Norway	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
1 July 2001	Denmark	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
15 September 2001	Hong Kong Special Administrative Region	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
1 May 2002	Finland	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
1 July 2002	Cyprus	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
2 January 2004	Italy	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
20 February 2004	France	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
1 November 2004	Taiwan	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
1 November 2004	Belgium	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
20 May 2005	Estonia	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
1 August 2005	Thailand	Work and Holiday (SC 462)	500
1 March 2006	Chile	Work and Holiday (SC 462)	1500
1 July 2006	Netherlands	Working Holiday (SC 417)	N/A
31 March 2007	Turkey	Work and Holiday (SC 462)	100
31 October 2007	United States of America	Work and Holiday (SC 462)	N/A
1 February 2009	Malaysia	Work and Holiday (SC 462)	100
1 July 2009	Indonesia	Work and Holiday (SC 462)	100
31 December 2010	Bangladesh	Work and Holiday (SC 462)	100
29 February 2012	Argentina	Work and Holiday (SC 462)	500
Signed 12 October 2011 – not yet in effect	Papua New Guinea	Work and Holiday (SC 462)	100

Figure 1. Australia's Working Holiday Maker visa agreements (DIAC 2012)¹²

¹² Although listed as their visa agreement commencing in 2006, the Netherlands actually had an agreement in place as of 1981, and Dutch WHMs were a part of Harding and Websters 2002 research. It is possible that the agreement was modified or renewed, and thus a new one commenced in 2006.

As the number of countries included into the program has grown over the years, so has the number of participants coming to Australia through the program; in fact, the number has grown significantly from almost 6,000 visa arrivals in 1983-84 to over 134,000 by 2007-08 (see Figure 2). Likewise the number of visas granted¹³ has increased considerably from almost 158,000 in 2007-08 to nearly 223,000, almost a quarter million, in 2011-12¹⁴ (see Figure 3).

¹³ Older studies have utilized “visa arrivals” and more recent studies “visa grantings”, hence the use of different statistical approaches in attempting to give a numerical perspective to the programs existence.

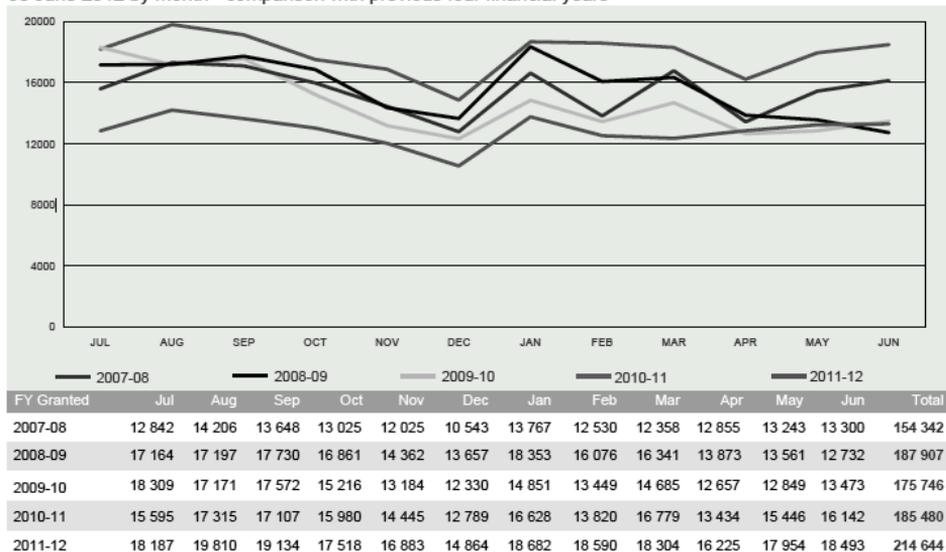
¹⁴ These numbers are cumulative totals from combining totals of the two charts representing grantings for WHV 417 and WHV 462, respectively

Year	Number of WHM Visa arrivals to Australia
1983-84	5,919
1984-85	10,089
1985-86	12,447
1986-87	20,695
1987-88	31,253
1988-89	45,368
1989-90	47,381
1990-91	44,495
1991-92	30,189
1992-93	23,944
1993-94	32,174
1994-95	38,861
1995-96	42,685

Year (Cont.)	Number of WHM Visa arrivals to Australia (Cont.)
1996-97	52,748
1997-98	60,291
1998-99	64,167
1999-00	79,237
2000-01	78,642
2001-02	79,082
2002-03	81,900
2003-04	88,017
2004-05	96,479
2005-06	104,139
2006-07	117,860
2007-08	134,388

Figure 2. Number of WHMs coming to Australia 1983-2008
(Harding and Webster 2002, 58; Tan et al. 2009, 4)

Total number of Working Holiday (subclass 417) visa applications granted in 2011-12 to 30 June 2012 by month - comparison with previous four financial years



Total number of Work and Holiday (subclass 462) visa applications granted in 2011-12 to 30 June 2012 by month - comparison with previous four financial years

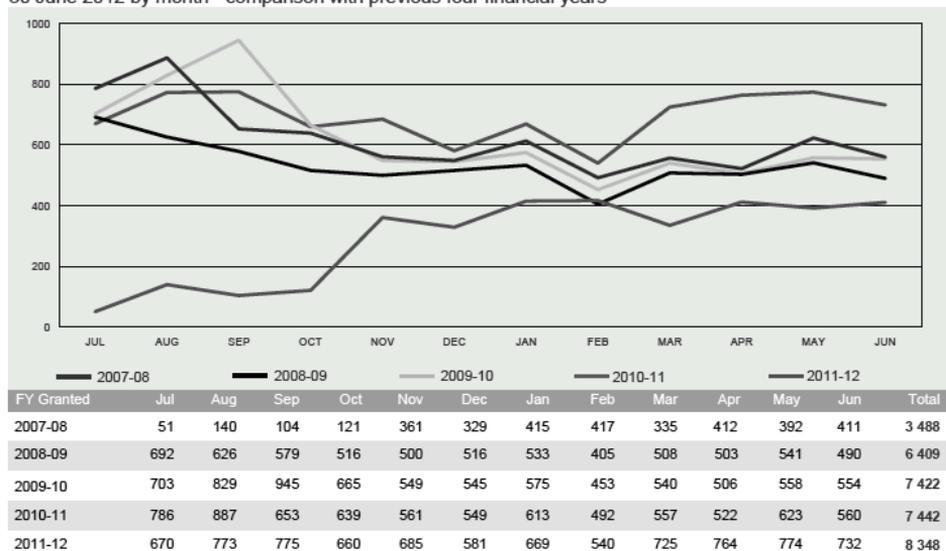


Figure 3. WHV Grantings 2006-2011 (DIAC 2012)

Although the WHMP may have began as a “temporary migration mechanism” (Tan et al. 2009, I), the overall guiding principle of the program has generally been stated, as recorded by regular program studies and echoed in current policy, to promote “cultural exchange” or “international understanding” between Australia and program partner countries and to allow youth to supplement their travel with short-term employment (Tan et al 2009, Harding and Webster 2002, Gallus 1997)¹⁵.

2.2 Previous Studies

It appears the scope and effects of the WHMP are examined every few years or so, with various studies about its participants and their various quantitative characteristics¹⁶. Most often, such reports evaluate the effect of the WHMP on the Australian labour market (see Tan et al 2009, Harding and Webster 2002). One study has even been done on the effect of Japanese WHMs on the Japanese labour market (Kawashima 2010). While a “working holiday” in Australia empirically is marketed primarily as a tourist adventure with an option to work, there appears a cognizant effort to examine the potential effects, positive or negative, of a foreign population that can be potentially viewed as a labour force or supply amongst the national populous. As a 1997 government report title reveals, they are ...*More Than Tourists*¹⁷. Reports continue to conclude that the tourist spending of WHMs is so substantial that they actually create more jobs in Australia than they take (Tan et al 2009, V; Harding and Webster 2002, 50) hence warranting the continuation and expansion of the program. Such reports also provide information that, in hindsight, reflects the in-practice work tasks of those on a “working holiday” in

¹⁵ At the time of writing, on the paper forms of the visa applications, the WHV 417 reads “The Working Holiday program encourages cultural exchange and closer ties between arrangement countries by allowing young adults to have an extended holiday during which they may engage in short term work or study.” The WHV 462 varies slightly, “The Work and Holiday visa program encourages cultural exchange and closer ties between arrangement countries by allowing young people to have an extended holiday supplemented by short-term employment”.

¹⁶ See Withers 1991, Murphy 1995, the Parliamentary Joint Standing Committee on Migration 1997, Harding and Webster 2002, and Tan et al. 2009.

¹⁷ Full report title is “Working Holiday Makers: More than Tourists”

Australia, thus highlighting the actual work activities most commonly involved (Tan et al 2009; Harding and Webster 2002).

WHMs have also been mentioned in academic studies about backpackers in Australia, which have provided other revelations about the group as workers, albeit studies have been more intent on discussing notions of young budget travellers in Australia (Loker-Murphy and Pierce 1995) and the mobility and social and cultural impacts of the backpacker phenomenon (Allon et al. 2008a; Allon et al. 2008b). WHMs are also incorporated in studies of seasonal labour in the agricultural industry (Mares 2005; Bell and Hanson 2007)¹⁸ as well as effects on regional tourist economies (Jarvis and Peel 2009, Jarvis and Peel 2010).

Of these studies mentioned, the most recent provides the most overarching analysis of WHMs to date. The study by Tan et al. examined questionnaire data from a 2008 survey electronically distributed to, "...all WHMs who came to Australia on a 417 or 462 visa and departed Australia between January 2007 and August 2008. As the WHM Survey was conducted via the Internet, only persons who completed their visa application online...and who provided a valid email address were included" (2009, 6). Conclusions from the 2009 report suggested:

WHMs are generally content with the program and feel that they learn quite a lot about Australia (not all of it positive). They contribute more to total expenditure than they do to earnings, and thus on balance make a small contribution to increasing the demand for Australian workers. In this sense, the WHM is more a tourism export program than a labour supply program.

¹⁸ Jarvis and Peel quote Bell and Hanson in saying that, "With regard to academic research, Hansen and Bell have noted in their study of seasonal migration within Australia, that the WHM is principally observed in relation to 'working conditions, worker recruitment difficulties and labour shortages'" (Jarvis and Peel 2009, 7). However, Bell and Hansen refer to studies of agricultural workers worldwide, not WHMs distinctly. While indeed performing agricultural work, WHMs also undertake many other menial positions throughout Australia as well. In fact, Tan et al.'s study concluded that the majority of work done by WHMs is of low skill and in cities (2009, I). Here is Bell and Hansen's full quote: "While seasonal movement of agricultural workers is a worldwide phenomenon, much less attention has been given to contemporary movements within developed countries. Moreover, research has been concerned principally with working conditions, recruitment problems and labour shortages (Weber, 1994; Rothenberg, 1998), rather than with spatio-temporal patterns. One focus has been on destination choice, and particularly on identifying the reasons seasonal workers move to particular harvest locations (Perloff et al., 1998)".

But WHMs do supply labour, and employers who use the program generally welcome it and feel that the quality of worker they get is high, relative to what is available from the local labour market given the pay and conditions on offer. The supply of WHM labour is of particular value to employers in the regions, especially agricultural enterprises who employ them to pick produce and to supply general farm labour. With the main exception of regional agricultural work, WHMs do not contribute much to the reduction of labour or skill shortages. The majority of work done is low skill and in the cities. In these jobs, they compete with the local low skill labour force and with local students who seek similar sorts of jobs while they study (Tan et al. 2009, 1).

Despite these revelations, one area this study conceded it did not cover was the work conditions of WHMs:

In summary, the literature recognizes that in the general population, job control and working conditions (which are not measured in the WHM survey) contributed to job satisfaction to a greater extent than other individual attributes (Tan et al. 2009, 25).

Such a void in working conditions appears consistent amongst academic studies of WHMs specifically. However, insights into such exist in studies that incorporate them. For example, in their work as fruit pickers or farm workers, WHMs are reported as susceptible to receiving wage rates and working conditions below national standards or experience racist behaviour from growers (Mares 2005, 2-3). Further, Allon et al. also found that WHMs, amongst backpackers in Sydney, faced low wages and disrespectful treatment by employers (2008a, 47), even going so far as to being referred to by many businesses in Sydney as “Australia’s Mexicans”, insinuating their use as similar to that of low-wage temporary Mexican migrant workers in the US (2008b, 11). Situations such as these are often characteristic of *precarious* work positions; employment settings in which workers are vulnerable to exploitation or sub-standard, often illegal, working conditions. This issue of precariousness will be further elaborated on later on.

These existing studies, which demonstrate questionable work conditions for some WHMs, coincide with observations from my 2008 visit, furthering my interest in investigating the work situations of WHMs in Australia and why they are

willing to take up the jobs that, as described by Allon et al., most Australians won't do (2008a, 43-44). As WHMs are not just on a traditional holiday, undertaking paid employment in Australia, some of their activities and behaviours diverge from that of a regular tourist. Even though reported to be a valuable labour source for some Australian employers by demonstrating a willingness to "have a go" at any job, head on (Tan et al. 2009; Allon et al. 2008a, 43-44), they have also been reported as, at times, apathetic toward work commitment and quit if work becomes too difficult or their touristic ambitions suddenly become priority (Bell and Hanson 2007; Mares 2005, 4). Such descriptions could paint them as, potentially, *ambivalent* toward work; they seek employment but their behaviours reflect conflicting views toward importance of the activity, views I theorize to be related to different perceptions and priorities of "work" and "holiday" while on a "working holiday". Although there is little doubt that many WHMs come to Australia intent to visit the "land down under" and see the unique landscapes and wildlife native to the continent, the additional activity of paid employment on such a journey can become extraordinary compared to a customary tourist escapade, resulting in extraordinary behaviours as employees, as well as putting themselves at risk to potential unsavoury treatment by employers. Even if tourists in some regards, potential situations of precariousness for them in employment is not only detrimental in that it lessens a universal call for fair treatment for workers (see Amnesty International 2013), but can also put their personal safety at risk if undertaking those jobs in which they know absolutely nothing about, or their safety or health is not of paramount concern to unscrupulous employers, such as I observed in incident in the use of "backpacker" labour.

Desperation is a condition of liability that can position anyone in a state of vulnerability in various situations, and such desperation or blind-willingness demonstrated by these "backpackers" whom I previously lived amongst, and as reported in other studies, sparked my interest as to, for one thing, their attitudes towards the concept of "work" on a "working holiday", amongst other intriguing questions. Consequently, I returned to Melbourne for a second time in 2011 as a WHM myself and as part of my working holiday escapade, simultaneously investigated the potential precariousness of WHMs' work perceptions and situations, with the main objective to examine in research: How are working holiday makers, if so, precarious workers in Australia?¹⁹

¹⁹ For some, the inclusion of "how" in this main inquiry may imply an established understanding that WHMs were already a studied or understood group of precarious workers. On the contrary, they

Utilizing ethnographic participant observation and qualitative interviews to further investigate the scope of a “working holiday”, I sought to address this guiding question through the two following sub-questions:

- What are WHMs’ perceptions, priorities, and activities towards “work”, “holiday”, and “working holiday” in the context of a working holiday in Australia?
- How knowledgeable are working holiday makers regarding working in Australia?

I believed that varying perceptions and priorities towards “work” and “holiday” in the context of a “working holiday” in Australia, in a sense, contributed to an aura of ambivalence toward undertaking paid employment, resulting in further precariousness in work place treatment and wage beyond that which was empirical. Likewise, a lack of knowledge of basic workers rights and standards of employment would place them in a position of vulnerability in deception when undertaking work. Even further, it was fathomed that the label of “backpacker” imposed on WHMs, whether individually or by social circumstance, was seen as potentially contributing to disrespectful or malicious treatment of WHMs in the workplace.

Although insightful, several of the previous studies mentioned, in my view, tend to look at the phenomena of WHMs in a purely “Australian” perspective; WHMs are studied or mentioned in their affect and trends within Australia solely and not associated to other comparable groups beyond backpackers and tourists (Loker-Murphy and Pierce 1995, Allon et al. 2008a; Allon et al. 2008b; Jarvis and Peel 2009; Jarvis and Peel 2010), or migrant and immigrant workers (Tan et al. 2009; Jarvis and Peel 2010). For example, studies seemingly deduce:

have not been distinctly identified as such in academic study, which will be discussed later, despite common attributes they may share with other identified precarious populations, ie. migrant workers, young workers, and so on. The “how” is intended to expand inquiry beyond simply asking, “Are WHMs precarious workers in Australia?” - a basic “yes” or “no” posit that prior experience and observations already led me to believe was indeed true, albeit outside an academic or research context. As told, such served as motivation to research their situations of work further.

- WHMs are foreigners who contribute to Australian tourism spending, live in hostels, and like to visit tourist sites, thus they are like backpackers and tourists;
- WHMs are foreigners who travel from abroad and take employment, some perform agricultural work, and some may end up staying in Australia, thus they are like migrant and immigrant workers.

While there are parallels with WHMs characteristics to these groups, namely a similar activity of journeying albeit for different purposes, I would stop short of these as dominant connections as my preliminary observations and experiences from 2008 suggested that not all WHMs are necessarily focused solely on an aspect of work, or travel for work, or eventual immigration. This I will elaborate on more later.

Another trend in these reports is that they are prepared primarily by Australian academics or Australian universities, funded by Australian entities, examining a foreign populous within Australia. This does not diminish revelations, yet it empirically positions researchers as natives examining foreign WHMs in their home country; somewhat of an Australian “us” examining a foreign “them”. This is only natural as an academic’s decision making factors in approaching research are inescapably tied to funding resources and personal circumstances (Ellis et al. 2010); the phenomena of WHMs in Australia is of keen interest to Australian entities and decision makers as it is a nationally administered initiative and their growing presence within the labour market is hard to ignore.

From a contrasting view, I, as a WHM myself, sought to investigate the case of WHMs from the inside looking out; beyond relaying my own experiences, I drew on them to inquire deeper into the perceptions of other WHMs and sought inquiries through conversation from various angles based on prior knowledge, providing another perspective to examine WHMs from. This difference in methodology is key in that I seek to help provide a wider scope of understanding about WHMs as workers not only in addition to previous studies, but in general as well. Nonetheless, before I can present my findings in convergence or divergence to current notions about WHMs, I must first present my methodological approach.

3 Research & Methodology

To investigate the potential precarious work situations of working holiday makers (WHMs), I utilized multiple methodological tools, including ethnographic participant observation, qualitative interviews, and theoretical, descriptive, and empirical analysis of primary and secondary sources. To, specifically, conduct the fieldwork portion of my research, however, participant observation and qualitative interviews were explicit tools of choice. Why these methods in particular? Because ethnographic and qualitative methods can be aptly described as being fixated with, "...how the world is viewed, experienced and constructed..." (Smith S. 2000, 660) and, likewise, "...interpreted, understood ... produced" (Mason 1996, 4). They allow researchers an insight into recognizing social realities through the participation and observation, and ultimately understanding, of people's daily actions and interactions; appreciating peoples lived realities (Brewer, 2000; Mason, 1996). Equally, qualitative research aims to gather a detailed understanding of human behaviour and the reasons that govern such actions, as well as investigating, "...the why and how of decision making, not just what, where, when" (Glenn 2010, 104). Thus, by being a WHM – going through the same process to obtain a visa, working with their same work restrictions, and indulging in their same holiday pleasures as I traverse the country – I attempted to appreciate the "lived realities" of this unique study demographic. And in interviewing peers that were WHMs like myself, I attempted to understand the "why and how" of their decisions and behaviours. This is all in contrast to my previous experience in 2008 where financial gain was my predominating state of mind, despite the fact that most of my hard earned money eventually was spent on tourist adventures.

I will now explain the background of the chosen methods and the reasoning demonstrating their application for the context of my research.

3.1 Location and Duration

My fieldwork took place in Australia over a period of roughly five and a half months, from April to September 2011. With the prior procurement of a *Work and Holiday Visa Subclass 462*, my working holiday journey took me through the cities/towns of Melbourne, Alice Springs, Darwin, a Watermelon farm in the middle of no-where²⁰, and Adelaide. My journey began in Melbourne and the other locales were decided upon, ad-hoc, while in Australia, in reference to areas identified in 2009's *Evaluation of Australia's Working Holiday Maker Program*, which were found to be frequented by WHMs, seen below (see Figure 4).

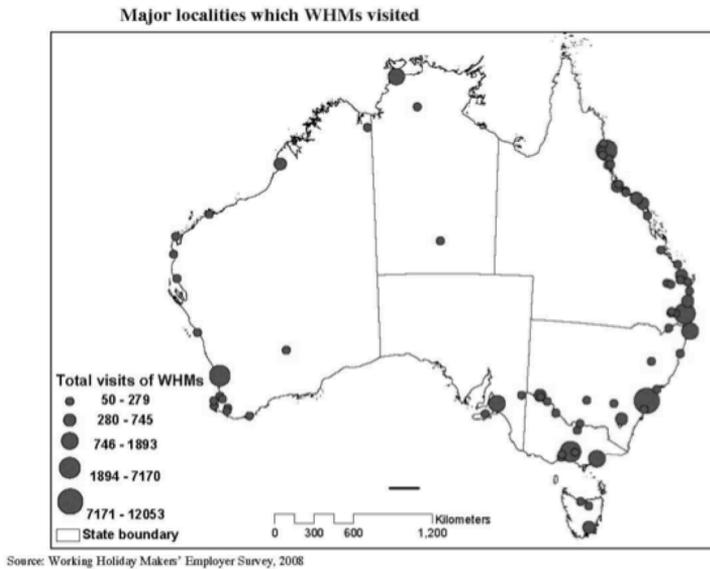


Figure 4. Major Localities Visited by WHMs (Tan et al. 2009)

²⁰ I have chosen not to reveal the location of the farm as my research as a worker there was done covertly and would easily be identifiable if providing the town closest to which it was located.

Melbourne was chosen as the initial city of arrival due to previous experience living there. As Taylor and Bogdan write, “The ideal research setting is one in which the observer obtains easy access, establishes immediate rapport with informants, and gathers data directly related to the research interests” (1998, 27). Having understanding of this initial research setting, it was foreseen, would cut short the search time for initial necessities, such as arrival accommodation, and allow me to return to a metropolis I knew to be full of WHMs.

The duration of research was based on the fact that the maximum time I could spend in Australia on my procured visa was one year, and the minimum of 5 months was viewed as being adequate in length to allow for both travel and work – as a working holiday is typically understood to incorporate both. Correspondingly, the locations and duration also served as the setting for my participant observation as well as qualitative interviews conducted with other various WHMs.

3.2 Ethnography & Participant Observation

Present day ethnographical methods have origins primarily in the field of anthropology. At the turn of the 20th century, many social scientists who were considered to be experts on foreign/exotic cultures and native peoples were essentially so called “arm-chair anthropologists”; a name deriving from the fact that these “experts” had little or no interaction with people of the various cultures they claimed to know so much about. Their research was “conducted” while comfortably seated in their home country where they would publish anthropological articles and books describing societal intricacies of far-off indigenous cultures even though, as Marcus and Cushman state, “...fieldwork was done either by expeditions or by observers who often had no part in the anthropological texts, based on their observations” (1982, 30). This standard changed as the century progressed and as a few pioneering anthropologists embraced the use of extensive first-person fieldwork as a method of studying native cultures, connecting it with ethnographical writing as the legitimate academic practice of the individual anthropologist.

Ethnography today, as a research method, is embraced by social scientists who believe in the scientific philosophy of “naturalism”. According to Hammersley and Atkinson, “Naturalism proposes that...the social world should be studied in its ‘natural’ state, undisturbed by the researcher” (1995, 6). They further explain,

Naturalism proposes that through marginality, in social position and perspective, it is possible to construct an account of the culture under investigation that both understands it from within and captures it as external to, and independent of, the researcher: in other words, as a natural phenomenon. Thus, the description of cultures becomes the primary goal (1995, 9-10).

The core method of ethnography used to accomplish this “primary goal” is participant observation, the primary method chosen for this research and perhaps reflective of my being an anthropologically oriented sociologist. Participant observation, “...involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in peoples daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research” (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 1). In other words, the researcher attempts to grasp how people live and why they do the things they do by objectively becoming one of them. This is no easy feat, however. Simply emerging one’s self into a community of another race, culture, or group does not happen overnight, nor is it unassuming for one to objectively interact with subjective humans. The ethnographer should carefully negotiate access into their study group, taking care not to create feelings of animosity or distrust from leaders and members within. Yet by being a part of the study group, research can become participantly *lived*, more so than simply participantly *observed*, as the name of the method implies.

On a theoretical level, critics of ethnography believe that “naturalism” does not acknowledge the fact that the ethnographers themselves are also part of the social world they are conducting fieldwork in, and, have an effect on the social phenomena being studied due to their interaction with it. Such critics often, in contrast, embrace “positivism” approaches toward research; the phrase introduced by 19th century philosopher Auguste Comte as an approach that, “...would be positive in its attempts to achieve reliable, concrete knowledge on which we could

act to change the social world for the better” (O’Reilly 2012, 49). As Hammersley and Atkinson write,

...for positivists, the most important feature of scientific theories is that they are open to, and are subjected to, test: they can be confirmed, or at least falsified, with certainty. This requires the exercise of control over variables, which can be achieved through physical control, as in experiments, or through statistical analysis of a large number of cases, as in survey research. Without any control over variables, it is argued, one can do no more than speculate about causal relationships, since no basis for testing hypotheses is available (1995,5)

Thus for positivists, the repeatability of research is imperative in being able to accurately assess the validity of research results.

I would argue it is true in that there is no way to look at the social world completely from an outside observers perspective, as we are all, in fact, part of this realm. However, naturalist researchers seek to work with the knowledge they have and must acknowledge when they might be mistaken or in error with regards to their observations or findings (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 16-17). According to Marcus and Cushman, the ethnographer must, “...admit his fallibility in order to establish the overall credibility of his specific claims” (1982, 33). This accountability for error in research is, interestingly enough, at the heart of some of the social sciences most controversial debates, such as Margaret Mead vs. Derek Freeman (Freeman 1983, 286; Freeman 1996).

Accountability and credibility strongly coincide with the attempts of maintaining objectivity while living the experiences of the research phenomena. Although the ethnographer is attempting to discover the intricacies of a specific social or cultural setting, group or community, their ethnographic research, “...does not claim to produce an objective or 'truthful' account of reality, but should aim to offer versions of ethnographers' experiences of reality that are as loyal as possible to the context, negotiations, and intersubjectivities through which the knowledge was produced” (Pink 2001). In other words, the ethnographer must seek to convey their own experience as best as possible, biases and prejudices non-withstanding

(Blumner 1969; Taylor and Bogdan 1989). Further, according to Marcus and Cushman,

...what gives the ethnographer authority and the text a pervasive sense of concrete reality is the writer's claim to represent a world as only one who has known it first-hand can, which thus forges an intimate link between ethnographic writing and fieldwork. Ethnographic description is by no means the straightforward, unproblematic task it is thought to be in the social sciences, but a complex effect, achieved through writing and dependent upon the strategic choice and construction of available detail. The presentation of interpretation and analysis is inseparably bound up with the systematic and vivid representation of a world that seems total and real to the reader (1982, 29).

Although susceptible to criticism, just like any scientific research method, ethnography's strength lies in its versatility of application and its dedication to experiencing and understanding the social world through first-hand experience and fieldwork; the researcher maximizes his utility of observation by becoming a participant of his study group. He wants to know why they think what they think, why they feel what they feel, and why they live how they live (Brewer, 2000; Mason, 1996; Glen 2010). According to Hammersley and Atkinson,

... the value of ethnography as a social research method is founded upon the existence of such variations in cultural patterns across and within societies, and their significance for understanding social processes. Ethnography exploits the capacity that any social actor possesses for learning new cultures, and the objectivity to which this process gives rise (1995, 9).

Ethnography is not only effective because of its simplicity, but because it helps people understand the world around them and potentially change it. It can also be utilized to preserve cultures that are close to extinction. For example Pierre Clastres' documentation of the Guayaki Indians in Paraguay, and their way of life before their population was exterminated and territory seized by the expansion of Spanish settlers into the jungles of Paraguay. Rightfully so, "...to be of value, it is suggested, ethnographic research should be concerned not simply with understanding the world but with applying its findings to bring about change" (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 15). Ethnography that seeks to challenge social

norms, and what Thomas calls, "...conventional ethnography with a political purpose" (1993), is also often referred to as critical ethnography. Madison elaborates:

Critical ethnography begins with an ethical responsibility to address processes of unfairness or injustice within a particular lived domain. By 'ethical responsibility', I mean a compelling sense of duty and commitment based on principles of human freedom and well-being and, hence, a compassion for the suffering of living beings. The conditions for existence within a particular context are not as they could be for specific subjects; as a result, the researcher feels an ethical obligation to make a contribution toward changing those conditions toward greater freedom and equity. The critical ethnographer also takes us beneath surface appearances, disrupts the status quo, and unsettles both neutrality and taken-for-granted assumptions by bringing to light underlying and obscure operations of power and control (2012, 5)

In 2008, I watched a contractor put his business interests above the health and well-being of an epileptic day labourer; an experience etched into the back of my mind as I continued to work for the same contractor for the following several months, and one which stayed with me even after leaving. While my experience is individually specific, I fathomed the quite larger role that "backpacker" labour played within the working holiday phenomena as there seemed to be young travellers literally *everywhere* I went during that first visit, and likewise, the requirement of 88 days specified work in regional Australia as a precondition for further stay in Australia was a curious requirement included in a program intent on cultural exchange. As mentioned, while distinct research on WHMs focuses on their contributions or potential for such to Australia's economies, national (Tan et al. 2009) and regional (Jarvis and Peel 2009), other research including them hints at sub-standard situations of work (Mares 2005; Allon et al. 2008a), offering a glimpse beneath the surface of study emphasis and resonating with my own experiences. An aim of this research was not just to delve further into the working holiday phenomena to offer greater insight of this oxymoronical sounding endeavour, but also critically discuss existing postulates and those environments of work of WHMs which seemingly, in my view, were not imperative to dialogues of prior study, albeit their chance for further ethical discussion.

Nevertheless, ethnography is not just about studying exotic and foreign cultures in order to understand and preserve them or spotlight injustice; it can also be used to study, "...familiar communities and cultures, such as youth groups, occupational communities and organizations in the researcher's own society and culture..." (Pösö 2008). For example, modern ethnographic research has been conducted in a wide variety of groups such as "outlaw" biker gangs, homeless people, local police forces, and even amongst New England Fisherman (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 80-88). Clearly, ethnography can be used to effectively research many different communities, cultures, and groups within the social world, and in the case of my research, WHMs in Australia

By becoming a participant in the WHMP and traveling, living, and working in Australia under the possession of a WHV 462, participant observation allowed me to ethnographically document my own experiences and activities as a WHM, as well as document the same occurrences of others around me. My working holiday employment undertakings²¹ included:

- Working a trial shift as a bartender on a harbour cruise tour ship.
- Working at a hostel in the form of barter for accommodation.
- Working as a bartender at a bistro and bar.
- Picking watermelons and driving a tractor on a watermelon farm in the Outback.
- Working as an automobile detailer.

All of these jobs fell in line with those documented as primarily taken by WHMs in the two prior official evaluations of the WHMP (see Harding and Webster 2002, and Tan et al 2009). Likewise, regarding remuneration, my barter work strongly echoed responses reported in the 2002 study - "Some of the WHMs who reported no pay, received payment in kind (board and lodging), particularly when working in a private home or hostel" (Harding and Webster 2002, 26-27).

²¹ While all of my own employment situations took place within the Northern Territory, interviews were conducted with WHMs who had worked in various states all throughout Australia. It was not necessarily planned that my employment would pan out this way, yet more so a result of the opportunities and availability for employment that crossed my path during my research. I have not stated which locations in the Northern Territory as that could potentially identify further those I worked with while covertly doing research, which will be addressed later.

The latter part of the phrase “working holiday” of course is a reference to the touristic tendencies and motivations for many of these types of travellers to come to Australia – to experience the sites, activities, and culture that are advertised as “Australian”. Some of my holiday exploits included:

- Journeying to Kangaroo Island off the southern coast of Australia
- Visiting wineries in the Barossa Valley
- Climbing Ayers Rock (also known as Uluru), which is a sacred Aboriginal site in the Australian outback.
- Passing through Kings Canyon and Kata Tjuta – other famous natural landmarks in the Australian Outback
- Traversing the Great Ocean Road, from Adelaide to Melbourne

Observations and experiences were recorded with the aid of a digital research journal, as well as with digital photographs. As Alasuutari writes, “The situations in which the observations are made may be organized just for the study, but the material consists of reports that document the situations as carefully and accurately as possible. Thus, one is not collecting material in certain situations; the material, rather, consists of documented situations” (1995, 43). While digital images do indeed collect visual evidence from the field, the research journal documented situations as Alasuutari describes. Yet visual ethnography plays another function as well – to offer further revelations about the working holiday experience that may not be necessarily be explained adequately enough by other means (Bank 2007, 4). Visual ethnography, “...refers to the ethnographic analysis of the uses and impacts of visual media and materials, to the employment of visual media for ethnographic research and representation, and to the incorporation of a visual perspective (or lens) in mainstream ethnography” (O’Reilly 2012, 160). As Bank notes, “No matter how tightly or narrowly focused a research project is, at some level all social research says something about society in general, and given the ubiquity of images, their consideration must at some level form part of the analysis” (2007, 3-4). Media used in this research takes shape in the form of fieldwork photographs, as well as screen shots and other images from the web and primary or secondary sources, demonstrating the various perspectives and intricacies involved with reference to the working holiday phenomena; discussions among travellers, travel agency marketing, job adverts, and government pamphlets all offer standpoints which, when brought together, create a more holistic picture of varying facets related to

the work situations for a WHM in Australia. As Madison writes, “It is because with all the good intentions, excellent craftsmanship, and even with the reliability and eloquence of a particular story, representing others is always going to be a complicated and contentious undertaking” (2012, 4). Thus, the use of multiple-perspective media allows the “others” under analysis in this research to, in a sense, speak for themselves and be presented through their own words and imagery disseminated publicly.

The choice of ethnography for fieldwork was also decided on because of its practicality. As Silverman writes (2001, 25), “...the choice between different research methods should depend upon what you are trying to find out.” For me, being a WHM was the shortest route to “stand in the shoes” of my study demographic, seeing I was still eligible for the visa. Not just that – it also would allow me the flexibility to evolve within my research as it proceeded (Taylor and Bogdan 1998). Consequently, the ethnographic tools planned to be utilized were the most pragmatic route to accompanying the data collected by qualitative interviews to thoroughly answer my research questions.

3.2.1 Covert Participant Observation

It is rational to assume that many academics associate “participant observation” with ethnographical practices of the researcher delving into the research subjects environment in an open and transparent fashion; as an outside investigator who has received permission to study how “foreign” subjects, at least to the researcher or his funding parties, live and act, all while participating with subjects in their daily lives and behaviours to dissect why they perhaps behave the way they do. In the case of my research, my participant observation in positions of employment as a WHM were not conducted openly or with permission; my employers were not aware that my presence in their work place was not just for financial

remuneration²² as an employee but was also part of my academic research. I am quite aware that this approach goes against some traditional codes of conduct in scientific research. As King and Horrocks write, “Ethical codes of practice emphasize the importance of gaining the informed consent of participants prior to taking part in the research” (2010, 110). Likewise, regarding ethnographic methods, Jones writes,

It is recommended that researchers make their role in the setting clear, ideally by seeking explicit verbal, if not written, consent from all participants. There may be practical difficulties, however, in achieving this with every individual who is encountered in a research setting and repeated requests for consent may be unduly disruptive of the activities being observed. This may be particularly the case in participant observation where the researcher seeks to act as an ordinary member of the research setting in order that, as far as possible, events that occur during their observations do not differ significantly from those which occur in their absence. (2012)

While transparency and “knowing consent” (Berg 2001; King and Horrocks 2010) may be forthright in taking into consideration the rights of, and respect for, research subjects, a distinct aspect of my research is that it questioned the treatment and respect for working rights for WHMs by employers in the workplace. Thus, to honestly gauge if employers were disregarding rights or misleading WHMs, the employer’s rights to consent would have to be compromised in hopes of providing a truthful account of the terrain WHMs face as working tourists in Australia; explaining ones research can effect the manner in which participants act or react in certain situations (O’Reilly 2012). However, if an employer is doing no wrong and operating in the manner they should be as

²² At the time of fieldwork, I was a self-funded researcher and thus employment during fieldwork played an important part in funding my research. That said, I deliberately chose positions, for example working on the watermelon farm, that would be of more intrigue to my research and perhaps less “comfortable” than other jobs available in urban environments. A distinct stipulation for WHMs on the WHV 417 to gain another year in Australia requires 88 days work in regional areas and thus they are required at some point, if wanting to stay, to pursue agricultural, or similar work. As I had a WHV 462, there was no requirement that I pursue fruit picking or agricultural farm work and so another WHM in my position with a same visa may not have an inclination to search for this type of employment. Hence, I pursued positions more WHMs are likely to encounter as the number of WHMs with WHV 417 are significantly greater than those with a WHV 462.

dictated by the Fair Work Ombudsman, there is nothing to report that could be detrimental to their reputation.

Such covert approach in research, while unconventional, is not unprecedented, particularly in research that investigates questionable working conditions and rights of employees, like my research. For example, Barbara Ehrenreich, an American journalist, author, and academic has used covert research approaches in her investigations into the struggles of minimum wage workers in the USA, which resulted in her acclaimed publication *Nickel and Dimed: On (not) getting by in America*. Her research showed:

...that a strong “work ethic” is often not enough to provide necessities like shelter, food, and transportation. For people who work in restaurants, hotels, retail stores, and other service jobs the pay is simply not enough to work your way up the ladder of success...For people with few skills to trade for higher paying jobs, the choice for survival is working two or more minimum wage jobs. Most of these jobs offer little room for advancement or promotion. (Spann 2003)

Referring to her covert investigative approach, Ehrenreich described it as, “...the old-fashioned kind of journalism—you know, go out there and try it for themselves,” (2001, 1). Ehrenreich has also done research on how the promotion of “positive thinking” in the USA has been utilized in modern business and finance to convince workers that a positive attitude and happy disposition can lead to promotion in the work place, albeit such is to be done in neglect of adverse or questionable employment relationships (Standing 2010, 20-21).

Another example of covert research investigating workplace conditions and workers rights was done by Günter Wallraff, a German undercover journalist who pioneered undercover investigative journalism in Germany in the 1960s and 70s, posing as factory worker to undercover deprived social and work conditions for employees, as well as malpractice by employers (Pilger 1985). His main goal was and, “...has always been: to make foul circumstances in society public” (Eriksson 2012, 3). His research methods went further than simple covertness, as he constructed false identities to gain access to work sites and jobs. This was a result of, as Eriksson writes, “His open work, using his own identity, was ended back in

the 1960s by letters sent out by the German Employers' Association, warning its members against hiring any person who looked like Wallraff. This, in effect, forced him to enter new stages of developing increasingly imaginative disguises" (2012, 7). Such was the extent of the revelations of detrimental work standards that Wallraff revealed that it caused employers to react by trying to stop such covert research into their misdeeds from re-occurring again.

While Ehrenreich and Wallraff are more so journalists than academics, covert research has taken place in the sociological sphere as well, for example the research of Homan on pentecostals and the explorations of Roy on machine shop workers (Homan 1978; Roy 1952; Hammersley 1990). Further, William Chambliss used a covert approach when investigating the world and structure of organized crime in Seattle in the 1960s (Hammersley and Atkinson 1989, 70-72). Similar undercover work was done by Holdaway, in his research of racism amongst Police officers in the UK. Holdaway, himself, was a police officer with a prior background in academia, and in calculating his research options, he foresaw six scenarios into gaining access into his study population:

- A. Seek the permission of the chief officer to research, giving full details of method and intention.
- B. Seek permission as above, so phrasing the research description that it disguised my real intentions.
- C. Seek permission of lower ranks, later requesting more formal acceptance from senior officers.
- D. Do not research
- E. Resign from the police service
- F. Carry out covert research

He concluded:

I chose the final option (F) without much difficulty. From the available evidence, it seemed the only realistic option; alternatives were unrealistic or contained an element of the unethical which bore similarity to cover observation. I believe that my senior officers would have either refused permission to research or obstructed me. (Holdaway 1982, 63; as cited in Hammersley and Atkinson 1989, 68)

His conclusion is quite rational in that the negative social stigma attached toward racist attitudes or behaviours could potentially be so significant that it would be quite improbable that any study population would demonstrate such controversial tendencies openly if known they were being observed with specific intent to report these inclinations. Such is the case I foresaw when planning my research; I believed that employers would simply refuse to hire me as I was specifically observing their propensity for possible devious or questionable behaviour toward workers, and hence the only logical approach was secrecy. As Hammersley and Atkinson report:

The work of Holdaway...and Chambliss raises the question of deception in negotiations over access. Where the research is secret to all those under study and to gatekeepers too, the problem of access may be 'solved' at a stroke, providing the deception is not discovered; though the researcher has to live with the moral qualms, anxieties, and practical difficulties to which the use of this strategy may lead. However, research carried out without the knowledge of anyone in, or associated with the setting is quite rare. Much more common is that some people are kept in the dark while others are taken into the researchers confidence (1989, 72)

These examples mentioned are also similar to the approach of William Foote Whyte's study of life in an Italian American slum, where he was able to gain access and observe certain aspects of the "lower-levels" of the community with the aid of an informant who had distinctly told him that all he was ever to mention to the people he came in contact with was that he was the informant's "friend". That's all he needed to do to; firstly, get at least some initial respect of the community members he was a complete stranger to, and secondly, be able to observe,

accurately and truthfully, the real way of life in the slum (Whyte 1943, 291-293). And such was the case, ultimately, with my research; in order to observe the treatment of WHMs in the workplace, employers and work colleagues only need know I am a WHM myself.

As mentioned before, in order to truthfully experience the employment situation of a WHM, then I must create an research environment in which the actions of employers and other relevant agents toward me were without bias of knowing I was a researcher; an approach of covertness was seen the only means for which such honest insight to transpire.

3.3 Autoethnography

When deliberating which manner to present my research findings, I reflected on those pieces of academic literature I have read myself which somehow seemed to personify the topic of examination in a clear, deliberate, and attentive manner²³. For me, the challenge was how to emulate such intriguing literature, complimenting my chosen research methods. I chose ethnography as a method as I find participant observation to be a valuable research method because it is simply, "...the most basic form of social research" (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 2). In this sense, I seek to explain my findings in a similar basic, yet comprehensive and authentic, style. Observation is a skill everyone is born with. The extent to which individuals utilize it, however, differs from person to person, or within the researchers world, academic to academic. But further, I seek to present in a manner that is least complex as possible for a reader to understand; not just academics but also an everyday reader should be able to comprehend the vocabulary used. As Einstein is reported to have once reminisced, "...if you cant explain it simply, you don't understand it well enough". This mantra considered, in terms of how to

²³ For example Richard Sennett's *The Corrosion of Character*, or Pierre Clastres' *Chronicle of the Guayaki Indians*.

represent my personal experience as well as revelations of my qualitative interviews, I decided to present such through a combination of relative and conceptual responses from interviewees surrounding a “working holiday” with a conversational *autoethnographic* account of my own experiences. Such similar presentation styles have been used by other academics (Cook 1998; Katz 1994; Clifford 1997; and more) warranting a precedent in use of such style, albeit it may still appear as a departure from academic norms in qualitative studies. Cook infers that researchers can, “...write about their involvement in their own research because they may or should feel that they have to try to make sense of the tricky circumstances in which they studied before claiming to know anything about what they have studied” (1998, 6). According to Marcus and Cushman, “The presentation of interpretation and analysis is inseparably bound up with the systematic and vivid representation of a world that seems total and real to the reader” (1982, 29). Such vividness and authenticity is what I attempt to present by conversing about my first-hand experience through *autoethnography*.

3.3.1 What is Autoethnography?

If still a bit opaque, autoethnography attempts to explain, thoroughly examine, and understand ethnographic experiences through personal experience by combining tools of autobiography and ethnography (Ellis 2004; Holman Jones 2005; Ellis et al. 2010). Consequently, it also defies traditional research approaches and how study groups are represented in analysis by attempting to, “Make text of an explicit nature”, and, “Respond to the need to be explicit in moving your readers and audiences intellectually, emotionally, and toward concerted social, cultural, and political action” (Holmes Jones 2005, 784). Further, it seeks to, “Perform the testimony and witnessing of personal stories, in, through, and with larger social contexts” and “Consider that when we bring our texts to contexts, we can make work that constitutes a first step toward social change” (Holmes Jones 2005, 784).

In the 1980s, motivated by the “crisis of confidence”, multiple and new prospects toward reform in the social sciences appeared with a re-evaluation of goals and approaches to social science investigation as academics became frustrated with the disciplines ontological, epistemological, and axiological limitations (Ellis &

Bochner 2000). Scholars demonstrated how scientists' revelations were indistinguishably entwined to the terminologies and ideas that they used to exemplify such (Kuhn 1996). They also acknowledged the unlikelihood and aspiration for universal accounts, as well as the existence of new relationships between authors, audiences, and texts (Lyotard 1984; Derrida 1978; Ellis et al. 2010). Additionally, a conscious desire to defy old-fashioned, impersonal whimsical research styles of immersion into a culture or study group, manipulating members, and subsequently carelessly withdrawing to pen texts about the group for fiscal or professional gain at the expense of social relationships to those studied (Conquergood 1991; Ellis 2007; Ellis et al. 2010).

Progressively, scholars within multiple disciplines contemplated how the social sciences would develop if nearer to literature than to physics, offering stories instead of theories, and embraced and acknowledge value-centric self-consciousness instead of feigning value neutrality (Ellis et al. 2010). Stories are intricate, telling occurrences that impart standards and morals, introducing distinctive means of thought and emotion, enabling readers to understand those around them as well as themselves (Bochner 2001; Fisher, 1984; Ellis et al. 2010). Searching for a alternative yet progressive option to criticisms of standardized conceptions of research methods, scholars turned to autoethnography to produce more eloquent and personable research; research based on first-hand experiences which audiences can relate to and be stimulated by, eventually resulting in a greater capacity for them to understand people who behave and engage in activities foreign to them (Ellis & Bochner 2000; Ellis et al. 2010).

Additionally, scholars began acknowledging that dissimilar kinds of people possess dissimilar postulations about the world around them; as Ellis et al write, there exists, "...a multitude of ways of speaking, writing, valuing and believing—and that conventional ways of doing and thinking about research were narrow, limiting, and parochial" (2010). They further write that these differences can stem from race, gender, sexuality, age, education, religion, and more (2010). More so, they generalize that, "...those who advocate and insist on canonical forms of doing and writing research are advocating a White, masculine, heterosexual, middle/upper-classed, Christian, able-bodied perspective. Following these conventions, a researcher not only disregards other ways of knowing but also implies that other ways necessarily are unsatisfactory and invalid" (2010).

Autoethnography maintains an open view in contrast, casting aside authoritarian guidelines of what is and what isn't significant and worthwhile research.

Research, ultimately, is influenced by the research process, and this aspect is accepted by autoethnographers. As Ellis et al. state,

...a researcher decides who, what, when, where, and how to research, decisions necessarily tied to institutional requirements (e.g., Institutional Review Boards), resources (e.g., funding), and personal circumstance (e.g., a researcher studying cancer because of personal experience with cancer) (2010).

Furthermore, researchers may adjust their data to consider sensitive issues or practicality, such as providing anonymity for study group interviewees or simply structuring a study in a methodical and traditional manner (Ellis et al. 2010). Traditional can mean using, "...an introduction, literature review, methods section, findings, and conclusion" (Tullis et al. 2009, 180). Even if some academics proclaim that research can be completed from an unbiased, detached, and impartial stance (Buzard 2003; Delamont 2009; Ellis et al. 2010), most appreciate that such a belief is not justifiable (Rorty, 1982; Ellis et al. 2010)

These points considered, autoethnography is an approach that recognizes and acclimatizes subjectivity, acknowledging that the researcher bears influence on their research instead of downplaying the influence of factors of human emotion or proclaiming subjectivity does not exist (Ellis et al. 2010). As Madison writes, "Ethnographic positionality is not identical to subjectivity. Subjectivity is certainly within the domain of positionality, but positionality requires that we direct our attention beyond our individual or subjective selves. Instead, we attend to how our subjectivity in relation to others informs and is informed by our engagement and representation of others" (2012, 10). As a WHM myself, I could not forgo the natural reactions to the behaviours, actions, and perceptions that were directed toward me as a foreign worker or as a foreign traveller in Australia, nor deny that past personal experiences were a motivator for pursuing this research. While I am cognizant of potential subjectivity in writing, I simply hope that readers apprehend this as well.

3.3.2 Writing Autoethnography

Autoethnography, for the most part, is characterized by retrospective storytelling of experiences had and revelations discovered while performing research. Fieldwork experiences are not necessarily undertaken to specifically be included in the resultant publication the research produces, but are incorporated into the writing in reflection. To supplement such retrospective writing, interviews, journal entries, and visual aids can be utilized in telling the researchers story (Ellis et al. 2010). Writing from the perspective of a “witness” enables readers to better identify with the persons, places, and events begin articulated (Ellis et al. 2010). Writing also allows a researcher, to shed light on problems that may or may not be masked in secrecy or avoided in mainstream media (see Chambliss 1973; see Holdaway 1982). Because the autoethnographer participates with others to authenticate their experiences, they, “...allow participants and readers to feel validated and/or better able to cope with or want to change their circumstances” (Ellis et al. 2010).

It is the marriage between ethnography and autobiography that culminates in the autoethnography, in which epiphanies and selective revealing moments from fieldwork data are retrospectively outlined and presented through methodical writing (Ellis et al. 2010). However, it is paramount that researchers still adhere to the social norms of social science publishing in analysing their research; there exists a difference between the type of story conveyed, for example, in a TV show versus that of a story presented to academia as scientifically valid in the eyes of peers. (Ellis et al. 2010). Validity in autoethnography is often conveyed through the use of research literature and tools. As Ellis et al. write,

Autoethnographers must not only use their methodological tools and research literature to analyse experience, but also must consider ways others may experience similar epiphanies; they must use personal experience to illustrate facets of cultural experience, and, in so doing, make characteristics of a culture familiar for insiders and outsiders (2010)

Achieving this feat can be accomplished by offering similarities and differences in personal experience compared to existing writings, questioning study group members, or scrutinizing contemporary documented perceptions of the study

group (Ellis et al. 2010). As relayed, in reading previous studies distinctly about WHMs, a common denominator observed is that research is primarily done by Australian academics funded by Australian entities, mostly governmental ones, examining the activities and behaviours of a unique foreign labour force; they are not so intent on examining the experiences and perspectives of WHMs as workers, yet more so focused on their effect on the Australian labour market and whether or not they are displacing Australian workers. Empirically, this appears as an inherent priority in social value placed on those who the actions of WHMs affect rather than how WHMs are, in response, affected by those they undertake work for. In explaining why WHMs are important to research, Jarvis and Peel write, “WHMs are high yield visitors to Australia and beneficial to total employment” (2009, 2). Studies also examine their contribution to Australian economy through tourism spending and activities, as well as their potential positive attitudes about Australia (see Tan et al 2009); what are their views about Australia after living and working there?

In contrast, as opposed to studies of Australians looking into the world of WHMs, I chose to pursue research from the inside looking out as I am intrigued by their social position as workers in Australia. I was not concerned with my effect on the Australian labour market nor the effects of other WHMs. I was not interested in how much WHMs contribute to Australia’s GDP. What I was keen to investigate and examine was why, as previously reported, they appear not only susceptible to exploitation and controversial treatment as disposable workers, but also why they are willing to undertake the jobs Australians won’t do if they are in fact, as often reported to be, primarily on a holiday. While ethnographic participant observation provides me a practical method of research to investigate such, autoethnography is likewise a practical method of presentation in that my personal experiences as a WHM will indeed bear relevance to my research inquiry. Consequently, if my viewpoints and revelations imply embedded subjective views, I am objectively conscious of this and merely presenting an alternative view of particular approaches in studies of WHMs done by Australians.

3.4 Qualitative Interviews

In addition to participant observation, structured qualitative interviews were conducted with WHMs from various countries, intent on gaining insight into the mindset, perspectives, and experiences of WHMs in order to gain a wider spectrum of thought regarding the circumstances in which they dwell, beyond simply those of my own experience. A major difference between many WHMs and myself is that, as a native English speaker, my trials and tribulations on a working holiday within an English-speaking nation, and perceptions about, can vary greatly from those with limited or basic English language skills. This is a very significant aspect for consideration in research since the overwhelming majority of eligible WHV countries are not, historically or presently by rule and culture, English speaking countries. So although research takes place in the English-speaking context of Australia, many research subjects have a different “mother tongue”. Thus, qualitative interviews were an important tool to learn about non-English speaking WHM perspectives. According to Rubin and Rubin,

Qualitative Interviewing is an adventure in learning about...different countries, their cultural views, their problems and solutions, and how their practices are similar and different than our own. The way we interview depends on what we want to know. It is a process of finding out what others feel and think about their worlds. The result is to understand the major points of their message and how it compares [similar & different] to your own situation (1995).

Before the perspectives of non-native English speaking WHMs could be collected and analysed, however, interviewees had to be found first.

Beyond numerous casual conversations held with other WHMs throughout the course of field research, the exact number of respondents in structured interviews was 22; 15 females and 7 males, hailing from Canada, USA, Sweden, Germany, Scotland, England, France, Italy, Japan, Estonia, Norway, Belgium, Denmark, and Taiwan. All but one held WHV 417 visas; one respondent held a WHV 462 like myself. The youngest respondent was 19 years of age and the oldest 32 years old²⁴.

²⁴ Age was noted although not analysed as a factor in discerning WHM experiences or knowledge of work entitlement.

The approach to interviewee sampling that unfolded in the field echoes the sentiments of O'Reilly in that, "Ethnographers tend not to use the language of sampling, but still have to make choices about who and what will be included in the research, and where and when it will take place (2012, 42). Thus, sampling did not specifically seek to use common strategies such as *purposive* sampling (Ritchie and Lewis 2003) or *theoretical* sampling (see Charmaz 2006; Wasserman and Clair 2011), yet followed more so an in-practice approach of opportunity and chance, similar to O'Reilly's *ongoing* sampling (2012); I knew prior to field departure I would interview WHMs from a mix of nationalities to engage varying perspectives as described above, however, the changing terrain of field environment can be hard to pre-sage particularly as WHMs are sometimes spontaneously mobile, thus sampling decisions are continuous throughout research. While some choices for fieldwork activity and engagement with WHM respondents relevant to their situations in Australia will perhaps be apparent later in the text, what follows is the occurred interview schedule and elaboration on how interviewees were selected and approached²⁵ (see Figure 5).

²⁵ Although consenting to participating in the study, names have been changed to protect the identity of respondents and the specific city/town locations of interviews have been withheld. Although a large state in land area, the Northern Territory does not have significantly sized cities or towns, like Sydney or Melbourne, and hence the number of employers in certain industries can sometimes be narrow. By listing the specific city name of where interviews were conducted, it could, combined with other details from research, potentially identify other actors in the study who were not aware of their participation.

Interview Number	Date	Interview Location (State)	Name	Gender	Country	Visa Type
	Method/Situation of Approach Regarding Interview Solicitation					
1	4/11/2011	Victoria	"Mary"	F	Norway	417
	Mary lived in an apartment where I was inquiring about renting a room after my arrival in Australia. I met her when I went to view the flat and discovered that she was at the end of her working holiday, preparing to go home. After chatting about the available bedroom, which I ended up not taking, I simply asked if I could interview her regarding her working holiday experience.					
2	4/22/2011	Northern Territory	"Eva"	F	Taiwan	417
	Eva was staying in the same coed dormitory as me at a hostel. After a casual "travellers conversation" ²⁶ while in the dormitory, I inquired if she was on a working holiday (which she was) and if I could interview her.					
3	4/22/2011	Northern Territory	"Madeline"	F	Germany	417
	Madeline was working as a cleaner at a hostel I was staying at. Believing it was highly likely she was a WHM (which she was), I approached her and asked if I could interview her for my research one afternoon when she had finished her shift and was relaxing in the hostel courtyard.					
4	4/26/2011	Northern Territory	"Nancy" (With "David")	F	Sweden	417
	Nancy and her boyfriend David were staying in the same coed dormitory as me in a hostel. After several days of occasional casual conversation with her and David, and finding out that they were working in town, I inquired if could interview the couple together about their working holiday experiences thus far.					
5	4/26/2011	Northern Territory	"David" (With "Nancy")	M	Sweden	417
	See Nancy above.					

²⁶ Re-occurring conversations with other travellers tend to follow a dialogue of "What's your name?", "Where are you from?", "Where are you headed?", "Where have you been?", and so on; travellers "small-talk" if you will.

Interview Number	Date	Interview Location (State)	Name	Gender	Country	Visa Type
	Method/Situation of Approach Regarding Interview Solicitation					
6	5/3/2011	Northern Territory	"Dustin"	M	Germany	417
	Dustin was staying at the same hostel as me, but not in the same dormitory like previous interviewees. After observing that he was "living" in the hostel and looking for work in town, telltale signs he was a WHM (which he was), I approached him and inquired if I could interview him.					
7	5/3/2011	Northern Territory	"Wendy"	F	Netherlands	417
	Wendy was observed as in a similar situation to Dustin above, living in a hostel where I was staying. I approached her asking about an interview one day while she was reading by the hostel pool.					
8	5/3/2011	Northern Territory	"Mark"	M	Israeli with Italian Passport	417
	I met Mark at a hostel I was staying at through casual conversation about trying to find work while we were both eating a meal in the hostels communal kitchen. After a few days, and a few more casual conversations, I solicited Mark for an interview. I ended up traveling with Mark and the following interviewee, Matt, to work on a remote watermelon farm.					
9	5/13/2011	Northern Territory	"Matt"	M	Estonia	417
	Meeting Matt followed a similar path as with Mark above. I travelled with both to work at a remote watermelon farm and interviewed Matt after work one day at the farm. Matt would subsequently pass through the hostel I later worked at, where I further discussed with him his experiences working at the farm after I left. Like Mark, I had more conversations and interaction with Matt than other interviewees.					
10	5/14/2011	Northern Territory	"Elle"	F	Canada	417
	Elle, like multiple other interviewees, was staying in the same coed dormitory as me at a hostel and I solicited her for an interview after casual conversation and discovering she was a WHM.					

Interview Number	Date	Interview Location (State)	Name	Gender	Country	Visa Type
	Method/Situation of Approach Regarding Interview Solicitation					
11	5/29/2011	Northern Territory	"Anne"	F	France	417
	Anne was living at the hostel I worked at when I first arrived there. After discovering she was working in town (and was a WHM), I asked her for an interview one afternoon. She would eventually leave the hostel to live in a shared apartment in town.					
12	6/21/2011	Northern Territory	"Brad"	M	USA	462
	Brad was staying in the same dormitory as me at the hostel I was working at. After some casual conversations and learning Brad was in town looking for work (and was a WHM), I asked him if I could interview him. I would later run into Brad several weeks later at a remote tourist resort he was working at in the Outback. I was able to have another casual conversation about his work experience there that I later recorded in my journal.					
13	7/1/2011	Northern Territory	"Rudy"	M	Belgium	417
	Rudy stayed for several days at the hostel I was working at. After casual conversing over a few days and establishing he was a WHM, I asked if could conduct an interview with him.					
14	7/5/2011	Northern Territory	"Sara"	F	Germany	417
	Sara stayed at the hostel I was working at and after some casual conversations, I asked if I could interview her. Through more casual conversations I learned about her negative experience with one previous employer and asked if could record her testimony regarding the occurrence.					
15	7/12/2011	Northern Territory	"Carol"	F	Germany	417
	Carol stayed at the hostel I worked at and became an acquaintance. Before I could initially inquire about an interview, she left to work on a remote farm that she ended up returning from after only a few days as she had been fired. Subsequently, I interviewed her during her second stay at the hostel and recorded a testimony about her dismissal from work. She would later find a job in town and move into a shared apartment with 5 other working holiday makers.					

Interview Number	Date	Interview Location (State)	Name	Gender	Country	Visa Type
	Method/Situation of Approach Regarding Interview Solicitation					
16	7/22/2011	Northern Territory	"Jessica"	F	Japan	417
	Jessica stayed at the hostel I was working at and I approached her for an interview randomly, guessing that she was a WHM (which she was), one afternoon when she was sitting alone in the hostel courtyard smoking a cigarette.					
17	7/22/2011	Northern Territory	"Martha"	F	Denmark	417
	Martha stayed at the hostel I was working at and I approached her for an interview indiscriminately, like Jessica above, in the hostel courtyard as she sat alone reading a book.					
18	8/24/2011	South Australia	"Erica"	F	UK (Scotland)	417
	I met Erica at the hostel I worked at when she was passing through. After conversing and discovering we were both headed in the same direction (to the next city), we decided to travel with each other and would subsequently go on several tours together. During our time traveling jointly, I conducted an interview with her about her working holiday experience.					
19	9/12/2011	Northern Territory	"Jackie"	F	UK (England)	417
	Jackie was staying at the same hostel as myself and I approached her in the hostel kitchen as she was eating a meal alone, inquiring if she was on a working holiday and if I could interview her regarding my research.					
20	9/12/2011	Northern Territory	"Helen"	F	Germany	417
	Helen was staying at the same hostel as me and I approached her for an interview in the hostel courtyard, inquiring if she was on a working holiday which she was.					

Interview Number	Date	Interview Location (State)	Name	Gender	Country	Visa Type
	Method/Situation of Approach Regarding Interview Solicitation					
21	9/12/2011	Northern Territory	"Cathy"	F	UK (England)	417
	Cathy was staying at the same hostel as me and I approached her in the hostel kitchen, similar to Jackie above, asking if I could conduct an interview.					
22	9/13/2011	Northern Territory	"Carl"	M	Italy	417
	Carl was staying at the same hostel as me and I approached him inquiring about an interview while observing him smoking a cigarette alone on the hostel patio.					

Figure 5. Interview Schedule

The questionnaire developed prior to embarking on research served as the guide for actual conducted interviews and consisted of 85 questions separated into 9 groupings (See Appendix for questionnaire). Several were mere demographical questions to gather a brief background of respondents, with the majority of other questions being a mix of yes/no and open-ended questions. Yes/No questions, to generalize, were followed by open-ended explanations of the “yah” or “nay” provided to the question. Open-ended questions were chosen specifically because, “An open question is one where the range of possible answers is not suggested in the question and which respondents are expected to answer in their own words” (Brace 2004, 55). If asking respondents to answer in their own words, it should not lead them into giving answers agreeing to the researchers presumptions (Kothari 2004, 101), However, a handful of questions regarding specific working holiday experiences in Australia were phrased intentionally to compare to the results of other quantitative working holiday analyses produced by existing studies²⁷ (See Tan et al. 2009). Likewise, some questions were formulated intentionally in respect to my previous experiences in Australia in 2008; in a sense, I anticipated certain

²⁷ Existing studies have asked respondents how much they knew about Australia prior to their working holiday visit, yet did not ask them what they did or did not know.

responses yet still left questions open-ended. But this is only natural, even if Taylor and Bogdan claim, “We begin our studies with only vaguely formulated research questions. We do not know what to look for or what specific questions to ask until we have spent some time in the setting” (1998, 8). I had spent prior time in my research setting which gave me pre-insight into planning my fieldwork, in addition to being a motivator for pursuing such. For myself, I saw my research as intent on bringing to light – or negating – honest perceptions of transgressions perceived prior. As Kuhn once wrote, “The man who is striving to solve a problem defined by existing knowledge and technique is not, however, just looking around. He knows what he wants to achieve, and he designs his instruments and directs his thoughts accordingly” (1962, 95). And I agree with Kuhn.

Interview questions only varied, if slightly, on a few occasions; this was either because of lack of understanding on the part of the non-native English-speaking respondents and thus paraphrasing was necessary, or if the specific situation of a respondent was irrelevant to a particular question asked. Regardless, the questionnaire was not modified throughout the fieldwork period. The consistency in inquisition format for various international respondents was intended to specifically address the certain peculiarities that were in question regarding this study.

As simply writing down interview answers would not capture responses as well, all engagements were recorded by digital audio recorder and conducted in an informal manner at various stops, as listed above, along my working holiday journey. Alasuutari writes, “The accuracy and minute detail of the documentation is of course a relative thing, and it also depends on the documentation technique available. Compared to detailed notes made by the interviewer, a tape-recorder is a superior and exact device...” (1995,43). Likewise, in-person interviews with a recording device are viewed as superior to alternative methods currently used in qualitative research. For example, web based questionnaires have become a popular contemporary method for collecting data, yet their impersonal nature allow respondents a greater opportunity to fabricate responses, if inclined to do so, without the pressure of answering forthright when being quizzed face-to-face. Further, interviews done in-person allow for more intimate dialogue. As Kvale writes, “The research interview is and interpersonal situation, a conversation between two partners about a theme of mutual interest” (1996, 125). From an interviewers perspective, questionnaires also offer the possibility to follow-up on

vague or ambiguous responses – to seek a concrete and clear answer when misinterpretation may be present. This echoes McNamara (1999) who purports that, interviews are especially handy for finding the background behind a participant’s experiences; the interviewer can seek detailed information peripherally related to the research topic and gain new insights which have not been addressed in previous studies. As mentioned, many respondents were non-native English speakers and thus the opportunity to clarify confusing responses was imperative. Although non-native English speakers, a common denominator between all WHMs and myself as interviewer is that we have sought a legal right to work in Australia through our WHV. This relationship is similar to Rubin and Rubin’s stance that, “...interviewees in qualitative interviews share in the work of the interview...they are treated as partners rather than as objects of research” (1995).

Like Finley (2010), revealing my role as a researcher often took place after a casual conversation was first initiated; the solicitation of interviews went smoothly and respondents were relaxed and able to speak freely in the present moment, amicably agreeing to have their responses recorded for my research. It’s pertinent to note that although interviews were structured, they were often conducted in a spur-of-the-moment manner, as described in the interview schedule, since casual conversation offered gateway to a further interview with WHMs. From prior experience traveling alone, the way one often meets new people in new destinations and situations is to simply approach them and start up a conversation; typical “travellers conversations” traverse topics as unassuming as “where have you been?”, “where are you going?”, “what did you do while you were ‘here’ or ‘there?’”, and so on. In this regards, some interview questions were quite possibly not unlike those that would arise from a common conversation many travellers have over and over again in a working holiday context. However, the interviews were a one-sided affair; I posed questions, yet was not asked them myself in return by interviewees.

In retrospect, only one approached person declined to participate in an interview, although there were several other potential informants who agreed to be interviewed but a mutually agreeable time for both of us did not transpire. There were some difficulties in interviewing respondents from Japan and Taiwan, whose accent proved difficult to understand at times or, conversely, did not necessarily understand questions at first asking – I had to re-word and sometimes paraphrase

in order to achieve effective intercultural communication through common vocabulary. As Hennink writes,

Language is a fundamental tool through which qualitative researchers seek to understand human behaviour, social processes and the cultural meanings that inscribe human behaviour. (Hennink 2008, 21)

Thus the use of different vocabulary that was found to be mutually understandable to both interviewees and myself proved valuable in interviews. In addition to interviews, testimonials were recorded from two interviewees who personally had negative experiences when undertaking employment, to serve as examples of scenarios WHMs can face when searching for legal employment.

All interviews and testimonials were transformed to text with paid assistance of a professional transcriber which according to Seidman is, "...the ideal solution for the researcher..." (1998, 98). After transcriptions were returned to me, I personally double-checked each and every one by reading through thoroughly while simultaneously listening to their corresponding audio files, to ensure accuracy of transcription. This was an important step as the transcribers interpretation and verbatim understanding of comments and pronunciation may not, and did not, always take into account the fact that interviewees were non-native English speakers; "Participants do not speak in paragraphs or always clearly indicate the end of a sentence by voice reflection" (Seidman 1998, 99). Proofing of transcription spelling and punctuation enables a more thorough start to analysing and interpreting research data (Seidman 1998; Kvale 1996). I will discuss the analysis of interview data in the following section.

To supplement formal interviews, informal two-way conversations with other WHMs were recorded within my research journal. At times, I was either unable to have a private moment or appropriate place to conduct a formal interview with some WHMs, such as having casual conversations with fellow tour goers while on a hike or while picking watermelons with co-workers at the watermelon farm²⁸. At

²⁸ I had initially hoped to record several interviews with other workers at the farm who were unknown before hand to me; I interviewed two that I had travelled to the farm with, one before arriving and one during. It became clear that after a long day of hard manual labour, most workers simply retired to their trailers to eat and relax, not to be seen again until the next morning when we

other times, I did not have my recorder with me when casual conversations arose sporadically and unanticipated with persons who could've been potential interviewees. In hindsight, interviewees and informal respondents were essentially engaged, again, through a mix of chance and opportunity. It is relevant to note, the fact that I worked at a hostel for a portion of my fieldwork period gave me a consistent "in-flow" of WHMs who were traveling around Australia and so this perhaps increased my odds and ability to meet those who could become interviewees. I had aspired to find a hostel when planning my research, yet as mentioned before predicting the actual course of events and opportunities that come about in the field can be complicated.

3.4.1 Interview Data

As the "Writing Autoethnography" section explained the analysis and presentation of the autobiographical first-person participant observant portion, here I will explain how I analytically treated text gathered from informant's experiences and interviews. Data was recorded in field journal notes, like my own personal experiences, yet most came through the transcriptions of digital qualitative interviews and two testimonials as previously discussed. One of the most common, and traditional, methods for analysing collected ethnographic data such as this is through thematic analysis, which is an analysis, "...often used in a common-sense way to refer to patterns in the data that reveal something of interest regarding the research topic at hand" (King and Horrocks 2010, 149).

For my data, I followed this basic "common sense" premise of thematic analysis, identifying themes within the text, for example certain words used numerous times to represent or explain particular situations, emotions, and behaviours. Deciding on what constitutes a "theme" involves, "...the researcher in making choices about what to include, what to discard, and how to interpret participants' words" (King and Horrocks 2010, 149). Such themes that are included

assembled for work. Noticing this, I thought it more practical to try and find out what I could about their work and travel situations through casual conversation while picking.

by the researcher are often directly involved with the research questions or topic at hand. Ultimately, I followed King and Horrocks definition as what is considered a theme:

Themes are recurrent and distinctive features of participant' accounts, characterising particular perceptions and/or experiences, which the researcher sees as relevant to the research question (2010, 150)

While other academics suggest general guideline for how a thematic analysis should be performed (Langdrige 2004; Braun and Clarke 2006; King and Horrocks 2010) and some visually outlining this general process (see Figure 6), I instead followed my own “modified” process for identifying themes which I found to be pragmatic, following the straight forward nature of my inquiries.

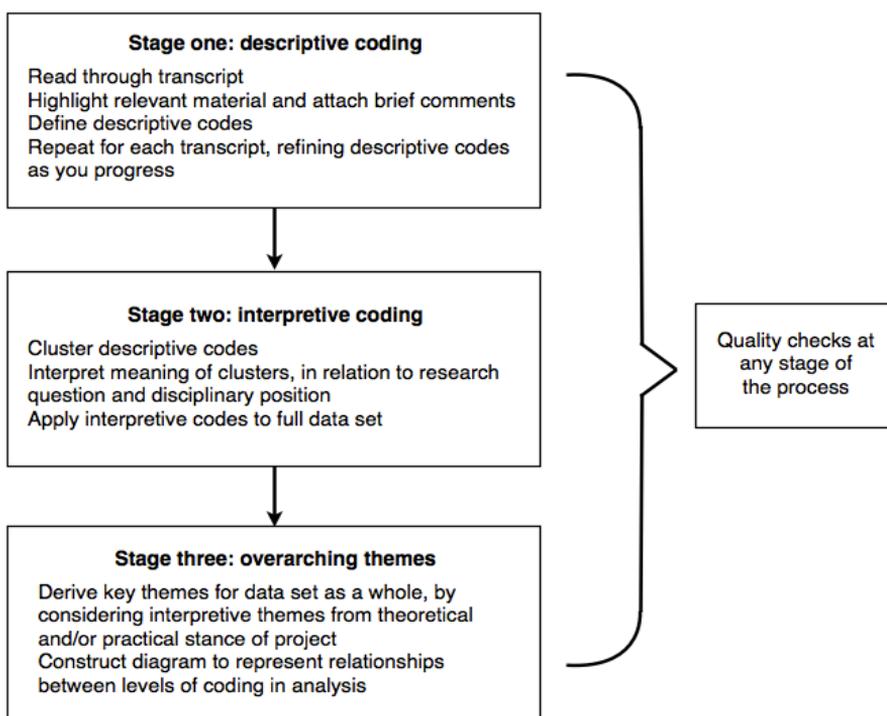


Figure 6. Stages in the process of thematic analysis (King and Horrocks 2010, 153)

My review and analysis of interview text and field journal excerpts diverged from traditional thematic analysis in that I did not establish an over-elaborate and mystifying “code” structure perhaps understood only to discerning thematic analysis software, beyond that of empirical themes already identified within the data. Considering that a fair amount of qualitative questioning was demonstrating the knowledge, or lack there of, of rights and stipulations regarding working in Australia, and consequently, multiple questions were asked with “yes” or “no” being the main response of revelation and following explanations of such yeah or nay, if could be given, as further evidence, this approach proved quite logical and forthright. My steps/stages for scrutinizing the interview data for analysis included:

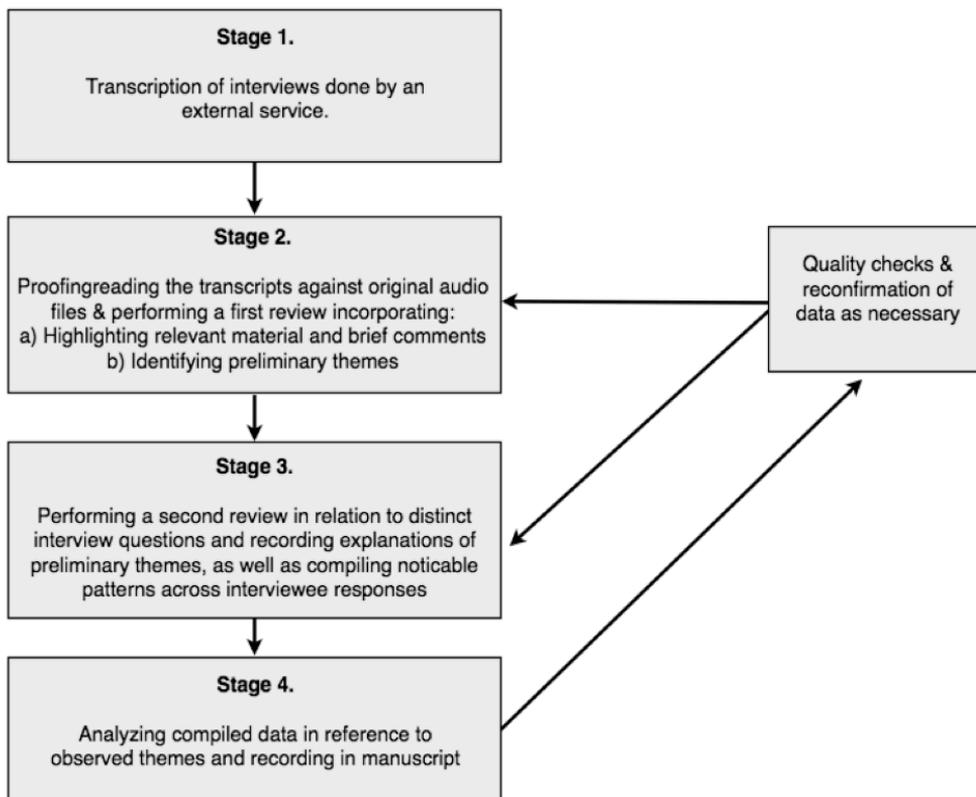


Figure 7. Stages of modified thematic analysis

The compilation of patterns and themes was recorded in digital documents as well as on paper²⁹. For example, all responses to a particular question were isolated to another digital document or on paper where they could be viewed simultaneously together in reference to a distinct question. As there were multiple distinct questions, the patterns from one document were then cross-compared with patterns observed within others. As illustration, within my research, the potential “naivety” or “ambivalence” of WHMs regarding their lack of knowledge about working in Australia was a postulated theme. Thus, when data from one set of questions suggests a lack of knowledge about certain work entitlements by a significant number of interviewees, despite the fact they had already been employed in Australia and stated it important for workers to know their rights as reflected in another distinct set of questions, this poses a potential “...lack of experience, judgment, or information”³⁰ or “...a simultaneous desire to say or do two opposite or conflicting things”³¹; claiming it important for workers to know their rights conflicts or contradicts with an inability to state any of such rights these WHMs interviewed indeed had.

I believe the principal difference between my style of thematic analysis and those presented as exemplary, like in Figure 6, is that I performed it to the style that fit my approach to analysis, rather than of how one “should” do an analysis; I pursued a technique that made sense in a candid procedure relevant to my question types and overall research methodology. Whereas in Step 3 of the suggested thematic analysis process in Figure 6 where I should “...Construct diagram to represent relationships between levels of coding in the analysis”, I simply wrote down observed relationships in text into this dissertation. I do not find this superior or inferior in approach necessarily, just more direct, for my sake. As Aldridge writes, “...sociological methods texts, I would argue, deal rather with what sociologists contend happens when research is carried out, and not with how sociologists go about the process of translating ‘the research’ – a multifaceted experience in time – into a piece of writing” (Aldridge 1993, 54). Ultimately, my tactic of analysis with respect to my “multifaceted experience in time” presented in text will be evident later on in this dissertation.

²⁹ For example, some “yes” or “no” questions were simply compiled in a tally sheet, a more complex method of recording not being necessary

³⁰ This refers to the definition of “naïve” in dictionary.com (2011).

³¹ Refers to definition of “ambivalence” in dictionary.com (2011).

Regarding other data on interview participants recorded in my field journal, the analysis process involved reading through the journal several times, end-to-end, and consulting it numerous other times throughout the writing process, identifying remarks about some of the WHMs that I spent more time with and had deeper access to their working holiday stories. Rather than thematically classifying these annotations in text, most served as empirical examples to accentuate that which was discerned from interviews.

This pragmatic “modified” thematic analysis proved rational in that respondent data was not the sole source of realities within my research and needed to emphasize, yet not necessarily overshadow, the first-person ethnographic experience as a WHM, and vice-versa. As Aldridge writes, “...in ethnographic writing, there is no standard move to excise presentation of the researcher’s presence within the research...” yet, “...there are still standard structural and rhetorical means of producing and presenting such accounts which ‘scientize’ them and the researcher who produces them” (1993, 56). As the researcher and autoethnographer, my role is as interpreter of the data collected and I approached it with an analytical practice which I saw fit as efficient, taking into account my distinct methodology, yet still bore structure similar to those which I believe “scientize” such.

3.5 Criticisms, Limitations, Ethics

In ethnography, and scientific inquiry in general, validity, reliability, and ethics are paramount and often the most common angle for criticism is how does the reader know that what has been written is truth? Further, within the academic community, does the research that has been done qualify as valid scientific inquiry? However, as O'Reilly writes, "Ethical guidelines for ethnography can only ever be guidelines. Ethical dilemmas must be resolved on a case-by-case basis as ethnography takes place. Ethical research is therefore an essential and ongoing component of ethnographic practice" (2012, 62). Here I will address some of the predicaments that can, and have, come into question regarding the frameworks of my ethnographic research

3.5.1 Generalizability Amongst Thousands

In reality, my personal experience on a working holiday of course cannot directly generalize to those of all +185,000 working holiday makers also in Australia in June of 2011³², or further, those who have embarked on the same type of trip to Australia over the past several years. Australia is indeed a massive country and continent, yet generalizability is still significant in research as long as there is transparency in methodology and parameters of research are clearly established and explained with relevance. In autoethnography, the emphasis of generalizability transfers from respondents to readers, constantly tested as readers conclude if writing resonates with them about their own lives or about the experiences of

³² According to the Australian Tourism Export Council, there were more than 185,000 international tourists holding a WHV 417 in June 2011, this includes both 1st and 2nd year visa holders, yet does not even include all of those also in Australia on WHV 462

others they hear about; are the autoethnographers specific accounts able to explain general, unfamiliar processes? (Ellis & Bochner 2000) Further, my own work experiences all took place within the Australian state of the Northern Territory, thus isolating my employer interaction within that state during this research³³. However, those I interviewed had worked in various other states all throughout the country and so any representations of WHMs work situations that are discussed hereafter are not necessarily an isolated phenomena in a geographical sense. This will also be further resonated by empirical evidence presented later on.

Another limitation in generalizability in my study is that the vast number of WHMs in Australia at any given time is comprised of multiple nationalities who, of course, will all have varying experiences as employees not only based on skillset and opportunity, but also their ability to speak English. If you speak English in Australia, you have a wider range of employment options. This isn't theory, this is reality. A commonality I noticed amongst Estonians I worked with at the watermelon farm was that most of them had average to low-levels of spoken English. On the farm, you don't have to be able to speak well to work well – you just need to be a hard worker; strong, fit, and enough common sense not to break machinery is what seemed needed the most. After my research though, it became evident that a certain level of naivety may be needed as well; trusting that work conditions will be better than they actually are as described by an employment recruiter. Despite differences in nationality or language, nonetheless, the common denominator amongst all respondents, and myself, is a role as a foreign WHM in Australia; those who seek the same tourist sights, stay at the same types of accommodation, and sometimes susceptible in not knowing the laws of land and rule. These characteristics were the parameters for establishing interview respondents; I did not interview or record conversations with “backpackers” who did not have a WHV, although it is hard to distinguish at a first glance who is simply a foreign traveller and who is indeed a working tourist in Australia.

Regarding generalization of working rights and entitlements, I must also acknowledge that there exists a myriad of regulations, laws, and standards regarding employment and enterprise, which can vary occasionally from state to state in Australia. For example, while it is legal for employment agents to charge jobseekers

³³ To note, the work experience described in the opening of this dissertation took place in Melbourne, Victoria and so personal experiences with employer misconduct have occurred in other states, just not within this research.

a finding fee in Western Australia (WA Dept. Commerce), an employment placement service in New South Wales cannot charge fees for job seekers to find them employment (NSW Fairtrading). Further, identifying what are appropriate national legal wages for a position depend on the employment structure, and if a “casual” position, the additional benefit of casual loading, which will be discussed later, has to be calculated depending on casual pay rates and different variables surrounding the employment circumstances, such as industry and position. To specifically point out, this research was intent with finding out the extent of WHM knowledge regarding the most basic rights and entitlements applicable at the national level in Australia, not state levels. Thus again, while work experiences of myself and other WHM respondents took place in differing states, there are certain national standards applicable to all workers, countrywide. These standards will be addressed later yet appropriate to mention here.

All that I ultimately hope to do is offer insight into the world of WHMs to the outsider reader, articulating my own experiences and those of other WHMs throughout various locations in Australia, complemented by theory and empirical analysis. While Jones (2007) may suggest autoethnography as a method for dealing with difficult dilemmas in how to present the stories of others albeit other considerations, in the end, readers and academics will make their own judgment of the validity of any study and I have dwelled much over how best to most accurately convey what is a truthful account of what my research and fieldwork has produced.

3.5.2 Covert Research Ethics

Because of the participant observer work aspect in my study, research was done both overtly and covertly as mentioned prior; while interviewees whose recorded conversations with myself were mindful of, and consented to, participation in the study, other persons I intermingled with were not aware. In particular, employers, managers, and some co-workers that I encountered during legal work pursuits were not cognizant that my work interactions with them were scrutinized in relation to

the situations that WHMs encounter when pursuing paid employment. Working was part of my participant experience; I wasn't merely observing other people working, like in the Hawthorne experiments³⁴. Such covertness was deemed necessary as to authentically experience the work situations of WHMs. The code of ethics of the International Sociological Association states, "Covert research should be avoided in principle, unless it is the only method by which information can be gathered, and/or when access to the usual sources of information is obstructed by those in power" (ISA). In the case of my research, if my employer saw me as a researcher or being there for any other reason than for what they are paying me for, they might well enough fire me, relinquishing me of the participant work experience. While there may be those in the academy who say the employer should be fully aware, I would counter such proclamations from personal work experience in the hospitality and service industry; in managements view, if you are not there to work and make the enterprise money, then you shouldn't be there. Any perception of ulterior motives would be detrimental to my work prospects. Whether this covertness approach is more like that of Ehrenreich and Wallraff's investigative journalism, I am not phased by nay-sayers as I do not believe that I could have obtained the same quality of research that I did by approaching employers as a researcher opposed to simply approaching like those WHMs they normally hire. Nevertheless, the ISA reiterates that "The Code of Ethics is not exhaustive, all-embracing and rigid...each sociologist supplements the Code of Ethics in ways based on her/his own personal values, culture and experience...but does not violate, the standards outlined in this Code of Ethics" (ISA). By letting those persons of power who employed me, through barter or wage, behave as they would toward me as they would to any other backpacker, I gained first-hand, legitimate insight into the treatment WHMs do face in Australia as they navigate arenas of both work and holiday.

Further, although the significance of the authoethnographer's tale is priority more so than exact detailing of facts transpired (Tullis et al., 2009), researchers should also keep awareness of how privacy and anonymity influence the integrity, and interpretation by readers, of their work (Ellis et al. 2010). Likewise, "Ethical ethnography involves awareness of your effects on the participants and on the data and conscientiously attempting to ensure that you cause as little pain or harm as possible" (O'Reilly 2012, 66). Consequently, due to ethical consideration in my

³⁴ Researchers investigated the psychology of workers by observing, but not participating.

interactions with employers and managers unaware their actions will be written about for my research, I have chosen not to divulge the names of these persons as it would draw negative attention which could have potential economic backlashes for them. Consequently, I have, when possible, altered or withheld identifiable characteristics of names, locations or situations that may infer where employers are located. This has also been taken into consideration in the use of visual ethnographic aids; while more pictorial evidence exists that I could use to re-emphasize, visually, the conditions and situations involved with a working holiday, some of these examples, in hind-sight, would offer too much detail inferring where and with which companies work was done. Visual ethnography has ethical considerations in application; what can be recorded in public places and with whose permissions (O'Reilly 2012, 73), as well as how are visual examples disseminated and in what mediums (Pink 2007). Online media has its considerations likewise, as ethnographers have been known to do voyeuristic and clandestine observation amongst online communities (Murthy 2008), and just like in everyday life, "Every connection can be linked back to a real person or computer given enough time and resources" (O'Reilly 2012, 74). Hence, I have tried to incorporate other graphics to reiterate points in supplementation, despite their secondary source nature. What I rather draw attention to beyond their actions toward me is simply to the situations that WHMs encounter as employees; they sometimes do not know their basic rights as workers in Australia and this is enticing to some employers. In this dissertation, I have taken those considerations and precautions that I believe are necessary to offer both a critical account of the working holiday phenomena while simultaneously living up to ISA standards.

3.5.3 Replication of Research

As mentioned before, those academics who support positivism believe that scientific research, including the social sciences, should be repeatable. Unfortunately, when it comes to human beings, I am a firm proponent that research cannot be exactly re-duplicated in a living environment and time period that has already passed; no two days in history are ever the same nor the miniscule

details or circumstances that come together to elicit certain behaviours in living organisms. Such things can be similar, but exactly the same is impossible. As Hammersely writes, "...the argument that ethnographic studies are not scientific because they cannot easily be replicated is based on a false conception of the role of replication in natural science...Our inability to replicate ethnographic findings does not undermine assessments of their validity, though it may make the task more difficult" (1990, 59). Furthermore, in anthropology, the field in which ethnography emerged from, there can be, "...an implicit understanding that writing about methods was somewhat banal, inferior to other things academics should be doing, and certainly tedious" (O'Reilly 2012, vi). This is not to say that explaining ones research methods and approach are not necessary, yet more so that perhaps those doing ethnography have an innate understanding of their methodology and an expectation that others evaluating in contexts of ethnographic standards may have such as well.

The unique experiences that were specific to my working holiday journey and research may not be a result of what other academics using similar approaches may incur if choosing to duplicate my efforts and it is hard to speculate without knowing who or what any other academics background or approach might be. Consequently, what other researchers may perceive within patterns of data in my research may differ from what I see as a researcher and participant; there are elements of the experience that are analytically seen in a different mind simply by being there. My pursuit of this research topic, investigating empirically the employment situations of foreign tourists in Australia from the working tourists perspective specifically, is one that has not ever been chosen by others by my knowledge. Thus said, if an element or aspects of my research appear irreplicable, I would agree as is the nature of social interactions distinct to time and place, however, this does not negate the validity of such outright either.

I simply hope my research will be evaluated in terms of its potential to help readers connect with others unlike themselves, or likewise, propose a means to better the lives of the study demographic (Ellis 2004, 124). Research and writing are socially-just endeavours for autoethnographers as exact recounting of an experience, bit by bit, is not the primary focus, rather the aim is to create clear, analytical texts that can potentially make a difference in society (Holman Jones 2005, 764). Likewise, critical ethnography deviates from common standards and ponders "what could be", rather than taking for granted "what is" (Madison 2012;

Carspeken 1996; Denzin, 2001; Thomas 1993). Such is what this research aspires to both achieve and discuss.

3.6 Between Participant, Observer, & Researcher

While autoethnography may strive to offer “stories” instead of theory through self-conscious experiences rather than impersonal observation (Ellis et al. 2010), this does not infer that these first-person accounts are fictitious tales; while I may embrace a colloquial story-like re-telling of my working holiday encounters, they are factual and events and interactions indeed happened as described, albeit names have been changed. What I hope is clear to the reader is that autoethnography is another means to present social scientific research, with a more humanistic and sincere manner – its not elaborately fabricated to simply draw attention to an issue. And while parts of this dissertation may bear a more personal note in storytelling, that is also because it was a personal research journey; the entire research has involved many trials and tribulations to arrive at this dissertation I am at today³⁵. Likewise, it is a curious experience when, as a worker, you perceive that your employer is potentially cheating or exploiting your work agreement, and simultaneously maintain a completely distanced and objective stance as researcher. It’s not always easy, yet it is also not unmanageable. But I digress, the intent is not to just tell my account alone, but the story of what its like to undertake work as a WHM.

While an autoethnographical approach places emphasis on my personal experiences and situations that I encountered, other moments relayed in text in this dissertation hold varying perspectives; I write from the participant role as a working holiday maker who navigates both the worlds of paid/barter work and travel in Australia, I evaluate and qualify the experiences of other working holiday makers as a researcher, and I present both my research findings and personal story as a writer. The consequential result of these intertwining paths is that writing may, at times, abruptly change between these varying points of view, which for some may put into question the traditional stance of an authoritative academic observer; when am I participant or observer and what is the interrelationship between my experience, the interviews, and the documentary data? As an autoethnographer, I seek to be a writer, qualifier, and evaluator all at the same time; writing is not

³⁵ Funding was only received post-fieldwork, thus non-academic work ventures before arriving to and while in Australia served to finance my research.

premeditated to be structured how “others” would write, yet intent on telling the tale of my working holiday journey and research of other WHMs. As Smith writes,

...there is an idea that what the research is for is to provide an interpretation of the subjects’ interpretation of theirs and others’ representations of what the world is like. What we are doing here is accessing the world as people think it is and has been. We are accessing a representation (a vision, an image, an experience) of a text (the world of lived experience) through a text (the interview transcript) that is itself open to interpretation (2001, 29; as cited in Duncan 2007).

My representation of my text is not necessarily a linear story like other researchers may present. As Aldridge notes, “Most sociologists present research account writing as referential in a straightforward way of the research process – a particular set of events in time” (1993, 57). I have not attempted to do such intentionally, although there is little movement back and forth between time frames of the fieldwork. Likewise, my writing may diverge from a sense of “academic” in those moments when I write more candidly about a reflection or observation rather than focus on the theoretical application of a previous scholar to comment on the profundity of phenomena I have investigated myself. Yet such should be the case; pointing out the aspects of everyday life is an integral part of ethnography. As Aldridge notes, “...making reference to other sociologists is a way of rhetorically demonstrating scientific validity for the research” (1993, 58), yet also notes that regarding the sequence, in which research is represented:

The argument here should not be seen to suggest that all researchers textually account for their research in a way that implies hypotheses were derived using deductive reasoning, and that in fact, researchers actually proceed in an inductive manner. Even researchers working in a consciously and deliberately inductive way are unlikely to have actually proceeded in a straightforward inductive manner in the research process itself, though their textual account of the process will imply they had. The point here is rather that whether we textually for hypotheses inductively or deductively, there will have been a complex and mutually influencing interplay between theory and ideas on the one hand, and the development of testable hypotheses on the other (1993, 62).

Consequently, the reader will notice that citations bear a wide spectrum of dates from both naturally before fieldwork, yet also after the research period. Research in an ongoing-process yet the traditional standards of academic writing dissect the researcher from the process of performing research; “It is by excising the sociologist and his or her personal experience of the research process from the textual account of it that we are seen to be doing best...indeed that we are seen to be doing science at all” (Aldridge 1939, 62). Like Aldridge, “In my research, the ideas and hunches that preceded the research were among the factors that guided my choice of measures on which data were gathered” (1993, 62). Thus, theoretical sources were examined prior to fieldwork and post-fieldwork as sometimes re-examination of an academic or empirical article leads to more analysis. Whyte, who performed covert research as well and discussed earlier, explains that in his attempts at having his doctoral dissertation published at the University of Chicago, he was faced with the fact that his research did not account for state-of-the-art theory regarding his topic till after his research, requiring a thorough literature review post-fieldwork before acceptance (1943, 356-357). I am not stating unfamiliarity with relevant theory prior to research, only acknowledging that literature was also indeed expanded upon after fieldwork. Additionally, my topic delves into two arenas of study – work and tourism – and thus while theoretical writings in which these two arenas overlap has been scrutinized, the fields themselves, respectively, are quite robust with vast publications for review. That said, sometimes the literature utilized within also happens to be a consequence of literature that one has access to³⁶. It is also pertinent to mention that official policy websites that were examined prior to research were re-visited afterwards during the writing process to confirm prior details – this will explain many citations that read “2012” or even “2013” as this often references the last date such sources were visited. As the initial date of when web copy was created is hardly ever available, the “last accessed” notation is seen as an acceptable one.

Another aspect of my research is that it was undertaken from the view of work through the WHMs eyes and this has not been attempted before in this arena of

³⁶ The course of my research spanned work, study, and residence in 3 countries on 3 continents – Finland, the USA, and Australia – and thus literature was utilized from not only online resources and independent purchases, but also university and local libraries in the vicinity of the different locales I have resided in over the course of my doctoral studies.

discussion.³⁷ Likewise, my methodology may appear to more so follow the investigative journalism footsteps of Ehrenreich and Wallraff in some regards than a traditional ethnography, albeit that I am attempting to construct, "...a 'reality' that had not existed prior to writing it in order to demonstrate adherence to scientific procedure" (Aldridge 1993, 59). As Aldridge writes,

The personal experiences of doing scientific research should not be textually seen to have existed because according to scientific rhetoric it should not matter who does scientific research. Who we are, why we did the research, and how we may have broken rules along the way, are aspects of the research process that make it other than conventional science...The class, race, gender, or any other aspect of the biography or social identity of the researcher, is seen to be made irrelevant, at least in part, through strict adherence to the scientific canon of temporality (1993, 62- 63)

This reiterates my thoughts on the repeatability of research in that, just as two moments in time can not be experienced exactly the same, the individuals conducting research are facets of the research process distinct in their own perceptions of facts and sensations experienced, observed, and ultimately presented. What will follow is the story and presentation of my research findings – while for some the structure may not follow conventional norms of academia or academic writing, I hope that the reader is able to still evaluate in its scholarly significance and intent.

³⁷ Again – this is as far as I have found regarding WHM research.

4 Precarious Work & Working Tourists

While I will discuss the work experiences of myself and other working holiday makers (WHMs) interviewed later on, it's important to further represent what is already known about WHMs as revealed in previous studies. As discussed, there have been multiple evaluations of the WHMP, most focusing on various effects on the Australian labour market, amongst other inquiries. The two most recent of comprehensive reports, however, have been more extensive and have recorded the occupations most commonly undertaken by WHMs since 2000. As major program policy change came about in 2005, the numbers referenced from these reports in 2002 and 2009, respectively, represent the work most prevalently undertaken before and after this change.

The first of these reports is entitled *The Working Holiday Maker Scheme And The Australian Labour Market*, produced in 2002. According to the study, out of the 85% of WHMs who undertook paid employment, the most common occupations included, "...fruit picker, waiter, elementary service worker, office secretary, labourers & related workers, and builder's labourer" (Harding and Webster 2002, 26-27). Additionally, amongst those, "...who engaged in employment, about 50 per cent held two jobs" during their stay in Australia. This is most likely due to length restrictions on employment with an employer, which, at that time, were only 3 months maximum per employer, as opposed to 6 months currently. Regarding remuneration, "The most usual hourly pay was about \$10 per hour, although there was quite a variation in the hourly rate. Some of the WHMs who reported no pay, received payment in kind (board and lodging), particularly when working in a private home or hostel" (Harding and Webster 2002, 26-27).

The second most recent evaluation is 2009's *Evaluation of Australia's Working Holiday Maker (WHM) Program*. The results of this study showed that,

A large number of WHMs who were employed while in Australia worked in low-skill end occupations....Over one quarter (27%) of their jobs were 'farm hand', followed by 'waiter' (12.6%), 'cleaner' (8.3%) and 'kitchen hand' (5.3%). These four occupations together make up more than half (53.2%) of the jobs undertaken by WHMs. The other half encompassed a wide range of occupations, with less than 5% in each. (Tan et al 2009, 14)

Jobs falling in the top portion of the second half include bar attendant, sales assistant, and receptionist (Tan et al 2009, 14). Further, the main jobs carried out by WHMs' jobs were found to be "...concentrated in two main industry sectors: 'Accommodation' and 'Agriculture'" (Tan et al. 2009, VII). From the information both studies present, the majority of jobs most commonly undertaken by WHMs in Australia since 2000 include menial positions, both primarily within the agricultural and service industry, which include such positions as farm hands, fruit picker, waiters, and cleaners. While jobs such as these may be a common undertaking amongst WHM, they are also jobs commonly mentioned within studies of "precarious" work.

4.1 Precarious Work

In contemporary academic understandings, "precarious" work refers to non-standard or atypical employment situations, also introduced to academia by some as "new" forms of work (Kravaritou-Manitakis 1988) that are insecure, where workers are involved in vulnerable situations whether in work conditions, salary, longevity, or treatment (see Mayhew and Quinlan 2001; Campbell et al. 2009; Fudge and Owens 2006; Dow et al. 2009; McCann and Murray 2010; Standing 2010). Or as Kalleberg writes, precarious work refers to "...employment that is uncertain, unpredictable, and risky from the point of view of the worker" (2009, 2). Around the world, it is an increasing problem that has been accused of threatening to divide working peoples by undermining wages and conditions of work (Metal 2007, 18), as well is a "...process of labour re-commodification, making the labour relationship more responsive to demand and supply, as measured by its price, the wage" (Standing 2010, 31). It is not uncommon today in media to occasionally hear

of situations in which workers have been subjected to extreme mistreatment or subjected to questionable or often illegal work standards (see ILO 2009; ILO 2005; ILO 2003)

In generalizing, situations of precarious work can occur more often with there is a surplus of labour, where workers are pushed to accept work at any cost conditions or compromise of values (McKay et al. 2009, 10; Kalleberg 2009, 2-3; Metal 2007, 18). When determining if an employment situation is precarious in nature, there are usually four dimensions to consider:

- The extent of belief that work will continue
- Identifying who controls the labour process and the presence or absence of a trade union, and professional standards
- The extent of legal recognized standards and protection the work situation and environment involves
- Level of pay

(Fudge and Owens 2006, 11; Dow et al. 2009, 3)

The first dimension can refer to situations in which the duration of work length is left open to the discretion of the employer. Short-term or temporary contracts, trial periods, informal work agreements – these are all situations in which the employee is insecure in that their skill or labour is limited to an as-is-needed basis solely to the discern of employer who is free to control or manipulate the work relationship with promises of future work or likewise, the ability to terminate employment earlier than anticipated (see Standing 2010; Kravaritou-Manitakis 1987; Sennett 1998). The second dimension relates very much so with the presence of unions or the ability of workers to negotiate individually or collectively bargain with regards to the employment relationship; do employees have a say regarding their work environment or conditions of employment? Broughton et al. write, “Trade unions are generally involved in the debate about non-standard employment and even very atypical forms of working. The unions focus on how to curb certain practices, and how to improve the rights of workers who they deem to be employed on precarious contracts” (2010). The third dimension can directly relate to safe and or humane working conditions that can be affected by the legality

or informality of employment contract, as well as the interest and intent of legislative authorities to actively monitor adherence to standards and or punish those employers who ignore worker welfare. Workers rights to safe working environments can also be seen as a case of human rights in that those workers exposed to some of the most extreme and unscrupulous, legal or illegal, working conditions are done so at-risk to their own health or lives (see Human Rights Watch 2010). In fact, Article 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Adopted by UN General Assembly Resolution 217A (III) of 10 December 1948, states:

- Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment
- Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
- Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
- Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

(Amnesty International 2013)

The last and fourth dimension associated with precarious work can be seen in discussions of fair or minimum wages for workers in relation to the work they undertake, as well to the lack of, or extremely low, wages almost likened to slavery (see Human Rights Watch 2010). Often, such deals with black market or illegal business operations where human labour and workers are exploited and expendable. Entities such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch, often attempt to address dimensions like these on a global scale and in regions where there is a significant lack of attention given by formal bodies to incidents such as these. While Human Rights Watch is more focused on violations of human welfare in general, the ILO is specifically focused workers rights and conditions of employment.

Moving on, new forms of formal work arrangements began to appear since the 1970s and 80s (Kravaritou-Manitakis 1988, 19) and the rise of precarious work has seemingly increased in the past few decades due to changes in globalization, the spread of internet technology, and shifts within manufacturing and service sectors (Fudge and Owens, 2006; Kallenberg 2009, 3). The new global economy requires flexibility from workers and flexibility in the workplace. A result of this is that traditional employment relationships, contracts, and work environments have drastically changed; to compete on a global scale, in response to global changes, companies aspire to be fluid in action and have workers that are fluid as well. According to Sennett, “It is a commonplace that modern identities are more fluid than the categorical divisions of people in the class-bound societies of the past; ‘fluid’ can mean adaptable” (1998, 74). Corporate efforts to achieve adaptability and flexibility lead to continual types of company restructuring, which, consequently, leads to growth in precarious work through transformations in the nature of the employer-employee relationship (Kallenberg 2009, 3). As Tan and Tan write, in some cases, “Among the means to create a flexible workforce is the replacement of permanent workers with temporary, on-demand workers” (2002, 83). Even further, as Parry et al. note, “...the flexible firm demands a flexible workforce, one which might work long hours in addition to their contracted working time, and which is available to service customers early in the morning or late at night” (Parry et al. 2003, 6)

Standard employment relationships, in many countries, have often been understood as continuous, full-time employment, in which an employee works under an employer’s supervision and on the employer’s property (Kallenberg 2009, 3; McKay et al. 2012, 17). The core of these relationships is an employment contract, which outlines the conditions of employment such as duration, working hours, and included social benefits. Benefits, such as pensions, disability pay, and medical coverage, are a historical evolution in the workplace, introduced to offer protection for workers and minimize deplorable work conditions. Likewise, the right to bargain collectively by employers helped to mitigate employer domination over terms of employment (Fudge and Owens, 2006; Kallenberg 2009). Such standards became commonplace after the Second World War within manufacturing industries. To generalize, after men completed their education pursuits, most sought a full-time position or job in which they could undertake for the rest of their life, or at least until they reached legal retirement age. The general

situation for women at this time was to work in a temporary position until they married, at which point they would transition into being a homemaker, raising children and overseeing a household (Fudge and Owens, 2006). Yet today, more women in some countries return to the workplace post-childbirth and subsequently some have fewer children at older ages in comparison to previous generations (Barret et al. 2005; Dow et al. 2009). Again, this is a perhaps a conservative western generalization which does not take into account different culture and country contexts around the world, yet it does demonstrate the extent to which work situations have changed for both men and women (Fudge and Owens, 2006). Existing studies of precarious workers often encompass diverse demographics and groups of workers in various regions of the world, for example, precarious work and social rights in the EU (McKay et al. 2012), “Un(der)documented” migrant labour in Europe (Krenn and Haidinger 2009), non-standard employment workers in New Zealand (see Wilson 2004), temporary employees in Singapore (Tan and Tan 2002), older workers in Australia and the UK (Sargeant and Frazer 2009), and many more.

Precarious work is often linked to the following employment practices:

- Self-employed workers
- Temporary contracts
- Employees hired through employment agencies or labour brokers,
- Sub-contracting to other companies or independent contractors
- On-call or daily hire workers
- Workers on probationary periods
- Use of illegal or undocumented workers
- Employment training contracts
- Involuntary or illegal part-time work
(Tan and Tan 2002; Mayhem and Quinn and 2001; Sargeant and Frazer 2009; Metal 2007, 18; Campbell et al.; Sheen 2012; Fudge 2012; Kravaritou-Manitakis 1988)

These practices share a common denominator in that they depart from customary employment relationships, which traditionally have been full-time work on a continuous basis with a single employer. However, each deals with their own challenges, albeit sharing similar disadvantages; nonexistence of collective

representation or unionizations, low pay, limited or no benefits, and lack of job security are reoccurring shortcomings (Fudge and Owens, 2006).

Precarious work is often associated with certain sectors of work, as well as types. Studies have shown that media and cultural work sectors are regularly plagued by temporary contracts and sub-contracted work (Rosalind and Pratt, 2008) and high levels of precarious work are also known to exist in other sectors, for example:

- Construction
- Agriculture
- Hospitality (ie. hotels, restaurants, or the like)

(Dow et al. 2009; Quinlan and Mayhew 2002; Quinland and Mayhew 2001; Krenn and Haidinger 2009; Wilson 2004; McKay et .al 2012; Baum 2012; Sargeant and Frazer 2009)

Multinational companies and large companies whose ultimate priority is to their shareholders sometimes dominate these sectors (Fudge and Owens, 2006). In their study of precarious work and social rights in the EU, McKay et al. identified sectors (see Figure 8) in particular EU countries as rampant with precarious work situations, according to national experts they interviewed:

	Bulgaria	France	Germany	Greece	Ireland	Italy	Latvia	Netherlands	Poland	Spain	Sweden	UK
Hotel & Catering	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Construction	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Health & Care		X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	
Agriculture	X				X			X	X	X		X
Cleaning			X	X	X		X	X			X	
Retail	X	X			X						X	X
Security				X	X		X		X			
Tourism	X	X		X						X		
Services	X								X	X		
Food					X			X				X
Universities			X				X					
Public Sector				X		X						
Media			X									X
IT			X									
Forestry							X					
Taxis							X					
Commerce									X			

Figure 8. Sectors identified with precarious work (McKay et al. 2012, 44-45)

Again in the European context, Broughton et al. (2010) have presented the following chart to summarize the nature, of non-standard or precarious work by sector, enterprise, activity and organization:

	Short part-time work*	Short fixed-term contracts**	Employment without formal contracts	Zero hours contracts
Sector	Food industry; cleaning industry; care sector; domestic services; real estate; health and social work	Seasonal working in the agriculture and tourism sectors; services sector, public sector; textiles, construction sector	In all sectors of the economy, but can be prevalent in seasonal jobs in sectors such as agriculture	Predominantly in the retail sector, but can also be found in the care sector and in hotels and restaurants
Type of enterprise	Prevalent in SMEs	Usually prevalent in SMEs, although in some countries it is more likely to be found in larger companies	Prevalent in SMEs	Prevalent across the economy
Type of activity	Variable types of jobs, ranging from low-skilled jobs to highly-skilled professional work	Low-skilled jobs in sectors such as agriculture, but also for higher-skilled jobs in hotels and restaurants, and for highly-skilled workers such as IT specialists, journalists, architects, consultants and workers in creative industries	Often relatively unskilled jobs in agriculture and construction	Jobs in the retail sector, or jobs in the care sector, and in hotels and restaurants
Work organization	Not a great deal of data available, although some evidence suggests that workers on short part-time contracts work different hours than other workers, and can work during evening	Not a great deal of data available, although some data show that workers on short fixed-term contracts are less likely to work during unsocial hours and more likely to work from home; conversely, some studies show that these workers have less control over their working hours than other workers	These workers can work irregular hours if engaged in seasonal work, particularly in the agriculture sector	Workers are more likely to work during unsocial hours; shift working is more common among those on zero hours contracts

Figure 9. Nature of non-standard work (Broughton et al. 2012, 44-45)

Beyond job practices, sectors and activity type, workers of certain demographics often fall prey to precarious situation as well. Such demographics can be individually specific or socially specific. As McKay et al. write,

Individuals in precarious work are more likely to be excluded from social rights, such as to decent housing, medical care, pensions and education, while exclusion from these social rights pushes individuals into precarious work. Work precariousness thus feeds into other situations that cement individuals into precarious lives. Precarious work also incurs the risk of individuals lacking adequate social protection in old age (2012, 5)

In previous studies of, or literature about, precarious work, the most often mentioned persons or groups include:

- Migrant workers
- Young workers
- Minority ethnic workers
- Women workers
- Agency workers
- Older workers
- Students, apprentices and internees
- Immigrants

(McKay et al. 2012; Fudge and Owens, 2006; Jonsson and Nyberg 2010; Sheen 2012; D'Amours 2010; Elcioglu 2010; Kretsos 2010; Mayhew and Quinlan 2001; Bhalla and McCormick 2009; Porthé et al. 2009; Wilson 2004; Standing 2010)

Going further, Standing has identified those susceptible to precarious work, also referred to as the *precarariat*, as a "...distinctive socio-economic group" which belongs to a "...more fragmented global class structure" that surfaced from globalizations effect on traditional class structures (2010, 7). Within this new class system, standing identifies several distinct groups:

- The **elite** – consisting of a tiny number of absurdly rich global citizens lording it over the universe, with their billions of dollars, listed in Forbes as among the great and the good, able to influence governments everywhere and to indulge in magnificent philanthropic gestures
- The **Salariat** – below the elite, still in stable full-time employment, some hoping to move into the elite, the majority just enjoying the trappings of their kind, with their pensions, paid holidays and enterprise benefits, often subsidised by the state. Concentrated in large corporations, government agencies and public administration, including the civil service
- The **Proficians** – alongside the salariat, combines the traditional ideas of “professional” and “technician” but covers those with bundles of skills that they can market, earning high incomes on contract, as consultants or independent own-account workers. The “standard employment relationship” is not for them.
- The **working class** – below the proficians, in terms of income, is a shrinking ‘core’ of manual employees. The welfare states were built with them in mind, as were the systems of labour regulation.
- The **precariat** – underneath the other 4 groups, flanked by an army of unemployed and a detached group of social ill misfits living off the dregs of society...The descriptive term ‘precariat’ was first used by French sociologists in the 1980s, to describe temporary or seasonal workers.

(Standing 2010, 8-9)

But the *precariat* are not so much a social class just yet, more like a social class in the making (Standing 2010, 155). As mentioned, it is a phrase referencing the precarious “proletariat” based on the writings of Marx. The main social classes that Marx described within his views of capitalism are of course the *bourgeoise* who are the owners of capital or business owners, and the *proletariat* who were the providers of labour or working class. *Precariat* being a mix of *precarious* and *proletariat*. Marx, however, wrote about other smaller class categories that included the middle class landlords, peasants, and the *lumpenproletariat* (Giddens and Held 1982; Gingrich 1999). Of these groups, it could be propositioned that the precariat, are similar to Marx’s *lumpenproletariat* who Bottomore characterized as the, "...ruined and

adventurous offshoots of the bourgeoisie, vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds .. pickpockets, brothel keepers, rag-pickers, beggars" and so on (1983, 292). A connection is not in that both are necessary "social scum" per say which could be inferred from Bottomore's depiction, yet that, "One of the main reasons for mentioning them is to emphasize how capitalism uses, misuses and discards people, not treating them as humans" (Gingrich 1999), and human rights is a precarious issue which I will discuss in a moment.

When thinking of class and status characteristics within the labour market, "...apart from employers and self-employed, the main distinction has been between wage workers and salaried employees, the former covering piece-rate and time-rate suppliers of labour, with images of money-for effort, and the latter supposedly being rewarded by trust and compensation-for-service" (Standing 2010, 8). Further, precarious workers are those "...who have minimal trust relationships with capital or the state...and has none of the social contract relationships of the proletariat" (Standing 2010, 8). It is thus logical to see how migrants or young workers, both of which WHMs can be or are considered, often fall within precarious work situations due to lack of social capital when new to a country or deficient prior work experience. Precarious workers can also be described as "denizens" – a person who for whatever reason has less rights and entitlements than citizens (Standing 2010, 14). This is only naturally in the case of WHMs as they are not citizens of Australia, but in an alternative sense, although migrants are the main denizens in most countries (Standing 2010, 158), it seems WHMs as working tourists may be so too as, "...a defining feature of all denizens is absence of rights" (ibid, 158). In work situations where there is an absence of rights, a further discussion of lack of human rights can be called into question.

In research of groups previously mentioned as susceptible to precarious work situations, there is often included discussion about the extent in which human rights are also violated or diminished in such settings (McKay et al 2012; Standing 2010; Carrera and Sagrera 2009). For example, Carrera and Sagrera suggest that third country nationals involved in circular mobility partnerships within the EU are "...not treated as workers and human rights holders, but as economic units at the service of the demand and supply of participating states" (2009,2). Regarding greater numbers of precarious migrant workers as a result of increased globalized patterns of migration, the ILO has noted,

...the forces of globalization have created opportunities for greater integration of labour markets, a complex web of national immigration laws and border controls has restricted the mobility of people across borders. Yet growing disparities in wealth, incomes, human security, human rights and demographic trends across countries are all exerting upward pressure on migration (2010, 36).

The ILO will be discussed further later. Discussing workers in informal work situations McKay et al, note, “A key argument for the promotion of human rights in the field of employment is that such rights offer the capacity to de-commodify workers through the articulation of a right to dignity at work” (2012, 143). The blurred employment relationships enveloped by precarious work situations not only deregulate rights granted to workers in traditional employment relationships but also seemingly overlap into discussions of human rights by the devaluation of entitlements provided to workers as human beings.

4.1.1 Precarious Work In Australia

As my research investigates WHMs as being precarious working tourists in Australia, it is of course practical to look at studies and literature regarding precarious work or workers in this part of the world, noting that in the Australian context, “non-standard” and “atypical” are more commonly used in identifying work arrangements that fall outside traditional employment standards (Dow et al. 2009, 3). Regarding employment arrangements, Dow et al. write, “In Australia, casual employment, part-time employment, independent contracting, outworking and informal work arrangements often constitute precarious work (2009, 4). The reason for differentiating these types of employment as precarious is that, “...all tend to be distinguished by low wages, few benefits, the absence of collective representation, and little job security” (Fudge and Owens 2006, 12). However, not all part-time workers are precarious workers, albeit the fact that this type of employment type is often marked by low-wages, restricted career advancement, and is employer initiated as opposed to employee requested, thus positioning it more so precarious compared to full-time status (Dow et al. 2009, 5-6). In fact,

precarious work, even if understood through other terminology, is not uncommon in Australia, as Mayhew and Quinlan claim that at the beginning of this century, Australia had one of the highest proportions of precarious workers in OECD countries with 85% of net employment growth in precarious employment categories (2001, 1). As migrants, mentioned before, are noted as susceptible to precarious work situations, it is relevant to note that in 2010, 1 in 4 Australian workers was a migrant (Standing 2010, 90). Further, in their research of precariously employed workers – “small business operators, contractors and subcontractors, self-employed, casual and temporary workers” (2001, 2) – they found that these workers, “...had significantly less knowledge of their entitlements than non-precariously employed workers undertaking similar tasks in the same industry sectors” and, “...a significant number of precariously employed workers were reluctant to make workers’ compensation insurance claims due to economic pressures to continue working, or fear that making a claim would prejudice future employment prospects or contracts” (Mayhew and Quinlan 2001, 6). Not only is precarious work not uncommon, but it also reported on the rise (Dow et al. 2009; Fudge 2006), spurred on by reform in labour laws in recent years that have coincided with sustained growth in the Australian economy and low levels of unemployment (Dow et al. 2009; see also Cooney et al. 2006). Similarly, reforms in further areas of public policy have taken place, for instance the regulation of social welfare, resulting in the constriction of conditions entitling unemployment benefits with the intent of encouraging more persons to take active participation in the labour market (Dow et al. 2009, 11). Needless to say, precarious work is not exactly an unnoticed occurrence within the Australian labour market.

Regarding persons or groups mentioned as susceptible to precarious positions in the Australian context, Australian academics, studies and literature have cited:

- Agency workers
- Older workers
- Women
- Students
- Agricultural workers
- Immigrants
- Itinerant workers
- “Casual” workers

(Mayhew and Quinlan 2001; Mayhew and Quinlan 2002; Sargeant and Frazer 2009, Dow et al. 2009; Sheen 2012)

In citing agricultural workers as precarious workers, Dow et al. have mentioned that, “...backpackers and tourists working under the Working Holiday Maker Scheme (WHM)”, are incorporated into this group, along with other legal workers in this industry such as, “...family members, locals, students, itinerant retirees” (2009, 22). They also mention that agricultural workers also include, “...a significant number of ‘illegal’ workers, including those claiming government benefits, tourists without appropriate working visas and unauthorized migrants” and that these workers, “...largely fall outside the scope of labour law protection” (2009, 22). Backpackers, but not WHMs, have also been mentioned by Mayhew and Quinlan as prevalent amongst itinerant labour and thus tracking Occupational Health and Safety standards and their effects on them are difficult (2002, 15). Beyond these mentioning’s, WHMs, in general, lack recognition as a precarious group or at-risk vulnerable workers distinctly despite an overwhelming empirical connection between the work done by them in common work sectors³⁸ and demographic characteristics³⁹ purported as precarious in general and in Australia. I find this concerning considering studies incorporating WHMs giving multiple examples of mistreatment⁴⁰. This oversight is curious, perhaps due to WHMs still

³⁸ For example, agriculture, cleaning, and hospitality.

³⁹ For example, young workers, students, foreigners, and those excluded from social rights.

⁴⁰ Allon et al. have noted that “backpackers” are an at-risk demographic in Sydney as a result of their study, however did not focus on work conditions or WHMs specifically, albeit noting multiple testimonials of unfair treatment in work situations. They write, “Evidence suggests, then, that Councils need to recognise backpackers as a significant ‘at risk’ group within the community and develop appropriate policies and educational strategies. This should include policies relating to safe

often viewed as a type of, or sub-category, of “backpackers”, or their tourist activities are of more focus in studies about, or which incorporate, them. For example, the 2009 research of Jarvis and Peel was focused on exploring, “...the tourism behaviour and contribution of WHM visa holders to regional Australia, via a study on their impact on the tourism economy of the regional Victorian city of Mildura” (2009, 7). Regardless, previous studies examining WHMs in comparison to migrant workers have acknowledged there is little systematic knowledge of WHM thus justifying their study. For example Tan et al. write,

It is likely that they differ from other migrants in their geographic dispersion, the types of employment they seek, their overall flexibility and mobility. However, there is little systematic knowledge about this group, viewed as a labour force, as a source of economic stimulus in regional areas, and as a cultural force. Thus, the increasing number of WHMs coming to or departing from Australia, particularly since 2000, invokes the question, how should Australia factor this category of ‘temporary migration’ into its immigration and socio-economic development policy thinking and planning? (2009, 2)

As mentioned, studies such as these look at the trend of WHM from, in my view, an embedded Australian perspective; WHMs are studied in their effect and phenomena within Australia yet not distinctly from the perspective of WHMs themselves. Interestingly, one study of Japanese WHMs suggests that Japanese youths who embark on a working holiday in Australia run the risk of incurring precarious work situations upon return to Japan after a working holiday abroad; a “working holiday” inhibits employment opportunities upon return. As Kawashima writes,

With the casualization of the youth workforce, the invisible and not-so-invisible barriers to entry to the permanent workforce have become potentially deadly: many young people who work in precarious casual positions may be trapped forever, almost as if in punishment for choosing alternative life options such as WHs and taking a leave of absence from the Japanese labour market (2010, 276).

housing and accommodation practices, safe sex practices, and also safe drug and alcohol use” (Allon et al. 2008a, 48)

Such an occurrence would diverge from the notion of WHMs being migrant workers in that work opportunities do exist at home and lack of employment is not a push factor for seeking work abroad (Nunn 2005, 31; Parker 2007). In contrast, a working holiday may be more of a holiday or break from conventional standard employment opportunities at home or initiating a career, such as taking a *Gap Year*, which will be discussed later. Or as Kawashima's study reports, discontent with current employment prior to a working holiday; a working holiday is a break from ones typical job or work routine. Results from Jarvis and Peel's research echo the sentiment of taking a break before a career or from sluggish working life at home:

The desire to travel before taking on a career and other adult responsibilities was a strong motivation for the sample population of WHMs to leave home and go travelling (73.4% in 2009 and 63.1% in 2010). Significantly, 37.8% of the sample were motivated to take a WHM visa in response to the economic downturn at home, compared to only 18.3% in 2009 (Jarvis and Peel 2009, 14)

While economic downturn can imply a push or pull factor of employment in Australia, it can also reference other motivations such as taking time away from employment at home, yet this will be discussed further later on. While WHMs could also be compared to lifestyle migrants (Benson and O'Reilly 2009), who also seek an escape from self-perceived un-fulfilling surroundings or for a "better way of life", there are noticeable gaps in age demographics between these two groups, as well as varying questions of motive, albeit a strong commonality in a role as a tourist.

Nevertheless, such close association with other dimensions, characteristics, and groups of precarious work and workers strongly suggests a connection with WHMs and precarious work, yet they seem to remain absent in discussions of such. Why? If the general purpose of the WHMP is to provide the opportunity for an extended holiday for international youth, why are WHMs addressed in study funded by Australian government entities⁴¹ as comparable to immigrant workers?

⁴¹ Tan et al.'s 2009 study was published by the DIAC and they acknowledge the support of the Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations, Tourism Australia, The

That would suggest the primary motive for going on a working holiday is work, not holiday. And if a connection to migrant or immigrant work, which has been noted as precarious in Australia, is utilized, why has an empirical involvement with precarious work situations not been considered? Indeed, I believe it is quite arduous to explain exactly whom WHMs should be compared to due to a potential contemporary lack of understanding of what a “working holiday” actually incorporates. However, an understanding of mistreatment of workers in Australia may also bear relevance to this void. As Dow et al. write,

The failure of employers to comply with legal obligations owed to their employees has remained a largely unresolved area in Australian industrial law. Government enforcement of these obligations has had a long and troubled history. While industrial legislation has always provided for remedies and penalties for breaches of minimum conditions, government enforcement of these obligations has been regarded as poor, ineffectual and hampered by ‘structural and political obstacles. Notwithstanding these problems, enforcement of labour standards has attracted little academic attention (2009, 2).

Alternatively, other academic studies exist that address a study group perhaps more aligned with similar activities and motivations to WHMs, albeit these have not been found in the studies of WHMs mentioned – working tourists. Literature about working tourists in fact provide an academic explanation of a “working holiday”, the activity the WHV is named after.

4.2 Working Tourists & “Working Holiday”

Work and holiday, ie. tourism, activities have normally been viewed as polar opposite fields of study and definitions within each field often reflect this. While

Department of Agriculture, Fisheries, and Forestry, The Australian Tourism Export Council, The Australian Tourism and Transport Forum, The Department of Resources, Energy and Tourism.

“work” has multiple definitions put forth by various academics which will be discussed later (Giddens 2002; Grint 2005; Pekkarinen & Sutela 1996; Taylor 2004; Parry et. al. 2005), tourism is often specifically stated as the opposite of “work” in general. For example, Urry suggests that tourism, “...is a leisure activity which presupposes its opposite, namely regulated and organized work” (1990, 2). Likewise, Graburn proposes that tourism is a form of play incorporating travel and that, “...our conception of tourism is that it is not work” (1989, 22). This reflects the apparent oxymoronic notion of the phrase “working holiday” and potential misconceptions or lack in understanding of what activities one pursues or undertakes while on a “working holiday” and the reasons for pursuing such.

A starting point in exploring the connection between the two fields of “work” and “holiday” is with Pape’s take on the term “touristy”, which encompasses “...a form of journeying that depends upon occupation, but only in a secondary sense in that it serves the more primary goal, the travel itself” (Pape, 1965). Some academics have even gone so far as to categorize different versions of those who work and travel (see Cohen 1973 and Uriely 2001). For example, Uriely’s “traveling workers” versus “working tourist” (see Figure 10):

Types of travellers				
	Working tourists		Travelling workers	
Dimensions of comparison	Working-holiday makers	Non-institutionalised working tourists	Migrant tourism workers	Travelling professional workers
Work and touristic motivations	Work is grasped as a recreational activity that is part of the tourist experience	Work in order to finance a prolonged travel	Travel in order to 'make a living' and 'have fun' at the same time	Travel in order to exercise work Engage in tourist-related activities as a by-product of the excursion
Work characteristics	Unskilled but usually recreational manual labour. Extraordinary work Unpaid work	Unskilled and usually unpleasant manual labour Occasional work Low-paid and non-prestigious work	Skilled or semi-skilled work in the tourism economy Repetitive seasonal employment Unsecured and low-paid employment	Professional, official role, or business-related work Repetitive, career-related work Prestigious and well-paid work
Demographic profile	Middle-class young adults	Middle-class young adults	Lower middle-class, or working class single and unattached adults Periodically unemployed in their home societies	Middle, or upper-middle class adults

Figure 10. Types of 'traveling workers' and 'working tourists' (Uriely 2001)

The term “working tourist” was first defined by Uriely and Reichel as, “...tourists who engage in situations that combine work with tourism” (2000, 268). This is a wide categorization as it attempts to include all types of travellers who envelop themselves in situations where work and travel are combined. Going further alone, Uriely put forth the four categories prior to differentiate in motivations and characteristics of travellers who pursue work. An interesting void within his categorizations is that there is no differentiation between those having a legal right to work; fundamentally, a working tourist or traveling worker who travels, internationally at least, is enabled to pursue a wider scope of work opportunities during their travels because governments have provided them the legal ability to do so. The world in which we live in is one of man-made borders and boundaries that not only mark difference in culture and language, but also sovereignty and legal entitlement. This missing aspect is understandable though in that his categorizations attempt to define terminology abstractly to encompass wider tourist demographics of activity that involve work. I mention not as criticism, more so as an observation from personal experience on “working holiday” travels⁴². Regardless, Uriely does admit that his categorizations only reflect some details of the commonalities in behaviours in which work and tourism overlap (2001, 7), and thus he does not present it as a concrete categorization and it is not interpreted as one.

Within the “working tourist” category of travellers is where we find the “working holiday tourist”⁴³; the one whose travels are considered a “working holiday”. In an academic context, a “working holiday” has been discussed in various studies and theories, but most often involving the working tourists discussed. Cohen first introduced the plural of the phrase, “working holidays” as a special form of tourism, “...in which youth from one country travel into another to work for short periods, mostly during summer school vacations” (1973, 91). Uriely proposes that, “...the term ‘working holiday’ is attached to various forms of tourism, in which working activity is offered as part of the tourist experience” (2001, 4), and, correspondingly, whose practitioners motivations are parallel in explanation. From another perspective, Wilson, Fisher, and Moore believe that a “working holiday” typically, “...involves extended stays in other countries by ‘holidaymakers’ with consequential immersion, to varying degrees, in the economic,

⁴² Besides this research, I have travelled and worked in New Zealand with a working holiday visa in 2003, and done the same with a similar themed visa to Ireland in 2006.

⁴³ Can also be called a “working holiday maker” – both titles reference those travellers whose travels are considered a “working holiday”

social and cultural dimensions of the host locales” (2010, 4). This explanation can be perplexing in that it does not reference any specific activity of “work” in its proposal, however, this is most likely due to the approach taken toward their distinct conceptual and contextual evaluation⁴⁴. State of the art⁴⁵ considered, a universal academic consent in definition for a “working holiday” does not seem to exist at present, although a universal foundation of travel activity is evident.

If one were to abandon academia and search for a layman’s definition of a “working holiday” in the in the Oxford Dictionaries, they would find that no such definition exists. More so, if one were to utilize the internet in hopes of finding a definition for this oxymoronic term, most search results⁴⁶ will reference a “working holiday visa” - a category of tourist visa offered by various countries, and quite obviously, in the context of this research, Australia. Albeit this explanation is of a visa category more so than an outright definition of activity and motivation for such, it does suggest that a “working holiday” bears correlation with those activities associated with legal work and travel under possession of a visa of the same name. In fact, as these working holiday visas are offered by numerous nations⁴⁷, in practice, they are very likely what enables pursuit of such activity for “working holiday makers” or “working holiday tourists” today, with many contemporary understandings of the phrase in multiple cultural contexts often referencing such; one can pursue or goes on a “working holiday” because a working holiday visa enables them to do so, granting a legal opportunity, and rights, to work while traveling. Thus while Australian studies of WHMs associate them to backpackers and migrant workers, they may in fact be their own unique demographic of international working tourist.

⁴⁴ Wilson, Fisher, and Moore analyse a “working holiday” in the context of cultural understanding of the traditional Overseas Experience (OE) form of travel undertaken by New Zealand youth.

⁴⁵ This is in reference to English language literature that I have discovered throughout my research as I have not been able to find a significant amount of research specifically done regarding “working holiday” travel, albeit acknowledging there always exists the possibility for articles or publications to have been printed in other languages besides English as these visas area available to a wide scope of international travellers.

⁴⁶ I acknowledge that an internet search result of an explanation would hardly be considered as academic research, yet in the present digital age that we live in, the internet is a commonly used medium for investigating the utmost basic explanation of a phrase, activity, concept, etc. Beyond academia, it is not absurd to examine explanations in a colloquial sense

⁴⁷ “Working holiday” programs and visas are also offered by Argentina, Canada, Finland, New Zealand, Japan, Ireland, Norway, and numerous other countries.

4.3 The ILO

The International Labour Organization (ILO), whose main aim is to, "...promote rights at work, encourage decent employment opportunities, enhance social protection and strengthen dialogue on work-related issues" (ILO, 2012), has been an outspoken entity for workers rights and social justice from its inception in 1919. As Sen writes in regards to modernizing the objectives of the ILO,

The first important feature in the new ILO vision is the articulation of its goal: the promotion of 'opportunities for women and men to obtain decent and productive work, in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity' (ILO, 1999, p. 3). The reach of this objective is indeed momentarily large: it includes all workers, wherever and in whatever sector they work; not just workers in the organized sector, nor only wage workers, but also unregulated wage workers, the self-employed, and the homeworkers. The ILO aims to respond to the terrible fact that 'the world is full of overworked and unemployed people' (ILO, 1999, pp. 3, 4) (Sen 2000, 120).

Further, the core values of the ILO have been supported in many of its recent policies for countering the ever-growing problems stirred by globalization, including:

- The Global Employment Agenda (2003),
- The Conclusions concerning the promotion of sustainable enterprises (2007),
- The ILO Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization (2008),
- The Global Jobs Pact (2009),
- The Decent Work Agenda

Inevitably, precarious employment is an occurrence that has been researched and reported on within numerous topics in multiple ILO publications, including

forced labour, discrimination, human rights, women workers, and so on⁴⁸. As this research is concerned with the role of working holiday makers as precarious workers, further investigation was made into ILO publications as to see what, and or/if they have been identified by organizations such as the ILO as an at-risk demographic of worker. Several articles were indeed located which mentioned the presence of working holiday makers or a “working holiday”, or the occurrence of WHMs other colloquial label – backpacker – amongst discussions of:

- Foreign workers (Hoffman & Lawrence 1995)
- Temporary workers (Hugo 2009; Lee, McGuinness, and Kawakami 2011; Koser 2009)
- Migrant workers (ILO; Lee, McGuinness, and Kawakami 2011; Baum 2012; Martin 2007; Kuptsch 2006)
- Temporary labour migration programs or bilateral labour agreements (Koser 2009; Martin 2007; Baruah 2006)

These echo empirical connections previously discussed, yet as also noted, fail to address WHMs distinctly in study as an at-risk worker population when it comes to non-typical work. Apart from generalizations mentioned prior about precarious workers, some of these publications do discuss the position of WHMs in interesting, and sometimes contrasting, perspectives. For example, Martin writes that:

Foreign students, working holiday makers, and other migrants who are primarily in the host country for another purpose, but who also work, are generally free agents in the labour market. The employers who hire them satisfy no or minimal requirements, in the sense that there is often no supervised recruitment required and employers must satisfy only minimum wage laws (2007, 31)

⁴⁸ Doing a search for “precarious” on the ILO website brings up several thousand documents, ranging from publications to press releases to projects. It is by all means a common occurrence in discussions within which the ILO actively participates and initiates.

He also notes, however, that migrant workers can protect rights if freedom of movement within the labour market, yet temporary workers as part of temporary labour programs, with visas tied to work, are in servitude and cannot assert rights (ibid 2007, 30). WHMs who seek a second year in Australia must complete work in rural industries and thus their visa is indeed tied to work at a juncture of the working holiday. He further writes,

...most temporary worker programs aim to fill particular job vacancies, so most temporary workers are required to work for the employer whose “need” for migrants has been certified by a government agency. The cases in which governments do not officially determine that migrants are “needed,” such as intra-EU migration, generally involve relatively small numbers of migrants or involve migrants whose major purpose is something other than work, as with foreign students and working holiday makers. (Martin 2007, 31)

Although working holiday makers may be in a host-country for other reasons than work as Martin suggests, these types of programs are seen aligned by some academics as temporary labour schemes; Koser writes that the purpose of the bilateral agreements of the working holiday maker program as a temporary labour migration program is, “...to strengthen cultural ties between partner countries...”, yet the three month stipulation regarding agricultural work in the Australian case is an, “...example of more liberal regulations to attract workers to particular regions” (Koser 2009, 16-21). Lee, McGuinness, and Kawakami also see working holiday makers primarily as temporary labour (2011, 2-3) yet others maintain that they are based on cultural relationships (Baruah 2006, 181), similar to that of the DIAC’s statement of purpose regarding the WHMP.

Some analysis are a bit perplexing, reflecting again a potential misunderstanding in what or who a working holiday maker is, or what a “working holiday” involves, or likewise, a potential limited understanding of factual circumstances in which working holiday makers abide by. For example, Hugo, in his typology of temporary labour migration in Asia and the Pacific lists that working holiday makers have “substantial” rights and it is “possible” for them to bring their families with them to their destination country (Hugo 2009, 4). While substantial rights is inferred by a legal right to work, this statement is still curious in that WHV criteria dictates that

applicants must not be traveling with their families in the Australian context (see DIAC forms 1150 and 1208). It is pertinent to believe that he is referring to the Australian context in his further writing that,

The fourth type of temporary labour migration in the Asia-Pacific region is limited in incidence to only a few high-income countries in the region – Australia, New Zealand, Japan and Korea. This is Working Holiday Maker migration. The program in Australia is typical of such programs. Working Holiday Makers (WHMs) are foreign nationals from selected countries with which Australia has a reciprocal arrangement (only South Korea, Taiwan, Japan and Hong Kong SAR of China in Asia). They are permitted to stay in Australia for a year and people who have undertaken seasonal work in Australia for a minimum of three months are eligible to apply for a second WHM visa. They can work for a single employer for a maximum of 6 months (Hugo 2009, 14).

Hugo continues to write, “Their wages and conditions are consistent with Australian standards” (2009, 14). This statement will come into scrutiny later on in this research.

Baum suggests in regards to migrant workers that backpackers – a common name for WHMs in Australia which will be discussed later – navigate economical routes and mobility networks which merging with precarious routes of refugees, asylum seekers and guest workers (Baum 2012, 13). He also discusses how European agencies acknowledge the vulnerabilities migrant workers face:

The European Agency for Safety and Health at Work (2008) highlights the particular vulnerabilities of migrant workers in the hotel sector with respect to health and safety. Many migrant workers enter the sector via seasonal or casual work. Their jobs are in general more precarious than those of local workers. Migrants also work more often in unhealthy environments, take the more dangerous jobs and work more often below the level of their qualifications. Barriers to health and safety that are often reported are poor language skills, low levels of education, lack of knowledge of employment rights, not knowing who to turn to in case of a problem, low pay, and difficulties in validating those qualifications that they may have. (Baum 2012, 13)

Such similar vulnerabilities will be discussed in the context of WHMs in Australia later on. The different postulations discussed in these studies interest me, like in the sense of the Australian perspective, in that WHMs are still seemingly looked upon from an outside perspective as primarily workers and that while the program is marketed as a tourist escapade and perhaps intended as one for some WHMs, academics and the state, cultural promotion or not, are interested in their function as a labour source.

Nevertheless and stated again, what remains absent from these reports though is a distinct discussion of WHMs as precarious workers or identifiable as working tourists, despite noting that they are acknowledged as in-country for other reasons. Moreover, they may be identified as relatable to other groups of precarious workers – migrants workers and so on – yet discussions apparently fall short to elaborate on them in particular or address aspects of their role as tourists in contributing to precarity.

5 Work & Holiday

While motivations for partaking a working holiday are discussed prior, my research was intent in examining pragmatic perceptions, priorities, and activities towards “work”, “holiday”, and “working holiday” in the context of a working holiday in Australia. The goal of such was to look further as to how working holiday makers (WHMs) may in fact be precarious in part to their own attitudes of work when undertaking the activity, beyond a strong empirical connection. In order to examine such perceptions, it is necessary to look at sociological theory of two arenas that encompass a “working holiday” – work and holidaymaking, or tourism to be exact.

5.1 Work

The chief puzzling aspect of the concept of a working holiday would have to be the “work” portion – what kind of work do people do on a holiday and if on a holiday, why are they working? This was a predominant angle of query presented to interviewees, yet before discussing their responses, and my own perspectives as a participant, theory regarding the sociology of work must be discussed as such is the nature and relevance of this dissertation toward academic research.

5.1.1 Brief History of Work

Ancient Greece & Rome

In ancient Greece and Rome, the chief mode of production entailed agriculture cultivations, and in relations of production, slavery played an important role. Before the classical era, in Homeric society, facets of culture and work were not removed from each other, thus, no distinct word that might correspond with current meanings of "work" existed (Nieminen 2010; Applebaum, 1992). However, in early Greek legends, heroes and gods were associated with work; the necessity for humans to work was incorporated into the religious philosophies and myths of the ancient world (Nieminen 2010; Applebaum 1992).

In contrast, during the later classical era, philosophers like Aristotle, who belonged to a miniscule portion of the population released from the necessity to perform physical work, seemingly placed no value on those who indeed did have to work (Applebaum 1992). As Vallas et al. write:

From the Greek point of view, those who were forced to toil out of sheer need were unfit to rule, for their souls would be ‘doubled up and spoiled.’ Only those free from such necessity, and who could enjoy the contemplation that unlimited leisure made possible, could cultivate the habit needed to rule in a wise and effective manner (2009, 67).

Nevertheless, the question of how people who did have to work viewed themselves is not easily answered, because little evidence remains from that era that does not, for the most part, refer to the elite. Interestingly though, evidence of occupationally related self-worth or pride can be seen amongst epitaph’s on grave markers (Nieminen 2010; Applebaum 1992).

Regardless, agriculture was the cornerstone for households and families as it was the basis for meals and supplied product for trade. Much of the Greek or Roman economy was supported by slavery; they provided the backbone and muscles needed to perform much of the labour that allowed these societies to

further the evolvement of society (Nieminen 2010; Applebaum 1992; see also Grint 2005). As a slave society, ancient Greece was marked by two social institutions: the *oikos* or household, and the *polis* or political realm of government (Vallas et al. 2009, 67). As Vallas et al. write:

In the Greek worldview, the only honourable forms of work were those that equipped one to participate in the polis. Autonomous work within one's oikos, such as the cultivation of one's land, met this moral test. But farming was the only manual activity that the ancient Greeks found admirable. Mere toil, undertaken out of economic necessity, was viewed as a degrading activity that ill equipped one to participate in the polis; such work was deemed worthy only of a slave. Physical toil was thus viewed with great disdain and as a debilitating involvement that prevented the individual from acquiring the virtues required of all proper citizens. (2009, 67)

Although slaves, in general, belonged to a master of some sort, there still existed differences between categories of slaves:

- Slaves in Sparta, known as Helots, belonged to the state instead of individuals.
 - Many slaves worked on large farms, mines, or workshops and in deplorable conditions
 - Some slaves worked as teachers, servants or even doctors.
 - Some slaves even owned their own slaves
- (Nieminen 2010; Applebaum 1992).

Essentially, slaves undertook the same activities those who were born free and some freed slaves even managed to attain social status and power in imperial Rome (Applebaum 1992).

Like slaves, it is impossible to generalize about the work of women. Woman's work depended on social position rather than simply on gender. For example, throughout the Homeric period, noble women were charged with performing tasks similar to those of slaves. Women also often appeared to have fairly powerful positions within their households as they were tasked with managing it. Less fortunate women often worked extra outside the home, yet often performed similar tasks to those done in their own households (Nieminen 2010; Applebaum

1992). Women also worked in inns or baths or as prostitutes in brothels, yet much about the social situation of poorer women is unknown although its possible to assume it was likely worse than the situations of some slaves who at minimum received food and shelter (Nieminen 2010; Applebaum 1992). For the most part, patriarchy reigned supreme in the ancient world, yet women in higher classes apparently held some power within their households or various professions (Nieminen 2010; Applebaum 1992).

The ancient Greeks also differentiated between characterizations of work and labour, as well as play and leisure, as Standing writes,

Those who did labour were non-citizens. Citizens did not do labour; they indulged in praxis, work in and around the home, with family and friends. It was “reproductive” activity, work done for its own sake, to strengthen personal relationships, to be combined with public participation in the life of the community. Their society was inequitable by our standards, particularly in the treatment of women. But they understood why it was ridiculous to measure everything in terms of labour (2010, 13).

This differentiation is interesting to point out in that there appeared to be socially accepted understanding of differences in classical times, yet these lines may be more so blurred in contemporary discussions.

Middle Ages

In the Middle Ages, the primary mode of production, like in ancient times, was agriculture, and feudalism and craft guilds dominated relations of production (Applebaum 1992). The guild system from this period would eventually serve as the origins and development of trade unions in some countries (Grint 2005, 68) and their established rules would eventually shape how commerce would proceed in some historical cases (Vallas et al. 2009, 69). Throughout the middle ages, the vast majority of people lived in small villages in the countryside, the basic societal social units of the time. Before foreign invasions into Europe occurred, peasants most likely either owned or rented their land, yet after invaders arrived, peasants sought protection and safety from the nobility. Protection was given in exchange

for loyalty and obligatory servitude for the king (Nieminen 2010; Applebaum 1992).

Whereas the Greeks had valued a life free from toil, where leisure and philosophical observation were superior activities, by the early medieval times, such activities had, "...been redefined as a sinful tendency that was repugnant in the eyes of God" (Vallas et al. 2009, 67). Religion at this time purported that the king possessed all land, presented to him and his descendants from God, yet he divided out parcels of it to other nobles in return for allegiance and military support. Land was also portioned off to the church, who maintained public belief that the king's land was god gifted. Nobles and aristocrats allocated their land to peasants and commoners, while controlling local municipal administrative powers, local militias, and other relations within their jurisdiction or village (Applebaum 1992; Nieminen 2010). Peasants and their families were often obliged to work for the local noble or lord, providing tribute through the products of their work, whether food or craft. There was little need for trade in villages as work life was primarily communal; craftsmen such as blacksmiths, carpenters, bakers, and so on all provided enough services or product to meet local demand (Applebaum 1992; Nieminen 2010; Grint 2005). Work and life were intertwined, with the yearly seasons providing a natural cycle for work patterns to follow; life was considered somewhat peaceful. Within towns, craft guilds controlled the production of craft workers, and regulated the activities of craftsmen; training, legal matters, and trading standards were administered by guilds. Guilds would eventually evolve into autocratic entities that hindered social change, attempting to influence medieval political and social life by manipulating commerce and facilitating relations between nobles and the state (Nieminen 2010; Applebaum 1992).

With the rise of villages and towns came the rise of religious buildings to spiritually support Communities. Churches and cathedrals were often very elaborate constructions, which required highly skilled craftsmen. Such skilled work offered insight to perspectives of work at this time. As Applebaum points out,

Theophilus, a tenth-century German Benedictine monk, in his book *De diversis artibus*, ...argues for the value of manual labour and craftsmanship... Theophilus finds pleasure as well as edification in craftsmanship considering it "sweet and delightful" to practice the various arts and to communicate this pleasure to others through the creation of beautiful objects (1992, 313).

Not only were the constructions of beautiful crafts seen as valuable, the act of labour was seen as paramount as well; “Christian theologians such as Saint Augustine warned against idleness, arguing that ‘only those who labour and produce an excess of goods can be in a position to practice charity rather than to receive it’ (Ovitt 1986, 492)” (Vallas et al 2009, 68)

During the medieval times, women, like in Ancient times, often bore the responsibility of maintenance of the household. Despite women sometimes undertaking similar work s men and being allowed to join guilds, most authoritative positions and posts of power were still patriarchal in nature (Applebaum 1992; Nieminen 2010).

Modern Times

In modern times, the principal mode of production was the increase of industry and services, and in regards to relations of production, an increased importance was placed on wage work (Nieminen 2010; Applebaum 1992; Vallas et al. 2009).

Modern times are often identified primarily with the evolution of the process of industrialization, which began in the cotton and wool industries in Italy and Flanders, and thereafter England. Initially, these industries were home based, incorporating the “putting out” system where employers provided workers with materials and tools to produce goods at home; “In such cottage industries, workers earned piece rates and were paid upon the completion of finished good for the merchant, who then brought them to market (Vallas et al. 2009, 70). This changed when companies consolidated workers into manufacturing centres or buildings, rather than an individual’s home. The consolidation of work standards had also transferred from guilds to the state; “The state’s control of working arrangements was considerable: it acted through justices of the peace and through legislative controls to set wages and conditions and intervened extensively in a mercantilist fashion to protect and promote native industries” (Grint 2005, 49). Machinery was still powered by human energy at this time, yet with the invention of the steam engine, manufacturers were able to more greatly diversify the division of labour and the automatize production processes. Consequently, production outputs grew

tremendously compared to previous modes of operation. Modernization not only occurred in the industrialized arena, but in agriculture as well which progresses with the invention of new farming technologies and tools (Applebaum 1992; Vallas et al. 2009).

At the beginning of the 19th century, a social movement in England called the “Luddites” opposed industrialization, attempting to preserve traditional production and manufacturing methods in the cotton industry (Grint 2005, 51-52). Obviously their opposition did not prevail evident by the industrialized world we live in today, however, their view when looked at from a counter perspective do not position them necessarily as enemies of progress. Their opposed position points out the importance of listening to workers who are ultimately those most closely effected in work situation by the introduction of new technologies. In a way, Luddites were social critics of industrialization and questioned new technology rather than accepting outright because of the simple result of increased production. It can be suggested that if their views had been given more public attention, some of the negative effects of industrialization evident today could have potentially been avoided (Vallas et al. 2009, 72-75; Grint 2005, 51-52; Nieminen 2010). This thought continues today in that discussions concerning the effects of new technologies on workers and work environments, not providing companies with an unquestioned ability to implement technologies and standards (Grint 2005, 51-52; Nieminen 2010).

Modern Work

In today’s contemporary world, work is very much related to the various and diverse components of modern social order, and can be identified when acknowledging such phenomena. For example, Nieminen identifies:

- A. Cultural modernization:
 - a. Continuous cultural change from generation to generation, increasing amount of information.
 - b. General education for all.

- c. Religion's role has diminished; it has been largely replaced with modern "rationality".
- d. Modern philosophy of history stresses the linear character of time, and history is often seen as evolution of human progress (compare with attitudes concerning technical development).
- e. Position in the division of work defines in a substantial way individual's social identity.

B. Modernization of the mode of production:

- a. In industrial production a large number of machines are used and the production is constantly automatized.
- b. Modern societies use a lot of energy and natural resources.
- c. The amount of production has increased enormously.

C. Modernization of the relations of production:

- a. Workers have been separated from the ownership of the means of production.
- b. Structures of the production have changed enormously, the majority of working population has moved from the agriculture to the industry and services.
- c. The division of work has developed massively. In the middle ages there were perhaps a few dozens or a few hundreds of occupations, whereas the present classification of the British census lists about 20000 different occupations. The Finnish classification of occupations includes some 9000 diverse areas of activity.
- d. Women's participation to paid work has increased during the nineteenth century and part of the activities of households as, for instance, taking care of the children and the old has been transferred to the area of paid employment (so called, welfare state).

(Nieminen 2010).

Despite advances in technology and production processes, the contemporary world we live in is not uniform; varied and distinct cultures and regions still engage in different modes of production based on their historical development (Nieminen 2010; Applebaum 1992). An example of these different societies is outlined by Giddens (Figure 11):

Society Type	Period of Existence	Characteristics
First world societies	Eighteenth century to present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Based on industrial production and usually free enterprise. • Majority of people live in towns and cities, a few work in rural agricultural pursuits • Major class inequalities, though less pronounced than in traditional states • Distinct political communities or nation-states, including the nations of the West, Japan, Australia, or New Zealand
Second world societies	Early twentieth century (following the Russian Revolution of 1917) to the early 1990s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Based on industry, but the economic system is centrally planned • Small proportion of the population work in agriculture; most live in towns and cities • Mass class inequalities exist • Distinct political communities or nation-states • Until 1989, composed of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, but social and political changes began to transform them into free enterprise economic systems, according to the model of First World societies
Developing societies of "Third World societies"	Eighteenth century (mostly as colonized areas) to the present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority of the population work in agriculture, using traditional methods of production • Some agricultural produce sold on world markets • Some have free enterprise systems, others are centrally planned • Distinct political communities or nation-states, including Chin, India, and most African and South American nations
Newly industrialized societies	1970s to present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Former developing societies now based on industrial production and generally free enterprise • Majority of people live in towns and cities, a few work in agricultural pursuits • Major class inequalities, more pronounced than first world societies • Average per capita income considerably less than first world societies • Include Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, Brazil, and Mexico

Figure 11. Types of Societies (Giddens 2002, 41)

When looking at history of work as an abstract notion of particular human activity, which for contemporary humans is a self-evident conception, it is seen that it comes from historical evolutions in human society. "Work" as a distinct concept burgeoned from industrialization and modern capitalism in which aspects such as

“work time”, “work place”, “work clothes”, and so on, developed into relations of production (Nieminen 2010; Applebaum 1992). The history of work both demonstrates continuity and breaks in historical era at various levels of time:

- **The history of events:** refers to singular political and social events. At this level of historical perception, the reality of work seems to be constantly changing. Workers are hired and sacked. Firms are established and bankrupted; some of them move to China some disappear for good. New generations assume new ways of working and new attitudes concerning work.
- **The history of social and economic cycles:** divides into several tens of years. For instance, the "golden age" of capitalist growth from the 1950s to the 1970s was marked by similar kinds of structural developments in most of the countries of the industrialized "first world".
- **The history of long lasting (*longue durée*):** refers to those institutional phenomena that change very little over centuries or perhaps even thousands of years. For example, the division of work between sexes shows similarities from the ancient world until our times (development of the relations of production). The putting-out system of early industrialization has similarities with the present practices of "distant working" and Luddites stated questions concerning socially acceptable application of new techniques (development of modes of production). The perspective of the history of long lasting highlights the fact that even if forms of work show certain historical evolution just about all forms of work can be still found in our times.

(Nieminen 2010; see also Braudel 1980, 27-32)

Essentially, the concept of work varies across the world, as modes of production and relations of production are different from place to place, culture to culture (Nieminen 2010). While this covers a general history of work theory, the conceptual notion today is viewed from varying angles.

5.1.2 What is work?

To examine WHM perceptions of work and any particular motivations that could be considered unique toward this group, it is necessary to discuss existing perceptions of the concept at the most fundamental level - what is "work"? This is an age-old question that has generated many a different theory over time within, and outside, the field of sociology⁴⁹. Karl Marx has described work by stating, "So far therefore as labour is a creator of use-value, is useful labour, it is a necessary condition, independent of all forms of society, for the existence of the human race; it is an eternal nature-imposed necessity, without which there can be no material exchanges between man and Nature, and therefore no life" (Marx, 1873). Additionally, Anthony Giddens has put forth that,

We can define work, whether paid or unpaid, as being the carrying out of tasks requiring the expenditure of mental and physical effort, which has as its objective the production of goods and services that cater for human needs. An occupation, or job, is work that is done in exchange for regular wage or salary. In all cultures, work is the basis of the economy. The economic system consists of institutions that provide for the production and distribution of goods and services (Giddens 2002, 376).

Giddens further characterizes:

- Work offers wage and salary.
- Work offers activity, something to do.
- It provides different settings for activities.
- Work structures everyday time structures.
- It creates bases for several social relationships.
- Work offers a stable social identity

(Giddens 2002, 375)

⁴⁹ The theories included are an example of accepted academic definitions of work that bear relevance to the situation of working holiday makers and for the discussions that follow.

Keith Grint has put forth the notion that, "...In essence, work is a socially constructed phenomenon without fixed or universal meaning across space and time, but its meaning are delimited by the cultural forms in which it is practiced. Some cultures do not distinguish between work and non-work; others distinguish between work and leisure; still others by reference to employment as a particular category of work (2005, 42). Additionally, Pekkarinen & Sutela have given a more simplified view of, "work is paid employment" (Pekkarinen & Sutela 1996, as cited in Nieminen 2010). Such different definitions not only reflect different discipline perspectives towards the concept, but also time periods of writing. Whichever discipline or time era, it is noticeable that any definition of "work" incorporates some aspects of social and economic activity, and at the same time excludes others (Nieminen, 2010). As an example, Nieminen writes, "... if a definition of work is limited according to the needs of the capitalist economy the element of free expression of the human creativity is excluded from the realm of work. Hence, after defining work as paid employment within the capitalist economy it becomes difficult to raise questions about work as free expression of human skills and potentials" (2010). Further, defining work can be a challenged effort since the human activity associated to it bears correlation to the situational and social relations which coincide in the framework of analysis; whose "work", done where, for what purpose? Such questions are relevant in examining any given definition. Nieminen introduced the next figure (see Figure 12) to explain correlations between work and other human actions/activities in today's contemporary world.

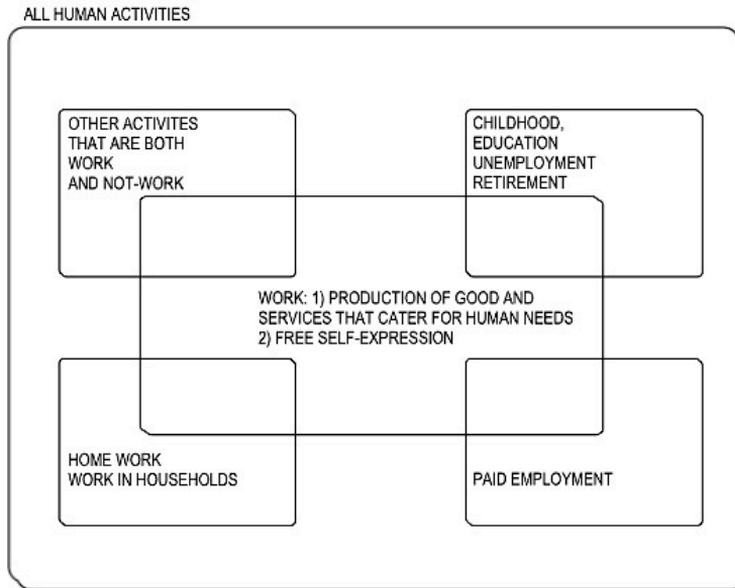


Figure 12. Correlations between work and activities (from Nieminen 2010)

As the figure demonstrates, this is a potential fundamental definition of work based on two premises: “the production of goods and services that cater for human needs and; work as free self-expression of human beings” (Nieminen 2010). While these core descriptions cover work as involving survival and creative behaviours, the concept still correlates through many links with other human social activities that can be viewed as both work or non-work, depending on whose “analytical glasses” are being looked through. As Grint writes,

Work tends to be an activity that transforms nature and is usually undertaken in social situations, but what exactly counts as work is dependent on the specific social circumstances under which such activities are undertaken and, critically, how these circumstances and activities are interpreted by those involved. Whether any particular activity is experienced as work or leisure or both or neither is intimately related to the temporal, spatial and cultural conditions in existence...we should consider the past and present definitions of work as symbols of cultures and especially as mirrors of power: if what counts as work is glorified or despised or gender-related, then the language and practice of work allows us to read embodied fragments of wider social power. (2005 6-7)

Parry et al. suggest that, "...traditional sociological explorations of work tended to equate it with full-time waged employment" (2005, 8) and that this continuation in belief comes from a viewpoints and backgrounds in economics and industrial sociology (Parry et. al 2005). The emergence of this association, as pointed out by Glucksmann (1995), in disciplinary boundaries within academia has reflected the industrial separation of institutions as work, with issues of labour monetization and quantification at the core, became the focus of traditional economics (Parry et. al 2005; Taylor 2004). Consequently, work was discussed primarily across poles of unpaid versus paid labour, and public versus private domains (Parry et. al. 2005; Taylor 2004; Glucksmann 1995; see Figure 13).

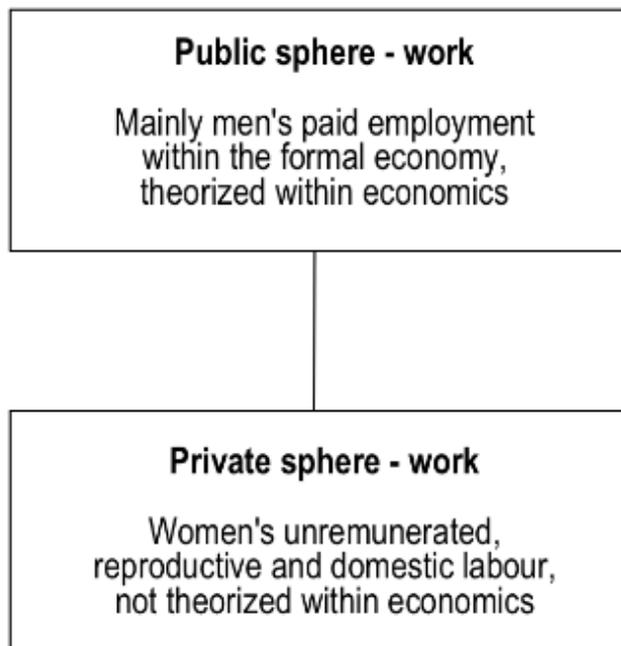


Figure 13. Public and private work (Taylor 2004, 32)

These generalizations have constricted the definition of work as one of two scenarios; paid work in the public sphere or unpaid domestic labour in the private sphere, a trend which still continues to play a reoccurring theme within the discipline (Parry et. al. 2005; Taylor 2004). Other types of work, such as informal, voluntary, illegal, or community work, have more often then not been excluded

from academic discussions, although discussed in research (Parry et. al. 2005; Taylor 2004).

In re-conceptualizing traditional notions of “work”, Taylor purports that,

What constitutes an activity as work, as opposed to something else such as leisure, is not whether it is paid but whether it involves the provision of a service to others or the production of goods for the consumption of others. Further ‘an activity is only deemed productive if it can be performed by a third person, someone other than the one benefiting’ (Hakim, 1996: 23). However, equally important in exploring the question of what constitutes work, is Glucksmann’s point (1995, 2000) that it is necessary to look at work as activities taking place in different spheres, embedded in, and defined by particular social relations, and connected to one another through the organization of social structures. She proposes a conceptual device ‘the total social organization of labour’ (TSOL) that illuminates ‘the manner by which all the labour in a particular society is divided up between and allocated to different structures, institutions and activities’ (2000: 67)” (2004, 38).

Thus a re-conceptualized notion of work could look something like this (Figure 14):

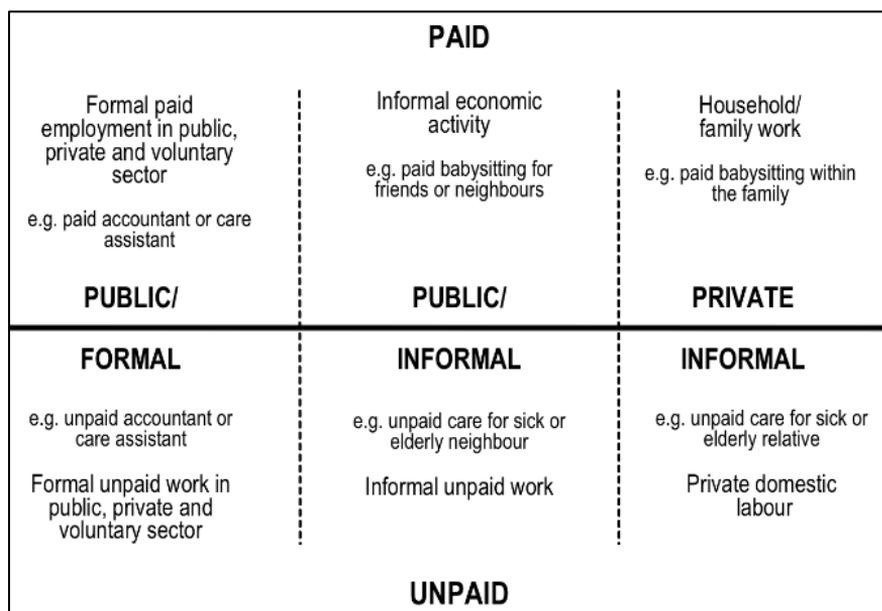


Figure 14. A framework for the organization of labour (Taylor 2004, 39)

But what about the view of work from WHMs? What is their perspective on “work” that results in the behaviour of being up for working tough jobs for low wages or for free in a foreign country as a tourist, as previously discussed? What is “work” to them? Is it about making ends meet or simply supporting their travels? Is there a creative aspect to it or variation between public and private spheres? With such traditional and more recent re-conceptualizations of analysis, studying the perceptions of WHMs may demonstrate that perceptions of work can effect situations of precariousness as this research is intent on investigating, as the work of WHMs is done within the traditional notion of work’s opposite – a holiday.

5.2 Holiday

Like examining the concept of work in a rudimentary premise, so to is the relevance of doing the same with a “holiday” for WHMs. According to the Oxford Dictionaries online, a “holiday” refers to, “...an extended period of leisure and recreation, especially one spent away from home or in travelling” (OD, 2013). While the first half of this explanation could incorporate activities of leisure, or pleasure, the latter half eludes more so to activity of travel, or tourism. In many ways, both are related; tourism is in fact a type of leisure (see Urry 2002). However, tourism and leisure are still seen, for some, as noticeably different (Duncan 2007). Distinguishing between the two, studies about travellers, tourists, and backpackers generally examine leisure activities pursued away from home environments, whereas leisure studies focus on those activities, similar or different, pursued in home or personal areas (Duncan 2007, 11). Such is the case, as a “working holiday” in Australia is an activity actively marketed through tourism mediums promoting international travel, directly correlating to the “holiday” half of the phrase, it is pertinent that theoretical background elaborate on a “holiday” within the arena of tourism. And as a “working holiday” in the context of this study is undertaken by international working tourists who embark on extended period of travel throughout another country, or countries, supplemented by short term work, it is logical to look at the development of tourism beginning from the great journeys of long-ago, and discuss their evolution and related tourism typologies in relation to backpacker travel, as this label often incorporates WHMs in the Australia context.

Despite tourism sometimes being viewed as a contemporary practice with roots beginning in the 20th century, it does, notably, have quite a long history. This history, however, in historical practice was limited to those of wealth and noble title who had the luxury and freedom to pursue such activities (See Rojek and Urry, 1997; Urry, 2002; Hill, 2002). During the two centuries of peace established by the Rome Empire, a traveling infrastructure was developed that enabled voyage from the Euphrates to Hadrian’s Wall without travellers ever having to leave Roman controlled lands (Urry, 2002, 4). Although such a journey in those times would hardly be comparable to traveling by todays standards, a travellers journey was still a search for something different, as Feifer puts it, men were, “...fickle, tired of soft

living, and always seeking after something which eludes them” (Feifer, 1985; cited in Urry, 2002, 4). By the thirteenth century, pilgrimages became an extensive practice for those of wealth, and often were journeys of combined pursuits of culture, pleasure, and religious devotion (Urry 2003, 4). For many, a pilgrimage served as a *rites de passage* and was often comprised of three stages. As Urry explains,

First, social and spatial separation from the normal place of residence and conventional social ties; second, liminality, where the individual finds him/herself in an ‘anti-structure...out of time and place’ – conventional social ties are suspended, an intensive bonding ‘*communitas*’ is experienced, and there is a direct experience of the sacred or supernatural; and third, reintegration, where the individual is reintegrated with the previous social group, usually at a higher social status (2002, 11.)

According to Hindley, the first incidence of a “package tour” most likely occurred in the mid fifteenth century, with the development of planned passages to the Holy Land that included meals and admission to important holy places (1983, XX). In Venice, during this time period as well, entrepreneurs saw pilgrim traffic as an opportunity for revenue and joined efforts in creating a unique department of state to oversee the wellbeing of travellers. This department employed twelve full-time guides that were paid reasonable wages, prohibited from taking tips, conducted sightseeing tours, and assisted travellers with finding accommodation (Hindley 1983, 28-29). These guides provided a needed service as, just like in modern times, pilgrims were susceptible to fraud and deception. Those without possession of proper guide books or who merely followed other travellers were often sold counterfeit relics, give false information concerning holy places, and, in general, often cheated or taken advantage of (Hindley, 1983, 32). Academic study of pilgrimages has demonstrated its linkage with modern forms of tourism, showing that practices, although evolving over time, have often had core common denominators in various aspects of travel (see for instance Urry, 2002 and Cohen, 1988). This rings true in that working holiday trips to Australia are indeed sold as package trips by travel agencies, where the procurement of a visa, a flight, first nights accommodation, and job search assistance – amongst other services – are offered in form of package. As Australia is a country whose settlement and evolution into a nation-state occurred primarily in the 19th and 20th centuries, it is

pertinent to fast forward and discuss the development of tourism closer to these periods, and after, which serve as the basis for many forms of travel still in practice today.

The origins of modern tourism can quite possibly be derived from the same roots as where the phrase “tourism” itself comes from - *The Grand Tours* (Ingils 2000, 14). *The Grand Tour* - the first modern notion of a holiday – came about in the second half of 18th century as armed conflict and war in Europe came to an end, if only temporarily, with the treaties signed at the Peace of Paris in 1763⁵⁰ (Hill 2002, 77). During this time, an increase in holidaymaking became common practice amongst the wealthy and privileged (Veblen 1994, XX). As Urry notes, “The Grand Tour had become firmly established by the end of the seventeenth century for the sons of the aristocracy and the gentry, and by the late eighteenth century for the sons of the professional middle class” (2002, 4). The original endeavour of the “Grand Tour” was to, “...prepare young gentlemen for diplomatic careers...” and therefore, there was a necessity for such individuals to have an understanding of other European people and places (Hibbert 1987, Harkin, 1995). Such travels were also seen as an opportunity to increase one’s worldliness, sophistication and social capital (Aitchison et al, 2000, 32; Loker-Murphy and Pearce 1995, 820). As Hill writes, this, “...life-enhancing experience for wealthy and largely aristocratic men and women...” (2002, 77) enabled them to come face-to-face with the amazing structures and artistic treasures of cultures different from their own. Even though some aristocrats had hardly even explored their own country, travels abroad brought more excitement and perceptions of higher social status (Aitchison et al. 2000, 32).

Craik identifies two stages of the *Grand Tour*, the first of which is labelled as “the age of reading and speaking” and the second as “the age of observation” (1997, 119). The first stage involved the interaction of travellers with guides, locals, and other travellers, whereas the latter stage saw wayfarers learning by gazing upon, “...the vistas and splendour of continental culture” (Craik 1997, 119; see also Adler, 1985). As Hill puts it, a *Grand Tour* provided “...nourishment of the intellect...” and emboldened, “...nature’s invigoration of the soul” (Hill 2002, 78). Motivations for undertaking a Grand Tour diversified as centuries changed. While

⁵⁰ Ingils dates the beginning of the Grand Tour ‘quite precisely from 1763’ (2000, 14).

there was the purported intent of seeking knowledge, refinement and intercultural experience, these aspirations were sometimes abandoned in search of more hedonistic pleasures, or as Craik writes, "...contemporary accounts record less serious motivations and indecorous behaviour on the part of some of these travellers" (1997, 119). Inglis echoes this idea – he writes,

Their reasons for going where they went were scholarly and historical: they went to Italy to see classical antiquity. Or they were aesthetic: they went to Rome and Florence to admire the great buildings and paintings. Or they were cultivatedly acquisitive: the collectors bought for their collections. Or they were healthful: ... they took the horrible-tasting waters for the sake of their skin or their digestion and because Germany was more daring than Scarborough. Or they went for sex: they went, like Boswell so ardently did, to indulge what was, in his case, an unslakeable sexual appetite and they did so because, well, on the Grand Tour as a young blade, anything goes. It was hard to damage a reputation in foreign parts (2000,16).

Essentially, a Grand Tour was, "...an education of the feelings..." in which occurred a, "...jumble for desire - desire for the good, the true and the beautiful inextricably mixed with the desire for the forbidden fruits of freedom, ecstasy, excess," (Inglis, 2000, 23).

Mass tourism is more a product of the nineteenth century, having come about with the introduction of railways, and changes in the legislation of holiday pay and work week hours (Hill, 2002; see Inglis 2000). In England, Thomas Cook is often credited with helping develop mass tourism when, in 1841, he began offering chartered train services between Leicester and Loughborough (Inglis 2000, 47). The maiden trip of his chartered service took travellers to a temperance social event in the dry town of Loughborough (Hindley 1983, 211). This first journey was not intended as a profit-making initiative, however, after its success, Cook introduced services to other destinations, such as New Brighton in 1845, Glasgow in 1846, and London in 1851 (Inglis 2000, 47; Hindley 1983, 212). The London services provided citizens an opportunity to see the Great Exhibition and the tours were so popular that around 165,000 people made the journey, thus demonstration the success of this type of package tour (Hindley 1983, 212).

In 1855, Cook expanded his tour service to include travel across continental Europe to the Paris Exhibition. The tour travelled to Paris by way of Brussels, Cologne, Heidelberg, Baden-Baden, and Strasbourg (Hindley 1983; Inglis 2002). The launch of continental European tours by Cook was very popular with women as it was a new opportunity for single women to travel alone and un-chaperoned. So popular were they in fact, men were often outnumbered by women on these tours (Urry, 2002: 24). By 1869, Cook's tours had grown to include cruises to the Nile, and in 1871, Australia and New Zealand were included in Cook's round-the-world tour. Despite its offer, the tour abandoned Australia from the route as not many seemed interested in the destination initially. A trip that traversed the globe was realistically only affordable to those in the upper classes and with the time needed to travel all the way to Australia and New Zealand, they were not considered "exotic" enough due to their English roots. Keep in mind that convictism was only slowly ceasing around this time with the last contingent of convicts arriving to Western Australia in 1868 (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 1-2). Although Cook's had initially failed at attracting British adventurers to head to Australia, they took a different approach in 1887 by establishing a travel office in Melbourne, seeking entry into the Australian tourism market by offering services within and away from Australia. More offices popped up in Brisbane and Adelaide by 1892. Cooks offered tourists access to their extensive network of worldwide travel services, offering package deals that included fare for travel by both rail and steamer (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 59-63).

By 1919, "Thomas Cook" had become a well-known family business selling not only tour packages and cruises, but airline tickets as well (Duncan 2007, 18-19). Cook considered tourism as available for everyone, not merely for the rich; he claimed, "...it is too late in this day of progress to talk such exclusive nonsense ... railways and steamboats are the results of the common light of science, and are for the people ... The best of men, and the noblest of minds, rejoice to see the people follow in their fore trod routes of pleasure" (quoted in Feifer 1985, 168-169). By the 1870s, mass tourism had taken hold, aided by Cook's tour packages and excursions, and travellers from the middle classes were following the Grand Tour routes of the past throughout Europe. The lower classes in the UK were also taking part as railway excursions to holiday seaside resorts, such as Blackpool on the Irish Sea, were within their means of purchase. As a result, social standing in terms of travel was now based on different classes of traveller - replacing the previous divide based solely on wealth (Urry 1990, 16). Despite such development

in accessibility in travel in the UK, the age of mass tourism had not yet arrived to Australia; the continent was still too distant from the rest of the world in 1900 to welcome international tourists in great hoards and domestic tourism would not grow significantly until workers leave conditions improved further throughout the 20th century, domestically and abroad (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 28-41)

Mass tourism is now a widespread phenomena embraced throughout North America, Europe, and most other regions of the globe, including Australia. As Urry writes, “To be a tourist is one of the characteristics of the ‘modern’ experience. Not to ‘go away’ is like not possessing a car or a nice house. It has become a marker of status in modern societies and is also thought to be necessary for good health” (Urry 2002, 3-4). While a “working holiday” can be viewed as a form of mass travel regarding the marketing of the activity and the number of young people around the globe who journey for extended periods occasionally working along the way has increased in scale both numerically and worldwide (Wilson et al. 2010, 4), which will be discussed later, it’s very much associated with youth travel, in particular “backpackers” as one of the by-products from the evolution of the *Grand Tour* and rise of mass tourism, progressing from the 18th century into the 20th century is a particular arena of travel focused toward the youth market, or young adults.

In recent years, youth travel is often associated with terms such as a “gap year” travel or “backpacker“ travel. “Gap Year” typically references extended periods of travel undertaken by UK youth that take place between matriculation from high school and beginning university studies and can last anywhere from 3 to 24 months, even if the phrase infers a year of travel (Jones 2004, 24-25; Duncan 2007). This “Gap Year” can often include a leg of ones journey in Australia with a WHV, as one of the largest nationalities of WHMs is indeed participants who obtain a WHV with UK passports; nearly 192,000 WHVs were granted to UK applicants between 2007 and 2012 (DIAC 2012). A similar concept of the “Gap Year” in the context of New Zealand youth is the “OE” or Overseas Experience, which is a distinct cultural phenomenon of working holidays abroad for young Kiwis. As Wilson et al. describe,

Over time, the OE has become a cultural icon in New Zealand and going on an OE has become part of the social norm. The OE is considered a rite of passage, offering participants a liminal period within which they have the opportunity to experiment across many aspects of their lives (Jamieson, 1996; Bell, 2002; Wilson, 2006). In accordance with this conceptualization as a rite of passage and with working holiday visa regulations, the OE is usually undertaken by those aged in their 20s, before long-term commitments are made to partners, starting families or establishing careers. While the principal reason for going on an OE is to travel, the distance travelled and a typical OE duration of three years makes work whilst on OE a necessity. Working while away extends the OE beyond the normal boundaries of holiday travel and allows participants a degree of immersion in other cultures not typically experienced by tourists (2010, 4-5).

Similar to the Gap Year, the OE offers young travellers from these countries opportunities to spend time abroad traveling before beginning larger responsibilities, such as careers or university, and the ability to work while on such endeavours potentially enables them to occur. However, as this research involves a wider scope than, but does include, travellers from the UK or other nationalities who pursue working holidays beyond Kiwis, it is more pertinent to elaborate on “backpacker” travel as this phrase’s context in contemporary Australia will specifically come up in discussion later on.

Beginning with backpacker travel, its emergence over time from the *Grand Tour* days has attempted to be explained by Loker-Murphy and Pearce’s (1995) diagram of the origins of backpacker travel (see Figure 15). One arena in which this chart does not expand on the pursuit of work by young persons while simultaneously pursuing travel for leisure, as opposed to traveling as a means to finding work.

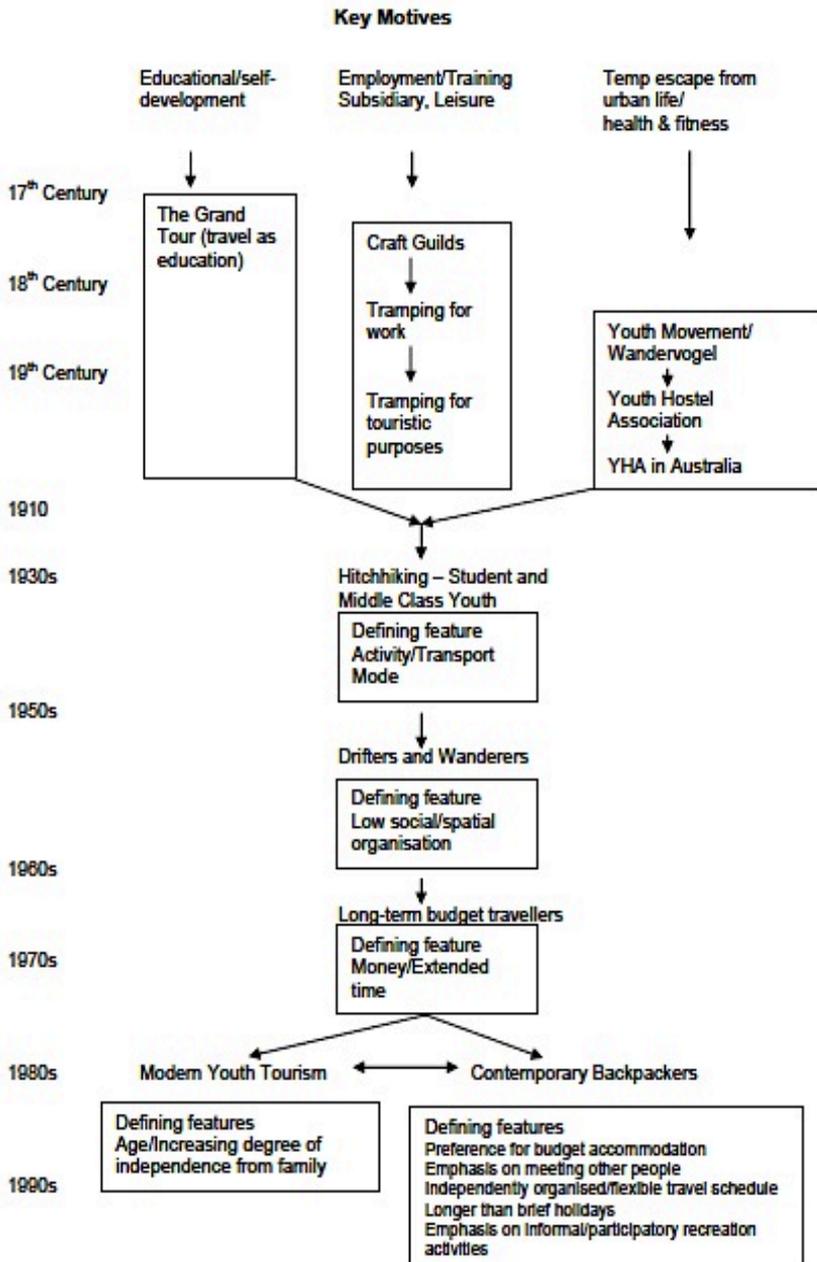


Figure 15. The Backpacker Phenomenon: An Evolutionary Framework (Loker-Murphy and Pearce 1995, 821)

Regardless, the diagram is merely a starting point in which to continue presenting youth and backpacker travel and as the latter half of the 20th century has been more instrumental in terms of the development of this form of travel, emphasis will lie in this time period. However, as a forerunner to youth travel, Adler proposes that “tramping”, which was a labour associated type of travel in which working class men followed seasonal routes in search of work, led to the development of such in the later 20th century (see Adler, 1985; Loker-Murphy and Pearce, 1995). In “tramping”, young men honed and perfected a trade by traveling as a part of their employment search, which in turn helped develop their skill. Such travel apparently peaked in the 19th century but was also practiced up to the post-war years after the First World War (Adler 1985; Loker-Murphy and Pearce 1995; O’Reilly 2004a). Tramping seemed to disappear as an employment aspect of the travel and morphed into a purely tourism related activity (O’Reilly 2004a, 1; see also Adler 1985). This work aspect of tramping is interesting in that it shows a historical foundation in which work and travel were combined in the past and then was diluted to just travel. In the context of the working holiday activity this research examines, it is a renewed transformation into work and travel combined, albeit with a more tourism-centric focus on the marketing of such activity and perhaps a wider global spectrum in which it can be practiced due to reciprocal “working holiday” visa or bilateral agreements between countries.

Beyond tramping, youth organizations such as the YMCA and YWCA, both founded in the UK in 1844 and 1855 respectively, are also influential in the history of youth travel. Likewise, the *Wandervogel* in Germany played a similar role. All of these organizations promoted travel through the countryside as a way for one to escape the roughness of urban settings in the early 20th century (Desforges, 1997b; Loker-Murphy and Pearce 1995, 822). Such exploration by youth led to the establishment of the YHA – Youth Hostel Association – in Germany in 1910, an association still very much around today, active in numerous countries around the world, arriving to Australia in 1939 (Loker-Murphy and Pearce 1995, 822-823; YHA 2013). Hampton notes that, “In the inter-war period, initially in Europe, there was the emergence of affordable youth hostels and other youth movements which were often linked to outdoor leisure pursuits such as hill walking. These initiatives allowed more affordable youth travel between the wars” (2013, 6). Youth hostels play an important part in backpacker travel and regarding this research, are a major accommodation provider for those who undertake working holidays in Australia. Whereas these entities may have focused primarily on travel related

services in the past, in Australia today, many hostels also offer services related to employment intent on attracting WHMs, another aspect which will be discussed later.

Moving into the latter half of the 20th century, the research of Eric Cohen is, "...perhaps a more direct precursor of at least some of today's backpacker travel" (O'Reilly, 2004a, 1). Cohen's work presented discussion on different types of "hippie" travel and labels such as "drifter" as stereotypes of backpacker-*esque* travellers. His drifter was defined as the, "...most individualistic and least institutionalized type..." of tourist that, "...ventures furthest away from the beaten track ..." (Cohen, 1973, 89). This "least institutionalized" refers to his typology of tourism, which consisted of institutionalized and non-institutionalized forms of tourism (see Figure 16). Institutionalized tourism incorporated travel undertaken by organized mass tourists and individual mass tourists, the former described as the least adventurous, having an entire trip or journey fastidiously planned by a tour agent. Individual mass tourists were not joined to a group, thus having some control over their journeys yet normally did not venture far off the "beaten track". Non-institutionalized tourists involved explorers, "...who, whilst arranging their own itineraries and getting off the beaten track, still preferred reliable and comfortable accommodations and means of transport" (Duncan 2007, 51). The other half of this category, the drifter, was distinguished as the "most individualistic and least institutionalized type" (Cohen, 1973, 89). Cohen described the drifter as, "...the type of tourist [who] ventures furthest away from the beaten track ...", portrayed as, "...predominantly a child of affluence on a prolonged moratorium from adult, middle-class responsibilities, seeking spontaneous experiences in the excitement of complete strangeness" (Cohen 1973, 89), and who pays his/her way as they immerse themselves into local culture. As Duncan writes "It is the drifter that is often seen as the original backpacker, with iconic literary texts such as James Michener's (1971) 'The Drifters' and Jack Kerouac's (1957) 'On the Road' still inspiring young budget travellers today" (2007, 52).

<p>The organised mass tourist Low on adventurousness he/she is anxious to maintain his/her 'environmental bubble' on the trip. Typically purchasing a ready-made package tour off-the-shelf, he/she is guided through the destination having little contact with local culture or people</p>	<p>Institutionalised tourism Dealt with routinely by the tourism industry – tour operators, travel agents, hoteliers and transport operators</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Familiarity</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Novelty</p>
<p>The individual mass tourist Similar to the above but more flexibility and scope for personal choice is built in. However, the tour is still organised by the tourism industry and the environmental bubble shields him/her from the real experience of the destination</p>		
<p>The explorer The trip is organised independently and is looking to get off the beaten track. However, comfortable accommodation and reliable transport are sought and, while the environmental bubble is abandoned on occasion, it is there to step in if things get tough.</p>	<p>Non-institutionalised tourism Individual travel, shunning contact with the tourism industry except where absolutely necessary/</p>	
<p>The drifter All connections with the tourism industry are spumed and the trip attempts to get as far from home and familiarity as possible. With no fixed itinerary, the drifter lives with the local people, paying his/her way and immersing him/herself in their culture</p>		

Figure 16. Cohen's typologies of tourists (adaptation of Cohen 1972, from Duncan 2007, 52; see also Boniface and Cooper, 1997)

The drifter spurned popular touristic enterprises, inspired instead by a preference for local culture, with the 1960s seeing the practice of a “New” grand tour and resurgence in destinations and journeys once visited in the past (Alderson, 1971 cited in Loker-Murphy & Pearce, 1995, 820). Vogt expanded on Cohen’s “drifter”, offering the name “wanderers” instead to replace the seedy connotation potentially inferred by the former (Duncan 2007, 53). According to Vogt, Wanderers,

...are embarking upon a quest of personal growth – learning about and understanding themselves, other people, and other cultures. The travel experience is seen as providing the necessary challenges and opportunities to expand oneself in areas valued by adventurous youth: independence, adaptability, resourcefulness, open-mindedness to name but a few (1976, 28).

Either way, Cohen's drifters or Vogt's Wanderers continued to travel throughout the 1970s, yet seemingly faltered with the end of the hippie era and the Cold War of the 1980s saw a decrease in access to popular travel via overland traveller routes through Asia, commonly known as the "hippy trail" (see Hampton 2013), due to dangerous environments. This reduction, in combination with the economic downturn of the era, restricted this type of travel for international youth in the early 1980s. However, in the late 1980s, youth travel began to pick up with many destinations in Southeast Asia re-emerging as popular tourist hot-spots (Duncan 2007, 23; O'Reilly, 2004a). Around this time, however, young travellers who embarked on extended period of travel had lost some of the characteristics associated with Cohen's drifters, emerging more so as solo travellers that are "...educated, European, middle-class, single, obsessively concerned with budgeting his/her money, and at a juncture in life' (Riley 1988, 313; Duncan 2007). Moving into the 1990's, literature involving long-term international travel by youth began incorporating a new label, "backpacker", first being used in academic literature in 1990 (Duncan 2007; Pearce 1990). Since then, this label has often dominated studies of, what Riley called "international long-term budget travellers" (1988), moving beyond such an elongated description to incorporate a shortened, easier, phrase to identify such (O'Reilly 2006, 999; Duncan 2007, 25). This phrase is claimed, in fact to have been, and still is, "...well-known and accepted by the tourism industry, travellers and the community" (Loker-Murphy and Pearce 1995, 819), and is still prevalent in more recent studies (Power 2010; Allon et al. 2008a; Adkins and Grant 2007).

As observed during previous travels in Australia and echoed in the recent fieldwork done, WHMs are for the most part, today, and in a very generalized sense very often bundled by Australian society and media into this category of "backpacker" (see Central Western Daily 2013; Sunyraysia 2013; The Age 2008; The Herald Sun 2007; Sydney Morning Herald 2009; Sydney Morning Herald 2012; and much more)⁵¹. This label is something that will be discussed much later in the dissertation as it provides a great insight into perceived precariousness of study

⁵¹ Media titles include: "Backpackers head our way"; "Record number of backpackers receive working holiday visas"; "We rely on Backpacker: Gaeta"; "Hopping Mad: Backpackers fume over broken promise of fruit-picking work"; "Blitz on working holiday visa scam". This is just an example, as many more exist.

group, but before this can be done, it is necessary to discuss studies of backpackers and briefly discuss attempts to identify what or whom exactly a “backpacker” is.

5.2.1 Backpackers

With regards to characterizing backpackers in a socio-demographic category they are chiefly young people in age range of 15-25 (Locker-Murphy and Pearce, 1995; Sørensen, 2003). However, this is merely an age range, and an acknowledged dilemma within academia to accurately categorize backpackers exists. Carr (2006) notes that the ability to take, “...backpacker research forward is undermined by the lack of a clear definition of what a ‘backpacker’ actually is” (2006). Looking at activity, Sørensen identifies backpackers as, “... a group seen as self organized pleasure tourists on a prolonged multiple destination journey with a flexible itinerary, extended beyond that which it is usually possible to fit into a cyclical holiday pattern” (2003, 851). Such descriptives follow preferences for seeking budget accommodation, participation in informal recreation activities, and an importance on meeting both locals and other travellers (Locker-Murphy and Pearce 1995, 830-831). Murphy adds to this stating that backpackers are, “...young and budget-minded tourists” (2001, 50-51). According to Ateljevic and Doorne, the phrase “backpacker” has, “...become synonymous with a travel style that emphasizes freedom and mobility” (2004, 60). Uriely found that that backpackers formed a mixed group with regard to the diversity of justifications and values attached to personal travel experiences, however, they also appeared to embrace – collectively - a common denominator in commitment to a non-institutionalized travel, and this was ultimately crucial to their self-identification as backpackers (Uriely, Yonay et al., 2002). This non-institutionalized travel can reference the ability to travel without spending lots of money. Power suggests that, “Norms within the backpacker subculture are based around road status. The less you pay for a journey or a room etc. the more road status you get” (2010, 34). As such, it is normal for backpackers to discuss and compare prices paid for different services or activities along their route (Sorensen 2003; Power 2010). Nonetheless, when looking at explanations of categories, the lines between the backpacker and ordinary tourist become ambiguous (see O’Reilly, 2004b). In a sense, one could say

that backpackers are indeed tourists, yet not all tourists are indeed backpackers. As Hampton writes, “Although there is a broad popular understanding of what a backpacker is, there is no single definition accepted by either academics or the tourism industry” (2013, 3). While traditional tourists, as presented in a historical sense, were upper-class socialites who utilized organized travel providers and followed common routes in international journeys, the evolution of youth and backpacker travel has reportedly shunned such conveniences, instead embracing a flexibility of style that caters to sensitive budgets as needed and allows for unplanned random or spontaneous, yet authentic, activity.

Motives for backpacker travel can also be seen in different studies of backpacker narratives (see Desforges 1997a; Cederholm, 2000; Elsrund, 2001) where one’s self and the experiences that offer in helping form the self are an attraction of backpacker identities. Noy summarizes this,

They show that what lies at the core of the backpackers’ stories, though often covert, is these youths’ selves and identities, rather than the exciting activities and accomplishments which constitute the overt topic of narration (Noy, 2004: 79).

Backpackers not only seek a style of travel different from other tourists, but their travel is in part a very personal experience that they build identity from. As Adkins and Grant write,

The backpacker experience is usually characterized as a self imposed transition or rite of passage from adolescence to adulthood, and occurs in the time between the end of formal education and the beginning of full time employment. In the case of more mature backpackers, the experience commonly occurs in other transition periods during life course such as marriage breakdown, ‘mid-life’ crisis or career transition. Either way the experience is a liminal one, forming a transitional experience between the end of one part of life and the beginning of another. This liminality also suggests a disconnection from conventional principles of experience within the bounds of everyday life, which makes certain behaviours like risk- taking, uncertainty and adventure available to the backpacker more so than other tourist groups (2007, 4)

This passage from Adkins and Grant about backpackers in Australia mentions *mature* backpackers, demonstrating a variation from other academic studies. Interestingly, backpackers more recently in Australia are reported to be older and also reported to work and study as well. Yet, this ability to work or study in another country diverges from traditional notions of backpackers as a type of tourist, despite a work aspect does associate with historical accounts of “tramping” mentioned earlier. Nonetheless, work or study not only overlaps into studies of international students and perhaps workers, but these pursuits often require a visa allowing such, although simply “backpacking” may or may not require a tourist visa. Discussing further how backpackers are able to study or work in Australia, Allon et al. reveal,

For example, many backpackers apply for Working Holiday Maker visas that allow them to combine periods of work with their travels. The phenomenon of ‘student backpackers’ also adds to the changing nature of both ‘backpacking’ and the slippery nature of the traditional difference between work and leisure. The concept of a ‘working holiday’ disputes the large body of literature that positions tourism in opposition to work (2008b, 7)

In this scenario, although a backpacker obtains a working holiday visa or travels with study intentions as well, the label of “backpacker” remains. This aligns those backpackers who work, study, and travel with those backpackers who just simply travel; one name, different activities. Hence, the “slippery nature” mentioned. To Australian national tourism entities, however, the limits are quite clear. Backpackers have been identified by the Bureau of Tourism Research⁵² as those who spend at least one night during their trip in a hostel or backpacker accommodation (Buchanan & Rossetto 1997, 2; ATEC 2012, 8; Hampton 2013, 124). This single qualifier allows for a very broad interpretation of the label, and it is assumed the intent of such is simply an attempt to monitor the numbers of “backpackers” who

⁵² The bureau now falls under the entity of Tourism Australia which “is the Australian Government statutory authority responsible for international and domestic tourism marketing as well as the delivery of research and forecasts for the sector. Tourism Australia officially commenced on 1 July 2004. The new organisation brings together four separate organisations: the Australian Tourist Commission; See Australia; the Bureau of Tourism Research and Tourism Forecasting Council” (Australia.gov 2013)

visit the country as to gauge aspects of their spending and contribution to national revenue. Yet there is an inherently flawed use of this phrase as a homogenous concept as it reflects an extremely wide notion with whom the phrase “backpacker” in Australia could represent in the past.

If a “backpacker” can be a young budget traveller focused on non-institutionalized forms of tourist activity, or any person who stays in a hostel for one night, or can also be a traveller with a work visa who pursues more than just a holiday in the Australian context - who or what are the limits of the label “backpacker”? Age, motives, budget, risk-taking, and activity preferences considered, it is still acknowledged that who exactly is a backpacker is not so cut-and-dry; there are many attributes and factors to consider. According to Cohen,

Future research should desist from referring to backpacking as if it were a homogenous phenomenon, and should pay attention to its diverse manifestations, in terms of difference in age, gender, origins and particular subcultures. The complex relationship between the domestic, class, ethnic, national and cultural backgrounds of the backpackers and their trip should be given much more systematic attention than it has received up to now (2003,106; 2004, 57)

This is echoed within the Australian context as well:

The flexible itinerary, extended stay and combination of diverse activities (holiday, work, study) have all become characteristics of what defines (or makes definition difficult) of a backpacker today (Allon et al. 2008b, 8).

With multiple various descriptions or motives, wide or narrow, however, it remains arduous to pinpoint where the “backpacker” label in general belongs, including the Australian context. Additionally, as backpackers can be considered a category of tourist, their motivations can overlap with those contained in literature on tourism motivation, such as the wanting to escape every day routine for purposes of relaxation, the opportunity to experience new places, exotic peoples,

or authentic nature, and reasons of self-discovery (see Baranowski and Furlough, 2001; Boissevain, 2002; Ryan, 1997a; Duncan 2007). Nonetheless and contrary to what it might seem, the aim of the discussions so far has not been to completely establish what or who a “backpacker” is, yet more so to identify common denominators and characteristics that different researches about this demographic have produced and the inherent problems in potentially labelling types of travellers outright. However, an examination of the history of travel and the development of backpacker travel in reference to “what is a holiday” demonstrates that some undercurrents apparently exist. Characteristically, backpackers tend to then be travellers who:

- Are young
- Seek budget accommodation and activities
- Embrace non-institutionalized methods of travel
- Place high social value on undertaking travel at a low expense
- Like to mingle with locals and other travellers
- Travel during a transitional period in their life

And in the more recent Australian context:

- Can be mature
- Work and/or study

This research focuses on WHMs in Australia who many times over, as will be discussed, have been categorized as backpackers, albeit their legal right to work. Consequently, if academia suggests the backgrounds of backpackers and situations should be given more incite into the establishing of who or what a backpacker is, then it is also of interest to suggest that perhaps those who travel yet pursue activities known as in opposition to travel and leisure, namely “work”, fall into a different category, working tourists.

6 Tourism in Australia

Unlike other ethnography's or studies intent on providing insight about a wider population through the study of a smaller one, my research aims to shed light at a larger scale through personal experience and a diverse sample of those I encounter during a traveling process. I did not necessarily study a "group" of working holiday makers (WHMs) in a single locale per say, similar in approach to studies on backpacker enclaves or "ghettoes" in various countries (Howard 2007; Wilson and Richards 2008; see also Westerhausen 2002, Teo and Long 2006), yet instead interviewed multiple in various locations who had travelled and worked in different towns and cities throughout Australia. The context of my research is intended to demonstrate peculiarities more so at a national level of the WHMP, despite acknowledged limitations in generalization, than say for example a city or even state level for that matter of fact. Consequently, as this research is discussing tourism in Australia, I must touch on a general history nationwide. This is a daunting task. As different state tourist bureaus and associations, state-run or private, embark on different campaigns promoting different attractions in different manners to different audiences, it is virtually impossible to acquire succinct and accurate knowledge of the details involved with each and every tourism initiative – present, past or future. Acknowledging this limitation, I will do my best to present a compact but comprehensive overview in relevance to this study. I will present a general history of tourism in Australia, followed by a short summation of importance to economy. Rather than discuss the advertising of a "working holiday" to Australia in this section, I will present it later in its own context.

6.1 A brief history of Australian tourism

The history of tourism in Australia is also a variety of social history as various developments were involved with other social norms and practices that came about

as a result of radical changes in transport and technology, and also with changes in taste is partially due to the fact that the growth of tourism and Australia's development, for the most part, progressed simultaneously (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, xv-xvii)⁵³. From colonization of the continent, travel has been more or less expected of Australians, more so than to people long established at one place. Immigrants were prone to continue their search for wealth or security after having broken away from their home countries. In some cases, they would return to the old countries to visit kin and revive old memories (Piesse 1966). The opening of vast lands and birth of towns and industries resultant of the scattering of people over the country created a habit of mobility and inventiveness which encouraged Australians to face the difficulties of early travel by horseback, coach, or ship. Even so, the slow and rough modes of travel and the huge distances between towns often restricted travel to necessary trips for trade, occupation or settling. Yet this changed with the introduction of rail travel (Piesse 1966). Shifts in touristic fashion were visible through historical trends in tourist destination; the desire for mountain, lake and riverine scenery which, when tied with an angst to flee the heat of the mainland summer, drove Edwardian tourists to Tasmania in large numbers. Later, western Australia and its wildflowers become fashionable to visit, which was made possible by the Transcontinental railway. As cars and airplanes became more common, Queensland became a top destination in the 1950s with the emergence of Australian beach culture. After that, the Red Centre gained notice with its aboriginal culture, only to be followed by Kakadu National Park, which attracted those interested in environmentalism (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, xxx).

International tourism to Australia, if having to set a starting point, began in 1871 with the inclusion of the Australian colonies as a part of Thomas Cook's round-the-world tour, inspired by the then recent opening of the Suez Canal. Despite its offer, the tour abandoned Australia from the route as no one seemed interested in the destination initially. A trip that traversed the globe was realistically only affordable to those in the upper classes and with the time it took to travel all the way to Australia, as it was not viewed "exotic" enough due to its historical and administrative connections with England. Bear in mind that around this time the last contingent of convicts had arrived to Western Australia in 1868. Although

⁵³ As you will see Davidson and Spearitt's *Holiday Business: Tourism in Australia Since 1870* provided nearly all of my historical base for this section which is a result of what I say is a difficulty of finding, and lack of, succinct literature in the USA or Finland regarding the subject. Nonetheless, I have found their text to be quite overarching and thorough enough to present an adequate summary.

tourism on the continent had hardly begun, many explorers still traversed great lengths to remote areas (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 1-2), and guide-like publications had already started appearing as early as 1839, with the publication of a “Picture of Sydney” and “Strangers’ Guide in New South Wales”. Guides served influential in inspiring travel to Australia with numerous editions published as the country’s founding progressed. Trollope’s 1873 guide “Australia and New Zealand” may have proved to be one of the most influential, being published in England and in other colonies, subsequently creating demand for more information about the region (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 6).

One of the first major tourist “attractions” guides discussed were caves, which in a romantic sense were perceived partly as grottos. Caves in Tasmania and New South Wales became popular attractions, with the NSW government establishing some as reserves. Caves in Western Australia proved to be that state’s first primary tourist attraction, reflected by the creation of the *Caves Board* in 1900 - the first governmental travel agency for tourism in WA (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 8-10). Next to caves, other natural landscapes showed to be the greatest base for inspiring tourism, with destinations like the Blue Mountains proving to be popular resort areas, accessible by construction of the Great Western Railway (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 12-15). Accommodation in these rural areas sprang up as tourist numbers grew and were quite diversified, ranging from grand hotels to boarding houses to humble self-hire lodgings. Not only providing the means to travel, the railways, which were a governmentally administered entity, began publishing railway guides and improved carriages to suit different classes of travellers, as well as installing refreshment cars. Beyond nature, man-made spectacles inspired domestic tourism with the organization of various festivals, fairs, and exhibitions throughout different states. *Proclamation Day* held in Glenelg in SA, Bendigo’s *Easter Fair* in Victoria, and The *Exhibitions* of Sydney and Melbourne all became annual and widely attended events. As an example of size, nearly 2 million visitors attended the *Melbourne Exhibition* in 1888 (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 16-20).

Although swank hotels arose in the capital cities and beyond, the principal undercurrent of Australian tourism was that it was neighbourly, practical, and democratic – everyone should take a holiday. A few initial holiday destinations were merely periphery locals to major cities, such as Manly near Sydney or Sandringham just outside Melbourne. These enclaves doubled as resorts, and in many cities, trams could take families from working class suburbs to nearby

beaches (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, xxix). By 1887, one could travel from Sydney to Melbourne to Adelaide by train alone. Railways provided tourists with a streamlined inland transport network, and together with steamship routes, led to regular traffic between Australia's main capital cities (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 22;155). More importantly, the railways would prove crucial to "...the creation of almost all of Australia's tourist resorts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 154).

Despite such accessibility, the age of mass tourism had not yet arrived; Australia was still too distant from the rest of the world in 1900 to welcome international tourists in great hoards and domestic tourism would not grow significantly until workers leave conditions improved. By 1902, conditions did improve with the granting of 3 weeks annual leave to public servants, thus boosting tourism, with Tasmania becoming the most popular destination amongst Australians. By 1905, some 20,000 tourists were visiting Tasmania, with this number having doubled by 1912. Although these numbers were less in years prior, a Tasmanian Tourist Association had already been established by 1893, organizing travel excursions and tours inland for visitors. (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 28-41)

Before new comers could travel inland, they still had to cross the Bass Strait and the sea that separated Tasmania from the rest of Australia also connected the country with the rest of the world. Until the completion of the Overland Telegraph in 1872, even the swiftest news to reach the colonies from Europe still had to come by ship. Even after this development, the two most prominent companies operating ships to Australia were in 1888 compelled by the British Post Office to coordinate their timetables so that, between them, they offered at least one weekly sailing to Australia (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 46).

Although Cook's had failed at attracting British adventurers to head to Australia in 1871, they took a different approach in 1887 by establishing a travel office in Melbourne, seeking entry into the Australian tourism market by offering services within and away from Australia. More offices popped up in Brisbane and Adelaide by 1892. Cooks offered tourists access to their extensive network of worldwide travel services, offering package deals that included fare for travel by both rail and steamer (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 59-63)

To supplement Australia's still developing tourism sector, various states established their own tourist bureaus sub-departments or associations: for example Tasmanian in 1893; New South Wales in 1905; South Australia in 1908; and Western Australia in 1910 (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 63-73). Bureau budgets were modest from the start and dismal compared to rivalling tourist destinations such as New Zealand. In 1912-1913, the combined spending of all Australian state bureaus was only about half that of New Zealand's tourist budget alone. However, by the end of the first world war, bureaus began seeing significant revenues revealing that tourism could be potentially lucrative for state governments. In 1909 the Victoria Tourist Bureau, saw revenue of £30,000; in 1925 the bureau brought in nearly £500,000. Such fiscal success promoted the creation of state tourist bureaus as their own separate government entities: NSW in 1919, WA in 1921, and Tasmania in 1934 (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 74). While these bureaus were responsible for both promoting and coordinating travel bookings for tourists, international and domestic in their respective states, federal officials believed that Australia was still lacking in its efforts to promote the country as a whole in attracting tourists (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 77). Although Australians customarily had been travellers to the United Kingdom and Europe, only in the late 1920's did a real initiative begin towards attracting international travellers to Australia. The Commonwealth Government's interest was aroused, chiefly, due to the repeated representations by Australians returning to their homeland and by the foresight of business leaders. Promoting travel to Australia was seen as a way of "...stimulating development, migration and, by virtue of the currency brought in by visitors, of increasing overseas earnings" (Piesse 1966). As Piesse elaborates,

The Chairman of Commissioners of the Victorian Railways, Mr. (later Sir) Harold Clapp who had first-hand knowledge of methods used by various United States railroads to promote travel to resort attractions initiated similar travel promotion techniques for the Victorian Railways and also urged the development of a national policy for travel promotion (1966).

Consequently, a recommendation was made by the Development and Migration Commission to create the Australian National Tourist Association, or ANTA, in 1929, intent on bringing to life a national and overseas strategy at promoting tourism on a national level and mitigate the jockeying between states competing for the biggest slice of the tourist market share pie. It was calculated that an increase of

100,000 overseas tourists per year who stay at minimum of 21 days and spend 40s per day, would generate a total of £21,000,000 spent in Australia per year. The board of the ANTA was quite diverse, representing many industries interested in national travel promotion; such as railway executives and overseas shipping representatives to name a few (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 77- 79). “By the early 1930s ANTA had commissioned posters for every Australian state, emphasizing prime tourist sites and regions, including the Great Barrier Reef” (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 80). By 1930, tourism offices were established in London and San Francisco; Australia being the first country to open such on the west coast of the US. A few years later, an ANTA office was opened in Bombay, again being the first of its kind for Asia (Piesse 1966).

Although the ANTA oversaw tourism business at a national level, state bureaus still championed their respective regions the best they could during the interwar years and well into the 1950s and 60s. Davidson and Spearitt explain,

In every state, government worries about the quality and quantity of tourist facilities, especially accommodation, the availability of transport, and boosting the particular attractions of their own states. Victoria concentrated on its alpine regions, while Queensland pushed Great Barrier Reef. South Australia sang the praises of Adelaide, while the Western Australians marketed their wildflower season. Tasmania promoted its temperate climate and its picturesque historic buildings, including Port Arthur. New South Wales continued to advertise the attractions of Sydney while other destinations, whether beach or alpine, received less promotion (2000, 86)

This period also saw another milestone in Australian tourism – the emergence of Australia’s beach culture. Although it only became legal to swim during the day at Manly beach in 1903 (Cooper and Hall 2013, 117), the first Lifesaving Club appeared in Bondi in 1907, and hollow wooden surfboards came to Australia from Hawaii in the first half of the 20th century, it wasn't until “...the Olympic Games in 1956, when a group of Californian surfers visited Australia, with their new ‘Malibu’ boards made of light plywood and fiberglass, the surfboard craze began” (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 137-148). Surfing became very popular amongst Australian teenage boys. Doing odd jobs here and there, “surfies” had little difficulty surviving on and near the beach towns, working when needed and surfing when possible. Local surf contests developed into a kind of international surfing

tourism, particularly between Australia and the west coast of the USA (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 149). As Davidson and Spearitt write,

The surfies of the 1960s could sleep on the beach, in beaten-up old vans or find cheap rental accommodation in the fibro holiday houses and run-down blocks of flats located in virtually every beachside town. In a full-employment economy that continued to see the beach as a place for holidays and relaxation, rather than a commodity to be sold to interstate and overseas tourists, the primitive accommodation and eating facilities at most Australian beaches were accepted as a part of holiday culture (149-150)

Australian beaches proved to be one of the most popular attractions internationally and locally in that it has always remained one of the few free-of-charge tourist landscapes (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 153)

In 1964, the ANTA hired two consulting firms from New York to make an assessment on Australia's travel and tourism industry, recognizing the increasing economic effect tourism was having on the country. The budget of the ANTA in 1963 was roughly £417,000, 70 percent of which came from the federal government, 20 percent from the travel industry itself, and 10 percent from the treasuries of state governments. While not peculiar for a national tourism body to be funded by national government and industry, ...”the deep involvement of state and territory organizations in international tourism was, as the consultants pointed out, ‘unique’ “ (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 88-89). While state bureaus were effective at promoting interstate tourism, the consultants concluded that their reach to international markets was questionable and proposed that a new travel authority be established to offer “...national coordination of attractions and facilities, an intensified overseas promotions program, a redefinition of the role of the commonwealth and state governments and sufficient funds to achieve these objectives” (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 90). The result of this proposition was the creation of the Australian Tourist Commission in 1967, “...established for ‘the encouragement of visitors to Australia, and travel within Australia, by people from other countries’ ”(Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 90). It served not only as a promotional entity but also an educational one, hiring and training staff in other countries to assist with showcasing travel to Australia. The ATC became an overarching tourism promotional bureau for the nation and was given a substantial budget for advertising. Its purpose was to focus on the international tourist market

and “...build on the image-making success of ANTA, in its posters, magazines and brochures, and in establishment of international offices” (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 90).

Since the charter of the ATC did not include control over the on-the-ground tourist infrastructure, state bureaus still had to mandate and maintain this area, often having input in other areas of state tourist activity, for example as “...national parks and the creation of real and purpose-built heritage sites, including The Rocks, the Fremantle redevelopment, Old Sydney Town and Sovereign Hill”. Consequently, as bureaus became more involved in various aspects of tourist attraction planning, their names and nomenclature constantly changed with organizational and bureaucratic shuffles, adapting to changing perceptions in tourist spending (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 93)

Keen on attracting as much of the tourist market as possible, state tourist bodies, particularly those in Tasmania and Queensland, became strong proponents of package tourism as they expanded their marketing and booking programs. As the ATC was headquartered in Sydney, states felt that the best way to promote their own interests themselves, and by 1993, the Western Australia Tourism Commission, had established eleven international offices throughout Asia, Europe, and N. America. In Victoria, Tourism Victoria took on a new role offering strategic statistical and planning advice to government planning (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 93). Supported by visitor surveys from the Bureau of Tourism Research, state bureaus analysed specific national and ethnic markets – Asian, European, and North American travellers alike. Going even further, their activities went “...well beyond the accommodation and travel sector to include cultural and educational activities, such as festivals and tourism study programs” (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 94)

Over the course of the 20th century, the position of state tourist bureaus evolved to include close relationships with government agencies, yet today more and more services for tourists have been contracted out and in the places where state entities still exist, “...they now compete with convention marketing organizations, capital city promotional bodies and state government departments, more concerned with image, new and refurbished tourist precincts and market share than with their traditional role of state promotion and the provision of advice and booking facilities for the people” (Davidson and Spearitt 2000, 94-96).

Needless to say, since 1964 as the ANTA began noticing the economic impact tourism was having on the country, Australia's tourism promotion and support entities have grown prominently in size, shape, and form...resulting in an even greater impact on economy today.

6.2 The importance of the tourism industry

To say tourism is significant to Australia is an understatement; it plays a fairly vital role in the economy, generating substantial revenue through tourist expenditures, consistently, each year as, "The Australian Government is committed to maximizing tourism's net economic contribution to the Australian economy and to fostering an industry that promotes the principles of environmental responsibility and sustainable development" (DRET 2013).

Monitoring the effects of tourism contributions to the country, the Australian governments Department of Resources, Energy, and Tourism, or DRET, "...works on a range of tourism policy, projects, programs and research to strengthen Australia's tourism industry and to grow Australia's tourism market share in a volatile and competitive global environment" (DRET 2013). When describing why tourism is important to Australia, the DRET states,

Tourism is a significant industry for Australia. It generates \$94 billion in spending and contributes nearly \$34 billion to Australia's GDP, directly employs over 500 000 people and earns nearly 10 per cent of our total export earnings, making it Australia's largest service export industry. It helps to fund critical economic infrastructure like airports, roads and hotels, and also plays an important role in the economic development of regional Australia, with 46 cents in every tourist dollar spent in regional Australia (DRET, 2013).

These financials are true – in 2009-2010, tourism contributed to 2.6% of Australia’s GDP and 4.5% to Australia’s employment (TRA 2011, 1); in 2010–11, its direct contribution to Australia’s GDP was worth \$34.6 billion or around 2.5% of GDP, and employed roughly 513,700 persons or, again, 4.5% of Australian workers (TRA 2012, 5). Further, statistics show that tourism’s share of total employment has remained steady since 2008–09 hinting at the stability of the industry (TRA 2012, 5). Not only does tourism benefit economic growth of all sectors within Australia in some regard, but is of considerable importance to many regional communities, for example with 46% of tourism expenditure spent in regional areas in 2009-2010 (TRA 2011, 1).

Tourism Research Australia has gone so far as to identify 84 tourism regions within the country, based a number of Statistical Local Areas (SLAs), as defined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, in consultation with state and territory tourism organizations (TRA 2011, 1). These regional tourism industries,”... are not all equal in size, and visitor numbers, tourism output, and tourism expenditure can vary greatly from region to region (TRA 2011, 3; see Appendix)⁵⁴. In 2011-2012, around 45% of tourism expenditure occurred in areas outside of Australia’s capital cities. The economic important of tourism can be crucial to some regions as it plays a major role in providing an economic base, for example in 2011-2012, the five most tourism-dependent regions were Central NT, Phillip Island, Whitsundays, Snowy Mountains, and West Coast of Tasmania (See Figure 17). Cumulatively, these areas only accounted for 3% of Australia’s total tourism expenditure.

⁵⁴ A list of identified regions can be found in the Appendix.

Rank	Tourism region	State	Economic importance of tourism (%)
1	Central	NT	24.8
2	Phillip Island	Vic	18.7
3	Whitsundays	Qld	17.7
4	Snowy Mountains	NSW	17.1
5	West Coast	Tas	16.2
6	East Coast	Tas	14.6
7	Spa Country	Vic	14.3
8	Kangaroo Island	SA	14.1
9	Tropical North Queensland	Qld	9.7
10	Lakes	Vic	9.2
11	Mid North Coast	NSW	8.7
12	Upper Yarra	Vic	7.7
13	Central Murray	Vic	7.4
14	High Country	Vic	7.2
15	Australia's Coral Coast	WA	6.9
16	Sunshine Coast	Qld	6.7
17	Outback	Qld	6.5
18	Gold Coast	Qld	6.4
19	Western	Vic	6.2
20	Northern Rivers	NSW	6.1
Australian Benchmark (%)			3.0

Figure 17. Economic importance of tourism to Australian regions (TA 2011)

The largest tourism regions are often Australia's major cities. In this same time period, Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Gold Coast and Perth accounted for nearly 47% of total tourism expenditure in Australia's regions. As larger regions have a wider scope of economic diversity, tourism is not considered as important although its contribution is surely valued (TRA 2012, 9; see Appendix)⁵⁵. So while larger cities are able to spend more on tourism, they are less dependent on its income as opposed to smaller cities, towns, and regions where the tourist dollar is a valued economic stimulator. Interestingly, this was also a specific inquiry of the research of Jarvis and Peel (2009; 2010) – the impact of WHMs on rural tourist economies, investigating why WHMs were in the town of Mildura and how they were spending their time, and money. While these regional expenditure and revenue numbers do not necessarily discuss the position of working holiday makers in Australia as a labour source, it does perhaps offer a clue for why, although hinted at facing questionable treatment as workers in various studies (Mares 2005; Allon et al. 2008; Jarvis and Peel 2009,) an overshadowing view toward them continues to primarily be as “backpackers” or economic stimulators in the form of tourism consumer.

⁵⁵ A list of the top 20 regions in expenditure on tourism 2011-2012 can be found in the Appendix.

7 Availability, Or Choice?

After having just discussed some theory relevant to the situation of working holiday makers (WHMs) and the inquiries made throughout my research, I will now discuss some empirical observations regarding the positions of work most prevalently available to WHMs, based on experience in 2008 and participant observation in 2011. In attempting to understand the claim that WHMs take on the jobs that Aussies won't do (Allon et al. 2008, 43-44), there are two factors that could potentially explain such: the jobs available and motivations for employment. What would be the jobs Australians won't do and why won't they do them, and why will WHMs do them? Here, I will contemplate the former; the latter will be discussed in the following chapter.

7.1 Agricultural Work

One Australian industry that has historically suffered from labour supply issues is agriculture and farming. Seasonal agricultural work in Australia, in particular, is demanding labour. Further, farm work is considered one of the most dangerous industries in Australia (SWA 2103, iii). In addition to the flexibility required of continuous geographical mobility moving from one picking location to another, working conditions are strenuous on the human physique (see Image 1). Job security does not exist and wages are frequently less than in other sectors (Bell and Hanson 2007, 111-112; Productivity Commission 2005, 87).



Image 1. Picking watermelons during fieldwork

In private conversations industry figures concede, “...that a minority of primary producers fail to offer adequate wages and conditions, and acknowledge that this contributes to labour supply problems in the industry” (Mares 2005, 3). Despite government initiatives, for example the *Harvest Trail*, intent on directing unemployed Australians toward agricultural work, growers still experience problems when trying to recruit them. As Mares candidly describes,

A popular opinion amongst growers is that there is, as one grower puts it, 'too much bloody welfare'. According to this view, social security benefits are too generous ('they get the money too easy') and remove the incentive for unemployed urban workers to take up jobs in regional areas, even when there is good money on offer. Somewhat paradoxically, growers are also generally opposed to schemes which would force them to take on unemployed workers, who they regard as lazy and unmotivated. A grower from Tooleybuc complains that he was sent 14 people by an employment agency in Wollongong, none of whom lasted beyond lunch on the first day. Growers say that if welfare recipients are forced to pick against their will, then these reluctant workers will deliberately go slow or spoil fruit or even break machinery in order to get themselves sacked (Mares 2005).

As agricultural work is unpredictable in length, tough, low-paid work in sometimes-remote areas, it quite understandable as to why Australians typically do not pursue them (See Image 2) in competition with other secure, higher paying, career oriented work opportunities available.



Image 2. Estonian watermelon picking crew (From fieldwork - Was told by one, "Estonians have good reputation as hard workers".)

7.2 Casual Work

When looking at work that is less than appealing, in general and beyond task, it is pertinent to look at job situation in terms of length, wage, and security, which in Australia, such standards are guided by the National Employment Standards, or NES⁵⁶. The NES is intended to cover all persons in the National Workplace Relations System, or NWRS, which includes:

- People employed by a constitutional corporation (Pty Ltd or Ltd companies)
- People employed in Victoria, the Northern Territory or the ACT
- People employed by the Commonwealth or a Commonwealth authority
- Waterside employees, maritime employees or flight crew officers employed in connection with interstate or overseas trade or commerce
- People employed by sole traders, partnerships, other unincorporated entities and non-trading corporations in New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia and Tasmania, from 1 January 2010.

(FairWork 2013)

There is no differentiation between Australian national or non-resident in the NWRS, thus it merely covers persons employed by the above businesses registered as the above legal entities. To offer a minimum safety net for employees, nationally, the NES is augmented by 10 minimum conditions for employees that, together, with the national minimum wage, set out minimum entitlements for leave, public holidays, notice of termination, as well as redundancy pay (FairWork 2013)⁵⁷. These 10 entitlements under the NES are:

⁵⁶ The NES was initiated on January 1, 2010 and therefore covered the standards of work nationally during the period of fieldwork.

⁵⁷ While citations may appear the same in format, ie. “Fairwork 2013” they are in fact referencing multiple and different web resources from the Australian Fair Work website. Please see references for details.

- **Fair Work Information Statement** - employers have to give the Fair Work Information Statement to all new employees.
- **Maximum weekly hours of work** - 38 hours per week, plus reasonable additional hours.
- **Requests for flexible working arrangements** - parents and carers can ask for a change in working arrangements to care for young children under school age or children under 18 with a disability.
- **Parental leave and related entitlements** - up to 12 months unpaid leave, the right to ask for an extra 12 months unpaid leave and other types of maternity, paternity and adoption leave.
- **Annual leave** - 4 weeks paid leave per year, plus an extra week for some shift workers.
- **Personal / carer's leave and compassionate leave** - 10 days paid personal (sick) / carer's leave, 2 days unpaid carer's leave and 2 days compassionate leave (unpaid for casuals) as needed.
- **Community service leave** - up to 10 days paid leave for jury service (after 10 days is unpaid) and unpaid leave for voluntary emergency work.
- **Long service leave** - entitlements are carried over from pre-modern awards or from state legislation.
- **Public holidays** - paid days off on public holidays unless it's reasonable to ask the employee to work.
- **Notice of termination and redundancy pay** - up to 4 weeks' notice of termination (5 weeks if the employee is over 45 and has been in the job for at least 2 years) and up to 16 weeks redundancy pay

(FairWork 2013)

To determine pay levels, conditions, and benefits applicable to NES standards, employers and employees must establish what category an employee falls into: casual, full-time or part-time, which can be explained in the following manner:

- **Full-time** - Full-time employees work an average of 38 hours per week and usually have ongoing employment. Full-time employees are entitled to all of the conditions of the National Employment Standards including:
 - Maximum number of hours of work per week,
 - Paid annual and personal (sick) leave,
 - Public holidays
 - Notice when they lose their job.
 - Other conditions will come from any award or agreement that applies.

- **Part-time** - Part-time employees work an average of less than 38 hours per week. They're usually hired on an ongoing basis and work the same set of hours. Part-time employees are entitled to the same things as full-time employees, but on a 'pro rata' basis - which means that it's based on the number of hours they work.

- **Casual** - Casual employees are paid based on the number of hours they work. They usually aren't guaranteed a certain amount of hours of work per week, but can work regular hours. Casuals are paid a higher rate of pay, called a 'casual loading', instead of some the benefits that full-time and part-time employees get. For example, casuals don't usually get paid annual leave or paid sick leave.

(FairWork, 2013)

Under most workplace agreement, employers should tell their new employees whether they're hired as full-time, part-time or casual (FairWork 2013). Amongst these categories of work "types" regulated by the NES, *Casual* jobs offer the least amount of security and benefits; Casual employees are only entitled to the following NES provisions:

- 2 days unpaid carer's leave and 2 days unpaid compassionate leave per occasion
- Maximum weekly hours
- Community service leave (except paid jury service)

- Days off on public holidays unless it's reasonable to ask you to work
- The Fair Work Information Statement.

(FairWork 2013)

To make up for lost entitlements like paid annual leave and paid sick leave, the wages of casual workers include a casual loading, as mentioned, that is paid on top of the base pay rate and are usually employed by the hour or by the day. Loading depends on applicable award or agreement, yet most modern awards have a casual loading of 25%⁵⁸. Casuals can also be entitled to penalty rates, loadings and allowances for weekend work, early in the day work, late night work, as well as overtime work and on working on public holidays. There are other NES Conditions casuals generally have a right to in any work situation that applies, such as:

- Meal and rest breaks
- Overtime and penalty rates
- Allowances
- Minimum hours of work per shift
- Conversion to full-time or part-time employment.

(FairWork 2013)

Under the NES employers can dismiss casual workers without giving them notice and, likewise, casual employees can quit without notice, although an agreement or contract of employment can state that a notice must be given or taken. Other employment situations where termination does not require notice given by the employer include:

- An employee engaged for a specific period or task
- A seasonal employee engaged for a specific season

⁵⁸ This rate may have been different in 2011, yet nonetheless casual loading should be added to any casual rate from the date of implementation of the NES

- An employee whose employment is terminated because of serious misconduct (for example, an employee, in the course of their employment, engaging in theft, fraud or assault)
- An employee (other than an apprentice) to whom a training arrangement applies and whose employment is for a specific period or limited to the duration of the training agreement
- A daily-hire employee working in the building and construction industry (including working in connection with the erection, repair, renovation, maintenance, ornamentation or demolition of buildings or structures)
- A daily hire employee working in the meat industry in connection with the slaughter of livestock
- A weekly hire employee working in connection with the meat industry and whose termination is determined solely by seasonal factors.

(FairWork 2013)

Further, for a casual employee to apply for a claim of unfair dismissal, they must meet eligibility requirements such as:

- Covered by the national workplace system
- Have completed a minimum employment period of at least 6 months (or 12 months if your employer is a small business employer who employs fewer than 15 employees)
- At the time of dismissal, be in one of the following categories:
 - Covered by a modern award or a pre-modern award instrument, such as a federal award, a state reference transitional award or a notional agreement preserving state award (NAPSA)
 - Covered by an enterprise agreement or an agreement-based transitional instrument, or
 - Be earning less than \$123 300 a year.

(FairWork 2013)

More often than not, the work WHMs perform are casual jobs due to their association with industries and positions which are temporary in nature or fluctuate in necessity for employers based on seasonal demand for labour. For example, when rostering casual employees, employers must offer a minimum shift of least 3 hours, thus the types of work entailed with casual are those that often offer the least hourly duration, and thus least amount of pay (FairWork 2013). In fact, Harding and Websters 2002 analysis was perceived as confirming the positive economic effects of WHMs not only as tourists, but casual workers as well (Tan et al. 2009, 6). They also found that most of the jobs offered to WHMs were casual (Harding and Webster 2002, 52-53). Further, casual jobs are extremely prevalent amongst job adverts posted on hostel job boards (see Image 3), if the advert even happens to mention the employment structure.

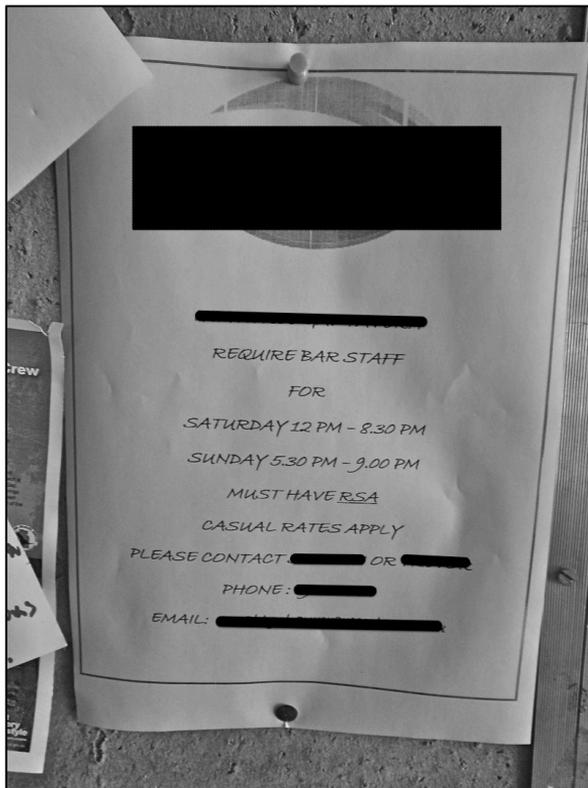


Image 3. Job advert from hostel job board – Casual Rates Apply (From hostel in NT)

In hinting at why Australians prefer not to pursue casual work in a fairly concise manner, Sheen writes:

The ABS defines a casual job as a job without paid leave entitlements, but the essence of a casual job is that the worker is entirely expendable on an hour-to-hour, week-to-week, year-to-year basis. If that casual job is the prime source of income then there is a major challenge in holding your life together (2012).

Not only is it difficult to rely on income from casual work, it also has little opportunity for improvement in position or advancement. As Campbell and Whitehorse state, “The gap between these [casual] jobs and permanent employment is much wider than the gap between fixed-term and permanent jobs...Casual work is most accurately regarded as a particularly degraded form of temporary employment (Campbell Whitehorse, 6). Although some casual workers in Australia may enjoy the flexibility of casual employment as it suits those lifestyles not partial to traditional work schedules, for more and more casual workers the uncertainty of income and lack of security, “...is not a choice, but the only job type available” (Dow et al. 2009 , 5; see also Stewart 2008, 60). If such is the scenario for some Australian workers, then it is even more so for foreign WHMs who arrive in country with work restrictions already limiting their employment duration.

7.3 Work Restrictions

Another factor determines the availability of job WHMs can undertake is that all WHMs have a limitation on their visa restricting the duration of employment to 6 months maximum with one employer during their 12 month stay, by operation of mandatory visa condition 8547 (DIAC 2011). This restriction is not only of employment period, but in practice, a restriction of employment type. For employers looking for longer-term skilled workers, WHMs are penalized even if wanting to apply due to time constraint of employability. Even if highly qualified, WHMs in reality are most often employed by businesses or persons looking to hire or are willing to hire, short-term temporary workers. It is also pertinent to note

that for those countries offered the WHV 462⁵⁹, an additional language requirement is necessary in order to be eligible. Applicants must be able to meet provide proof of English proficiency with their visa application (DIAC 2011, Form 1280). This language requirement is not applied to the WHV 417 and thus, conversely, due to a lack in language requirement for WHMs from non-native English speaking countries in the WHV 417 group, those with sub-par English skills are limited even further to those jobs where the need for communication skills in English or with customers is minimal (see Images 4 & 5).

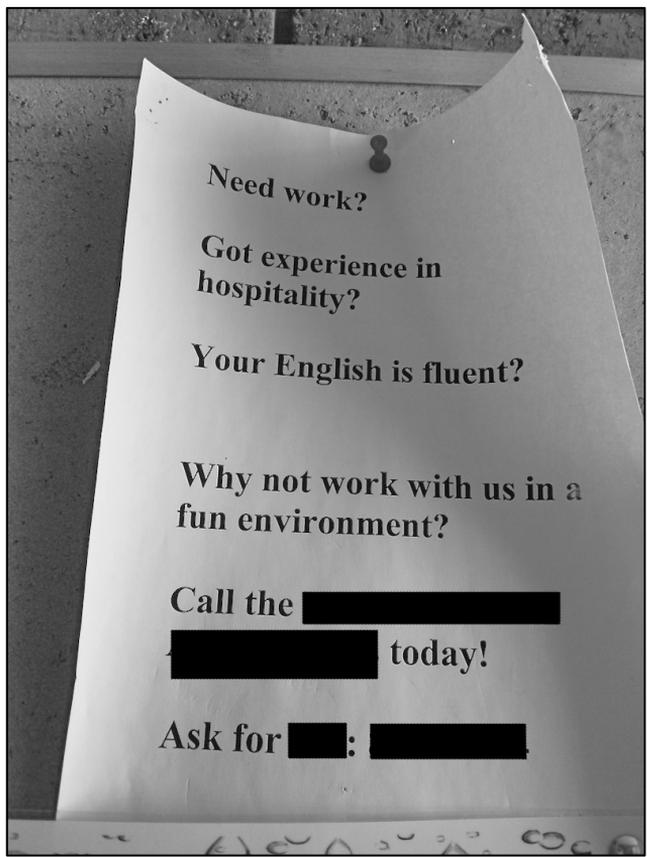


Image 4. Job advert from hostel job board – English required (From hostel in NT)

⁵⁹ This does not include the USA

Gumtree Post Ad FREE Browse Ads My Gumtree
 eg. bbq, holden, nanny... State, City or Suburb
 Find a Jobs in Sydney Regi

Home > Eastern Suburbs > Randwick > Hospitality > Waiting Staff > Ad ID [REDACTED]

All around, experience making sandwich is a must. Start TOMORROW
 Randwick NSW 2031 [view on map](#)

Date Listed:	[REDACTED]	Last Edited:	[REDACTED]
Advertised By:	Private	Job Type:	Casual

The position is Part-time from Monday to Friday from 8:00 to 13:00 at a very busy take away coffee shop. The candidate, female preferred, must have experience making gourmet sandwiches, be friendly, fast, hard worker and have good communication skills in English..

If you have no experience, do not waste your time and ours.

Send SMS to [REDACTED] do NOT call

Do NOT send e-mail, it will not be read
 If you have WORKING HOLIDAY VISA do NOT apply

Image 5. Online job advert – Good English required, Working Holiday Visa do NOT Apply (from Gumtree.com where many WHMs search for jobs online)

8 Willing Workers

While the previous chapter discussed available jobs, this one will discuss motivations for working holiday makers (WHMs) taking such positions. While studies of WHMs suggest that they do not “seek” long term employment, long-term security or advancement prospects (ATEC 2012, 12; Tan et al. 2009, 23), such statements can be assumptions of motivation based on data of the jobs reported taken, not necessarily concrete insight into WHM job aspirations or jobs available to them. WHMs, themselves, when interviewed by Allon et al., acknowledged that they are too educated to work in some of the menial positions they obtain. They complain that these are the only jobs they can find, as just discussed, and in addition to the low wages and disrespectful treatment by employers that they are at the receiving end of, they feel as if they were supposed to have felt lucky to have found work at all (2008a, 47). Further, amongst WHMs I encountered, most were willing to do anything and undertake any type of work, however, such was not the case for myself on my first stint in Australia.

When I arrived in Melbourne in 2008, I sought work with temp agencies specializing in office work as I had prior experience working in marketing and office HR, having been an assistant office manager in an engineering firm. I had also worked with similar agencies in the US and knew that this type of work, although temporary, offers decent wages and more professional oriented job placement, which looks better on a resume or CV in the long-run. After interviewing with at least 4 different agencies, the only offer I received from one agency was working at a call centre, which I rejected, having worked in one in university and knowing the “slow-death” that is answering customer care calls or making cold-calling sales calls for 8 hour per day at minimum wage. It was not something I was interested in doing; my skill set was more. Since office agency work eluded me, I went for that which was in front of my face each and every day – job ads on the hostel advert board. It’s here that I found the labourer job which provided motivation for this research as described in the beginning. But amongst other WHMs I’ve encountered during and prior to research, some do not take the

time to go to interviews and agencies nor wait for a call back, they seek any work they can find immediately and is easy to procure. Why?

8.1 Desperate

Australia is expensive. While Australia has managed to escape the global financial crisis without incurring a recession and maintaining a growing economy, the cost of living is exceptionally high (BBC 2013; Radio NZ 2012; ABC News 2009). Beyond the expenses incurred in a traditional tourist escapade to simply buy a flight and travel insurance to make the journey to the continent, WHMs incur extra costs as they essentially are not only traveling, but also living in Australia on a working holiday. And if working, there are extra fees associated whichever type of work you pursue. If one wants to work in hospitality in situations where serving alcohol, they must pass a Responsible Service of Alcohol course which requires a fee. A fee is also required for obtaining a White Card, which qualifies one to be able to work in the construction industry. If you don't have appropriate clothes to wear to a new found job, then work clothes and any relevant gear, for example steel toe boots in construction work, have to be purchased as well. Health insurance is also necessary for workers not covered by reciprocal health agreements with Australia from their home country (DIAC 2013), and such policies often need to cover certain work activities. One of the biggest expenses is accommodation as a consistent place to lay ones head each night is a necessity when working. As work, accommodation, travel, and simple living expenses add up, so does the need for money to cover these costs. As Jarvis and Peel found amongst their study of WHMs in Mildura, "...the majority of WHM expenditure is not spent within the traditional tourism economy of Mildura which is primarily geared to the needs of domestic tourism. Instead the 2009 study identified that WHMs during their stay in Mildura tend to live 'like locals', spending their money on accommodation, food, and leisure activities within the city" (2010, 7). This sentiment does not ring true for just WHMs in Mildura, yet also for myself and other WHMs who work in other parts of the continent:

It's just more expensive than I thought it would be. It is really expensive everywhere of everything.

- Cathy, UK (England)

WHMs are supposed to arrive in Australia financially stable as required by the Australian visa requirements, with the assumption that such requirement provides financial security for a newly arrived traveller who may or may not work. WHV stipulations state that WHMs must have access to certain levels of funds, usually AU\$5,000, in order to be eligible for both either the WHV 417 or WHV 462 (See Figure 18 & 19).

Eligibility requirements

To be granted a Working Holiday visa, there are a number of eligibility requirements that applicants must meet.

All applicants must:

- be aged between 18 years and 30 years inclusive (at the time you apply);
- hold a passport from an eligible country, preferably valid for at least 6 months;
- not be accompanied by dependent children;
- be outside Australia when you apply and when the visa is granted (except applicants for a second Working Holiday visa, who can apply while in Australia – see ‘Second Working Holiday visa’ below);
- not have previously entered Australia on a Work and Holiday (subclass 462) visa;
- not have previously entered Australia on a Working Holiday visa (except applicants for a second Working Holiday visa – see ‘Second Working Holiday visa’ below);
- **have sufficient funds (generally AUD5,000);**
- have funds for a return or onward ticket to depart Australia (or an actual ticket);
- meet Australia’s health requirement – depending on the country you are from and your intentions in Australia (such as entering a hospital, health care area, childcare centre or classroom), you may need to undertake a medical examination. More information is available from www.immi.gov.au/visitors/working-holiday/417/eligibility.htm; and
- meet Australia’s character requirement. More information is available from www.immi.gov.au/allforms/.

Figure 18. Eligibility requirements for WHV 417 (As listed on WHV application Form 1150)

Eligibility requirements

To be granted a visa, there are a number of eligibility requirements that applicants must meet.

All applicants must:

- be aged between 18 years and 30 years inclusive (at the time you apply);
- hold a passport from an eligible country, preferably valid for at least 6 months;
- have functional English;
- meet education requirements (see tables on pages 2 and 3);
- not be accompanied by dependent children;
- be outside Australia when you apply and when the visa is granted;
- not have entered Australia on a Work and Holiday (subclass 462) or Working Holiday (subclass 417) visa;
- **have sufficient funds (generally AUD5,000);**
- have funds for a return or onward ticket to depart Australia (or an actual ticket);
- have health insurance (recommended) covering your stay in Australia. This can be obtained in your home country or in Australia. More information is available from **www.immi.gov.au/visitors**;
- meet Australia's health requirement – depending on the country you are from and your intentions in Australia (such as entering a hospital, health care area, childcare centre or classroom), you may need to undertake a medical examination. More information is available from **www.immi.gov.au/allforms/health**; and
- meet Australia's character requirement. More information is available from **www.immi.gov.au/allforms/character**

Figure 19. Eligibility requirements for WHV 462 (As listed on WHV application Form 1208)

Throughout the duration of my entire fieldwork in Australia, I did not meet a single WHM, of the 22 interviewed or numerous others I held casual conversations with, who can recollect ever having had to show proof of such, whether to DIAC during the application process or when passing through immigration and customs when entering Australia. Likewise, I have seen this sentiment echoed in online mediums where new coming WHMs seek advice from others, such as this Facebook group for “SWAP Working Holidays”, mediated by an agency called Travel Cuts (see Image 6).



Image 6. Online question about proof of funds when entering Australia with a WHV (From Facebook. Names and facial features have been obstructed for privacy)

Amusingly, one of my interviewees⁶⁰ who had come with his friend for a working holiday and did not have the required funds, due to their lack of English skills, were confused by the inbound immigration form that all arriving passengers from flights must fill out, which inquires if passengers are traveling with large sums of money:

Me: Did you have to show proof of this money when you entered at the border?

Jake: There were some blank where we fill out what we have and what we don't have, but there was one money question like, "Do you have \$100,000?"

Me: The cash question?

Jake: Yeah.

Me: Yeah.

Jake: The cash question, and we all said yes because we all thought that was the question about the \$5,000 or something and the people were in the...

Me: Yeah, yeah, the people at customs.

Jake: Yeah, they broke the lock because we had some little cases and they asked, "Are the cases full of money?" So we had to do the stupid faces and say "No, you know, the money is on the bank accounts"...they kind of sensed that we lied because we didn't have the money.

Me: Okay, but nothing?

Jake: Yeah, we when came here we only had like \$400.

Me: Okay, but no one asked to see proof of the \$5,000?

Jake: No.

He was not the only case of a WHM I met arriving with minimal to no funds, as was the same with quite a few other interviewees and casual conversations, even meeting a WHM at the watermelon farm who had slept in a park in Melbourne

⁶⁰ I have changed the name further in this example so the interviewee cannot be identified in relation to other statements in this research due to the sensitive nature of his dealings with customs agents.

after arriving because he couldn't afford any available accommodation as most in his price range were booked up for the Australian Open.

Unlike in 2008, I was not desperate for work upon arrival as I had the required funds as dictated by the visa requirements, fearing that perhaps an immigration agent might ask for my proof at the border. No one did. In contrast to myself, as I was departing from my fieldwork, I met an American who had arrived almost broke:

At airport met an American guy named “Rick” who worked for 6 months in Darwin... He was traveling in SE Asia before and got the visa from there. Heard about it from another traveller, applied online and had it within a few days. Arrived in Darwin he said with literally \$50 bucks in his wallet so needed money bad. Worked at the convention centre setting up events for the dry season.

- From fieldwork journal, September 18th

For some WHMs who arrive to Australia with little to no money, like they are supposed to, work is not an option but an immediate necessity, despite DIAC forms claiming that the primary intent to obtain a WHV must be a holiday. Since certain jobs are more readily available than others, most often those that are advertised right in front of their faces in hostels, WHMs sometimes seek whichever jobs are easiest to obtain despite prior knowledge of conditions or even pay wage; any job that might bring in money is better than having no money, and sometimes they are even willing to pay for a job (Images 7 & 8).



INTERNATIONAL BACKPACKERS

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- Location / Transport
- Job Club
- Activities
- Accommodation Enquiry
- Photo Gallery
- Going Green
- Contact Details

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Arrive

Depart

Nights

Persons

[Modify / Cancel your booking](#)



Job Club

The Job Club provides professional and expert advice and support for those seeking casual or full-time employment. A 6-Month membership goes for a steal at \$50, whilst a one-year membership will cost you only \$80! As an Australian Backpackers Job Club member, you receive access to our members lounge, resume re-drafting, access to our online jobs database and our daily job lists as well as access to our daily casual jobs for those in need of some quick money. Our Branch Manager has many years experience in Backpacker Recruitment and is always at hand to offer the support and advice you need.

Image 7. Hostel job search assistance advert – Job Club (website promotion for ‘Job Club’ at hostel in Melbourne where travellers can pay \$50 to have access to job database and casual job offers. I stayed at this hostel in 2008, deciding to stay there as having been told they would have work for me the day after moving in, yet promises of paid work never came to fruition on more than one occasion)

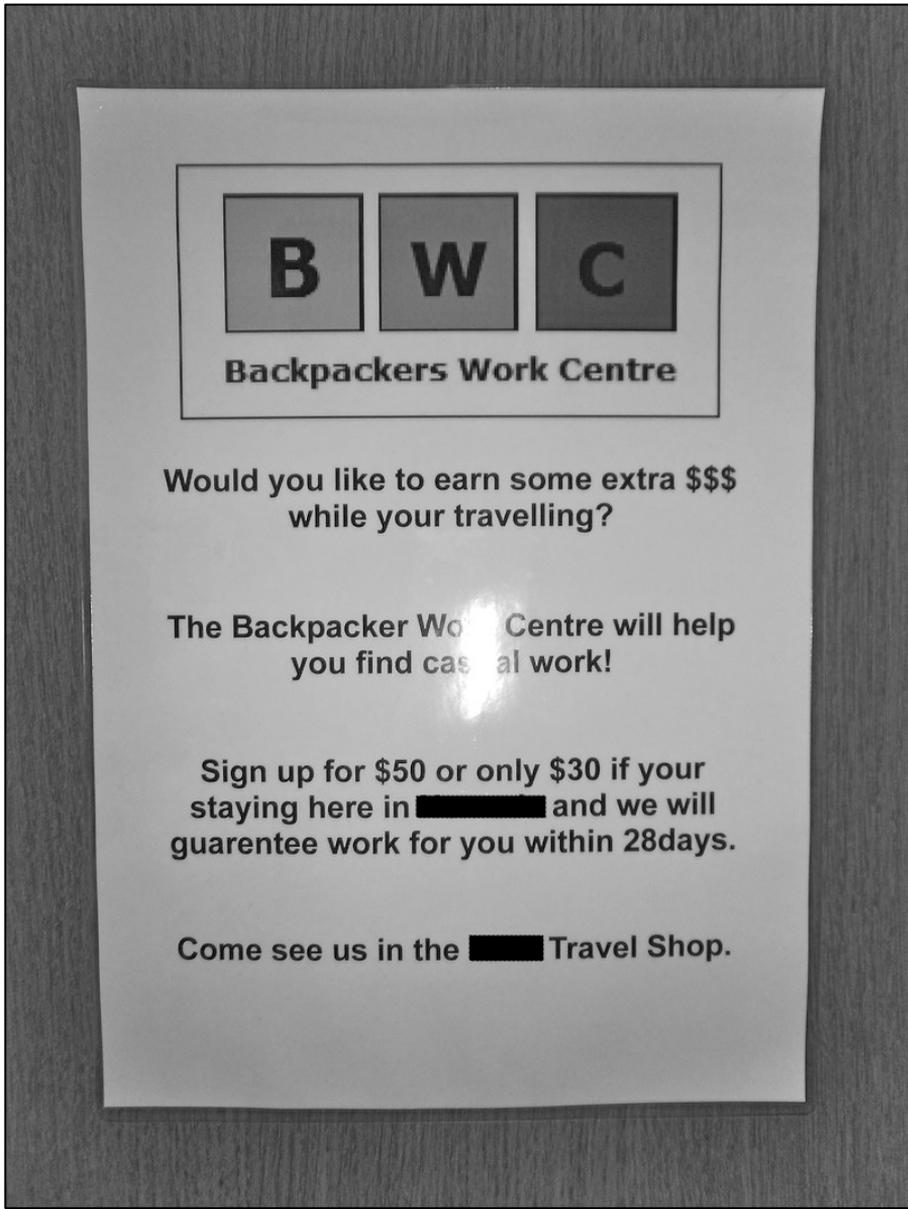


Image 8. Hostel job search assistance advert – Backpacker Work Centre (Advert in Melbourne hostel for work centre - where you can pay to get a job)

But for others, the thought of being able to easily get a job is a strong motivator, despite the reality of earning potential. With my WHM roommate from England in 2008, his door-to-door sales job often didn't pay much and he occasionally had weeks where he earned nothing, despite canvassing the suburbs of Melbourne with other WHMs for 5 or more hours per day. It appeared he took a job that only paid commission because he was willing to take a chance at doing "something" that could potentially make money rather than spend more time trying to find a proper job. In fact, I found that the majority of WHMs interviewed were willing to do anything or everything, meaning any job activity, for money during their working holiday. When asked what jobs are they willing to take:

Uh, probably everything.

- Dustin, Germany

Umm everything because I ran out of money.

- Sara, Germany

Oh gosh, just about everything

- Elle, Canada

Such desperation for money combined with work restrictions explains a more human picture of why WHMs may be willing do the work Australians won't do, providing an alternative perception compared with previous studies. Regarding wage earnings, the Tan et al.'s 2009 study wrote:

The setting of wage for WHMs differs to that of the general population, and visaed immigrants. For example, the literature for immigrant labour market outcomes shows that English language ability and education level strongly influence wage rates (Lester, 2007). For WHMs, however, education and English language ability play only a very small role. WHMs are not seeking long-term security or advancement prospects; they are also likely to be flexible about their reservation wage—that is, the minimum wage rate for

which they are prepared to work. Consequently, short-term employment to finance a holiday may see relatively highly educated, English speaking WHMs accepting a relatively low wage rate. It seems likely that wage outcomes are a combination of demand and supply side factors: the interaction of the availability of jobs, and the willingness of WHMs to accept jobs, influences wages. Because of the short term nature of employment, employers appear to be less concerned with 'human capital' attributes while WHMs are probably more flexible regarding their job type and wage rate than in the general Australian population. (Tan et al. 2009, 23)

This study compares WHMs to immigrant labour, yet WHMs are not immigrants per say; many WHMs are on a holiday and the thought of seeking long-term security or advancement proves false because such action is also restricted by visa stipulations. How many career-oriented job lasts less than 6 months? Immigrants can apply for any jobs including permanent positions, WHMs cannot. Considering many WHMs are non-native English speaking, their chances for finding employment that require interaction with the Australian public are even less. Such as one German WHM encountered who had been offered a position on a remote farm/roadhouse in the Outback; she had met the proprietor while on a tour that passed through and was hired to come return and work at the farm as a general, all-round, worker with the employers full acknowledgement that her language skills were suitable enough. After traveling to the remote location of the farm, even a few days earlier than anticipated per special request of the employer, with all of her belongings, she was fired after 2 days because her English wasn't adequate enough:

The owner of the farm -- she called me that I can start earlier and at first I said -- And I said, "I can't," and so she called me again and she said, "Please, come, come. We need you." And then I thought about it and I said, "Okay, I'll start earlier,"... Yes, um, at first yeah I start earlier I said and she know before that my English was very bad because we called very often and she saw me three times before, and then I start there and after two days she said to me I have to leave because my English is too bad and I have to work with customers...It's very weird because she know it before that my English was bad...and after two days she said to me that I have to leave...

- Carol, Germany

Even with a legal visa to work in Australia, for non-native English speakers options are limited at best. As a consequence, it is not surprising wage levels can be even less than the already low wage rates that English speaking WHMs are willing to accept as reported above; they sometimes take what jobs they can get, although this may not necessarily be what they aspire to do. What these WHMs unfortunately don't know ahead of time about these jobs they can get, however, is what they involve or what they should pay as opposed to what they do pay.

8.2 Naïve?

Part of Tan et al's 2009 study inquired as to how much WHMs knew about Australia before arriving. They found:

Only 10% of WHMs stated that they 'knew a lot' about Australia before their visit. Over a half of WHMs (54.1%) claimed that they 'knew some things' about Australia before they arrived. Note that more than one third (35.9%) of WHMs had 'very little' understanding of Australia (Tan et al, 2009, 81).

While the study attempted to measure how much WHMs knew, what the study did not inquire about was what exactly did WHMs "know" or "not know" about? Logically, as they are newcomers to a foreign country, one aspect WHMs may know little about is working in Australia. Do they know what minimum labour standards of compensation and taxation are? I indeed found that most WHMs I interviewed did not know their tax rate, what Superannuation is, nor the minimum wage.

Australian tax rates are determined by the Australian Taxation Office, or ATO, and essentially based on domicile and intent – how long you've been in the country and what you are doing there. It's quite a tricky situation for WHMs to determine if they've been in the country for a while. As WHMs are supposed to fill out a Tax File Number, or TFN, declaration form at the beginning of any job, they are supposed to answer the question "Are you an Australian resident for tax purposes?" from which one's answer depends on their particular situation. From the ATO website, advice for WHMs and International Students states:

- Answer 'no' so your employer takes out tax at the foreign resident rates if one of the following applies:
 - You are a working holidaymaker travelling and working in various locations in Australia

- You are holidaying in Australia
- You are visiting for less than six months

However, some WHMs who have been in the country longer than six months, in some situations, can technically apply for resident tax rates. When determining if a “resident” the ATO states:

Generally, you are an Australian resident for tax purposes if any of the following applies:

- You have always lived in Australia
- You moved to Australia and live here permanently
- You have been in Australia continuously for six months or more, and for most of the time you have been
 - In the same job, and
 - Living in the same place
 - You have been in Australia for more than half of the financial year, unless
 - Your usual home is overseas, and
 - You do not intend to live in Australia.

So if a WHM has been in the country for longer than 6 months and been in the same job or place for most of that time, they can legitimately claim a resident tax rate. Empirically though, for all apparent administration purposes, WHMs are intended by the ATO to be taxed as foreign residents due to their limitations toward work and the wording of ATO information, for example the “answer ‘no’...” directive above. During my field research, the following tax rates were applicable:

Foreign Resident Tax rates 2011-12

The following rates for 2011-12 apply from 1 July 2011.

Taxable income	Tax on this income
0 - \$37,000	29c for each \$1
\$37,001 - \$80,000	\$10,730 plus 30c for each \$1 over \$37,000
\$80,001 - \$180,000	\$23,630 plus 37c for each \$1 over \$80,000
\$180,001 and over	\$60,630 plus 45c for each \$1 over \$180,000

Resident Tax rates 2011-12

The following rates for 2011-12 apply from 1 July 2011.

Taxable income	Tax on this income
0 - \$6,000	<i>Nil</i>
\$6,001 - \$37,000	<i>15c for each \$1 over \$6,000</i>
\$37,001 - \$80,000	<i>\$4,650 plus 30c for each \$1 over \$37,000</i>
\$80,001 - \$180,000	<i>\$17,550 plus 37c for each \$1 over \$80,000</i>
\$180,001 and over	<i>\$54,550 plus 45c for each \$1 over \$180,000</i>

(ATO 2013. Individual income tax rates)

Roughly a handful of WHMs interviewed knew of the 29% tax rate and only a trio understood the foreign-resident/6 month separation standard for determining tax category, although not entirely...

Me: Uh, how are working holidaymakers uh, categorized when it comes to paying tax? Do you know what category they are in?

Carl: Uh, if you work for more than six months for the same, in the same city -- you are taxed as a uh, Australian.

Me: Okay. Uh, so what is the tax rate for working holidaymakers in Australia?

Carl: 18 percent.

Me: How much?

Carl: 18...I'm not sure.

Indeed the 6 month separation can be confusing since to qualify for the lower tax rate the conditions can be vague; you have been in Australia continuously for six months or more, and for “most of the time” you have been in the same job, and living in the same place (ATO 2013). While some WHMs may indeed stay stationary for an extended time, the work stipulation essentially limits the chance of this being possible according to work standards. But what counts as “most of the time” – it not clear, and some WHMs take advantage of this:

I think there are two categories, there is one when you are staying less than six months and then it is about 30% of tax you and there is another -- I think you can also apply to a tax file number which says that you are a habitant and then they don't tax you that much, but I don't know if one of them was kind of -- not really illegal, but it's kind of cheating and I don't know if there's a difference in maybe English and Germans because of the commonwealth thing, but I'm not sure.

- Madeline, Germany

Even if not knowing tax rate, the amount of money one makes is still a conscious monitoring in some regards. Almost all interviewed knew that they could get their tax refunded, which such knowledge could be supplemented by companies that specifically advertise to WHMs about tax refund services. Services, such as Taxback.com can file for Australian tax refunds on behalf of international applicants, taking a commission of the refund amount as payment (see Image 9). A hint at this notion was given by one WHM who was under the impression that she had to pay to get it back:

No, [can't get tax back] because has some, have to pay some money.

-Jessica, Japan

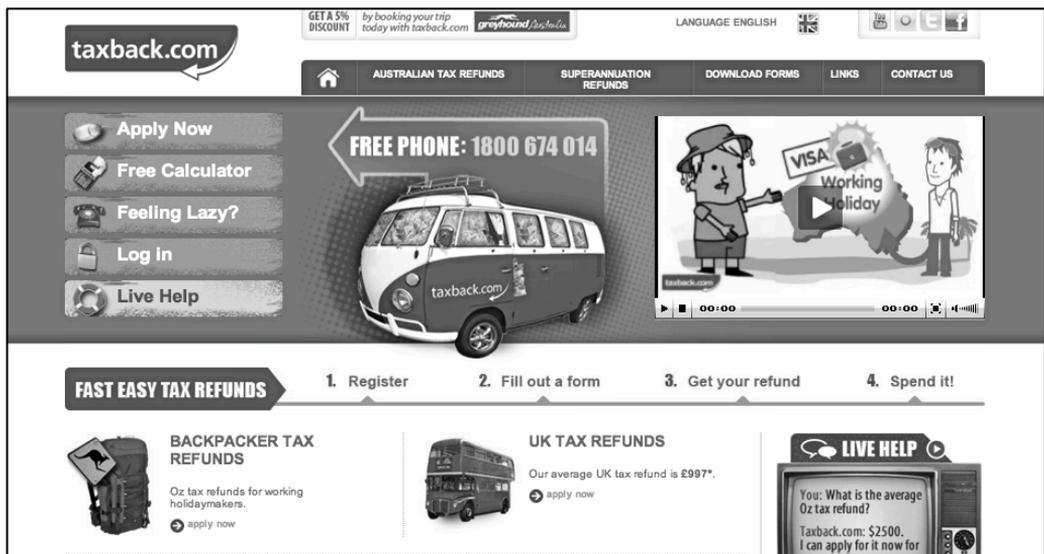


Image 9. "Backpacker Tax Refund Services" for WHMs (From taxback.com.au)

Such are the supplemental services that have emerged from a large population of foreign tourists who undertake work in Australia and are not wholly familiar with, or perhaps concerned with learning, Australian tax law.

While taxation as a premise may be a common concept to understand, Superannuation, or “Super”, is a bit trickier. As explained by the ATO, “Super is money set aside over your lifetime to provide for your retirement. For most people, super begins when you start work and your employer starts paying super for you....If you're eligible, your employer has to pay 9% super contributions for you in addition to your salary or wages” (ATO, 2013). As a WHM, employers must pay Super for you if you are eligible, with the ATO describing eligibility:

If you're eligible for compulsory super guarantee contributions, your employer must pay them into a complying super fund. Generally, you're entitled to super guarantee contributions from an employer if you're between 18 and 69 years old (inclusive) and paid \$450 or more (before tax) in a month. It doesn't matter whether you're full time, part time or casual, and it doesn't matter if you're a temporary resident of Australia. If you're under 18 you must meet these conditions and work more than 30 hours per week to be entitled to super contributions. If you're a contractor paid wholly or principally for your labour, you're considered an employee for super purposes and entitled to super guarantee contributions under the same rules as employees. If you're eligible for super guarantee contributions, at least every three months your employer must pay into your super account a minimum of 9% of your ordinary time earnings, up to the 'maximum contribution base'. These contributions are in addition to your salary or wages (ATO)

Just over half of WHMs interviewed comprehended the basic concept of Superannuation, understanding it as a form of social insurance or pension retirement, while the rest had no idea what it was.

You know what, that's like a pension isn't it?

- Jackie, UK (England)

One who did not know had seen the super' contributions on her payslips but never bothered to investigate what it was for

I don't know. I have seen that on my uh, pay, pay slip....But I don't know what is it.

- Anne, France

The inclusion of Super to the paycheck of WHMs is a curious requirement. I had first worked a cash-in-hand job in Melbourne in 2008, before getting a proper job with a temp agency as an event waiter. My reaction to seeing this listing on my pay slips was similar to Anne's above – I thought, what the hell is “superannuation”? If WHMs are for all intensive administrative purposes supposed to be on holiday in Australia, why is a pension savings added to their earnings? They can qualify to get it back, yet the addition of it in the first place contradicts limiting employment restrictions; it is money given for future social security but WHMs are not citizens or even permanent residents for that matter. Most likely, it's easier administratively to simply require these additions and then refund them later versus restructuring guidelines in national payroll and accounting standards to accommodate foreign working tourists. Or more dubiously, it's also a means to benefit the economy. Regarding illegal migrant workers in the USA, Knerr and Haidenger write that,

An OECD expert referred to anecdotal evidence from the US that undocumented migrants offer benefits to the economy when paying enormous amounts into social security schemes. This is because increasingly, in the US, undocumented migrants use forged papers, can receive a social security card and set up an account, therefore being paid at least a minimum wage and making contributions to social security and social insurance, but they will never withdraw/benefit from these schemes because they are undocumented. He commented 'this is a ballooning amount of resources, which is a gift to native born workers in the social security fund.' (2009,73)

While superannuation can be directed to fund accounts operated by financial institutions or associations, such resources for these entities offer accessible capital. As mentioned, a WHM can apply for the Super funds to be returned eventually, yet until they do so or if they fail to do so, for all intensive purposes the money simply remains where it is. For employers though, it easier for them to disregard Super in the first place with short-term workers so that they do not have to pay extra for employees who will ultimately leave; employers might as well pay cash and keep compensation paperwork and cash-flow management as easy as possible to administer for themselves. This has even been recognized by some Australian labour agencies who acknowledge that contractors neglect legal requirements (ABC 2013). Yet if an employer is withholding Super, there is an additional chance that they are not paying standard wages or casual loading as well.

During the time of my field research, the minimum wage was \$15 for adult employees, not covered by an award or agreement. On July 1st 2011, during the field work period, the adult national minimum wage was increased to \$15.51 per hour, or from \$569.90 per week to \$589.30 (FairWork 2013). When it came to national minimum wage, only a scarce number interviewees knew the rate⁶¹, with some taking guesses as to what it was:

I, I don't know but maybe around um... fifteen?

- Jessica, Japan

The rest either didn't know or gave drastically low answers

The minimum is ten dollars.

- Carol, Germany

⁶¹ \$15 was accepted answer as correct although it changed in July to \$15.51. Although casual workers receive an extra percentage because of casual loading, I have considered that as a workers right as it is an extra entitlement added to those workers not given basic benefits by traditional work structures, and will be discussed later.

One of the allures of international travel is the desire to experience new people, places, cultures and more, and similar to Cohen's (1973) "drifters", WHMs seek to pay their own way throughout their travels. Yet, attractions and experiences encountered during a working holiday essentially are "new", because there is not prior first-person knowledge or experience. And if a tourist escapade in a new country also involves working, its very likely that a lack of prior knowledge also includes understanding of basic work standards, and hence a flexibility or willingness to take up any job without fully understanding what one should be legally paid, or if necessary to pay tax as well. While the holiday side of a working holiday not only infers a lack of experience with the road ahead, WHMs do seek out prior information about what a "Working holiday" involves with some even procuring the services of for-profit companies to help them plan everything needed to go on a working holiday, even a job.

8.3 “Working Holiday” Jobs

Besides undertaking jobs that are most readily available or presented to them without full understanding what minimum level of wage are, some WHMs also tend to have a certain view of what are and what are not “working holiday” jobs. When discussing work in the context of a working holiday, most WHMs suggested that work differs from other forms of work and is indeed activity specific; work, or jobs, done on a working holiday are not the same as those done at home, are temporary or low skilled:

It's going to be temporary.

- Brad, USA

It's easier work -- not easier, but you don't need as much qualifications you would need to get a real job back at home....It's easy to get because you don't need any qualifications...

- Dustin, Germany

It's more short term and not stuff you generally want to do the rest of your life, just a means to something

- Cathy, UK (England)

I think the work that you do is different. I think that backpackers get normally work like cleaning or fruit picking...it's more physical and maybe you work more than you would work when you would work at home.

- Madeline, Germany

This point rings true for logical reasons. The simple restriction of 6 months employment with one employer naturally limits options for work to those of temporary, seasonal, or menial positions – that which is readily available as

explained. Not only does it demonstrate logic, it is also a reverberation that temporary work is a work situation some would not accept normally, that task is not only sub-par but the temporary contract aspect as well.

Yet such revelations are also interesting to hear in that if WHMs are in fact willing to do anything, as some have claimed, why do some believe that the work on a working holiday is supposed to be limited to work they do not do at home rather than limited by work restriction? Is this a conscious assessment of the actual Australian labour landscape in comparison to their jobs or qualifications at home, or is it also a preconceived notion influenced by external agents? I find that these beliefs may or may not be a result of advertising of the WHV done by Australian tourism entities and other third party travel and visa companies or organizations that procure, or “assist” in the procurement of, the WHV for them. All of these entities – DIAC or private – advertise the visa through various mediums, the most common of which is the internet due to its global reach beyond Australia. In fact, internet sites are the second most utilized method for WHMs to find out about working holiday visas to Australia; the first being word of mouth⁶². However, as ones friend or acquaintance obviously cannot legally grant a working holiday visa to Australia to them, websites still play an important functional informational role after initial exposure from peers. If one wants to know the activities involved with a “working holiday” in Australia and how to obtain one, it is logical to propose these mediums are the chief places of inquiry.

The Australian government’s promotion of a “working holiday” in Australia actively takes place through the website of Tourism Australia (TA), “...the Australian Government statutory authority responsible for international and domestic tourism marketing...” (Australia.com 2013, Privacy Policy). Here is how TA’s website, *Australia.com*, explains working on a “working holiday” (see Image 10).

⁶² According to the 2009 *Evaluation of the Working Holiday Maker Program*

Working and Volunteering in Australia

We don't just want you to work, work, work, but the fact is, the Working Holiday Visa provides a great opportunity to experience the real Australia and top up your travel funds along the way. You get to live like an Aussie and get the extra cash to spend on adventures across the country.

Apart from typical jobs you can get almost anywhere, there's some work that will give you great bragging rights. Perhaps you've always wanted to be a surf instructor, or cruise tropical islands while you train to be a deckhand on a yacht. Try your hand as a jackaroo on an outback property or guide tourists on dolphin swim trips – there are loads of fantastic experiences to have while you earn.

Or have you ever thought about these?

Harvest Trail
Get stuck in to life in our agricultural regions. There are plenty of jobs to choose from including fruit picking, cellar hands, forklift drivers and more.

There are varied jobs ready and waiting for you. Check them out here:
<https://jobsearch.qgov.au/harvesttrail>.

And if you spend three months doing this sort of specified work in a regional area, that'll help you qualify for a [Second Working Holiday Visa](#) if you want another year with us.

For more details, [click here](#).

If you are granted a Working Holiday Visa you can:

- enter Australia at any time within 12 months of the visa grant date
- stay for up to 12 months in Australia
- leave and re-enter Australia any number of times in the 12 months from the date of first entry
- undertake temporary employment in Australia for up to six months with any one employer
- study for up to 4 months.

Hospitality
On top of all that, there are jobs in hospitality all over the country. You'll need to complete a simple course – the Responsible Service of Alcohol training course – but once you've got that under your belt, you can apply for any of these jobs:

- Bar Person
- Bottle Shop (off-licence) Attendant
- Waiter
- Security Officer / Crowd Controller
- Flight Attendant
- Licensed Club Staff
- Volunteers Working at Licensed Functions

Volunteering
This is a great way to find volunteering work all over Australia ranging from helping to organise music festivals to IT support. See what's on offer
<http://www.qgovolunteer.com.au/volunteer/default.htm>



Australia: your guide to adventure

24 pages of tips and useful info for how to kick-start your Aussie adventure. [View online or download now](#)

Hear from the Experts who are already on their Working Holiday Visas



Working Holiday Visa Checklist

Make sure you have everything covered before you take off to Oz! [Read more](#)

Spend 30 days in Oz

Check out some of the exciting experiences available. [Read more](#)

Image 10. Working on a Working Holiday Visa (TA 2013)

From this advertisement, language such as, “...Perhaps you've always wanted to be a surf instructor, or cruise tropical islands while you train to be a deckhand on a yacht. Try your hand as a jackaroo on an outback property or guide tourists on dolphin swim trips – there are loads of fantastic experiences to have while you earn....” paints an enticing picture of the prospective dream jobs associated with tourist activities or attractions such as surfing, visiting tropical beaches or the Outback. But afterward, it directs WHMs to the Harvest Trail – fruit picking – followed by hospitality jobs, and unpaid volunteering work. Such reiterates those described by jobs that are available although utilizing the allure of exotic Australian locations in which a job could be done. Of course this is just an advertisement and not necessarily acute depiction of the only work available or undertaken. Yet the WHMP has actively been advertised proactively in mediums beyond the TA website. For example, TA developed specific campaigns, “...promoting Australia as a ‘working holiday’ destination in key markets including the UK, Korea, France and Germany” (Jarvis and Peel 2009, 5).



Image 11. Tourism Australia's on-line campaign for the WHM visa in the UK 2009 (From Jarvis and Peel 2009 & TA website)

Regardless, it is government marketing of suggested work one should take on a working holiday, demonstrating a state's depiction of "working holiday" work. Before any activity can be done in Australia though, work or holiday, the journey to get there must be planned.

The pursuit of a working holiday requires travel to Australia and various corresponding travel expenses, not only incurred on the way to and fro, but also while there. Such expenses include airfare, travel insurance, accommodation, ground transport, and so on; similar to those expenses one would incur if only on going on a "holiday". Conveniently, services for such needs are offered by the third party travel and visa companies⁶³ mentioned that assist in obtaining a visa; they utilize the "working holiday" context to market tourist specific, or other, services to this unique demographic of working tourist. Airfare, accommodation, tours, surf lessons, visas – these companies can arrange them all. Many also offer extra support tied to looking for work in Australia, like job search advice, filing for an Australian tax number, or opening an Australian bank account. In fact, for many travellers, the planning of a "working holiday" trip itself can start off as a semi-packaged travel deal sold by these agencies. The company that obtained my visa in 2008, BUNAC, was, and still is, indeed such a company; they offer an Australia working holiday work and travel package as well. Take for example, STA Travel's *Australia Work Australia Program*:

The Work and Travel Package helps you prepare for everything you'll need...You'll have help opening a bank account, getting a tax ID number, finding a place to live, getting a job, etc. This is going to be an exciting year. No need to stress. The Work and Travel Package takes care of you (statravel.com 2011)

⁶³ For example

Work n Holiday - <http://worknholiday.com/wnhweb/>

International Exchange Programs - <http://www.iep.org.au>

STA Travel - <http://www.statravel.com>

BUNAC - <http://www.bunac.org>

SWAP – <http://www.swap.ca>

Travel Works – <http://www.travelworks.de>

Or Travel Works' Working Holiday in Australia Program:

If you plan your own working holiday in Australia, you will need to apply for your Working Holiday Visa, find work and accommodation, figure out which regions of Australia you want to travel to...You'll also have to find out where you can get a tax number, take out a bank account, and search for travel insurance. Sounds like a bit more than just booking a ticket, right? Then why waste your precious travel time in Australia, when TravelWorks can help you sort the details? We are able to organize your working holiday in Australia swiftly, professionally, and reliably. With our specialized knowledge and years of experience in Australia, we won't let you down (TravelWorks 2013)

These above packages do not necessarily state an activity of work, in line within Uriely's proposal, as a part of the tourist experience, but simply offer services solely related to the prospect of working in Australia, ie. opening a bank account, getting a tax number. Some agencies, however, do mention types of jobs that can be pursued; the SWAP website states that:

With the vast number of employment opportunities available in the tourism industry, SWAPPERS typically locate jobs on the busy east coast, but many participants choose to remain in the thriving cities and earn excellent wages doing clerical or career-related work (swap.ca 2011, Australia).

Additionally, there are also some programs which guarantee job placement, such as STA Travel's *Ranch Hand* Program (see Image 12) that guarantees placement doing "Farm work, domestic work, childcare + more" (statravel.com 2011, Ranch Hand; also see Appendix). While this work placement is guaranteed, it is not specific in job task or activity – it only mentions generalized types of work, similar to SWAP's "clerical" work. Such a program though does advertise work being a part of the tourist experience, like Uriely's working holiday makers.

AUSTRALIA OUTBACK RANCH HAND



STA TRAVEL

LOCATION: Start in Brisbane; placements throughout Outback/rural Australia



Work on ranches, cattle/sheep stations, or farms deep in the Outback for an unforgettable experience that will teach you things you never dreamed, all while earning money!

QUICK REFERENCE:

TYPES OF JOBS:	• Farm work, domestic work, childcare + more
WAGES:	• Varies, average salary \$230 - \$320 per week with room and board. If position does not include room & board, salary will be higher
INCLUDES:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guaranteed paid work placement • Room & board for most placements • Arrival airport transfer and orientation in Brisbane • 3 nights "Jet Lag Recovery" weekend at Rainbow Beach • Transportation to training site/farm • 5 days orientation & training with room & board • International Traveler's Insurance • Registration for Tax File Number • Bank Account set up • Pre-departure and local support • 24-hour telephone helpline
NOT INCLUDED:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International transportation • Visa Fees • Personal expenses • Meals and activities at Rainbow Beach
FEES:	• From \$1,990 (With Visa Processing \$2,265)



COUNTRY FACTS
 Capital City: Canberra
 Population: 19.9 million
 Currency: Australian Dollars (A\$)

Image 12. STA Travels Outback Ranch Hand work program (STA Travel 2011)

Besides text, these third party sites, as well as the TA site, use visual layouts that incorporate multiple pictures of previous working holiday makers⁶⁴ indulging in the activities and landscapes that Australia has to offer. Pictures of kangaroos are commonplace, representing the wildlife unique to Australia, as well as shots of the Sydney Opera House and the giant Uluru⁶⁵, which represent important Australian landmarks not to be missed. As the majority of the Australian population lives in coastal cities, pictures of surfing and city nightlife are used to convey cultural life in cities by the sea (see Images 13, 14, & 15). Such marketing also reflects that the Australian beach culture that became popular in the 1960s hasn't waned one bit. These images are intended to demonstrate the alluring pursuits that can be done while visiting the "land down under". While occasionally there are pictures of smiling baristas, waiters, or fruit pickers used to portray jobs held by previous WHMs, interestingly, I found these mediums to hardly discuss thoroughly the specific tasks, conditions, or environments of work – only services that supplement the search for work, types of jobs that can be done, and pictures of former WHMs "working".

⁶⁴ Some appear authentic while others sometimes appear to be stock photos

⁶⁵ A giant rock formation in Australia



Image 13. Working holiday advertisement images (Images borrowed from Australia.com, Bunac.org, worknholiday.com, travelworks.co.uk, 2011)



Work Australia

At a glance

- £ 359
- ✈ Group Flight option
- ✓ UK / Irish residents aged 18-30
- 🕒 Stay up to 12 months



For the ultimate Australian experience, head down under with BUNAC! We can help with advice about what to do when you land, bespoke travel insurance, and fun and useful add-ons. You also have the option to travel over on a Group Flight or let us take the hassle out of sorting your visa. With four offices across Australia BUNAC can help you

Image 14. BUNAC Work Australia (from bunac.org)

Tips en Venn // Hvorfor Go

LAND PROGRAM REISEFORSIKRING BROSJYRE PÅMELDING

WORK & TRAVEL AUSTRALIA **JOB** REISE & AVGANGER PRISER VISUM BOFORHOLD AKTIVITETER FAKTA OM & FAQ BILDER PÅMELDING



JOBB I AUSTRALIA

Work & Travel Company-jobservice - jobbhjelp gjennom hele året Down Under!

Som deltaker på vårt Work & Travel Australia-program blir du medlem i Work & Travel Companys egen arbeidsformidling; Work & Travel Company-jobservice. Dette er det største jobbformidlingskontoret i Australia, og vi er de eneste i Norge som har avtale med dem.

10 RASKE
Hvorfor velge å reise til Australia med GoXplore?

- ✓ Vi er Nordens største spesialist på å kombinere jobb og reise rundt i verden
- ✓ Vi har enten reist på programmet eller bodd og jobbet i Australia over lengre perioder
- ✓ Vi har eksklusive avtaler for Norge med egen arbeidsformidler for backpackere i hele Australia!
- ✓ Du får bla. bankkonto, skattnummer, jobbtips, mobilnummer og innføring i sikkerhet på stranden
- ✓ Billig bagasjeoppbevaring på kontoret i Sydney
- ✓ 24 timers døgnåpent nødnummer i Australia

Image 15. Norwegian working holiday agent (From goexplore.no)

Evidently, if one wants to go on a “working holiday” to Australia and utilizes these mediums as a foreshadow of what a “working holiday” incorporates, they will primarily be presented with pictures and text of numerous holiday activities that can be done and told of the work formalities that need to be taken care of prior to work, accompanied by pictures of smiling WHMs; this is the representation of a “working holiday” in Australia. There appears little, if any, description of the exact work task that WHMs may likely face or the conditions of employment, although suggestions for those types of jobs other WHMs take or what should be looked at. This is quite possibly because, in reality, even if a company guarantees job placement, ultimately, any agreement regarding employment will usually involve the individual WHM and the employer who pays the wage, not these companies; work, actual tasks, wage, and environment cannot really accurately be known until physically in Australia. This would also be the same for those procuring their visa

directly from the Australian government. While the holiday activities involved with a “working holiday” may be easy to foretell – going to the beach, visiting the outback, petting a kangaroo – actual environments of work seem more difficult to presage. Thus, the jobs available on a “working holiday” can still be a “grey” area for those coming to Australia with this visa and pursuit in mind, although they are directed toward certain jobs more so than others.

Looking at these mediums as advertisements solely though overlooks the fact that there are persons at these agencies who communicate with prospective WHMs who purchase their services. One WHM interviewed actually did receive an evaluation of what to expect when working from an agency, albeit in doing so they in fact told her to expect less than minimum wage:

Me: Okay, so basically [Third Party Agency] was...that gave you all your information on coming to Australia?

Mary: Yes.

Me: Okay. Um, what sort of things did they tell you about working a working holiday in Australia?

Mary: Uh, I asked them about that because I wanted to make sure that I would get a job because it was really important that I got a job once I got there because I didn't have any money to -- like I wouldn't be able to just travel. So, I, I asked them, I emailed them and asked them what were my chances were of getting a job, so I knew -- they told me that it was, as long as you tried you would get a job.

Me:...did they say anything about what jobs you could do or how much you would get paid?

Mary: Yeah, they gave me a, like a minimum and a yeah, a maximum.

Me: Okay.

Mary: They said, they said between \$10 and \$20 an hour.

And even after working in Australia for seven months, Mary still did not know the national minimum wage when interviewed. As such mediums serve as initial information points for many eventual WHMs, at face value they can sculpt the perception of what a “working holiday” job is, yet paint a less than accurate perception about what environments of work will actually encompass in Australia.

While pilgrims in 15th century Venice could count on travel entities and official guides to offer legitimate and accurate information for those far away from home (Hindley 1983) or Thomas Cook's tour packages of the 19th century planned every stage of an adventure abroad, today some "Working holiday" travel agencies simply sell the ability to legally work and facets that are needed for such – a bank account, a tax number, a mobile phone – and that WHMs could potentially work in certain areas, yet their actual describing of working in Australia is quite possibly vague at best.

8.4 A Second Working Holiday

In the middle of the 1990s, alarm within the agricultural industry over the lack of seasonal labour generated a federal government inquiry into the practicalities of national labour resources available, subsequently known as the *National Harvest Trail Working Group*. Amongst analysis of other agricultural industry aspects, the report produced by the inquiry brought to light various strategies to increase the recruitment of seasonal labour by making information on job openings more available to the general public. One of these strategies was to create “harvest trails” to motivate unemployed Australians to take on harvest jobs while exploring Australia (Bell and Hanson 2007, 103). The report proposed a series of “trails” that connected different harvest locations by work opportunities available during the different grow seasons (see Image 16).

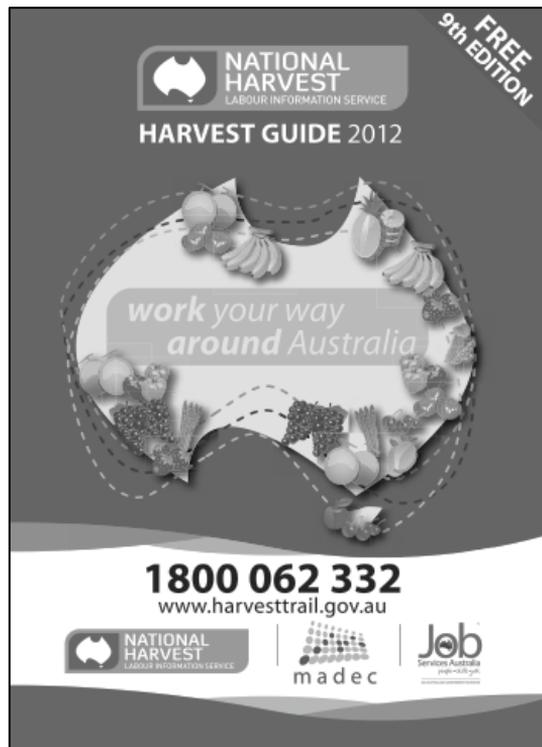


Image 16. Downloadable Harvest Trail Guide published each year (From jobsearch.gov.au)

In addition to the creation of these “trails”, the inquiry’s report identified two additional groups that could be categorized as potential seasonal workers: Working Holiday Makers and young Australians/New Zealanders looking for temporary work (Bell and Hanson 2007, 103). Working Holiday Makers were later claimed by the agricultural sector, to a Joint Standing Committee on Migration in 1997, to be a vital labour source for produce growers and that the WHMP should be expanded to provide more of them to the labour pool (Bell and Hanson 2007, 103). In 2002/2003, the industry experienced as massive drought, resulting in the loss of 70,000 agriculture jobs, or a decline of around 15 percent of the industry (see Figure 20) at that time (Productivity Commission 2005, 94).

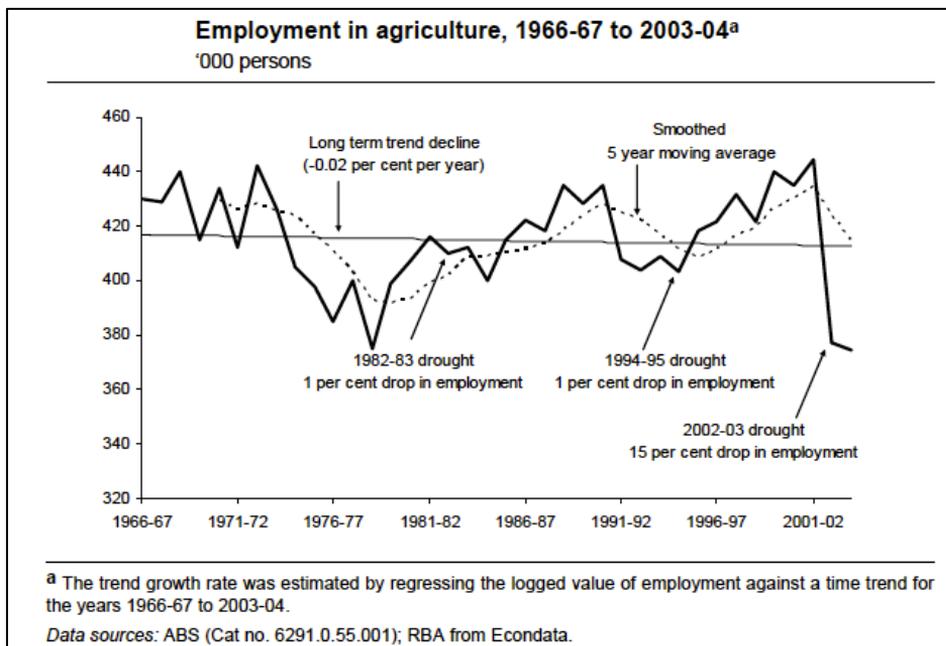


Figure 20. Drop in Employment in Australian Agriculture (Productivity Commission 2005)

Its with little surprise, in April of 2005, the Working Holiday Maker Program was modified to encourage WHMs to undertake agricultural work by granting access to another 12 month work visa to those who complete 88 days work of "...seasonal harvest work in regional Australia", with the implementation of the decision coming into effect in November of that year (Mares 2005; DIAC 2011). Although this change didn't guarantee that WHMs would solve the agricultural sectors labour needs, it was a major change to the program by enabling foreign travellers the opportunity to stay twice as long within the country, and thus providing the seasonal labour market with extended access to more "backpacker" labour (see Image 17). Further, Hugo notes that WHMs, "...have become a crucial element in the harvesting workforce and labour in the intensive agriculture sector when there are seasonal peaks in demand for labour" (Hugo 2009, 14).

Home How to apply Getting Around Getting Here Videos Working What's on Study in Oz Surfing 2nd Working Holiday Visa



Second Working Holiday Visa

Right, so you've been here a year and you've realised that there's still loads you want to do. No problem. With a Second Working Holiday Visa you can either extend your stay or come back again for another year before you turn 31. To get the visa, you need to have completed a minimum of 3 months' 'specified work' such as fruit picking in an eligible regional area.

For exact details on whether you're eligible for a Second Working Holiday Visa [click here](#).

Now here's where the adventure starts all over again. Even with a year to travel around, we bet you didn't have time to do everything you wanted first time round. There's that outback pub with the friendly locals you promised to visit again, a new season on the farm where you made so many friends, and the amazing beach you saw on your road trip but didn't have time to stop.

A Second Working Holiday Visa is your chance to fill in the gaps, relive the best bits and extend your trip even longer. There's so much to do in Australia, you'll be wondering if you'll even be able to pack it all into a Second Working Holiday Visa.

Go on, give it a try.

To meet other like-minded travellers who are planning to go to Australia or to get the latest tips from people who are in Oz or have just come home, visit us on Facebook.

 Find us on Facebook

Share Like 60: Tweet

Australia: your guide to adventure

24 pages of tips and useful info for how to kick-start your Aussie adventure.
View online or [download now](#)

Hear from the Experts who are already on their Working Holiday Visas



Image 17. Second Working Holiday Visa (From Australia.com 2013)

The creation of the opportunity for a second WHV for 417 visa holders is a clear motivator for WHMs who want to continue their working holiday in Australia to undertake agricultural work, which is often reported as precarious work, at some point during their working holiday. While I found this to be a fairly obvious, Jarvis and Peel's research amongst WHM fruit pickers in Mildura confirmed further, although part of their conclusion suggest the benefits for Australia in WHMs undertaking of such work. They write, "In addition, the lure of the second 12 month WHM visa motivates many travellers to seek work in regional Australia thus increasing their dispersion throughout the country where they make a significant contribution to regional tourism economies" (Jarvis and Peel 2009, 14). So although WHMs are directed toward precarious forms of work, they benefit the regional communities of Australia by doing so. This reflects the previous notion of Australian studies preoccupation with effects of WHMs within Australia, yet not vice versa. Further, the ATEC believes that WHMs are a necessary labour supply as, "In many ways, the regional employment market 'fails' without some outside assistance. Job seekers outside of these areas are often reluctant to relocate too far from family and friends, particularly for jobs that are only seasonal in nature" (ATEC, 2012). Thus if Australians are not willing to do this work, someone has to and hence the creation of an increased incentive for WHMs to do so. In fact, when Queensland was hit by cyclone Yasi in February 2011, causing massive flooding and damage to many parts of northern Queensland, working holiday makers were seen as an accessible resource in helping with the post-flooding clean up efforts; the second year in Australia being the motivator to draw them to do so as requirements were modified to accept volunteer work:

In the areas that are still affected, Working Holiday Visa holders are being encouraged to assist with reconstruction efforts by volunteering their time. If the volunteer work falls under the definition of 'specified work' and is conducted within an eligible part of regional Australia, it can count towards the 88 days of work that visa holders must undertake in order to be eligible for a second Working Holiday Visa (Tourism Australia 2011).

Rodney Harrex, Tourism Australia's Regional General Manager for the UK/Northern Europe, said of this offer to WHMs, "This is a great way to support the reconstruction effort, explore the country and sample the Aussie

lifestyle,”(TA 2011). Such is a continued promotion that any type of work in Australia is associated with experiencing the “Aussie” lifestyle, including rebuilding towns destroyed by floods for that matter. Besides availability, WHMs are willing to undertake some forms precarious work as they are rewarded for doing such with a second working holiday in Australia.

9 Precarious Working Tourists

Up until now, I have tried to demonstrate that working holiday makers (WHMs) are seemingly precarious workers due to the nature of the positions they are reported to undertake within particular industries as compared to other precarious workers worldwide and in Australia. A factor that potentially withholds their circumstance as precarious in other discussions, despite report of poor treatment, is by chance their dual role as tourist or backpacker, in study and also tourism expenditure. Their phenomena in study has so far been associated with backpackers or tourists, and migrants or immigrants, yet not another similar group which I believe share more in common with them, working tourists, who even in fact are discussed within contexts of those who go on a “working holiday”. Beyond these discussions, I have tried to also give insight into the position of my research approach of being a WHM myself as participant observer and how this method of analysis can provide an alternative viewpoint of WHMs by examining their activities and perceptions looking from the inside out, as opposed to prior studies looking from the reverse. Based on my experiences working in Australia in 2008, I believed that WHMs were not only precarious in the work that they do, but that they also had varying views, and priorities of “work” and “holiday” in the context of a “working holiday”, thus contributing even more so to their vulnerability, if not ultimately doing such despite themselves. Further, I believed that were lacked knowledge about undertaking paid employment in Australia which I discussed a bit prior, yet to the extent, again, that perhaps they contributed to their own precarious work prospects through their own situation of unawareness or care for such. In this chapter, I will discuss these varying perceptions and priorities, as well as a perceived naivety, if you will, toward work and how this contributes to a further state of vulnerability as workers. Also, I will discuss WHM perceptions toward holidaying in Australia regarding roles as being “backpackers” beyond WHMs.

9.1 Precariously Naïve

According to Dow et al., the most important minimum labour standards or rights guaranteed for most Australian include:

- Minimum wages;
- Holiday (annual leave);
- Sick leave;
- Carers and personal leave;
- Long service leave;
- Redundancy pay;
- Parental leave;
- Community service leave;
- Notice periods required to terminate the employment relationship;
- Maximum weekly hours of work plus reasonable additional hours;
- Family-life balance- flexible working arrangements; and
- Unfair dismissal protection and protection from discriminatory dismissal.

(Dow et. al. 2009, 15-16)

Yet as mentioned, casual workers have less entitlement than those of contract or full-time workers, narrowing the above list even further. Nonetheless rights and entitlements exist, such as those presented earlier. While the old saying may be “A fool and his money are soon parted”, well, sometimes so is the WHM soon parted with his rights. Besides lack of knowledge of basic standards such as minimum wage, taxation, and Superannuation, I found that WHMs often do not know their

rights as workers in Australia, nor minimum labour standards, thus putting themselves at further risk of being susceptible to exploitation. When asked if familiar with Australian workers rights in general⁶⁶, all but several were not. Yet of those who were “familiar”, when asked further what the rights were, none could provide a clear answer or recite any specific entitlement, although two referenced they were similar to their home countries:

Uh, like, um, I assume they're pretty close to, uh, what America has....I'm sure it includes, uh, first they have a strong -- they have strong unions here so I assume there's the 40-hour workweek, the safe environment to work in. Um, uh, I'm sure... There's lots of other safety stuff.

Brad, USA

Yeah, I think the same rights like Germany. Um, is the boss can't touch you, he -- if you work he have to pay for you, for example, and if you don't like your job you can quit the job.

- Carol, Germany

Alarmingly, one respondent revealed she had not heard of “workers rights” until brought up in our interview, albeit perhaps she may have had an understanding if interviewed in her mother tongue rather than English:

I don't know. I don't know working, worker's right....I hear first time now.

- Jessica, Japan

This was quite curious to hear. Why would persons go through the trouble of procuring a legal right to work in Australia, yet not familiarize themselves with

⁶⁶ Rather than inquire as to specific rights, a general inquiry was deemed as sufficient in essentially determining if any rights were known of. If a confirmation was given, they were asked to explain further what exactly were the rights hence demonstrating their knowledge, if any.

what exactly any of those rights entailed? Perhaps this is why WHMs may be willing to take on any job as they do not discern nor discriminate between what they should or should not versus can or cannot do. Despite lack of knowledge of workers rights, there was a universal belief it was important that workers have rights:

Yes...I think you have to work for a boss and when your boss don't treat you fair you can go to somewhere and say, "Well my boss don't treat me fair because I know it's right, I do right and I actually need more money for my job." I think it's very important, yes.

- Wendy, Netherlands

And all but one believed it important that one should know their rights when working on a working holiday in Australia.

Yeah...Hmm you have to know uh, what tax rate you pay for. Yeah.

- Eva, Taiwan

The one who spoke against the crowd implied that it wasn't so because she had completed her working holiday without knowing any, hence it wasn't necessary to know rights in order to undertake a working holiday:

Not really, because I didn't know them, and I'm already finished.

- Mary, Norway

Such would align the working holiday with more so being a tourism activity, in that work is a part of the tourist experience and the legality of employment circumstances is unimportant as long as the opportunity to work in Australia has

been fulfilled. Or perhaps there is a self-imposed right of passage associated with working in Australia, similar to the backpackers “disconnection from conventional principles of experience within the bounds of everyday life, which makes certain behaviours like risk-taking, uncertainty and adventure available to the backpacker more so than other tourist groups” (Adkins and Grant 2007, 4). Does working an uncertain and risky job offer WHM “road status” (Powers 2010)? Perhaps.

When following the general inquiry of rights and inquiring if WHMs, specifically, had rights and what were they, nearly half thought they did, yet many were not sure.

I don't know. Do they have rights?

- Madeline, Germany

So, ironically, while there was a common belief that workers rights are important and a near universal belief that you should know your rights if working on a working holiday, many WHMs interviewed in reality did not know or could not relay what some of their basic rights were. Not a single person noted casual loading entitlement, despite the fact many had worked casual jobs.

When I worked as a automobile detailer, my negotiations of wage started out \$20 per hour which I agreed to, and then was offered \$19 per hour plus a tour instead, which I thought about, and then agreed to as the cost of the tour would break down well in comparison to \$1 less off wage versus hours probably going to be worked as my verbal agreement was initially only to work for 2 weeks. After I agreed to that, my supervisor probed further asking if I'd take \$15 per hour cash-in-hand, which I naturally refused. By me “giving an inch” in agreeing to a lower wage, he tried to “take a foot”...and my casual loading. But that wasn't the end of pay concerns; after closer review of pay slips after two weeks, I realized I was only being paid \$18 per hour. This was later rectified after making a complaint, yet it still left me with a suspicious feeling toward my supervisor throughout the remainder of my employment. In comparison to some other WHMs I met though, I was lucky, I knew the minimum wage:

...I spoke with a Korean guy the other night while drinking and playing cards out in the hostel courtyard, who was working for \$12 per hour cash at a cafe in Sydney and living in a “Korean only” share house. He said that after 3 months of working, he was only able to travel for 3 weeks from the money he could save - Sydney was just too expensive

- from fieldwork journal, June 8th

In a sense, I found WHMs to be naïve in understanding their situation of work within Australia; they lacked knowledge about standards and rights yet perhaps assumed wages and entitlements would be provided as they should simply because they had a work visa. But being naïve isn't limited to workers rights or minimum wage, it also incorporates work situations and conditions. Agricultural work in Australia is demanding labour often involving work in remote regions. Bell and Hanson found that while experienced pickers sometimes plan their harvest trail in pursuit of a familiar crop to boost their efficiency and income, or avoid difficult crops they see as requiring backbreaking work, a large proportion of the WHMs, in some areas, will take up some of the most difficult work because they are less informed to what is fully entailed with their temporary work choice (Bell and Hanson 2007, 111-112). This was true of my covert work on the watermelon farm, where I learned what it is like to lift several hundred watermelons up to 11 hours per day with no shade from the sun except a baseball hat, in the middle-of-nowhere Outback of Australia (see Image 18).



Image 18. Picking Watermelons in Australia (from fieldwork)

I was hired via phone by a man named “Jeff” who assured me there was plenty of work hours available, there was internet, accommodation was quite “good” with a kitchen to cook food in, and that workers go for food “every week” to the nearest town which is about 100km away. He told me to bring sturdy shoes, a wide brim hat, sunscreen, gloves and that I would earn \$20 per hour for picking and \$19 for driving the tractor or doing other farm work. He also told me other guys working there were averaging earning between \$900-\$1200 per week. Here is my field journal entry when I realized I had been duped:

May 11th

The work is very demanding work and after all I've seen and heard after arrival, I'm still not sure of the pay rate. Yesterday [2 days after already beginning working] we met with "Harry" [at the end of the work day] the farm manager to go through an "introduction" where we signed an acknowledgement of the farm rules and safety regulations⁶⁷. We asked him about pay and he said he had no idea about this - he was only given a breakdown of the hours and that "Joe" [the team leader] and "Jeff" [the man who hired us via phone] figured out the pay. I feel quite vulnerable in that Matt and Mark [two others I travelled to the farm with] never even spoke to Jeff about coming down here - it was "Patrick", Matt's brother, who communicated with Jeff about the farm work and not a lot of the second hand information that they were given seems to be true...similar to the info I was given. There is no internet at the farm. The accommodation is not good [it was trailer homes formed into a horseshoe shape with a concrete slab as a patio in the middle and the entire area covered by a tin shed above. We did not have drinkable water, it had to be filled in a water cooler and hauled from the main work shed each evening when we returned to our lodging after finishing work]. There is a kitchen but we have to provide our own plates and utensils [I had none thus had to borrow Matt's]. The workers do not go up to "the nearest town" every week for supplies like Jeff mentioned to me over the phone. Apparently, through casual conversation, I've found that they only go every couple of weeks and buy food for the following several weeks. None of the guys here have their own vehicles except Matt and so are isolated to the farm and only have opportunities provided by the farm to get food at "the nearest town". It really is that far off the beaten track that hitch-hiking, even to "a roadhouse" 30k away would not be that easy necessarily [even if wanting to quit work].

After more casual conversation with some of the other workers while picking, I found that some of them had been given a similar recruitment-speech as me by Jeff, being misled about the living and working conditions. It seemed Jeff didn't even really know much about actual work conditions picking watermelons. For example, while he advised to bring sturdy work boots, after arriving, it seemed that all the other pickers wore sandals or went barefoot. Why? Because after watermelons have sat in the sun for several days or weeks, especially ones broken open or smashed (see Image 19), they begin to rot and smell literally like a baby's dirty diaper – it smells horribly nauseating. Whatever clothes or shoes you wear will

⁶⁷ We, the workers who took part in this session, did not receive a copy of this document.

eventually smell like this too, particularly shoes as they have the most contact with melons on the ground, and will become un-wearable in public at some point.



Image 19. Rotting Watermelons (Smashed watermelons smell repulsive if left in the sun to rot. In the right picture, the rock-like masses on the ground are sundried watermelons)

While this may sound like a trivial complaint of a foul smelling workplace, it's merely mentioned to exemplify the reality that we were unaware of some of the conditions of work we had gotten ourselves into and the gear we would need. But this is more pertinent in working with other fruits. One aspect of mango picking I was made aware of by numerous WHMs who had done such was that Mango sap can burn human skin when coming in contact with it, leaving visible rash marks (see Image 20) that itch and can cause even more severe results if coming in contact with the eye. On several occasions, when I was temporarily working the reception desk of a hostel, as part of participant work, Asian backpackers would arrive with very visible rash marks along their arms and on their face. In one instance, I nearly refused 3 Taiwanese girls accommodation thinking that their facial red marks were bedbug bites, which are a common occurrence amongst communal dormitories in hostels, well dirty ones at least, and can easily cause infestation if allowing those who have been exposed to bedbugs move from hostel to hostel without quarantining their clothes and backpacks. They explained that they had been working on a mango farm for 3 days and then quit because of the injuries from the sap. Seeing their wounds made me feel lucky that I had chosen to pursue work on a melon farm instead.



Image 20. Mango picking burns (Left: Mango sap burns from mango picking from WHM travel bog discussing '5 Things To Avoid When Picking Mangoes' at terencenoah.wordpress.com; Right: Mango tree pic from WA Government website)

Returning to my picking experience, seeing that work at the melon farm was becoming unpredictable each day in length sometimes working until after dark, and more importantly, on top of having already been lied to about the conditions, we were told several days in a row that the shopping day for supplies was being pushed back further and further – I decided to leave the farm as fast as possible under the pretence of going to meet my brother who may be coming to Sydney for a visit⁶⁸. Taking all my stuff with me, Matt, one my interviewees who I had

⁶⁸ As my brother was in Asia on business at this time and was potentially coming to Sydney for a business stop on his way home, I used his visiting as an excuse to leave the farm and go meet with him. As there was only one private vehicle on the farm, the movement of workers was extremely limited and I could not trust that other opportunities would arise to depart as more and more promises seemed to disappear regarding work conditions and even the ability to visit a normal

travelled to the farm with, had said he would drive me to a roadhouse where I would catch a bus as he had a car. Yet, in a last minute decision, our crew leader decided that himself and another worker would take me in the work truck, thus limiting the chance that perhaps Matt was “escaping” like I was. Luckily, I ran into Matt later on during my research, giving me the chance to see what happened to him since he stayed after I left:

July 12th

...Matt my Estonian friend from the watermelon farm. He was traveling with “John” his friend from Estonia who came to work on the farm as well. As it turns out, the work dried up at the farm and they ended up leaving because there was none. He told me that for the past few weeks, they were told there would be more work, but at the most it was only a few hours for a few days a week. John came to the farm by talking with Jeff [the guy who hired me and Matt] as well and Jeff promised there would be plenty of work, when in fact John got 3 days and then nothing more...it dried up....Other workers moved north to another farm where there was more work and they got first opportunity because they were experienced...regardless of the fact that Matt and the others were still being told there would be work at the farm [they were at]

As my inclinations had told me, Matt and John continued to be lied to. A key difference between them and myself though, was that as a native English speaker, my work prospects were greater in general; they stayed because they found it difficult to get hired at many other jobs due to their poor English and since someone was willing to hire them, they simply stayed. After failing to find a job after 3 or 4 days in the town where I ran into them again, they received an offer via email to work on a farm in Queensland, over 1,000 kilometres away from where we were. They took it, and headed off in Matt’s car the day following the offer. They didn’t know the wage, but someone was willing to hire them so off they went.

False promises like those we incurred have also been reported in other studies about WHMs doing picking work. Deceptive practices were reported in the research of Jarvis and Peel who found that WHMs were misled about picking jobs

grocery store in the nearest town for food. For all intensive purposes, it appeared physically vacating the job was not as easy as it had been to obtain as those in positions of authority sought to limit non-work related mobility when possible.

in Mildura by accommodation providers who would lure WHMs to the area with prospects of work, as mentioned, in a bid to attract them to their accommodation (2009, 16). However, their research was preoccupied with reporting the tourism spending potential of WHMs in regional areas, not their conditions of work in choosing seek jobs in such areas.

With another WHM interviewed, naivety came in a different form when their boss misled them in a different manner, working at a mango farm when her employer arbitrarily changed their remuneration structure:

I sorted and picked mangos....And I got paid \$20 per hour. And one day um, the boss was always um, saying we are working too slow. And one day she said, "Okay I'm not paying you per hour any more. I'm paying you per box you're packing." So you have to work really fast and hard to get 20 dollars per hour. And on the next day she said, "Okay that was a test, I now know how fast you can work and you have to work like that and I'm paying you 20 dollars per hour."

- Sara, Germany

Such is the perceived naivety about what is entailed with taking up some forms of “working holiday” jobs that normally aren’t done at home or as interviewees expressed, wouldn't do at home. Thinking of Sennett, naivety of work conditions could perhaps be seen as a lack of “social capital” for myself and other WHMs since we were new to the country and keen to market ourselves as being able to do any work that pays. As Sennett writes,

Of course, sheer chaos cannot alone be the risk takers friend. The sociologist James Coleman notes that people must draw upon a fund of social capital – shared past experiences as well as individual achievements and endowments – to help navigate a loose network. Other sociologists of network mobility emphasize that a person who presents himself or herself to a new employer or work group has to be attractive as well as available; risk involves more than simply opportunity (1998, 85).

WHMs might be eager to find any type of employment as a desire to work is tied to a motivation for applying for a work visa; if there is not an intention to work then they could simply travel to the country on a tourist category visa. Yet I have also met persons who wanted the WHV simply because it allowed them to stay longer than a tourist visa or gave them a chance to study; a WHV fit some criteria for some aspect of their travels plans beyond work. Regardless of risk and hardship, WHMs bear the difficult circumstances of work since it enables them to extend their “holiday” or stay in the country; they are willing to do what they must do in order to fiscally prolong this stay. The overwhelming numbers and flexibility in job choice is so wide that the work they perform is often crucial to the livelihood of some communities, particularly with regards to the picking and packing of produce (Allon et al. 2008a, 43-44). A drawback, however, to this open attitude toward work is that that it can be too open with respect to naivety; WHMs can lack a sense of direction in which work they should, or want, to pursue and subsequently will do anything. They are willing to work but may be uninformed or indecisive about such pursuits as tourist activities can draw attention away from focusing on such things or they simply assume the best in that the job will be as described or advertised. Yet such lack in knowledge about the day-to-day circumstances of living and working in another country is a factor influencing mobility for work or play:

Everything you plan is just gone. You know, you expect to get a car in the first month, you don't. You run out of money really quickly, so you get a job. And then you get the opportunities to go somewhere -- not always the way you want in the beginning, it's always changing. It's -- I've never done anything I planned two months ago I reckon.

- Rudy, Belgium

I think it's that...nothing is that easy. But I expected it -- if you're planning to stay for two weeks in big city it would be possible but sometimes it's just not --

- Madeline, Germany

Perhaps seeing the flexibility of WHMs and backpackers in the late 1990s, the creation of a “harvest trail” by the Australian government is an attempt to guide WHMs not yet determined Australian “career” path, as Bell and Hanson write,

Movement of the seasonal labour force is not simply a product of individual decisions, but is also influenced by a complex organizational framework: a network of harvest offices, recruitment agents, hostels, and information sources that have been developed by government and private enterprise. The network of harvest offices in fruit and vegetable growing regions funded by government employment initiatives is devoted exclusively to recruitment of seasonal workers, and effectively exercises a gatekeeper function, stimulating the movement of workers between harvest regions. Localities with a harvest office are inevitably best positioned to attract the pool of migrating workers (Bell and Hanson 2007, 112).

Often, when one is not very knowledgeable about a work arrangement in which they are going to be involved, this creates vulnerability in treatment if other parties implicated in the working agreement seek to take advantage of such naivety. Likewise, it is difficult for one to negotiate a decent wage or contract if they do not know cultural pay standards, nor can they fight unfairness if they are not privy to what is deemed as socially or legally “unfair”. As foreign workers in a foreign land, WHMs are vulnerable to such situations when undertaking employment, furthering their susceptibility to exploitation by employers with maximum profit at minimum labour expense in mind. In fact, in Australia, casual workers are only able to file a complaint about unjust work dismissal if they have worked for 6 months in the same job – WHMs are allowed to work maximum 6 months in any one job, hence they cannot fight unfair dismissal (ACTU 2013; FairWork 2013). Essentially they can be hired and fired at will. While Australian employers are supposed to abide by national law and pay legal wages, it is hard to ignore that this is not always the practice; not all businesses altruistically take time to “Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar’s”⁶⁹- ie. pay taxes on wages paid, or even contribute to Super as required by law. These extra tasks can be annoying and tedious for employers in industries in which employee turnover is a constant, such as in hospitality or those

⁶⁹ In reference to the bible verse Matthew 22:21, a quote my father used to mention growing up in regards to paying taxes.

situations where employers utilize casual labour. While some job adverts are up front about casual rates as shown before, sometimes that which is listed on paper is not necessarily what happens in practice:

...as I was planning my move to the farm, I saw a woman post an ad on the message board looking for movers. The ad said work visa and passport necessary. I asked her what the wage was and she said it was cash-in-hand and I had to ask the contact guy what the wage was...so apparently the ad was intended to portray the work as legit but in actuality was “under-the-table”. Later on, I found out from Swedish David, whom I had prior interviewed with his girlfriend Nancy, had worked for this mover and subsequently had not been paid...

- From fieldwork journal, May 7th 2011

Employers can usually only be found negligible if someone reports that they are breaking the law and as most WHMs interviewed reported to know little about Australia in general before arrival – let alone their rights – they know even less about specific workers rights and basic standards of remuneration, knowledge necessary to recognize foul treatment.

9.2 Ambivalent

For over-skilled, and often over-educated (Tan et al. 2009, 47; Allon et al. 2008, 47) working tourists living in a transient limbo of temporary employment, how does their situation develop the notion of “work”...especially while the path of WHMs while in Australia is not always one of a worker but of a tourist as well? The “tourist gaze” of some of these foreigners can be strong that “work” is not simply just be the opposite of holiday, but a concept that directly supports a “holiday”; a holiday in or “working holiday” in Australia is made possible by work. More specifically, traversing Australia is made possible by money, and when looking at the concept of work in a general perspective, WHMs interviewed conveyed that it is primarily about such:

Work is paid things. I mean we do something uh, then we get paid for it.

- Nancy, Sweden

To get money to life [live].

- Carol, Germany

A mean to earn money.

- Anne, France

Earning money. See money seems to be the way the world works unfortunately.

- Jackie, UK (England)

And, further, for some, work was not bounded by limitations of activity

Work is work and you have to do something and you get – yeah maybe you don't always get anything back but usually you get money -- but everything is work if you have to do something.

- Matt, Estonia

Anything you do, basically, that you don't do it for yourself, or you do it for some purpose.

- Mark, Italy

This is similar to Nieminen's (2010) view in that everything is somehow associated with work, albeit a focus on money following Pekkarinen and Sutela's (1996) lead of work is paid employment. But is work the main purpose of a working holiday? Are WHMs just migrant workers then? Most WHMs interviewed reported that working holiday work was different from work done and home, and as shown, if often low-skilled menial less-than-desirable work. As restrictions and advertising empirically suggest that casual work and fruit picking are the working holiday jobs of choice, why would many WHMs travel thousands of miles to work at the lowest levels in Australia, to take jobs they would never do at home? A week after arrival, I had an epiphany. I wrote in my field journal:

April 13th

The holiday side of my working holiday is prevailing...I took the free city tram to check out a hostel I had heard about that was pretty good and had weekly rates. I took the free city circle tram to get there from Flinders Square and the hostel is about 4 stops to the north. However, I got on the southbound tram thinking ill just take a slow tour in the clockwise direction to get there - no hurry necessarily. As I took the slow tour of Melbourne via tram that I had taken several times before 3 years ago, I had an epiphany. I've seen Melbourne. I've lived and worked here before. I have only 6 months here in Oz for my research/working holiday. Why do I want to spend a good portion of it working in Melbourne where I've already spent a lot of time? I'm now thinking about Perth or Alice Springs. I have money that I saved before coming to Oz - it was part of the requirement for the visa and entry (on the application at least). So I have funds. I'm not exactly desperate to work at the moment...I want to see some new things with the

limited time I'm here. So now, I'm in the Melbourne city library looking at the possibility of going to Perth or Alice Springs and not worrying about doing my temp agency work that I prepared to do. Honestly, I don't feel like shaving my beard and then dressing up nicely to serve people at banquets, no matter the extra dollar or two.

Maybe it's about a holiday. For me, as a WHM, the working holiday was a holiday first, work second. I didn't want to work on holiday, yet work was needed to fund the trip, as well as my research. Like Uriely's non-institutionalized working tourists and Cohen's "drifter", a working holiday for many is simply about working to prolong financed travel. Despite plans of creating a research "base camp", in Melbourne, a holiday mindset prevailed arriving as I had savings from not spending for the year up to departure for research. I had to save to have the required funds required by visa stipulations to enter the country, despite the fact they were never verified by immigration agents. But I wanted to see something new. Although Melbourne was a practical choice in planning, the researcher must be flexible to evolve when necessary as research proceeds (Taylor and Bogdan 1998). Fortunately, such flexibility in research coincides with a motivation of holiday - freedom; on a holiday, there are often few restraints, you decide what is done with your own time. Go to the Victoria Market for lunch, take a tram to St. Kilda, or buy a flight to the Outback on an impulsive whim because you can. All is possible. Many WHMs interviewed shared a similar view - holiday is not working, it's about doing what you want to do:

Holiday is a break from working.

- Madeline, Germany

Holiday. Holiday is free time from work.

- Matt, Estonia

Where you don't have to work.

- Mary, Norway

Where you do anything you want to do.

- Erica, UK (Scotland)

Holiday; you do what you want to do, when you want to do it.

- Nancy, Sweden

Holiday is uh, free time for yourself. ...When you don't have to do anything, just enjoy your life and be easy.

- Carl, Italy

This echoes traditional notions of the two concepts of work and holiday being in opposition (Urry 1990; Graburn 1989). In fact, elements that contributed to the development of mass tourism included the evolution of workers benefits providing pay covering time away from the work place (See Hill 2002; Inglis 2000; Davidson and Spearitt 2000). Yet what a holiday “is”, may not exactly be the same as its motivation for partaking. If a holiday is time off from work, why does one take time off from work? Like Baranowski and Furlough (2001) and Boisavain (2002) purport, WHMs believed people can go on holidays for change, or get away from routine or work to relax:

Because they need a rest from the work back home or their life maybe...Just to relax.

- Sara, Germany

I think they go on a holiday when they want to have a time off from stress and yeah; I think in our community it's that way so that you um, take a break from your normal life.

- Madeline, Germany

Hmm, they need to have a rest from work. Yeah.

- Eva, Taiwan

Yet even if a holiday for some WHMs is about getting away from work, most have to work in Australia. Paid employment is important for some, yet it also depends on how much money you have; if you have money before you come, as supposed to as dictated by visa eligibility, you don't need to work:

Uh, very important....Because otherwise, uh, I could run out of money.

- Brad, USA

Well I need it otherwise you have to go home because you've got no money.

- Erica, UK (Scotland)

Australia is so far away for most that it's expensive to travel such a vast distance to a land of beaches, exotic animals and landscapes, and sunshine, and not want to explore and see as much as possible. Being able to afford this is another story. As discussed, Australia is not inexpensive, especially for those coming from countries where costs of living and salaries are much lower, like Eastern Europe and SE Asia where some interviewees were from. Yet year after year, tourists flock here to see everything the continent has to offer which is quite immense. As reported by Tourism Research Australia, they spend billions of dollars doing so (see Figure 21). Again, this is *billions*, not millions.

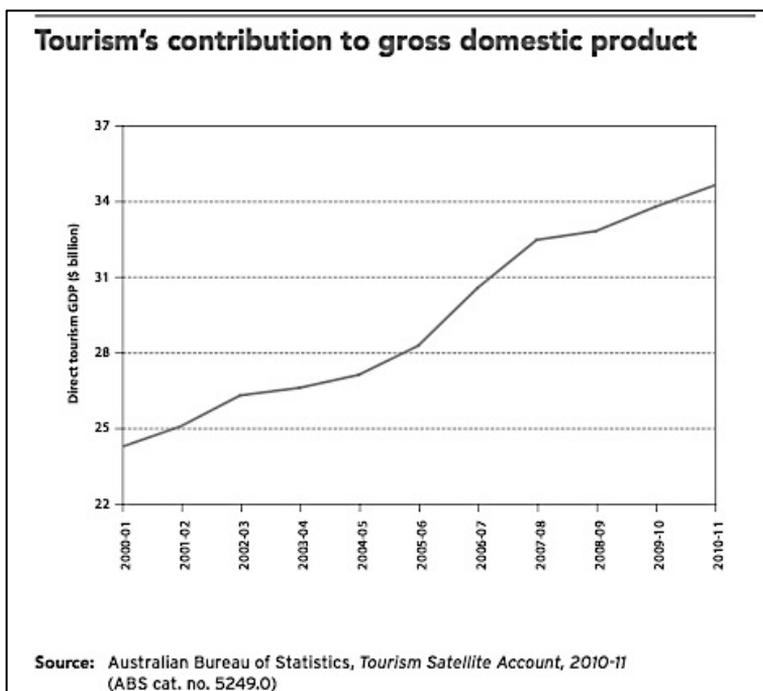


Figure 21. Tourism spending contribution to Australian GDP (from Tourism Research Australia 2011)

I myself, apart from research and work, visited, amongst other places, Uluru, Kangaroo Island, and the Great Ocean Road (see Image 21). These were sites I hadn't seen last time when in Australia, yet had always dreamed of visiting. Of the other WHMs, the common attractions seen or still dreamt to be seen, were the Whitsundays, Kakadu National Park, Uluru, Kings Canyon, Great Ocean Road, Kangaroo Island, Great Barrier Reef, and much more. Further, even after having spent nearly 9 months in Australia over two visits, there is still plenty I haven't seen and would want to do – Broome, Monkey Mia, the Whitsundays, the Kimberleys....the list goes on, and such was the same for other WHMs:

Me: Are there any [tourist activities] that you still want to do before you leave?

Cathy: Oh, loads...I want to do a tour across, to Broome, to like the Kimberly's and stuff like that and I want to do Uluru and thats it...

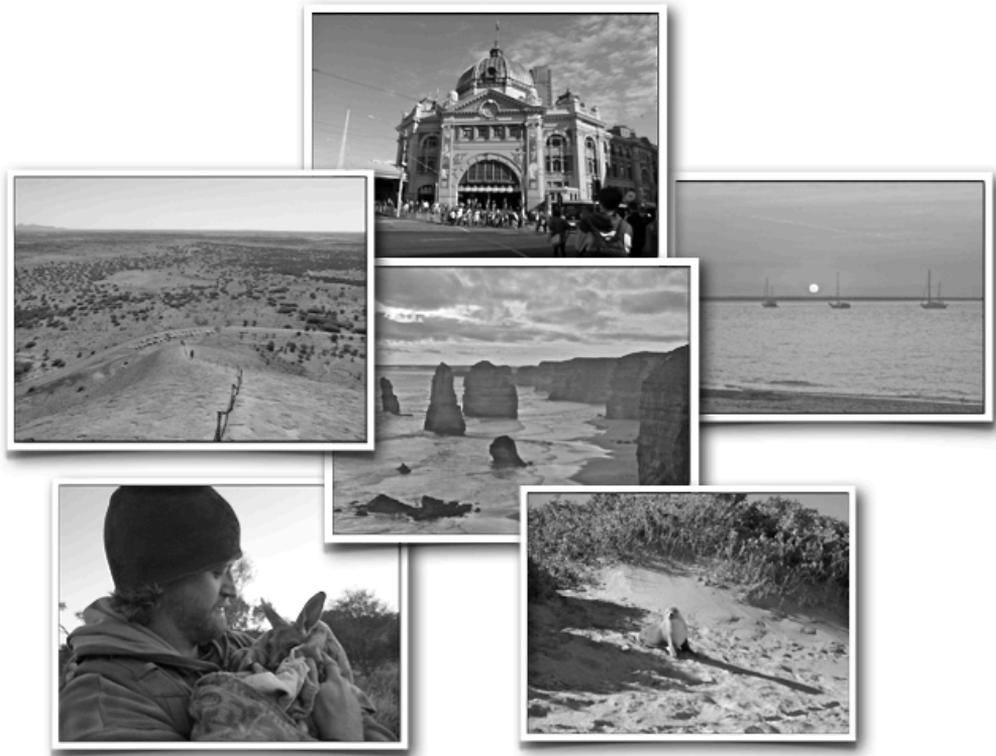


Image 21. My holiday part of a “working holiday” (Flinders Street Station in Melbourne; looking down the trail hiking up Uluru; getting close to seals on Kangaroo Island; tropical sunset in Darwin; holding a baby kangaroo; the 12 Apostles on the Great Ocean Road)

Australia truly is a holiday paradise and is so massive in size with diversity in landscape, wildlife, and fauna, from coast-to-coast, to see everything would require longer amount of time than perhaps an “average” holiday so extra income is needed at some point; such is the appeal of going on a “working holiday” (See Figure 22).

State	Activities	Natural Attractions	Wildlife Attractions	Man-Made Attractions	Internationally Recognized Attractions
Queensland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scuba diving • Snorkelling • Swimming, • Surfing • Swim with dolphins • Sailing • Fishing • Kayaking • Canoeing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Parks • Rugged mountains • Pristine beaches • Spectacular waterfalls • Dinosaur fossils at the Riversleigh Fossil site • Great Barrier Reef • Fraser Island • Gondwana Rainforests • Sun-kissed beaches • 2000-year-old arctic beech trees. • Airlie beach • Crystal clear water • Rainbow beach • 75 mile beach • Mt Cook • Starry night-sky 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manta rays • Whales • Sharks • Dolphins • Birds • Lizards • Rock wallabies • Koalas • Tropical fish 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aboriginal rock art • Shipwrecks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Home to 5 of Australia's 16 World Heritage listed areas • Great Barrier Reef • Surfers Paradise • Noosa UNESCO Biosphere Reserve. • Fraser Island World Heritage site • Magnetic Island world heritage site • Whitsunday Islands • Daintree Rainforest • Cape Tribulation
New South Wales	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surfing • Hiking • Mountain Biking • Swimming • Surf School • Riding horses • Whale watching • Dolphin Watching • Kayaking • Snorkelling • Scuba diving 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Royal National Park • Blue Mountains National Park • Dorrigo National Park • Warrumbungle National Park • Nightcap National Park • Lord Howe Island Marine Park • Beaches • Snowy Mountains • Gondwana Rainforests • Byron Bay • Sydney Beaches 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kangaroos • Whales • Fur seals • Turtles • Penguins • Dolphins 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grand Pacific Drive • Sydney Harbour Bridge • Sydney Opera House • Wineries • Zoos 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blue Mountains • Sydney Opera house • NSW has six UNESCO World Heritage-listed areas

State	Activities	Natural Attractions	Wildlife Attractions	Man-Made Attractions	Internationally Recognized Attractions
Victoria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Walking • Hiking • Cycling • Skiing • Snowboarding • Swimming • Water-skiing • Fishing • Ballooning • Camping • Horse Riding • Four-Wheel Driving • Rock Climbing • Caving • Abseiling • Skydiving 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Phillip Island Nature Park • The Murray River • Mungo National Park • Wildflowers • Parks and Garden • Scenic lookouts • Beaches • Grampians • Yarra Valley • Mornington Peninsula • Great Ocean Road • Danedong Ranges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Penguins • Bottlenose Dolphins • Kangaroos • Whale Watching • Koalas • Wombats • Lyrebirds • Glow Worms • Platypus • Tasmanian Devils • Fur Seals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Melbourne Cricket Ground • Queen Victoria Market • Melbourne Zoo • Otway Fly Treetop Adventures • Melbourne Aquarium • Federation Square • Sovereign Hill • Werribee Open Range Zoo • Healesville Sanctuary • Gum San Chinese Heritage Centre • Melbourne Museum • Central Deborah Gold Mine • Flagstaff Hill Maritime Village • National Gallery of Victoria • Werribee Mansion • Crown Casino • Eureka Skydeck 88 • Puffing Billy Steam Railway • Great Ocean Road 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Great Ocean Road
Northern Territory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Swim • Walk • Sail • Hiking • Camping • Fishing • 4WD adventures, • Hot air balloon, lope across sand hills on the ride a camel, • Quad biking • Scenic flights. • Playing the didgeridoo • Spear-throwing lessons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Litchfield National Park • Kakadu National Park • Uluru • Kata Tjuta • Kings Canyon • Arnhem Land 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crocodiles • 400 species of birds, • 150 mammals, • 300 reptiles, • 50 frogs, • 60 species of freshwater fish • Magpie geese • Brolgas • Budgerigars • Parrots • Gouldian Finch • Goannas • Snakes • Thorny Devils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ancient rock-art sites • Flying Doctor Service • Camel racing • Boat race in a dry river bed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two World Heritage-listed National parks • Uluru • The Outback

State	Activities	Natural Attractions	Wildlife Attractions	Man-Made Attractions	Internationally Recognized Attractions
Western Australia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Camping • 4 wheel drive safari • Camel train riding on beach • Hiking • Swim with whale sharks • Swim with dolphins • Whale watching • Dolphin watching • Dolphin feeding • Surfing • Snorkelling • Swimming 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bungle Bungle Range • Horizontal waterfalls • Cable beach • Staircase to the moon • Sunsets • Turquoise water • Karijini National Park • Ancient chasms • Ningaloo reef • Nambung National Park • Pinnacles • World class beaches • Rottnest island • Many ancient limestone caves • Australia's majestic tingle trees. • Walpole-Nornalup National Park and Walpole Wilderness Area • 110 islands of the Recherche Archipelago • Lagoons • Wildflowers • 12,000 plant species • The Kimberleys 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Camels • Whale sharks • Dolphins • Manta rays • Fish • Sea turtles • Humpback whales • Quokka • Kangaroos • Salt water crocodiles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pearling industry • Ship wrecks • Colonial settlements • Wineries • <i>Valley of the Giants Treetop Walk</i> • <i>Gormely Statues</i> • <i>Gibb River Road Top Trail</i> • <i>Aboriginal rock art</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National and World Heritage listed Purnululu National Park • Staircase to the moon • World Heritage listed Ningaloo Reef • Rottnest island • The Kimberleys
South Australia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fishing • Winery tours • Hiking • Bushwalking • Touring 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kangaroo Island • Remarkable Rocks • Flinders Ranges Mountains 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kangaroos • Seals • Dolphins • Penguins 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coopers Brewery • Wineries of Barossa Valley • Adelaide Zoo • Haigh's Chocolates • Adelaide Central Market 	
Tasmania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abseiling/rappelling • All terrain vehicles • Caving • Bicycle Touring • Mountain Biking • Diving • Hang Gliding • Jet Boating • Kayaking • Camping • Sailing • Rock Climbing • Surfing • White-water Rafting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hastings Caves • Cataract Gorge • Cradle Mountains-Lake St Clair NP • Flinders Island • Freycinet NP • Gordon River • King Island • Mole Creek Karst NP • Mount Wellington 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Platypus • Tasmanian Devil • Wombats • Penguins 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Salamanca Place • Port Arthur 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • World Heritage Convict Sites • 1.4 Million Hectares of World Heritage Area

Figure 22. Tourism activities in Australia (As listed on official tourism websites from each Australian State)⁷⁰

⁷⁰ These are examples of the many (but not all necessarily) activities and particular attractions listed on Southaustralia.com, discovertasmania.com, visitnsw.com, westernaustralia.com, visitvictoria.com, travelnt.com, queenslandholidays.com.au.

Just like the conclusions from Tan et al.'s 2009 report, almost all WHMs I interviewed revealed they were indeed in Australia for a "holiday":

Mostly holiday. To travel around, working is just not that important.

- Dustin, Germany

To holiday...

- Carol, Germany

As discussed before, undertaking work while on a holiday can result in extraordinary experiences for WHM, and likewise, extraordinary behaviours. Such peculiar manners, as I perceived in 2008, were of interest in this research into how they quite feasibly supplemented WHM precarious situations of work, primarily in their attitudes of *ambivalence* toward work. If you are not familiar with the phrase ambivalent, it is defined as "having mixed feelings or contradictory ideas about something or someone" (OD 2013). As I have mentioned before, I find some WHMs to *ambivalent* when it comes to the task of pursuing work or paid employment; one day they are desperate to find a job, and then once employment is procured, they quit impulsively to pursue adventure elsewhere. One could think that their behaviour represents *indifference* toward work in that since they may be tourists or backpackers first, work isn't really valued; they're simply indifferent to the task and will do anything. The distinction between ambivalence and indifference though would be in an aspect of caring – does one actually "care" or give attention to work? With indifference, no value is given either way; an issue is not really deliberated, so work is not valued in either a negative or positive view. But with ambivalence, consideration and emotion are given, yet it is in conflict with other attitudes or feelings.

I find ambivalence more so the case with work because as WHMs in my research, like other studies, revealed, during a "working holiday" they are on a "holiday", which is time away from work, and thus the activity of holiday making is more important than the activity of working; work has a low priority value.

However, sustaining one's holiday and existence in Australia during a "working holiday" requires capital, thus the activity of work is important to generate income; work has a high priority value. This is the ambivalence towards "work" I observe; its conceivably important if you feel you need money, yet not always a priority if you believe you have enough (see Figure 23). An explanation demonstrated by a noticeable and re-occurring observation one takes in when living at hostels over a 5 month period; you ask other WHMs at breakfast, "What are you going to do today?" with a typical answer being, "Look for a job". However, 2 hours later, several of those "looking for a job" are interestingly doing so while sunbathing next to the hostel pool. On a working holiday, work is not just about paid employment or the exertion of energy in the public or private sphere; it's more often than not, for some, simply about sustainment of the holiday.

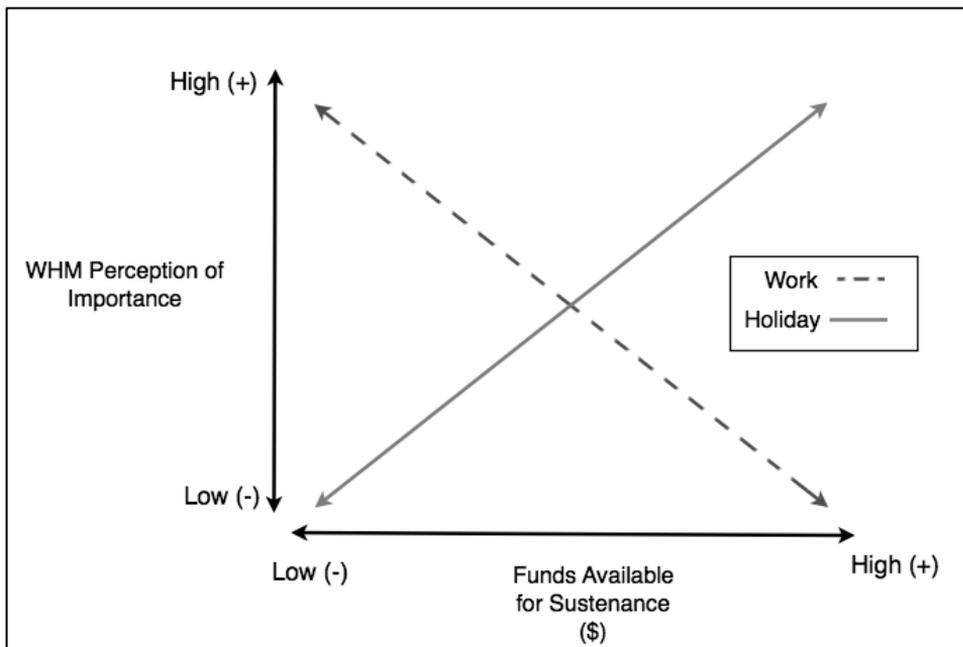


Figure 23. Value of work versus funds

Consequently, such conflict in perceptions or ambivalence toward valuations of work while on a working holiday can potentially put WHMs in a situation of vulnerability if working for less-than-honest employers. Just as responses in prior study reports that found WHMs were sometime treated unfairly or cheated by employers (See Allon et al. 2008a; Mares 2005; Harding and Webster 2002) one of the questions formulated prior to fieldwork for interviews intent on gauging ambivalence of WHMs was:

If you thought you were being cheated would you report your employer to authorities? Why?

An obvious flaw of this question is that it inquires about a hypothetical situation and so cannot measure any actual action of one seeking legal recourse over a violated workplace right or pay dispute. However, its intent was to gauge a WHMs inclination about pursuing such; I was not seeking to see if WHMs would pursue recourse more so that I wanted to inquire if they wouldn't, and their reasons for not doing so. By not having an inclination to report illegal or unfair treatment, WHMs demonstrate that their own perspectives and priorities of work and travel indeed can make themselves susceptible when entering positions as workers. While some respondents claimed that they would report employers:

Yeah. Of course....Hmm because I have the uh, the legal visa and that I have the right to argue from the Australian government.

- Eva, Taiwan

Yes...Because it's not fair. Although I've come from another country and I'm, I am taking somebody else, a job that could be for Australian people....If they've chosen to choose backpackers, like the job in the pub I did -- they had backpackers for the three, three or more years just coming and going because it was easier for the planters and the farmers.

- Jackie, UK (England)

I very much would like to say yes, normally, if I have any time yes. I'm pretty hard-core about that, um...However that said, in New Zealand I was promised a certain wage and not paid it and I never got around to reporting it.

- Elle, Canada

Others stated that they wouldn't:

No, I would just quit. ...I would just tell them on the phone... Because uh its none of my business I mean, I reckon if I was cheated -- I reckon if you are from overseas you just don't give a (fuck) to that but can always warn other backpackers to not get that job or anything but it's ...I don't consider it. I don't want to spend time to do that -- just kind of avoiding it and go somewhere else.

- Rudy, Belgium

Mary: I don't think I would of reported it...I guess I don't think they take working holiday visa holders seriously. I don't know.

Me: Any reason why you think they don't take them seriously?

Mary: I guess because there are so many of us. I don't know. There's just so many -- yeah, I don't know.

Um, I think -- I'd like to say that I would but if it came down to it I don't know if I actually would...I would probably just cut my losses and run.

- Cathy, UK (England)

Um I don't think...Because it's a lot of problem and you, and you stay only, I know I only stay for a few weeks and I think I would quit after.

- Anne, France

Or that it depends or doesn't really matter since they are only on a "working holiday" or are a "backpacker" who's only in the country for a limited time:

Um, I don't know if that really helps because it is just a working holiday -- on a working holiday when you go away, so I think you could tell the government or someone that they don't treat you very well, but I don't think that they really care. Maybe in the fruit picking section, maybe there they try to make it fair for everyone but I know that a lot of places it is not fair...

- Madeline, Germany

That depends how I was cheated, and because a lot of the time you feel it doesn't worth the effort to look for how to reporting, and do all the paperwork just to, I can't say get nothing, but for nothing, basically, because until something will happen, usually you will leave the country.

- Mark, Italy

If, yeah I would like but I think that you don't have time to, to go to the authorities because like they, they classify you as a backpacker...I think but I'm not sure. So you say yeah, yeah I don't think so to be honest.

- Carl, Italy

Among the several WHMs who had been cheated or misled that I interviewed, one did report it while another threatened an employer that they would. One girl worked as an *Au Pair* in Sydney and her initial agreement was not been honoured by the family who hired her, and another young male was withheld pay by a farmer:

Sara: Yes....Because it's only fair to get paid for your work you did....Especially when you're doing a good work.

Me: Okay, and did you do something about uh, not being paid by the au pair family?

Sara: Yes.

Me: What did you do?

Sara: I filled out this form for a fair workers ombudsman.

Me: Okay...they are supposed to get you paid?

Sara: Yeah....They are supposed to. It's in the work.

Um, yes I would do this -- because he paid us cash [referring to the employer who withheld pay]. So um, yeah that is the only reason why he didn't pay us I think, because the other employers had contracts...so they paid us every time...and these guys [the ones that withheld money] we [told him] would go to the police if they didn't give us money.

- Dustin, Germany

In answering my own question, I believe I would although I might well consider the situation like some above. When I worked as a bartender, it was in two different situations. One was at a bistro where I was paid a legal wage and on time – no issues in remuneration, yet I did observe a WHM co-worker have her work shifts arbitrarily cut from her last weeks work schedule even after giving advance notice to our boss, decreasing the income she had counted on to cover some of her living expenses. This happened with another German WHM I met who, as a dish washer in a restaurant, gave two weeks notice to her employer as a courtesy only to have almost all of her shifts cut from her arbitrarily in the last two weeks, and like the girl previously mentioned, her assumptions of earning to cover costs of living were drastically reduced.

The other bartender position I had was on a cruise ship as a trial shift, which I'm still not entirely sure the wage, honestly, was adequate⁷¹ as it was a Sunday shift before a public holiday, which may have entitled me to holiday rates, and I had to follow-up about when I would be paid, even walking into the head office and not leaving until I had an answer. The manager who hired me for the shift wouldn't call me back as I was told he would and so extra action was needed in following-up. A big mistake on my part with the situation, in hindsight, was that I did not ask about the pay rate before starting the shift – everything happened so fast,

⁷¹ My bank was deposited for \$81 for what I counted as 5 hours work which breaks down to \$16.20 per hour, which is above national minimum wage.

working the trial the same afternoon in applying for the job, that I never thought to ask what was the wage rate which may give the employer the impression that I am not serious about or aware of legal wage rates. I was adamant about getting paid for the trial shift as its not uncommon in the hospitality industry, or amongst WHMs in Australia, to be asked to work a trial shift for free.

A trial shift is usually a one-day or few hours long shift where a prospective worker is supposed to demonstrate whether they are suitable for a job or not. While some people believe working in the hospitality industry, being a waiter or bartender, is easy without much formal education required, it is in fact tiresome and physical work in which you have to be constantly on your feet and take initiative in response to customer needs. Not everyone can do that so easily. You also have to be sociable; many Australians, I found, like to chat with foreigners visiting their country.

During my fieldwork, I encountered one girl from the French island of Saint Pierre and Miquelon, who had told me during casual conversation, which I recorded in my field journal, that she had worked multiple trial shifts at cafes throughout Sydney that she never got paid for, saying it was the norm in Sydney (see Image 22).

Date Listed:	██████████	Last Edited:	██████████
Advertised By:	Private	Job Type:	Casual

We are currently hiring professional and highly motivated wait / bar staff for our Bondi beach restaurant.

The right applicant must have at least 2 years of hospitality experience which will include all facets of the industry, ie waiting, bar tending, food running, dishwashing you name it.

Requirements

- Cocktail trained, all the classics is a must. If you don't know how to do a Negroni or a Mojito, don't apply.
- Fluent in English.
- Good knowledge of Austalian and international wines. If you don't know the difference between a Pinot Noir and a Shiraz, don't apply.
- Barista skills. Once again, if you don't know how to do a Machiato, don't apply.
- Good team worker, multi-tasker and stress handling necessary.
- Minimum of 6 month contract.
- Valid NSW RSA certificate a must.

Priority will be given to native English speakers, applicants with prior management experience and an advantageous visa situation.

You will be required to do a interview and a trial shift

Email your resume and a recent picture ██████████

Cheers
██████████

Image 22. Trial Shifts (Advert on Gumtree.com.au for Bondi Beach restaurant. Notice that it is “Casual” position yet mentions 6-month contract, priority given to native English speakers, and requires a trial shift. Sometimes minimum “6 month” is used to deter WHMs who do not have intentions of staying long despite positions being casual in which employers can hire and fire at will)

However, according to the FairWork Ombudsman, this is illegal in practice as, "...a prospective employee must be paid for any trial work they have performed to establish their suitability for a role" (FairWork, 2013). They even admit that, "The Fair Work Ombudsman often receives complaints from young people about not being paid for work trials. Both employers and job seekers need to be aware that not paying workers for work trials is illegal and unfair" (FairWork 2013). Even if a prospective employee cannot manage the circumstances required of hospitality positions, they are still entitled to pay for their time given for work. Employers likely try to successfully get away with unpaid trial shifts either because they assume workers don't know their rights and believe it's a norm, or they simply take the risk that the employee won't follow up or complain when they don't receive the pay they think they will. In the case of WHM's, they'd be correct in both these assumptions; some don't know their rights and some aren't going to pursue recourse that takes away time from their holiday.

If persons who work are ambivalent about reporting unscrupulous employers, abuse can continue and this contributes to a situation and cycle of precariousness; if WHMs are ambivalent to mistreatment, as they choose to simply endure for the needed cash or just quit and move on, then what vocal opposition exists for such occurrences of exploitation to cease? The lives of WHMs are not "influenced...by their freedoms as citizens with a voice who can influence policies and even institutional choices..." (Sen 2000, 125) because they are citizens of another state – in Australia, are they are often just seen as "backpackers".

9.3 Backpackers or Working Holiday Makers?

As mentioned, WHMs have been mentioned in demographic studies of backpackers in Australia (Allon et. al 2008a and 2008b; Locker-Murphy and Pierce 1995) and are very often bundled by Australian media into the same generalized phenomena of “backpackers” (see Central Western Daily 2013; Sunyraysia 2013; The Age 2008; The Herald Sun 2007; Sydney Morning Herald 2009; Sydney Morning Herald 2012; and much more). Yet aside from the informal “backpacker” sticker attached to them, there have also been Australian government commissioned studies, as discussed, about this particular group alone (see Dignam 1990, Withers 1991, Bell and Carr 1994, Brooks et. al., 1994, Murphy 1995, the Parliamentary Joint Standing Committee on Migration 1997, Harding and Webster 2002, and Tan et al. 2009), often discussing their effect on the Australian labour market (see Tan et al. 2009; Harding and Webster 2002). Such distinction in study shows that, at times, they are indeed acknowledged as a distinct group, yet it seems the “backpacker” label often still prevails within Australian society due to WHMs exploratory ambitions and touristic tendencies, not to mention their enormous contribution in tourism spending toward the Australian economy.

As reported by the Australian Tourism Export Council, the “peak body for the Australian inbound tourism industry”, in their position paper *The Importance of the Working Holiday Visa (Subclass 417)*, dated February 2012, “Backpackers stay (in Australia) an average of 73 nights and spend over \$5400, while working holiday makers have an extended stay averaging 8 months and spend over \$13,000 each” (ATEC 2012). While the ATEC may separate the groups in terms spending, it later goes to state in the same document that, “The Working Holiday Maker program (WHM) is a driving force in attracting backpackers to Australia”...subsequently re-identifying the common casual association together. Further, the ATEC also states, “Working holiday makers are particularly important to the backpacker market, with a strong correlation between the WHM program visitor and the inbound backpacker” (2012,8). Studied separately or together, from a tourism industry standpoint, backpackers and WHMs are the same, bonded by their pursuit of travel.

In differentiating between the two though, a pursuit of work characteristic is key; WHMs pursue a legal right to work in applying for their visas, and in return, have a legal right to work when in Australia, accompanied by taxation of wages. “Backpackers”, as travellers, have no legal right to work necessarily, nor are they taxed, nor have any form of protection in the work place if taking work illegally. In most academic contexts, “backpackers” have traditionally been studied as a type of tourist who pursues an alternative form of leisure and travel based activities, in contrast to conventional tourists. While Loker-Murphy and Pierce’s study of backpackers in Australia from 1995 states that, “...the term “backpacker” is well-known and accepted by the tourism industry, travellers, and the community as a description of predominantly young, budget tourists on extended holiday or working holiday...” (1995, 819), they do not focus on a work aspect of WHMs nor do they mention them distinctly; for all intensive purposes their study was about young budget tourists. Yet in Allon et al.’s research in 2008, aspects of work and study begin to seep in to characteristics identifiable to backpackers in Australia. They write that:

International backpackers are well known for their diverse and independent forms of travel, and their tendency to cross many boundaries in their desire to be on or off the beaten track. However, the mobilities of contemporary backpackers blur as many conceptual and metaphorical boundaries as they do physical ones. Backpackers obviously travel for leisure and pleasure. But they also increasingly travel and work and study (2008, 7)

Differing from other academic studies, descriptions of backpackers in Australia are reported to be older as well (Adkins and Grant 2007). Yet, this ability to work or study in another country diverges from traditional notions of backpackers as a type of tourist or traveller. Work or study activities not only overlaps into studies of international students and perhaps workers, or working tourists as I suggest, but these pursuits often require a visa allowing such, although simply “backpacking” may or may not require a tourist visa. Discussing further how backpackers are able to study or work in Australia, Allon et al. reveal,

For example, many backpackers apply for Working Holiday Maker visas that allow them to combine periods of work with their travels. The phenomenon of ‘student backpackers’ also adds to the changing nature of both ‘backpacking’ and the slippery nature of the traditional difference between work and leisure. The concept of a ‘working holiday’ disputes the large body of literature that positions tourism in opposition to work (2008, 7)

In this scenario, although a backpacker obtains a working holiday visa or travels with study intentions as well, the label of “backpacker” remains. This aligns those backpackers who work, study, and travel with those backpackers who just simply travel; one name, yet different activities. Hence, the “slippery nature” stated. However, it is pertinent to mention, that when studies of backpackers in Australia first emerged in the early 1990’s (Loker-Murphy and Pierce 1995; Pearce 1990; Loker 1993) only the UK, Canada, Ireland, the Netherlands, and Japan were apart of the WHMP at that time, with roughly 44,000 WHV arrivals in 1990. By 1997, when the Bureau of Tourism Research published its “With my Swag Upon my Shoulder: A comprehensive study of international backpackers to Australia”, which mentions backpackers who work yet not WHMs distinctly, WHV arrivals had risen to roughly 60,000. In 2000, the WHMP expanded significantly with the inclusion of 17 new countries between 2000-2007, culminating in nearly 134,000 WHV arrivals by 2007, nearly triple the amount from 1990. It was around this time studies of backpackers began incorporating WHMs and backpacker activities as including work and studying, beyond those characteristics of budget travel preferences (Allon et al. 2008a and 2008b; Adkins and Grant 2007). Thus empirically, although distinct studies or literature of WHMs⁷² have existed since at least 1991⁷³ often related to government inquiry, it seems that academic descriptions of backpackers as being able to work and study only emerged as an increase in WHMP participants did; between 2004-05 and 2007-08, the number of WHM arrivals increased by 15.6% (see Figures 24 and 25).

⁷² In Harding and Websters research of WHMs, an informal telephone survey was used to ask employers why they hire foreign WHMs, yet: “because we were not certain whether or not the agencies were familiar with the WHM scheme, we asked more generally about foreign backpackers rather than people with a Working Holiday visa” (Harding and Webster 2002, 30).

⁷³ See Withers 1991, Murphy 1995, the Parliamentary Joint Standing Committee on Migration 1997, Harding and Webster 2002, and Tan et al. 2009

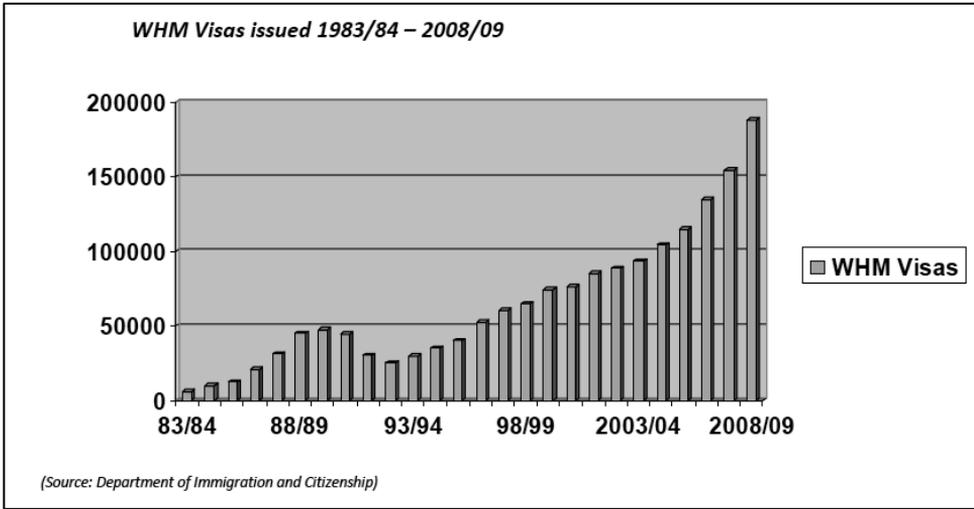


Figure 24. WHM Visas issued 1983 – 2009 (From Jarvis and Peel 2009)

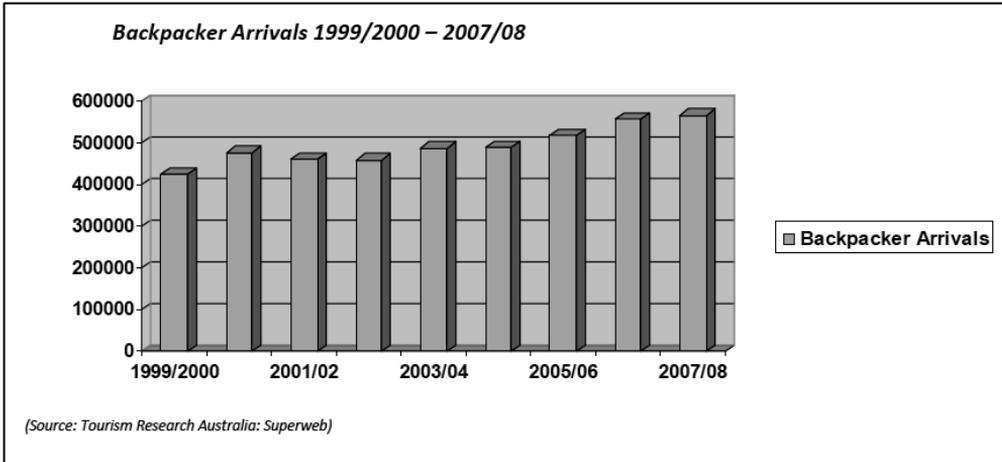


Figure 25. Backpacker Arrivals 1999-2008 (From Jarvis and Peel 2009)

Consequently, as the WHMP has allowed more young international persons to be able to travel to and throughout Australia supplemented by the ability to work, those persons doing so were simply incorporated into the category of travellers commonly prevalent in Australia prior – backpackers. Thus while distinctly different in visa category and entitlements of work activity, some academic definitions of backpackers have evolved to include WHMs due to colloquial classification. Beyond study though, those who travel with a WHV, in reality, must deal with non-academics, such as employers, whose preconceived perceptions of backpackers can affect a WHMs work environment.

One day, of no particular special circumstance, the girlfriend of one of my supervisors at the company I detailed automobiles for – visiting our worksite as she did often – told me that I was, “...the best backpacker they’d ever had [working for the company]”, hinting that although my work performance may be better than those charged with similar tasks in the past, I was perhaps still seen in her eyes simply as a foreign traveller rather than a regular employee, per say. After a brief pause, I replied, “I’m not a backpacker”. I stopped short of explaining that I was a researcher covertly studying WHMs and their work situations, yet nonetheless, I denied the label; I did not, in viewing myself in the role of the paid employee that I was, perceive myself as a young budget traveller. I was a 31-year old man working to support myself, day-to-day, just like my co-workers did and like many people who work do, albeit an inevitable temporariness aligned with employment due to work restrictions and perhaps a distinct difference of not being Australian. Nonetheless, her statement gave an accurate depiction of a perceived layman’s label all too often given to WHMs In Australia – “backpacker”.

If indeed WHMs are backpackers, to plainly put it, backpackers are *everywhere* in Australia, or at least in perception of my working holiday experience. You work with them, or you see them working at different shops you frequent, you see them in the cities, you see them in small remote towns, at supermarkets, nightclubs – everywhere. I am not alone in this belief, when asking other WHMs if there are many backpackers in Australia and where do they see them:

Yeah, you see them everywhere and I think you really do -- it's not uh, impossible to don't get whose the backpacker; I think you really see them.

- Madeline, Germany

Yeah a lot of backpackers. All around Australia. All around, like every single city that I've been to there were full of plenty of backpackers.

- Carl, Italy

Yeah a lot...A lot of backpackers...A lot of in hostels. And in town, in town when you, when you staying in a city -- you, you meet a lot of backpackers and, and of course at work.

- Anne, France

Like above, some had an emphasis of seeing them in hostels, fulfilling the criteria for Australian Tourism entities on what qualifies as a backpacker:

Yes. When I lived in a hostel, in the hostels. Yeah.

- Mary, Norway

Oh yeah! Lots, lots. ...At the hostels I stay at a lot and all over the city.

- Elle, Canada

Yet one mentioned a difference in presence between hostels and long-term hostels:

Yeah, yeah I have. Um, I lived in uh, long-term hostel so it wasn't so much backpackers but I had a lot of friends that lived in hostels with backpackers. [Where do you see them?] Um, mostly hostels or in, when you go out in the city and you meet someone and get talking and they're backpackers.

- Martha, Denmark

While backpackers may be statistically monitored by stays in hostels, it is important to mention that there are also a fair number of “working hostels” throughout Australia, that cater to working backpackers by coordinating jobs, offering weekly or monthly rates for accommodation in shared dorms, or offer shuttle buses to nearby farms who hire them. This too was observed by Jarvis and Peel in their research of WHMs performing fruit picking work in Mildura, Victoria. They note,

The main industry segment that has developed to service the WHMs has been the ‘Working Hostel’. The working hostel is both similar and different to its coastal and urban cousin the ‘backpacker hostel’. Both hostel types offer dormitory accommodation and provide a social environment, however working hostels generally demand accommodation to be paid for on a weekly basis and are based on the model of long stay residents. In Mildura, the research team identified that working hostels have been established in old nursing homes, private homes and old hotels and warehouses. Working Hostels also recognize that the primary motivation for their guests to stay is employment rather than leisure and offer work-based services such as a shuttle bus service to drop workers at individual farms. They therefore fulfill the role of an unofficial ‘employment office’, providing employment contacts to those who stay in their accommodation. Unlike their backpacker hostel cousins, limited leisure activities are promoted and only one property ran its own travellers’ bar (Jarvis and Peel 2009, 4).

However, many hostels, including the “urban cousin the ‘backpacker hostel’...” mentioned by Jarvis and Peel, if not promoting themselves as working hostels specifically, will offer job assistance services, blurring the line between accommodation provider and employment recruiter; it is not isolated to regional locations as they are found in the largest of cities and smallest of towns. For example, I encountered these adverts in the Melbourne airport, when arriving to begin my research; notice that all advertise some sort of job assistance in addition to traditional accommodation services for travellers (see Images 23, 24, 25, & 26).

Flinders Station Hotel
134 BACKPACKERS

- FREE BREAKFAST
- BACKPACKER EVENTS
- TOURS, JOBS & LOCAL INFO
- DORMS, TWINS & DOUBLES
- 24 HOUR RECEPTION
- WEEKLY RATES
- 11 AM CHECK OUT
- FRIENDLY & CLEAN

35 Elizabeth Street (cnr Flinders Lane) Melbourne

FREE pick up

333 St Kilda Road, St Kilda, Melbourne, 3182 Australia (between Inkerman & Carrle Streets) Phone: +61 3 9537 3777 Freecall 1800 202 500 (Ausl only) Email info@flindershotel.com.au

1.1 mounting Fox Sports
 10 minute walk to St Kilda beach

Nowads
 STEP Markets
 to travel in style!

TV & ensuite
 ns

men

PACKING
 Melbourne 3000
 adsindustry.com

ONAL
 he CBD

444 CREATE AWARENESS
 ADVERTISE HERE

Dial
 74
 INTER
 GE
 Airport
 We have
 selected

14

Image 23. Hostel advert – Tours, Jobs & Local Info (Melbourne backpackers advert; “backpackers” is used instead of “hostel” for some accommodation providers implying the usual type of guest)

alters SINCE 1979

el
S

119 adjacent to Chapel St & St Kilda

NEW!

back of
CHAPEL

50 Green St Prahran/ Windsor, Vic, 3181

- + Free breakfast & free Sunday BBQ
- + Daily cleaning
- + No curfew
- + State of art kitchen
- + Security deposit box
- + NEW bathrooms/ laundry
- + Air-conditioned internet room/ library
- + Air-conditioned lounge with huge 142cm TV, cable and dvd
- + Job search assistance

Back Bar

127 Backpackers Love

Image 24. Hostel advert – Job Search Assistance (“Job search assistance” offered amongst other accommodation sales points)

123

**KING ST
BACKPACKERS**
- The Friendly Place

Welcome to Melbourne, Australia
- one of the most livable city in the world!

- :) CBD Located
- :) 24 hour reception
- :) Friendly local staff
- :) Job, tour & travel info
- :) Free breakfast daily
- :) Free tea & coffee all time
- :) Free internet access
- :) Free pasta night
- :) Free big breakfast
- :) Free weekend pancake
- :) Free storage
- :) Large Dorm, Small Dorm, Mixed Dorm and Double

www.kingstreetbackpackers.com.au
info@kingstreetbackpackers.com.au

Image 25. Hostel Advert – Job, Tour & Travel Info (Again, “Job” info offered amongst other accommodation sales points)

140 **NOMADS** 
ALL NATIONS
 MELBOURNE WWW

CENTRAL: 5 MINUTE WALK FROM SOUTHERN CROSS STATION, CASINO, ETIHAD STADIUM

- ✓ FREE PASTA & RICE ALL DAY
- ✓ FREE LINEN
- ✓ FREE BEER/WINE ON ARRIVAL
- ✓ FREE ACTIVITY EVERY DAY
- ✓ BAR
- ✓ TRAVEL SHOP
- ✓ FULLY EQUIPPED KITCHEN
- ✓ LAUNDROMAT
- ✓ TV ROOM
- ✓ DINING ROOM
- ✓ BACKPACKER'S WORK CENTRE THAT GUARANTEES YOU GET A JOB



Image 26. Hostel advert – Guaranteed Work (Melbourne hostel offering Backpackers Work Centre, which “Guarantees you get a job”. This “Work Centre” is the same from the advert shown early where one must pay \$50 in order to qualify for the guaranteed job)

Imagine staying at a hotel or resort while on holiday that actively promotes services to find guests jobs as well...it would be out of the ordinary, yet this is the norm with many hostels in various parts of Australia. I personally encountered them in Melbourne, Adelaide, Alice Springs, Darwin, and other WHMs have confirmed their existence in Sydney, Cairns and Perth as well. Hostels in Australia envelop a unique atmosphere in that they provide services for both those seeking holiday and work activities, yet it is hard to say if this has always been the norm or purely a resultant of the increased presence of those tourists with a legal right to work – WHMs. Nevertheless, it is commonplace to see such combination amongst the backpacker or budget travel scene.

If differentiating between backpackers and WHMs, I find this aspect of work to be an interesting point of discussion in regards to treatment of WHMs as legitimate and entitled workers. While perhaps my own perceived connotation of “backpacker”, discussed prior, played a factor in my disagreement when labelled as one by my supervisors girlfriend, my subjective justification for negating the label was that I work. While I can’t say that I strongly identified with my job as an automobile cleaner compared to other career oriented jobs I have had in my life, that fact that I was employed and was trying to earn money rather than avoiding ways of spending it while “on the road”, as Power (2010) states, pushed me away from acknowledging such label. I proved not to be the only one who thought working diverged ones self from the backpacker categorization:

I think I'm not quite a backpacker. Maybe sometimes but yeah, I think I'm not a backpacker. I'm just a visitor who wants to work and I think I'm not a tourist but -- I think, not, not me, I think I not special one but because I want to stay in one place ...and I think I'm rather resident than backpacker because I move when I get another job or I need to find something else.

- Matt, Estonia

No [I don't see myself as a backpacker]. Um because I'm working... I can afford accommodation and I can afford food. Like I can go 'here' -- because I'm working.

- Jackie, UK (England)

If the priorities of holiday or work differ at various junctures of a working holiday, this can account for mixed identities of labels. Backpackers are on holiday and try not to spend money, yet WHMs are often on holiday too and try to earn money to supplement the tourist experience. And while WHMs can be praised for their desire to work, negative views of “backpackers” in Australia can result from this correlation to habits in spending money; young budget tourists who do not spend money are breaking the basic rule as to why nations, regions, cities, and towns spend millions in promoting themselves as tourist destinations of choice – the tourist dollar.

With a penchant for budget travel and avoidance at spending money (Locker-Murphy and Pearce 1995; Murphy 2001; Power 2010) backpackers can often be seen as seeking to get “something for nothing”. During my job as a hostel cleaner/worker, I encountered on multiple occasions young travellers trying to use the facilities for an extra night without paying by returning to the premises after the manager had left, as they still had the access code to enter the front gate from their previous nights stay. While they didn't have a dorm room to sleep in, they most often would sleep in a car/campervan/elsewhere outside the property and enter to use cooking and bathroom facilities without charge. In my discussions with the hostel owner about these occurrences, his sentiments match that of Sorenson's (2003) and Power's (2010) observing that it is normal for backpackers to discuss and compare prices paid for different services/activities along their route. As explained by the hostel owner, when backpackers can sneak in and use facilities for free, they share this knowledge of chicanery, and the name of the hostel where they successfully got away with it, with other backpackers along their journeys; the more that know about a perceived opportunity to get something for free, the more that will try to exploit it. Ironically, however, this same owner, in efforts to maximize backpacker occupancy and the profits that come with it, booked out my “work for barter” bed on occasion, relegating me to sleeping on a foldout bed in the hostels luggage storage room for several nights; if backpackers seek to exploit hostel accommodation, hostels sometimes exploit them as labourers.

But moving on, during my time in Darwin, I was surprised to learn that to use the kitchen facilities at one hostel, I had to pay a deposit to be able to use cutlery and cooking accessories (see Image 27).



Image 27. Backpackers steal (Tripadvisor Review of the hostel I stayed at where deposit was needed for cooking cutlery and pots. While this review states a room key deposit necessary, at the time I stayed, it was a monetary deposit)

In most hostels, cooking is done in a communal kitchen setting with free access and use of everything one needs to create and eat a meal in the kitchen. The reason a deposit was necessary in this particular hostel, as I was explained to, is that backpackers sometimes steal the utensils and cooking pans and use them for caravan and camping trips down the west coast. With its proximity to South East Asia and the offering of flights by budget airlines to Darwin from SEA cities, it is a popular starting point for self-driving tourists who come to Australia and rent campervans or purchase cars to traverse the continent independently. When staying in hostels, they sometimes simply steal cooking accessories they need from hostels for their camping expeditions rather than pay for such at a store. While these may reference observations from the tourism service provider viewpoint, some WHMs are cognizant of these negative perceptions:

But I have also to say that, like, the idea of the Australian with backpackers like...I met like two days ago when, when Australian chick, she told me like, "Yeah you're a backpacker." Like, it was, like, not like a 'good' like, you know... it was not like, like a you know...it was not a positive, "You are a backpacker," because of course we come here and there are good backpackers or of course there are like bad backpackers that they go drunk. They, they ruin the cities. They, they insult everyone....Like in, on general you cannot generalize that, but, like on general, backpackers are not well viewed, like well, you know what I mean?

- Carl, Italy

Such negative views of backpackers and a lack of money expenditure in the form of theft have also been expressed in the Australia media. For example *The Age* reports that,

Badly behaved French backpackers in Australia, who have been accused of shoplifting, getting drunk and showing disrespect for authority, have French officials worried about their country's reputation...French backpackers have also been accused of shoplifting in tourist areas, including the Western Australian towns of Exmouth and Carnarvon, where the problem stretches back to 2011 when 20 were arrested in just two months for stealing, mainly from supermarkets (2013).

Yet switching to the viewpoint of WHMs, this issue of money expenditure came up in interviews in both confirming to identifying as a backpacker as well as diverging from one. When explaining why she was a backpacker, one Dutch girl cited her lack of money:

Me: Uh, do you consider yourself a backpacker?

Wendy: I think yes. I'm traveling from city to city and if you describe as...well backpacker they live on pasta and rice because it cheap. They only eat the cheapest.

Me: So you consider yourself a backpacker because your diet?

Wendy: No. I think that's why I'm sleeping in hostels and don't have money anymore and...

This association directly echoes those of academics who claim the backpacker preference for budget travel (Locker-Murphy and Pearce, 1995; Sorenson 2003). In contrast, one Scottish WHM noted that she wasn't preoccupied with living a lifestyle limited to budget travel; she enjoyed her comforts too much:

Me: Okay, do you consider yourself a backpacker?

Erica: Sometimes.

Me: Sometimes you don't?

Erica: I don't. I feel I need my comforts too much.

Me: So then what do you consider yourself then if not a backpacker at those times?

Erica: I don't know.

Me: Okay.

Erica: Someone sort of posing as one a lot of times.

Her posing as a “backpacker” potentially reflects Power’s reference to “road status” as important to backpackers; there is a perceived notion that backpackers “should” be budget minded. But when you work, you have money to spend. Another who had recently arrived in Australia, from Germany, at the time of the interview bore response of perceptions of who backpackers “should” be:

Me: So can you tell me, what is a backpacker?

Helen: Well a backpacker -- has a backpack....And um, they actually are traveling around a little bit. Often It's a low cost and yeah sometimes I think it is nothing really planned. You meet other people who have got other ideas and so you join them, you don't join them. You are kind of free of doing anything that you want.

Me: Okay...Uh, are you a backpacker?

Helen: Well, yes. Well, I am trying to be one.

Nevertheless, despite potential divergences of work or travel preferences, most interviewees identified themselves as being backpackers.

Yeah because I have a, I'm traveling with a backpack on my shoulder, yeah. But I'm a mature backpacker I consider.

- Carl, Italy

This association in identify yet divergence in some respects can play a role in the ambivalence previously discussed with regards to work. When a WHM is working, they are not on holiday and thus divergent from a backpacker or tourist. When one is not working or traveling, then they are indeed on holiday and more alike to a backpacker or tourist:

Me: Okay. Uh, do you guys, do you consider yourselves backpackers?

David: Yeah for now I do.

Nancy: At the moment yeah.

David: At the moment yeah.

Me: But are there other moments where you see yourself as different from a backpacker...in Australia?

David: Yeah.

Nancy: When we are working, when I'm at work the I see myself like yeah, I'm here and I'm working and I meet a lots of people here at work. And then

--

David: We're seeming like backpackers when we are in Sydney [Where they first arrived to Australia and went sightseeing]

Nancy: Yeah.

While both backpackers and WHMs may share an easily identifiable activity of travel, grouping the two into the same homogenous category can be problematic when it comes to employment. Not all backpackers, in the Australia context, necessarily have a legal right to work, nor is their nationality limited to being from a certain country, or their age restricted to a minimum or maximum, unlike WHMs. Further, by seeking a legal right work, WHMs may have a different priority in expenditure than backpackers as they attempt to earn money to supplement their trip as opposed to not spending money in hopes of making a holiday last longer. That's not to say WHMs are not spending conscious as well, like myself who saw the benefit of working at a hostel in barter for accommodation negated the need to pay weekly rent expense. Yet if WHMs have a legal right to work, there is a reasonable assumption on their part that comes with this legal right - to have regulated treatment as a legitimate worker.

With the growth of the WHMP from almost 6,000 visa arrivals in 1983-84 to nearly 223,000 visa granting's in 2011-12, closing in on a quarter of a million, and the Australian government's directing of thousands of WHMs toward filling the

labour supply voids in the agricultural sector through a second WHV 417⁷⁴ opportunity (see Figure 26), WHMs, as a distinct type of working tourist, have become more of a greater commonplace in Australian society, both as a labour supply and tourism consumer.

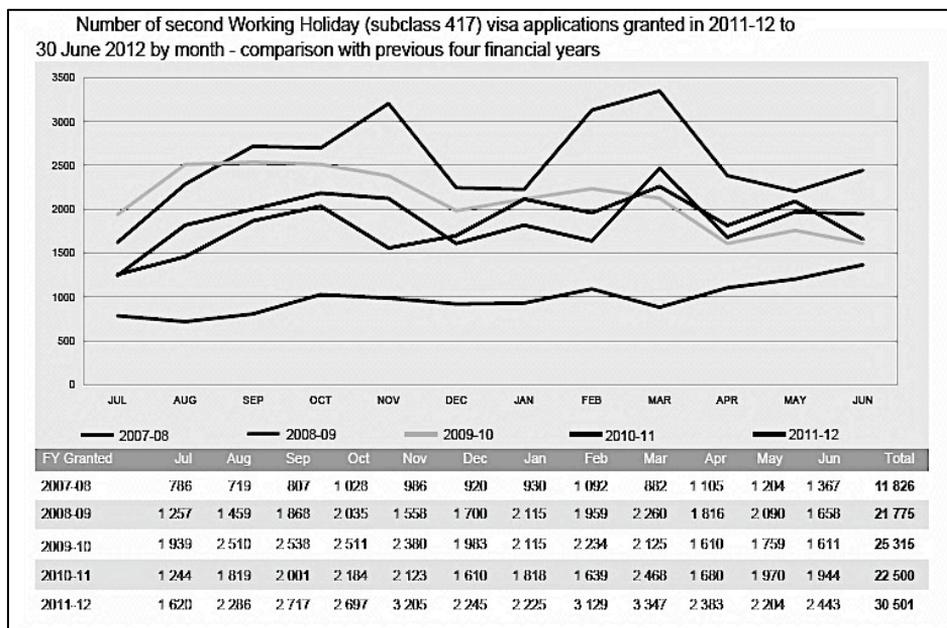


Figure 26. Number of second WHV 417 grantings over past 2007-2012 (Referencing the number of WHMs who completed 88 days specified work in regional Australia, from Tan et al. 2009)

“Backpackers” is often a generalized label for any young international traveller in Australia, yet academia often labelled them without a work context despite this emergence in some Australian studies; they are travellers who seek adventure and excitement, spending as little money as possible, when possible, and hope to diverge from the tourist mainstream with authentic and non-traditional travel experiences. WHMs most often pursue work at some point in their travel and this

⁷⁴ The cumulative number of visa granting’s from 2007-2012 for second visas was 111,917, reflecting the numbers of WHMs who completed 88 days work in regional Australia.

is a considerable difference. Representation has consequential effects in that how people are portrayed is how they are treated (Hall 1997; Madison 2012) and the labelling of WHMs as “backpackers” – whether self or socially imposed – is important to consider in that it can potentially effect the work situations of WHMs in whether they are viewed as merely a type of international tourist whose temporary work restrictions and lack of knowledge can be exploited, rather than a legitimate worker or employee entitled to regulated wages and rights as provided by their visa.

While modifying activities and characteristics in defining “backpackers” to account for those who travel and have taken up work or study has been practical within academia in the past, the extent in prevalence of WHMs contemporarily could justify a divergence in labelling with regards to rights or entitlements as workers. Beyond activities or attitudes toward travel, WHMs are supposed to meet certain requirements to be able to obtain a visa, yet there are no requirements in order to be a “backpacker” – all one has to do to meet *Australian Tourism* standards is stay at a hostel for one night (Buchanan & Rossetto 1997, 2; ATEC 2012, 8).

9.4 A Personal Journey

If WHMs are comparable to tourists or backpackers and migrants or immigrants, then their motivations for pursuing a working holiday would reflect a tendency for travel, travel for work, or moving to Australia to live. Yet, as I've suggested, however, previous studies do not consider the working tourist who, academically speaking, goes on "working holidays". Thus in my research I chose to focus on the motivations of WHMs for going on a working holiday compared to literature on working tourists. The goal of this is to demonstrate why these travellers are in Australia in the first place, before they can be immigrants, before they can be migrant workers, before they can be backpackers, they must have a reason for obtaining a WHV. By evaluating their personal reasons, then their intentions behind actions can more accurately be know.

If I were to list the given explanations of a "working holiday", as presented by the marketing of *Tourism Australia*, within academia prior, and various internet explanations, an inventory of explanations would look like such:

Explanations of a working holiday	
Source	Description
Tourism Australia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • You can live and travel anywhere in Australia for one year and do any job you like. • Course, you don't have to work, but it's a great way to get extra cash so you can travel more and get to know the real Australia.
Uriely	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work is grasped as a recreational activity that is part of the tourist experience • Attached to various forms of tourism, in which working activity is offered as part of the tourist experience • Working holiday tourists are less likely to apply a mercenary approach toward their work involvement • Participants are usually engaged in work that differs sharply from what they normally do in their daily life back home
Cohen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special form of tourism in which youth from one country travel into another to work for short periods, mostly during summer school vacations
Wilson, Fisher, Moore	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involves extended stays in other countries by 'holidaymakers' with consequential immersion, to varying degrees, in the economic, social and cultural dimensions of the host locales
The internet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • References a working holiday visa – a travel permit which allows travellers to undertake employment in the country issuing the visa for the purpose of supplementing their travel funds • Most working holiday visas are offered under reciprocal agreements between certain countries, to encourage travel and cultural exchange between their citizens

Figure 27. Working Holiday explanations

While these sources purport what a “working holiday” involves, more contemporary practice can easily be reflected by the words of WHMs. When asking them to explain what exactly is a “working holiday”, the answers were diverse, but did not drift too far from the notions listed, both within academia or marketing. Earning money to travel while traveling, learning about another culture by working in another country, taking on jobs you wouldn't do at home – these were the reoccurring messages in many responses:

Staying in a country so that you can I suppose get experience with working there and then you travel with what you've earned.

- Erica, UK (Scotland)

Working holiday? Uh, so this is a holiday first. And you can work to uh, you can work during this holiday to earn money. That's why you can continue your holiday.

- Anne, France

Working holiday is doing a bit of work and also -- it's not doing the kind of work you do at home, like not seriously for a career, but working and meeting new people where you go.

- Cathy, UK (England)

Surprisingly, a few respondents drifted from the norm with slight additions, which bore a trace of negativity in tone. Hating the work you do, earning a “rubbish” paycheck, and even one girl from Taiwan referenced – when asked what is a working holiday – that it has to do with being an Australian labour source. Perhaps she did not understand the question so clearly, but nonetheless her answer was attention-grabbing:

Where you work, like when your not -- when you're just, your only purpose is to work to make money even though you hate it, and then you can spend it all on traveling.

- Mary, Norway

I think its split up in two, but I think if you get the right jobs you can enjoy it, the whole part of it rather than having like a really nice time on a holiday and then jumping into earning a rubbish pay check.

-Jackie, UK (England)

Hmm that I think this person...that Australia government need labour, much more labour work in their farms so...

- Eva, Taiwan

Comments such as these show cognizance of the sub-par conditions of work and even the questionable intentions of the purpose of the WHMP. This is interesting, again, because an understanding of being a part of precarious or undesirable job situations in order to finance travel without a pursued or existing knowledge of ones rights; this reflects the ambivalence theory put forth.

For me, a working holiday was a form of travel in which I have a legal right to work, if necessary, in order to gain additional funds to keep traveling and keep my bank account afloat; I could travel longer cause I could work if I needed to, just as Uriely's non-institutionalized tourists (2001). My motives were not about experiencing another culture through work like others above, despite the fact that I did learn some things from my work encounters, as is natural in that the longer one is immersed in a cultural context, there is a greater chance of being exposing to and observing of "how things are done" in another country or culture. However, is simply being emerged in the Australian workplace what is intended by "get to know the *real* Australia" claim by TA? Or is the activity of work meant to provide an ability to explore more of the massive continent and see what the *real* Australia encompasses?

I would suggest the latter as when I was cleaning cars and buses during my participant observation, I can't say I learned much about the *Real* Australia, unless I was learning about the work most Australians won't do or those only offered to WHMs (see Allon et al. 2008; Tan et al. 2009; Harding and Webster 2002). While I did work with Australians, what I learned most in this particular job was that I had to be adamant about not being pushed into doing more tasks than agreed upon; a by-product of apparently doing my job well, like other WHMs are reported to do (see Tan et al. 2009), was that I was delegated more duties that seemingly belonged to my supervisors such as driving around town to take care of his work errands, a task that I was able to shy away from being pressured into doing simply because I can't drive a manual car well. Embarrassing to admit sometimes, this was an irrefutable excuse from which my supervisor had no way to argue around as I could be fired without recourse, due to unfair dismissal restrictions (FairWork 2013), if I straight-up refused to do so. I was never told a driver's license or driving was even necessary when being hired, I was hired only to clean.

When being told by one supervisor's girlfriend I was "...the best backpacker they ever had", it revealed to me that my position was one usually reserved for foreign travellers, whether this was because of the dirty nature of the work or simply the fact it wasn't exactly a job that someone would want to do their entire life, considering a road construction worker in Australia who holds up a "stop"/"slow" sign in directing traffic can make more in a day with less physical exertion than the tasks I was undertaking. As Lee et al. write,

Many migrant workers suffer from hazardous work environments, often at a disproportionately poorer rate than host country nationals. They are prevalent in 3D (dirty, dangerous and difficult) jobs in sectors where labour protection mechanisms have limited reach. This effect can be worsened by poor or negative government policy towards migrant workers due to either neglect or lack of consideration of the particular situation of migrant workers. It is therefore essential that there is an assessment of the workplace standards for migrant workers in destination countries. (2011, iii)

Such could be said of WHMs; they work these "3D" jobs and are limited by government policy dictated in their visa restrictions. When I worked on a

watermelon farm, I worked with 7 other WHMs from Europe. No Australians stood next to us as we lifted hundreds of “bowling-ball” heavy watermelons each day, putting them onto the boom crane conveyor belt which carried them away to the tractor pulled trailer. Even the farm manager wasn't Australian. But of course my own experiences and perceptions about learning culture from a job are indeed that – my own. But what has been learned from a working holiday would logically be a product of what one does on a working holiday. Like myself, many interviewees basically worked and then travelled, or vice versa:

I travel in for, three, four months and then work for six months.

- Eva, Taiwan

Um, well I have worked and then I went on vacation and there I did sky diving and kayaking and all sorts of stuff.

- Martha, Denmark

Some pointed out that they simply do the same things they do on a holiday:

The same as you would do on a holiday. Travel around.

-Erica, UK (Scotland)

Um, make friends, make party, yes -- all things what I do on my holiday.

- Carol, Germany

One noted that improving language skills was involved with a working holiday:

Umm meeting people, improve my English, see, see the country and the culture....work like in an everyday life to get to know the people of Australia.

- Sara, Germany

Learning outcomes and activities aside, as mentioned a key to understanding how WHMs are different from those previously discussed is their intent – why do people go on working holidays? I asked WHMs this distinct question to reveal semantic reasons for why people, in general, undertake this activity although individuals may of course utilize WHVs with different intentions. In generalization, a trend was that people go on a working holiday because it's a good way to see the world and learn about a new country, partially made possible with the possibility to earn money through work:

I think generally it's to see the world and help afford that without having to like work, save up the money beforehand, you can go and live in a place and get to know it in a different way than just passing through but also to help you pay for it.

- Elle, Canada

It's a cheaper way to see the world because you can -- if you were just coming to travel it would cost you a fortune.

- Cathy, UK (England)

Um, it -- they want to see the world I guess, and they, they have to decide that they just can't um, travel because it's expensive so they have to work so they can travel.

- Mary, Norway

For the second time, practicing language skills was mentioned as related to working holiday, this time as a motive instead of an activity.

Searching for new experience. Meeting new people, new cultures, develop your language.

- Nancy & David, Sweden (were interviewed as a couple)

To enjoy another country, to, maybe to improve uh, their -- uh, another language -- and to discover new things, new, new culture, and new styles um, um, uh, how do you say uh, style of life. No?

- Anne, France

In examining the latent reasons, WHMs were then asked to explain their personal reasons as opposed to a generalization. Many responses were merely echoes of the general motivations presented above, yet some had different personal goals, such as taking time to discover themselves, escape their homeland or life situation to see something new, or, again, to learn a new language.

Hmm because I now -- uh, I don't want to work uh, again. Yeah, I don't want to go back my position.

- Eva, Taiwan

To learn the language, to see the real life and yeah.

- Carol, Germany

To see new people, to see a new reality, to, to work of course, and of course to have some great holidays in a great country.

- Carl, Italy

Because I want to discover myself.

- Matt, Estonia

This is perhaps the positive side of embarking on a working holiday, even if work life in Australia can sometimes be as part of the *precariat* (Standing 2011); the dirty jobs, the low-wages, the temporariness and uncertainty – these are what comes with a personal endeavour and decision to take time away from one’s normal environment to discover ones self, practice a new language, or simply travel for an extended period. Like backpackers, for WHMs it appears there is a self-imposed search for a different travel experience from other “tourists” (Adkins and Grant 2007) which perhaps incorporates working, however, as revealed, this undertaking of employment can be done so with quite “blind” ambition; WHMs want to try working in Australia but may not know before-hand the realities of conditions involved, assume rights will be comparable to those at home despite an understanding of the temporariness aligned, and are directed by the state and agencies to jobs citizens choose not to do. While all this may be positive at certain appreciated levels individually, it is still prospectively and potentially an unsafe and questionable situation in respect to some work situations, and that is what this research has attempted to report.

10 Why Does It Matter

Researchers often look at their study groups from different perspectives influenced not only by the personal curiosity of investigating the research question at hand, but also by the stakeholders that have invested in their research. As mentioned before, previous studies of working holiday makers (WHMs) are seen in a light of what do they provide for Australia as a labour supply or tourist spender rather than attention to their working conditions; they are a commodity, not vulnerable workers despite other insights suggesting such prior to this research. WHMs should have a vocalized call for rights too as they should be guaranteed such by the obtainment of the WHV, yet additional work restrictions limit them to the lowest levels of employment, despite skill or education, and limit their ability to protest such as well. And even if WHMs views of Australia in general are still primarily positive in retrospect of their experiences (Tan et al. 2009), it does not negate that their exploitation as workers exists. What do WHMs honestly get in return from Australia by picking its fruit, cleaning its hotels, minding its children, or washing its dishes, amongst other low-level jobs? For one German “backpacker”, it was death.

10.1 Tragedy

24-year-old Jessica Pera (see Image 28) from Germany had a lifelong dream of visiting Australia and finally did so in November of 2009. She arrived in Sydney and spent time in Brisbane and Byron Bay before moving on to Bundaberg where she found work as a fruit picker in Childers. On her second day of picking and after less than 3 months in Australia, Jessica dropped dead while working in a tomato field. Her death was later reported as a possible result of dehydration caused by heat stress, although coroners findings were officially inconclusive. Her parents only found out about her death the day after it happened, coincidentally, by

calling her mobile phone, which was answered by a police officer that then explained of their daughters passing.



Image 28. Death of a Working Holiday Maker (German “backpacker” Jessica Pera died from heat stress while fruit picking in Childers in 2009, picture from brisbanetimes.com.au)

Jessica had been working at Barbera Farms, one of Australia's largest suppliers of tomatoes, capsicums and zucchinis. Despite an inconclusive coroners report, consequently, the farm was fined \$25,000 in response to the incident upon findings that the farm failed to protect their workers against heat stress, having not supplied drinking water or other sources of rehydration for workers, nor by providing shading on the day she died. Likewise, they had also failed in checking to ensure sun protection equipment was worn by workers at risk of heat stroke or stress, exhaustion and hyperpyrexia cause by extreme working temperatures. The company was also found to have failed to provide adequate information, instructions, training and induction and supervision to workers to ensure workplace health and safety. Ultimately, a court found that while farm managers had control measures in place, they had failed to implement, monitor or review safe practices which resulting left their highly casual workforce at risk of injury or death and the potential for harm was evident (Brisbane Times 2011; NewsMail 2011; ABC Rural 2011; Sydney Morning Herald 2010; NewsMail 2010).

While I do not know Jessica and did not hear of her story until after my own fieldwork, it is saddening to hear of such a tragic loss that could have potentially been avoided if working conditions and the simple informing of such had been different. Her case is not the only reported disregard for workers health and safety; other claims by WHMs, in the Bundaberg region as well, have stated they were refused water by work supervisors while picking and some even fired for requesting it (News Mail 2010; Sydney Morning Herald 2010)

Such is the vulnerability of naïve foreign working tourists who travel to Australia each year. Although seeking to work legally in Australia by obtaining a WHV, they are still overly susceptible to deception, fraud, neglect, and in worse case, injury or death in the workplace. Even worse perhaps is that WHMs are distinctly directed toward this work by limitations in the work rights and “working holiday” marketing. As Sheen writes, while “Casuals...constitute an integral part of workforce structures, but it does not mean that this is a satisfactory arrangement for workers themselves” (Sheen 2012). Some of these working tourists are far away from home with no extra source of income or sustenance unless taking up work that is available on offer or acquire money from loved ones or friends at home. The potential precariousness I associate to them is not because they are at risk of running out of money on their holiday, but because they become desperate, ambivalent, and naïve in employment choice simply to earn funds to continue their travels and are “easy targets” for unscrupulous employers who have maximum profit at minimal labour expense in mind. What Tan et al. write is true: “The WHM scheme enables employers to get better quality workers for the pay and conditions they are prepared to offer”(2009, VIII). However, what they don’t acknowledge is that for WHMs, that which is on offer from some employers is often sub-standard pay under questionable conditions. In some cases, WHMs have made public claims to media that when working as farm workers they were:

- Paying more up front than they were earning in picking wages;
- Being paid less than the hours they were entitled to;
- Being refused water by work supervisors, who constantly shouted at and abused them;
- Being forced to lie on an incident report after a machinery accident.

(News Mail 2010; see also Sydney Morning Herald 2010, ABC 2013)

But the end result of these complaints is that ultimately they have to file a complaint with the FairWork Ombudsman for recourse, perhaps keeping in mind, if aware, that complaints of unfair dismissal are not valid if with an employer for less than six months.

While death is the extreme case of precarity, more often than not, unscrupulous treatment comes in the form of manipulation or withholding of money earned by workers as mentioned. Although Hugo states that WHMs' "...wages and conditions are consistent with Australian standards" (2009, 14), if doing a simple key word search on the FairWork website for "working holiday", rather than finding instructions and advice for WHMs in undertaking paid employment like there is for international students (see Image 29), what will be listed is a multitude of media releases about fines placed on various companies for failing to pay adequate wages to WHMs, many of whom are from Korea or Japan. Here are some excerpts:

Foreign worker on working holiday was allegedly underpaid as cleaner

24 July 2012

A South Korean man who worked as a cleaner in Sydney whilst on a working holiday to Australia was allegedly exploited and underpaid, the Fair Work Ombudsman alleges. The man, in his early 30s who speaks little English, worked as a night cleaner at Northbridge, where he was allegedly paid \$12.50 an hour when he should have been getting \$19 an hour....

18 May 2010

Cairns cafes allegedly underpaid workers almost \$120,000

The Fair Work Ombudsman has launched a prosecution against the operator of two cafes in Cairns for allegedly underpaying 181 staff almost \$120,000. Facing court is Sanada Investments Pty Ltd, which operates the Sushi Trains cafes at Cairns Central and City Place. Most of the workers were Japanese and Korean nationals who were in Australia on working holiday visas. Documents lodged in the Federal Magistrates Court in Brisbane allege they were underpaid their minimum hourly rate, allowances for hours worked between 8pm and midnight and penalty rates for overtime and weekend work...

27 January 2010

Lockyer Valley farm allegedly underpaid seven Japanese workers \$28,000

The Fair Work Ombudsman has launched a prosecution against a Lockyer Valley business and two of its directors for allegedly underpaying seven Japanese fruit and vegetable pickers more than \$28,000. Facing court is Nu Life Organic Farms Pty Ltd, which formerly operated a cucumber farm at Grantham. The Agency is also prosecuting Nu Life Directors Trevor John Bell and Peter John Hill, both of Mt Gravatt, who were involved in running the Grantham farm. Documents lodged in the Federal Magistrate's Court in Brisbane allege Nu Life underpaid seven Japanese nationals a total of \$28,028 between May and September, 2008. The non-English speaking employees were in Australia on working holiday visas and were employed as casual workers. The Fair Work Ombudsman claims the workers were paid about \$8.50 an hour but should have received almost \$17.

Company fined for underpaying foreign workers

21 August 2012

A national cleaning company has been fined \$62,000 for underpaying 31 Sydney cleaners, a number of them foreign workers. The Federal Magistrates Court in Sydney has today imposed the fine against the Glad Group Pty Ltd following an investigation and prosecution by the Fair Work Ombudsman. Federal Magistrate Sylvia Emmett handed down her decision after the company admitted underpaying the employees a total of \$133,845 between October, 2008 and August, 2009. Glad Group holds cleaning contracts for more than 125 office buildings around the country, but all of the underpaid employees worked as cleaners at 126 Phillip Street, Sydney. The employees included international students, working holiday visa workers and recent immigrants and many of them spoke little English. Six were aged under 21 at the time. Federal Magistrate Emmett found that Glad Group had displayed a disregard for its obligations under workplace laws, resulting in employees suffering significant loss.

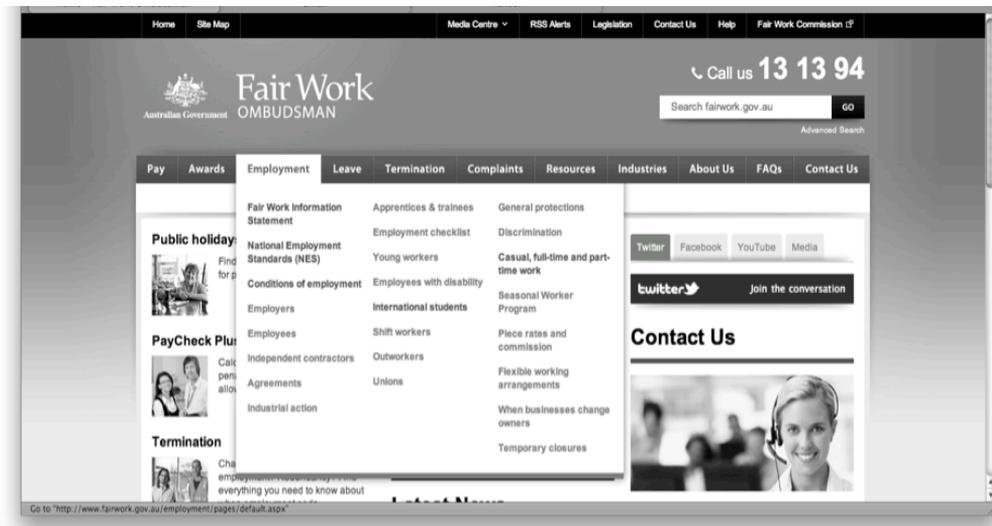


Image 29. Fair Work Website (while the entity charged with providing information about workers rights in Australia addresses some demographics of employees and work situations, for example international students, basic information for WHMs is no where to be found, from fairwork.gov.au)

Even further, “Over the past two years about 230 complaints in the fruit picking sector were investigated and \$80,000 was recovered for 107 workers. Approximately one third were visa holders - mostly working holiday makers” (FairWork 2013).

While WHMs are apparently valued as a labour supply and tourist spender (Tan et al. 2009; Harding and Webster 2002; TRA 2012; ATEC 2012), their value as humans or workers does not always seem to be given the same respect. And further, if there is a global pattern in permanent employment shifting to temporary contract work, the work of WHMs often has no contract to begin with. Precarious work is a worldwide phenomenon, with its manifestations differing among countries, depending on a nations stage of development, social institutions, cultures, and other differences (Kallenberg 2009; Standing 2010). However, just as the increasingly globalized world economy has evolved into such worlds of precarious work, there is a need for a similarly globalized approach to basic ethics and social valuations of workers. As Sen writes,

The market economy itself is not merely an international system; its global connections extend well beyond the relation between nations. Capitalist ethics, with its strong as well as weak points, is a quintessentially global culture, not just an international construct. In dealing with conditions of working lives as well as the interests and rights of workers in general, there is a similar necessity to go beyond the narrow limits of international relations. A global approach is, of course, a part of the heritage of labour movements in world history. This rich heritage — often neglected in official discussions — can indeed be fruitfully invoked in rising to the challenges of decent work in the contemporary world. A universalist understanding of work and working relations can be linked to a tradition of solidarity and commitment. The need for invoking such a global approach has never been stronger than it is now. The economically globalizing world, with all its opportunities as well as problems, calls for a similarly globalized understanding of the priority of decent work and of its manifold demands on economic, political and social arrangements. To recognize this pervasive need is itself a hopeful beginning. (2000, 127-128)

If the WHMP is, for all diplomatic intensions, proclaimed to promote cultural understanding between other nations and Australia by allowing reciprocal opportunities for extended travel and cultural immersion by youth, then it is only prudent that a universal value of rights and protections be given to those WHMs from other countries who undertake work in Australia.

10.2 Consequences for Australian Tourism?

In June of 2009, thousands of Indian university students held protests in central Melbourne (see Image 30), expressing their anger over violent attacks and muggings in Indian students in the city. Students claimed that although they invest significant amounts of money into Australia's education sector by paying more than double the tuition fees that Australian's pay to attend Australian universities, they are not taken seriously by Victoria Police nor locals in their claims of being targets of racist or violent treatment. The protests gained enough momentum in the media that they attracted international exposure abroad, particularly in India, with concerns about violence against Indian students in Australia being raised to officials by India's Prime Minister and Indian High Commissioner (BBC 2009; ABC News 2009; The Age 2009).



Image 30. 2009 Indian Protests in Melbourne (*from theage.com.au*)

Coincidentally, after these protests and media coverage occurred, enrolments of international students at Australian universities began to fall (see Figure 28), with drastic decreases in Indian student applications leading the overall downturn. While some of this decline was attributed to changes in migration policy, rise in the cost of living in Australia, as well as greater competition from other destination countries in the international student market, for example the US and Canada, safety concerns were also noted as important factor, particularly within the prospective Indian student community (The Australian 2012; JAC 2012; ACER 2012).

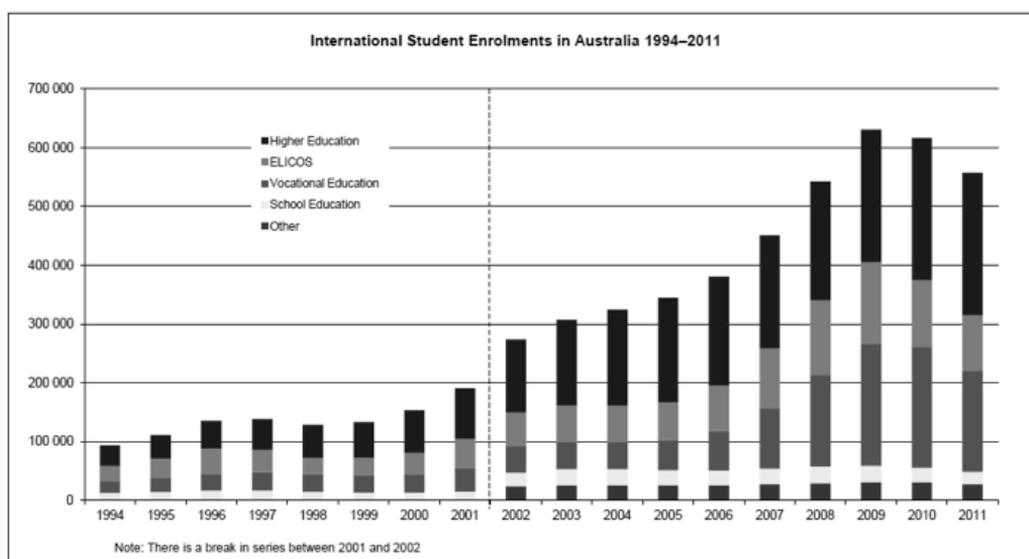


Figure 28. International Student enrolments in Australia 1994-2011 (from Australian Education International⁷⁵)

⁷⁵ Chart from this web page <https://aei.gov.au/research/International-Student-Data/Pages/InternationalStudentData2011.aspx>

International students not only play an important role in Australia's higher education system by diversifying student bodies, but also an important part of the Australian economy as Education services are Australia's biggest service export industry, with onshore activity generating AU\$16.3 billion to the Australian economy in 2010-11 (JAC 2012). Like the international education industry, the WHV market, as discussed, is a significant contributor to Australia's economy as well. To note, "along with education, tourism is Australia's leading services exporter" (TRA 2012). Even further, Jarvis and Peel recognize the opportunities short-stay international student travellers contribute to Australian tourism, and also mention, "...European study backpackers prompt non-studying friends to apply for a 12-month working holiday visa in order to meet and travel together" (2008, 170), demonstrating a linkage between the international study market and the WHM market.

A decline in the working holiday travel market, in theory, is potentially possible if the scale of adverse treatment of WHMs as workers goes unchecked, amongst other potential contributing factors. As many WHMs heard about the visa via word-of-mouth (Tan et al. 2009), which I found true as well amongst interviewees and casual conversations, its not impossible that such negative experiences, if occurrence becomes widespread, make their way into international media, or other national media outside Australia, like in the Indian student scenario. Likewise, Tourism Australia found in a 2011 survey that word-of-mouth is indeed a large motivator in influencing the decision making of backpackers, including WHMs, in coming to Australia (see Figure 29). Also to their concern, they found that positive perceptions of this demographic towards particular aspects of traveling in Australia have declined (see Figure 30).

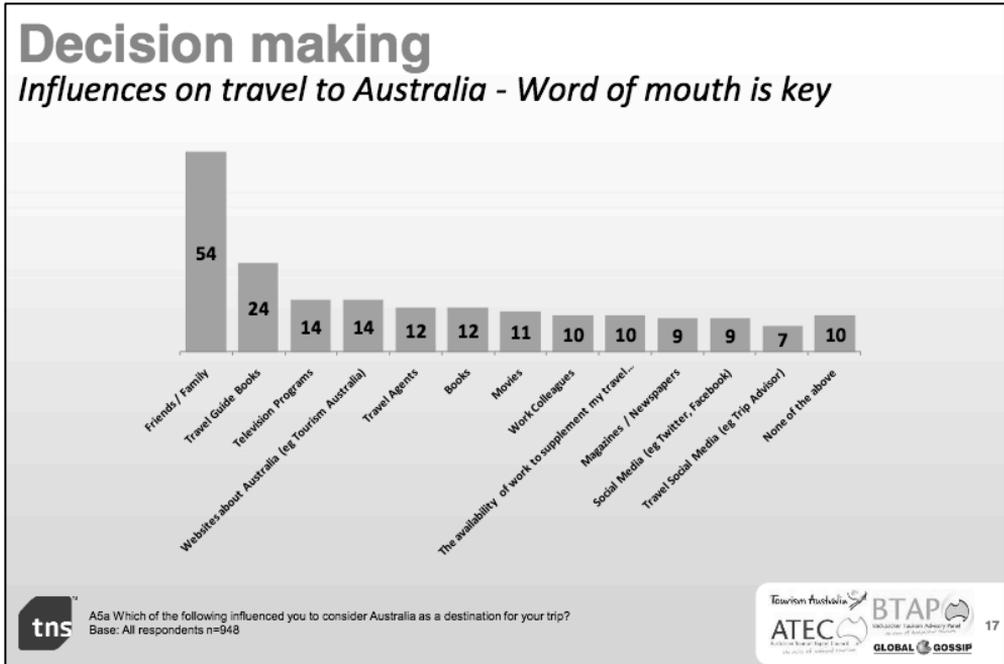


Figure 29. Traveller decision making to Australia (from TA presentation “Backpackers Uncovered: What do travellers really think of Australia?”)

Australia has lost ground in terms of performance on key measures vs. last year

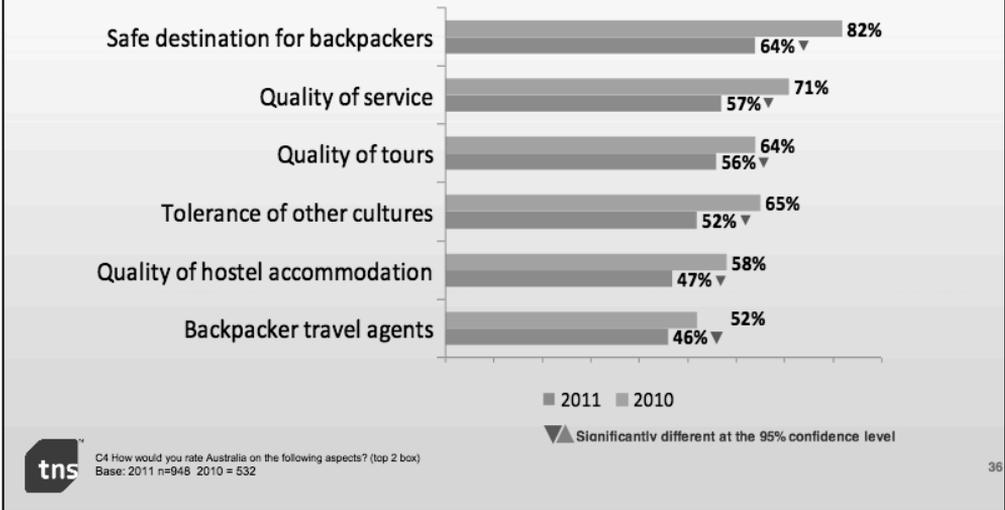


Figure 30. Loss in approval ratings for Australian Tourism (from TA presentation “Backpackers Uncovered: What do travellers really think of Australia?”)

Perceptions and attitudes about Australia were also a part of Tan et al.'s 2009 study, reporting that,

After their recent working holidays in Australia, more than two thirds (69%) of WHMs had a 'mainly positive impression' of Australia, while nearly 30% had a 'both positive and negative impression'. Important things that made the biggest positive impression on WHMs included: 'landscape and nature', 'friendly people', and 'quality of life'. In comparison, the two things that made the biggest negative impression were the 'indigenous situation' (19%) and the 'poor treatment of others or stereotyping' (18%) (2009, XI).

Interestingly, adverse treatment stories of "backpackers" have occasionally made headlines in Australian news and TV⁷⁶, and if such stories were to increase in general, there is always a chance that prospective WHMs simply come to Australia on tourist visas rather than pay the current non-refundable price to apply for the visa of AU\$365⁷⁷. Why pay for a visa to have a work permit which limits one to pursuing the lowest level jobs in a country?

Also of interest, as the Australian Tourism Export Council has suggested, the WHMP should be changed to compete with other working holiday destinations, such as Canada (see Image 31), who have a higher age limit for applicants and no restrictions on work.

⁷⁶ TV: A Current Affair, "Bully boss caught on camera", Air date Wednesday January 25th 2012 (Video available here <http://aca.ninemsn.com.au/article/8408824/bully-boss-caught-on-camera#comments>)

Web News: Sunraysia Daily, "Hopping mad: Backpackers fume over broken promise of fruit-picking work", published February 1, 2013. (Article Available here <http://www.sunraysiadaily.com.au/story/1271814/hopping-mad-backpackers-fume-over-broken-promise-of-fruit-picking-work/?cs=1511>)

⁷⁷ The price has increased since field research when it was at AU\$270. (The current fees can be seen here <http://www.immi.gov.au/allforms/pdf/990i.pdf>)



Image 31. Working Holiday in Canada (Web advertisement by private company The Working Holiday Club, which coordinates working holiday travel packages for young travellers to Canada; the-workingholiday-club.com)

They write:

As an example, Canada has increased the age limit of their WHM Visa Scheme cut-off age to 35 years. This was done unilaterally, without any negative consequence, and has given Canada a competitive edge over Australia in attracting the 'mid-career gap' market which is lucrative and fast-growing in the current financial climate of traditional economies in the Northern Hemisphere (ATEC 2012, 6).

Further, This resembles Cooper and Halls observation that, "Changes at a destination, such as the imposition of new visa requirements, may affect the relative attractiveness of a destination with respect to other potential destinations. Similarly, alterations in the perception of the relative safety of destinations for travellers will also affect tourist flows" (2013, 11).

Rising costs, poor treatment, and competing markets were all attributed factors in the decline of international students coming to Australia, thus again, if the same is occurring within the WHM market, it is not unfathomable for this group of working tourists to decline in numbers as well if attention is not given to negative facets of undertaking work while on a working holiday to Australia.

10.3 Small Changes Possible

As mentioned, I have not met a single WHM who can recall having to provide evidence of funds during the application process or at the border. By not verifying, a blind-eye is potentially being turned to visa requirements intent on providing that working tourists are able to support themselves upon entry, rather than being desperate or destitute in a land far away from home. The WHMP is said intended as generating mutual understanding between countries by reciprocal offering of work and travel opportunities for youth, however a lack of quality control directs the youth of other countries toward undertaking the lowest levels of work in Australia. At best, this is an administrative oversight, at worst, it's dubious. Checks and balances are needed in the Australian WHV process, namely verifying the required AU\$5,000 to enter Australia – whether during the application process or at the border. If it is not enforced, why is it even stipulated as required?

Additionally, more information can be also provided about workers rights and about recourse for mistreatment to WHMs during the visa application process. This could be as simple as mentioning the FairWork website multiple times during the visa application. Or even further, due to the sheer numbers of WHMs in Australia, it would be prudent for a section outlining their rights and responsibilities to be listed on the FairWork Ombudsman website, modelling the section that is already in place providing workers rights information in multiple languages to international students (see Image 32).

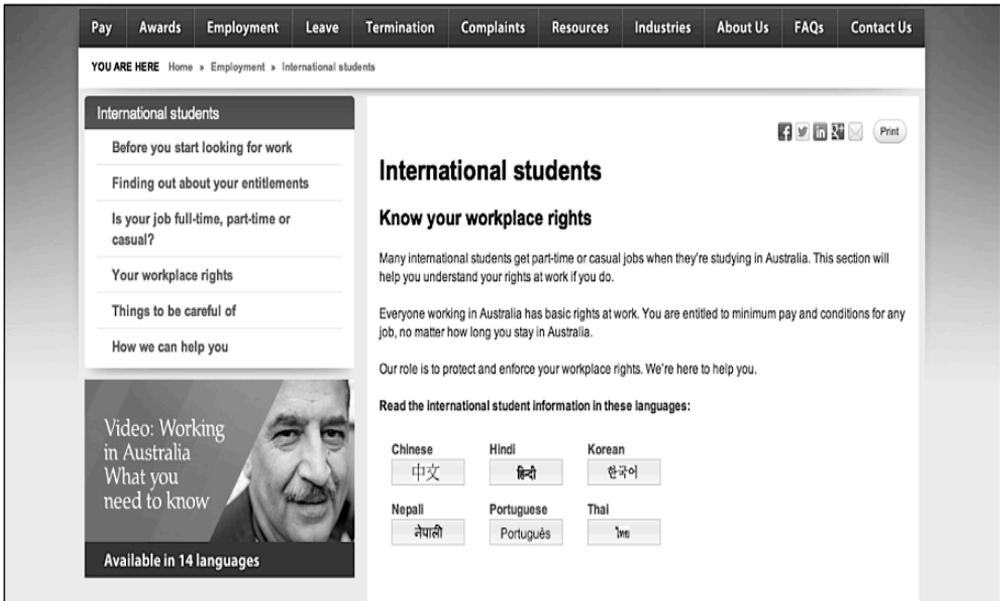


Image 32. Workers rights (Workers rights are explained in multiple languages for international students on primary government information sources, yet none exists for WHMs)

11 A Conclusion

What began with an alarming observation of questionable intent by an Australian contractor toward an incapacitated backpacker labourer during a 4-month trip to Australia in 2008, has culminated into the dissertation you have just read. While this research has sought, at its core, to simply provide greater insight into the questionable stipulations and situations of work for working holiday makers (WHMs) in Australia, I believe it has also contributed three areas for elaborated discussion within the field of sociology and work place relationships, one empirical, the other two theoretical.

11.1 A new form of exploitation?

While, as discussed prior and reiterated on several occasions, the empirical connections between WHMs and other demographics of worker susceptible to precarious work situations is evident. However, ultimately, a more direct presentation of their specific precarious situation should be displayed in relevance to understood dimensions of precarious job situations; rather than just comparing precarious persons per say, let us look at empirical situations of precarious employment for WHMs. Utilizing the four dimensions for deliberating if an employment situation is precarious in nature (Fudge and Owens 2006, 11; Dow et al. 2009) this is a what this research has found (Figure 31):

Dimension	Covert Participant Observation/Interviews & Fieldwork	Primary Sources	Secondary Sources
<p>The extent of belief that work will continue (or misled)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being misled about work conditions at the water melon farm • German WHM interviewee told her English good enough to work on regional farm, subsequently fired for inadequate language skills 2 days after arrival. • Estonian WHM interviewee who worked at watermelon farm misled about continued work at the farm, staying with promises of more work that never came • Estonian WHM travelled to watermelon farm being told there was work, only to be told no more work available 3 days after arrival. • Fieldwork conversations with Watermelon farm workers being misled about same living conditions I was told about 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WHMs misled about jobs by accommodation providers to lure them to region to attract them to their accommodation (Jarvis and Peel 2009). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WHMs misled about pay rates for picking work (Sydney Morning Herald 2010; News Mail 2010) • WHMs misled about 'guaranteed' work per week (Sydney Morning Herald 2010; News Mail 2010)
<p>Identifying who controls the labour process and the presence or absence of a trade union, and professional standards</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Having personal mobility (ability to travel to get food) limited by watermelon farm management • Asked to take on job tasks of supervisor when automobile detailer. • Asked to work shifts at different business hostel manager owned, as part of hostel work barter • German WHM having her works shifts in pub arbitrarily cut after giving courtesy 2 weeks notice. • German WHM having shifts arbitrarily cut in restaurant after giving 2 weeks notice. • Numerous advertisements in hostels for WHM or backpackers to pay money for job placement services or 'guaranteed' work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WHMs cannot claim unfair dismissal as their work limitation is for 6 months maximum with one employer, and workers can only claim unfair dismissal if with a company for minimum 6 months (Fair Work 2013) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WHMs being fired for requesting water while picking (Sydney Morning Herald 2010; News Mail 2010) • WHM being forced to lie on an incident report after a machinery accident or lose job (News Mail 2010) • Hostels only letting WHMs working for them stay at their hostel (News Mail 2010; Sydney Morning Herald 2010)

Dimension	Covert Participant Observation/Interviews & Fieldwork	Primary Sources	Secondary Sources
The extent of legal recognized standards and protection the work situation and environment involves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Working through barter at a hostel for accommodation and sleeping in luggage storage room, as "bartered" bed was allocated to paying customers • Driving heavy machinery (tractor) at watermelon farm on first day of work without prior experience or contract signed • Observing a contractors inclination to complete a paid project before providing medical assistance to a backpacker who had an epileptic seizure. • German WHM whose manager at a food packing plant arbitrarily changed their pay structure from hourly to per bin in order to increase productivity • Fieldwork conversations with WHM having to work multiple unpaid trial shifts, which are illegal, in Sydney. • Job adverts that say "working holiday visa required", but are paid in cash. • Meeting Taiwanese WHMs with acidic burns on the face and arms from picking mango's 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WHMs reported as susceptible working conditions below national standards or experience racist behaviour from growers (Mares 2005). • WHMs, amongst backpackers in Sydney, faced disrespectful treatment by employers (Allon et al. 2008) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The death of a WHM while doing farm work due to hazardous heat conditions (Brisbane Times 2011; NewsMail 2011; ABC Rural 2011; Sydney Morning Herald 2010; NewsMail 2010). • Fruit pickers in Bundaberg being dismissed for requesting water while picking (Sydney Morning Herald 2010; News Mail 2010) • A WHM who was injured in Tasmania riding a quad-bike during farm work was refused medical coverage claim by her 'backpacker' insurance policy (Mail Online 2013).
Level of pay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My having to chase down payment from a trial shift with a hospitality employer • Being offered \$15 cash-in-hand for a job that was initially offered a higher wage • A German interviewee having to take to court a family she au-pair'd for who did not pay her their initially agreed wages. • A Swedish interviewee who worked as a labourer for moving company and not paid • Fieldwork conversations with Korean WHM earning \$12 per hour cash in Sydney • A Norwegian interviewee begin told by a travel agent who organized her visa to expect wages of \$10-\$20 (minimum wage was \$15) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WHMs reported susceptible to receiving wage rates below national standards (Mares 2005) • WHMs, amongst backpackers in Sydney, faced low wages from employers (Allon et al. 2008) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WHMs seeking unpaid wages by having to report employers to Fair Work Ombudsman (Fair Work 2012, 2010).

Figure 31. Dimensions of precarious work for WHMs

WHMs - their employment relationships, jobs they sometimes undertake in Australia, and stipulations of work, as explained through both my research and other studies – are precarious workers indeed; they would certainly be amongst Standing's (2011) *precarariat*. Yet while WHMs share similar attributes with other precarious demographics they have already been grouped with in study, ie. migrant workers, young workers, seasonal workers, and so on, they still bear a further identifiable trait distinct from these categories of persons or workers aligned with – they are also *tourists*. Such differences are reflected in their diverging motives for pursuing a working holiday; practicing language skills, to get away from routine, or simply travel are not so aligned with notions of “work”.

The marketing of, and stipulations surrounding, the Working Holiday Maker Program raise questions about the intentions of the state in administering such a program and the potential disregard for “backpackers” as protected workers in Australia. What is undoubtedly discussed as a temporary labour supply program, addressed empirically in research by academia, is cleverly advertised and promoted by private companies under the guise of adventure and cultural exchange for young international youth. While the program may not have been initiated in this manner, its modification in 2005 and underlying work stipulations that now serve as the parameters for the WHMP are of serious concern.

Young international travellers who journey to Australia with a working holiday visa are not only guided to undertake employment in one of the most dangerous industries in Australia (SWA 2103, iii), if wanting to stay another year they are required to do so, placing them in a position of migrant servitude to those employers whose signature is needed to vouch for their successful completion of such work, and thus they cannot assert rights (see Martin 2007). Worst of all, however, is that even before entering the country, WHMs, who have a limit of 6 months employment with one employer are already denied a fair treatment of dignity or rights in the simple fact that they are not able to claim unfair dismissal from the workplace. Restrictions such as this ensure that regional Australia has a continued backpacker labour supply to pull from that are limited in legal abilities to claim a foul to those conditions of employment that are not just on offer, but may change at whim once work has already been undertaken. My fieldwork, as well as insights from other studies (see Mares 2005; Jarvis and Peel 2009; Allon et al. 2008a) and multiple media articles (see Sydney Morning Herald 2010; News Mail

2010; Brisbane Times 2011; NewsMail 2011; ABC Rural 2011), have shown that employers in fact seek to take advantage of WHMs as workers.

Such vulnerability and exploitation in workplace security is not unlike those of illegal migrant workers whose time, Krenn and Haidinger explain, is,

...not only constantly at disposal for temporal unpredictable jobs moreover they are forced to continuously invest time in the acquisition of new (casual) jobs. This kind of permanent insecurity reduces human beings in a way to calculating machines with regard to their economic survival (2009, 50)

While this reference of temporary and unpredictable economic survival for illegal migrants could be more so survival of the “holiday” for some WHM if they have intentions of returning home to a better economic position or opportunities, both empirically bear a similar role as disposable labour in Australia, despite potential differences in social standing in their home country. Perhaps “backpackers” while in Australia are Marx’s *lumpenproletariat*.

To me, facets of the WHMP appears a new form of legalized exploitation achievable by a dual role of temporary labour program as also tourism initiative; a working holiday visa in Australia is a right to work while traveling or to support travels, yet there is lack of a basic right to even claim unfair dismissal at work for those with the visa. A “working holiday” blurs the lines of roles and responsibility in the employer-employee relationship, as well as the intentions of the program itself. As Hugo interestingly points out that,

The developmental implications of this type of labour migration are limited because low-income country youth do not have access to WHM schemes. The WHM programs in Australia and New Zealand, in addition, may be having an indirect impact in that it may be delaying the two countries’ introduction of large scale seasonal agricultural labour migration from low-income countries as is done in countries like Spain and the United States. In Australia, there have long been labour shortages during peak activity periods in viticulture, market gardening, orcharding etc. The WHMs have to some

extent met this demand which otherwise would have perhaps led to the introduction of a seasonal labour migration scheme (2009, 15).

Hence the WHMP serves, in practice, as a seasonal labour mechanism, despite its advertisement as a youth travel escapade with limited workers rights. In contrast to seasonal labour migration such as in the USA, WHMs are not sending their hard earned money back to their home country as it spent on traveling around Australia. This is a “win-win” situation for the state in economical contribution. However, a simple lack of ability to complain against unjust dismissal within the WHM context could be seen as an offense to human rights. As McKay et al. write,

Workers in irregular and informal work and in bogus self-employment have limited or no access to social rights and it is still an open question whether not social and employment rights would be better embedded if they were recognized as human rights, rather than as rights dependent on the complaint of individual workers (2012, 11)

In addition to a scenario of right to work but no rights at work, my research also hinted at an acceptance or disregard for those workers who may indeed face questionable work situations, whether legal or illegal. As one interviewee expressed why she wouldn't report an employer who cheated her – “I don't think they take working holiday visa holders seriously”...and perhaps that's because they are not intended to be. While WHMs can make formal complaints to the FairWork Ombudsman about their employer, this of course takes time, and that includes time relinquished from ones holiday; jobs and contracts are temporary, but so is the WHMs time in Australia and ability to work with one employer.

While ILO Decent Work Programs, which have basic objectives to, “...promote decent work as a key component of national development strategies” (ILO 2012), are seemingly focused on improving labour and work standards in developing, politically corrupt, or third-world countries⁷⁸, this does not necessarily

⁷⁸ To see a list of countries, visit <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/program/dwcp/countries/index.htm>

mean that foul labour conditions are restricted merely to these regions or nations. Further, as Lee et. al. writes,

Many migrant workers suffer from hazardous work environments, often at a disproportionately poorer rate than host country nationals. They are prevalent in 3D (dirty, dangerous and difficult) jobs in sectors where labour protection mechanisms have limited reach. This effect can be worsened by poor or negative government policy towards migrant workers due to either neglect or lack of consideration of the particular situation of migrant workers. It is therefore essential that there is an assessment of the workplace standards for migrant workers in destination countries. (2011, iii)

While migrant workers are susceptible and their workplace standards should be scrutinized - the thing with WHMs is, however, they are not formal migrant workers, even being considered as “informal” migrants in study (ILO Workshop 2010). Perhaps they are intended to be “informal” workers as well.

Precarious work situations and degradation of workers rights are not limited to poor or undeveloped countries; they are everywhere, simply perhaps more visible in some countries than others. An evident and empirical result of this research, if not sparsely hinted at before in other studies, is that working holiday makers as working tourists, should be further added, distinctly, to contemporary lists and discussions of those vulnerable to precarious work situations, and not only mentioned in contexts of other categories or labels. Global entities could benefit from further investigations of how workers rights continue to be degraded not only for persons living in the periphery or margins of society, but those who are simply on a holiday.

In a contrasting perspective, global citizens should also be more aware of how government initiatives function in reality. To reiterate, one official study of the WHMP concluded,

...the WHM is more a tourism export program than a labour supply program. But WHMs do supply labour, and employers who use the program generally welcome it and feel that the quality of worker they get is high, relative to what is available from the local labour market given the pay and conditions on offer (Tan et al. 2009, I).

When the “pay and conditions on offer” are questionable, illegal or potentially inhumane, and the state has already limited the working tourists rights before arrival, as in the case of the WHMP, is there an implication of implicitness from the administrative side of such programs?

11.2 “Work” in the context of its opposite?

Investigating the perception of WHMs toward the notion of work, as well as empirical observation in which the concept functions while on a working holiday has provided a unique opportunity to address the concept sociologically in a dual-context which includes that which is traditionally understood to be the opposite of work – a holiday.

For over-skilled, and perhaps over-educated, workers living in a transient limbo of temporary employment, the “tourist gaze” of these foreigners can be so strong that “work” is not a just a meaning as the opposite of holiday, but a function that directly supports a “holiday”. A tourist narrative involves, “...the notion of ‘departure’, of a limited breaking with established routines and practices of everyday life allowing ones senses to engage with a set of stimuli that contrast with the everyday and the mundane,” of their lives back in their home country (Urry 1990, 2). Perhaps, their “...engagement with work becomes superficial...”(Sennett 1998, 74), as there can be a lack of rational understanding of why one would travel thousands of miles to pursue menial labour and sub-par working conditions compared to those available at home. That was the case for me when I first arrived

in Australia. Yet for others, is fruit picking or other temporary work just a way to pay for their adventures in Australia; do they not identify themselves as the international labour force that they are seemingly viewed as by the Australian agricultural industry? If so, this would correlate a simple association of work being paid employment. But as Grint suggests, "...the world of work is one actively constructed through the interpretive acts of agents involved" (Grint. 2005), thus, this world of work to working holiday makers should not be viewed as a simple one. As discussed, they are sometimes willing to undertake any work task head-on, yet can "flake" off at a moment's notice to play tourist; this is not necessarily a normal behaviour for a worker concerned about a consistent fiscal income or bearing responsibility for a position...or further, an immigrant worker looking to embed themselves in a new land and culture.

In my research, there is no doubt that a connection between work and tourism exists. Going by Uriely's chart, working holiday makers' work and touristic motivations are that, "Work is grasped as a recreational activity that is part of the tourist experience". This would suggest that picking fruit or washing dishes in an Australian pub is part of the Australian working holiday experience. However, I see their fleeting behaviour from work commitments as negating this generalization; they are more partial to the motivations of "Non-institutionalized working tourists" whose motivations are to "Work in order to finance a prolonged travel" (Uriely 2001). To me, this is evident in WHMs reported behaviour in previous reports as well my interviews, which reflect a preference of some for their own personal "holiday time" over that of an employers' "work time". Washing dishes and fruit picking in reality are not necessarily the primary function of the tourist experience, yet more so a way to continually finance the tourist experience. Such jobs can be advertised as this though by working in Australia equating to "getting to know the real Australia"...however, when picking fruit in the middle of the outback at a remote farm with other foreign travellers, what is learned about the *Real* Australia? Conceivably, that backpackers are a labour source? Of course this is a broad generalization, and as examined, a working holiday is a personal experience thus what one takes from the experience will be different from others.

In attempting to offer a definition of work that is constructed through this research of the world of working holiday makers, I think Marx (1873) is correct in his statement that work "... is an eternal nature-imposed necessity".... meaning work is a necessary means of sustenance and used to support the working holiday

maker lifestyle; work is intended to sustain impulsive tourist activities that are a priority over work activities. Without work there is no tourist adventure, but is the adventure all that truly matters? When thinking of the actions associated with this "work", Giddens covers this best, in my belief, with the portion of his definition which describes work as "...being the carrying out of tasks requiring the expenditure of mental and physical effort..." (2002). This would correlate with the menial and physical jobs that participants most often pursue. Expanding on Giddens and incorporating sustenance⁷⁹ of tourist activities as an objective covering both paid and non-paid, working barter for room & board for example, forms of work, I would propose that as a result of this research: *Work is the carrying out of tasks requiring expenditure of mental and physical effort as a means to sustenance, at minimum.* This definition does not address the public or private sphere or paid or voluntary work specifically as it is intended to encompass all of these attributes implicitly. Paid or voluntary, work can simply be about sustaining an activity or entity that by nature will fade or cease on its own, or simply sustaining life by working, whether for money or other activity; to survive. Survival is an initial thought in that work on a working holiday is also indeed about survival in Australia for those with less funds than others, yet the tourism aspect of the concept requires work features that are also leisure associated.

Paid or unpaid, public or private, physical or mental, for business or pleasure, is not work necessary, at minimum, to sustain life, living, and simply being?

⁷⁹ Sustenance is viewed as a means of support or maintenance or the act of sustaining; not as a supply of nourishment as some alternative definitions primarily purport

11.3 Re-examining a “Working Holiday”

Evaluating existing explanations of a “working holiday” in comparison with research findings, it is apparent that standing explanations ring true, yet seem to only represent independent aspects of the activity, respectively. While Cohen states that working holidays are a “...special form of tourism in which youth from one country travel into another to work for short periods” (1973, 91), a motivation is not clearly included, as if work is the only activity. It is overwhelmingly apparent that tourism and leisure activities are indeed involved with a “working holiday”.

Likewise, Uriley is quite accurate in his depiction of motivations in that work is *offered* as a part of the tourist experience, which in the Australia context would be learning about culture, similar to the advertisements of TA. However, this does not mean that work necessarily *undertaken* in the same manner. For many, I found, the work on a “working holiday” is more so about earning money to support travel rather than working as part of the tourist experience; learning about culture may be a by-product of the job offer or experience, yet it’s not necessarily an employment decision making factor – making money to continue traveling is the goal. This notion of working to support travels coincides with Uriley’s non-institutionalized working tourists. However, it is difficult to consider working holiday makers, in the Australian context at least, as non-institutionalized as their work and travel is, in fact, made possible by a visa program administered by a government entity, advertised not only by *Tourism Australia*, but also private companies who coordinate “working holiday” trips, obtaining visas, arranging accommodation, bank accounts, mobile phones, and more. Although the activity of work while on holiday departs from normal conceptions of being a tourist and echoes the ideal of Cohen’s drifters to work in order to support travel, a working holiday is no longer an alternative or unconventional form of travel. In fact, it enables international travel to be participated in by a wider scope of people from different economic or socio-classes by allowing work activity to supplement costs. While Uriely’s explanation is most likely discussing those who seek forms of travel beyond traditional and convention methods associated with mass tourism, however, trends in tourism have and will, always continue to change. With the increased numbers globally of those who undertake a “working holiday” through the allotment of

visas or programs under a similar name, these types of travellers may in fact be part of a new institutionalized form of modern travel and work.

In terms of Wilson, Fisher and Moore's explanation, it is too abstract and culturally narrowed to New Zealand youth who travel, not accounting for a wider base of travellers who undertake working holidays. Of course a generalization for all working holiday travellers would be rational, yet as mentioned before, a legal right to work is missing from any explanation and for one to pursue work in another country, it's a strong factor in that a "working holiday" is possible because of a "working holiday" type visa that is offered, and interviews revealed that work is indeed imperative to supporting travel and tourism activities, as suggested by Tourism Australia's advertisements.

Taking into consideration the explanations and motivations revealed by interviewees and through my own participant observation, including those aspects that confirm existing working holiday characteristics, and incorporating new factors for pursuing such activity not mentioned by academic explanations, it's quite evident that a working holiday is indeed a personal endeavour; each WHM has their own reasons for coming to Australia, whether it be gaining new intercultural experiences, learn more about themselves, practicing language skills, or simply holidaymaking. The common denominator is though is that each may be possible because of the ability to work legally to support such reasons; the primary reason is not necessarily to work though. Such personal reasons for undertaking a working holiday diverges from those motivations aligned with those groups, as mentioned over and over again, that WMHs are compared to. Their pull and push factors may be similar to backpackers in regards to seeking a break from routine or life situation or wanting to have a holiday, yet the distinct opportunity to be able to work or practice language through extended immersion or workplace opportunity is unique (See Figure 32).

Label	Push Factors	Pull Factors
Migrants, migrant workers, immigrants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a lack of life chances, • lower living standards, • political and social instability, conflict, or repression, • lack of available opportunities to fruitfully utilize skills in the home country, • natural disasters • ecological deterioration' (Nunn 2005, 31; Parker 2007). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • higher wages • job opportunities • good working conditions • freedom from political instability or oppression • family • education opportunities (Nunn 2005, 32; Parker 2007).
Backpacker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Take a break from studies • Travel during transitional period in life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Holiday • New experiences • Adventure
Working Holiday Makers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discontent with work or personal situation at home • Take a break from studies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Holiday • Ability to work to support travel • New experiences • Chance to practice language skills

Figure 32. Push and pull factors

Thus to propose a new explanation of a working holiday, I would like to put forth the following:

A “working holiday” is a form of travel offered to young international travellers who utilize special visas to pursue extended travel in another country for various personal reasons including, but not limited to, gaining new intercultural experiences, practicing foreign language skills, and seeking paid employment, as needed, in order to finance further travel.

Coming back to the specific inquiry of this research, since a working holiday for many is a personal journey involving a tourist capacity, it is quite difficult to fathom that they are able to come together and join in a collective form to protest or give voice to the questionable work situations that they undertake. There is no way possible for them to collectively bargain as unions do as they are individuals entering Australia with a limited work regulation which positions them already at odds with the ability to claim unfair dismissal from casual employment; a casual employee must be with a company for 6 months minimum before being able to declare unfair dismissal. Further, the Australian trade union movement does not necessarily support WHMs and it sees the employment of backpackers and as a means to cheap labour which negatively effects the positioning of Australian workers in the labour market, with the National Secretary of the Australian Workers Union, stating that the resultant use of backpacker labour is that, “All this is going to do is drive down wages. It’s nothing short of the “Mexicanisation” of Australia’s country workers” (quoted in Murphy, 2006, p.28 as cited in Allon et al. 2008b, 11; see also Kinnaird 1999;). In fact, backpackers in the Northern Territory are found to be employed through cash-in-hand payments as casuals by a significant amount of hospitality employers, particularly in pubs, clubs and nightclubs, and such situations not only degrade negotiating powers of union leverage in workplace situations across industries on a general scale, but also undermine even the basic rights associated with the casual work arrangement. Gardiner writes that a,

...large percentage of casually employed hospitality workers are used in ways that will not meet the conditions of casual employment .They are rostered on to full time hours yet employed casually so that they do not accrue any benefits and can be dismissed at short notice . . . There are situations which we have documented in remote localities where accommodation forms part of the employment conditions. One notoriously bad employer used contrived discrepancies in till takings to summarily dismiss employees and to remove them from accommodation on the premises whenever disputes arose out of conditions of service and employment. The employer predominantly employed overseas tourists who invariably left the NT and Australia before cases against the employer could be satisfactorily established (Gardiner 2011, cited in Unions NT 2012)

Essentially, WHMs traverse a peculiar combination of both work and holiday in Australia and this puts them in a position of precariousness as workers because their motives are activities are more than just a regular tourist or backpacker, yet by also being on a holiday to some extent from their personal situations or regular work at home or seeking to discover more about their own life, they still drift between a mindset and priority of work versus leisure which can hamper their cognizance of the work situations they envelop themselves in. Consequently, they can contribute to their own precariousness as workers by fluctuating mindsets, priorities, and motivations by simply being on a “working holiday”.

11.4 Where to go from here

Working holiday travel, like precarious work, is a growing global phenomenon that will continue to manifest in new forms and in new places. For example, as of December 2012, Singapore's Working Holiday Program, whereas it used to be open to university students or graduates from certain countries, has changed to be only available to graduates of internationally ranked Top 200 universities in certain countries (MOM 2012). Empirically speaking, while Australia's WHMP may address labour supply shortages for industries in need of low-skilled workers, Singapore's WHMP has been reshaped to act as a "brain gain" program, offering only students at top universities the chance to live, work, and travel in Singapore. Canada has a growing working holiday program as well which has been utilized by many young Irish professionals as a 'foot-in-the-door' method to Canadian permanent residency (National Post 2013; Irish Times 2013). Hoffmann and Lawrence write that in Japan, which has a working holiday program as well, WHMs from New Zealand and Australia are not even considered as "foreign workers" by the Foreign Workers' Bureau in the Ministry of Labour, thus excluded from reports about foreign employees (Hoffman and Lawrence 1995, 68).⁸⁰

Such scenarios in differing national contexts demonstrate the varying intentions of WHMPs and motives of WHMs. Further, these varying global phenomena in migration and employment, under the guise of tourism initiatives, is perhaps an interesting evolution of temporary labour programs by different means, names, or intents. It may not be uncommon for European countries to sometime in the near future begin to utilize their working holiday agreements with Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, and perhaps several Asian countries to recruit tourist workers to the EU. The motive could be similar to the Australian case in which tourists spend both the money they earn from home and on their working holiday within the destination country, which like in the Australian case, can serve as a significant economic booster. Further, while the ILO is cognizant of WHMs as evident through publications and studies about other groups of workers (see Hoffman & Lawrence 1995; Hugo 2009; Lee et al. 2011; Koser 2009; Baum 2012; Martin 2007; Kuptsch 2006; Baruah 2006), it would be unconventionally progressive to perhaps

⁸⁰ It is not known if this exception has changed, yet demonstrates precedence for how working holiday workers have been perceived in other international contexts in the past.

see research done on working tourists who also face sub-standard work situations, despite their “getting lost in the crowd” amongst other demographics of at-risk workers stuck in abominable conditions worldwide. This is not to say that a study of “tourists” is more important or of higher value than those exploited in the harshest conditions of third-world or developing countries, as all workers should have basic rights worldwide, yet it offers a chance to see how degrading, dangerous, and questionable work scenarios can be hidden and accepted within more affluent Western and “modern” populations. Madison argues that “...critical ethnography is always a meeting of multiple sides in an encounter with and among others, one in which there is negotiation and dialogue toward substantial and viable meanings that make a difference in others’ worlds (2012, 10). Perhaps by critically examining our own inner structures of precarity in temporary activities typically associated with leisure, such as a working holiday, can we also better understand those situations that are everyday norms for those on the periphery.

Regardless of malicious treatment as workers through wage or conditions though, all of my interviewees enjoyed their Australian experience, echoing other studies (see Tan et al 2009). Even one who experienced mistreatment from a produce grower who tried to withhold payment, still enjoyed his time as a fruit picker, even being told to avoid such work by friends and family who had been on a working holiday before him:

They told me I shouldn't do the fruit picking jobs because they thought they are not prepared and terrible work, but I did it and I loved it. It was really nice, a nice job. It was really fun -- it was great and outside, fresh air, and I met a lot of nice people.

- Dustin, Germany

Such is the ironic and problematic task to understand mindset of the WHM. Sometimes traveling, sometimes working, they navigate an extraordinary terrain in Australia that has evolved to transform simple tourism into “working holiday” tourism. With the growing presence of working holiday programs throughout the world, again, this type of international travel for individuals, and labour program

for the state, is only going to be more commonplace amongst different destination countries.

What perhaps started as a form of non-institutionalized travel by “drifters” (Cohen 1973) who sought to support themselves along the road has transformed to a very institutionalized and structured industry worth billions that not only enables travel, but also sometimes pushes travellers into precarious work situations despite legal rights, standards, or entitlements. And when engulfed by tourist mentality, they willingly go. However, before the work situations of WHMs get better, it is quite possible they will only get worse as still minimal is known about their working conditions on a larger scale, despite this research’s attempt at providing insight into their mindset and world of work and travel. Unlike Whyte (1943, 356), I will conclude with the obligatory statement that, indeed, more research on WHMs is needed because...If WHMs have a legal right to work, yet are treated as merely “backpackers”, their human value as workers will continue to only be measured in what they contribute to the Australian economy as a labour source and tourist consumer; they can work for Australians but as workers or humans, are they any less deserving than them?

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13 Appendices

Appendix 1: Forms 1150 and 1208

Appendix 2: Fieldwork Questionnaire

Appendix 3: STA Travel Brochure

Appendix 4: Tourism Regions in Australia and Tourism Expenditure

Appendix 1: Forms 1150 and 1208



Life in Australia – Australian values

The Australian Government encourages people to gain an understanding of Australia, its people and their way of life, before applying for a visa to live in Australia. As part of this application every person aged 18 years or over must declare that they will respect Australian values, as outlined below and obey the laws of Australia.

Australian values include respect for the freedom and dignity of the individual, freedom of religion, commitment to the rule of law, Parliamentary democracy, equality of men and women and a spirit of egalitarianism that embraces mutual respect, tolerance, fair play and compassion for those in need and pursuit of the public good.

Australian society also values equality of opportunity for individuals, regardless of their race, religion or ethnic background.

It is also important to understand that English is the national language.

Further information is contained in the *Life in Australia* booklet, however, you are not required to read the booklet. The booklet is available in a wide range of languages. If you would like a copy of the booklet it can be obtained from the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (the department) website www.immi.gov.au

About this form

Important – Please read this information carefully before you complete your application. Once you have completed your application we strongly advise that you keep a copy for your records.

Note: Any reference in this form to 'country' refers to 'foreign country' which is defined in paragraph 22(1)(f) of the *Acts Interpretation Act 1901* as any country (whether or not an independent sovereign state) outside Australia and the external Territories.

Who should use this application?

Applicants for a first or second Working Holiday (subclass 417) visa.

Each applicant must apply individually and cannot include family members in their application.

Online applications

Applicants from the arrangement countries listed below under 'Arrangement Countries and Regions' may apply on the department's website. Payment must be made by credit card for online applications. Further information is available from the department's website www.immi.gov.au/visitors/

If you wish to apply online **do not** use this application.

Integrity of application

The department is committed to maintaining the integrity of the visa and citizenship programs. Please be aware that providing us with fraudulent documents of false information can potentially lead to:

- your visa application being refused;
- your visa being cancelled;
- prosecution that may result in a fine and/or imprisonment;
- removal from Australia; and
- a ban on your returning to Australia for several years.

Visa overview

The Working Holiday program encourages cultural exchange and closer ties between arrangement countries by allowing young adults to have an extended holiday during which they may engage in short term work or study.

A Working Holiday visa allows the visa holder to:

- enter Australia within 12 months of the date of visa grant;
- stay in Australia for up to 12 months;
- leave and re-enter Australia any number of times while the visa is valid;
- work in Australia for up to 6 months with each employer; and
- study for up to 4 months.

Arrangement countries and regions

Australia currently has reciprocal Working Holiday arrangements with:

- Belgium;
- Canada;
- Republic of Cyprus;
- Denmark;
- Estonia;
- Finland;
- France;
- Germany;
- Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) of the People's Republic of China;
- Republic of Ireland;
- Italy;
- Japan;
- Republic of Korea;
- Malta;
- Netherlands;
- Norway;
- Sweden;
- Taiwan; and
- United Kingdom.

Information on whether any arrangements have been established with additional countries, is available from www.immi.gov.au/visitors/

Eligibility requirements

To be granted a Working Holiday visa, there are a number of eligibility requirements that applicants must meet.

All applicants must:

- be aged between 18 years and 30 years inclusive (at the time you apply);
- hold a passport from an eligible country, preferably valid for at least 6 months;
- not be accompanied by dependent children;
- be outside Australia when you apply and when the visa is granted (except applicants for a second Working Holiday visa, who can apply while in Australia – see 'Second Working Holiday visa' below);
- not have previously entered Australia on a Work and Holiday (subclass 462) visa;
- not have previously entered Australia on a Working Holiday visa (except applicants for a second Working Holiday visa – see 'Second Working Holiday visa' below);
- have sufficient funds (generally AUD5,000);
- have funds for a return or onward ticket to depart Australia (or an actual ticket);
- meet Australia's health requirement – depending on the country you are from and your intentions in Australia (such as entering a hospital, health care area, childcare centre or classroom), you may need to undertake a health examination. More information is available from www.immi.gov.au/visitors/working-holiday/417/eligibility.htm; and
- meet Australia's character requirement. More information is available from www.immi.gov.au/allforms/.

Note: We recommend that you have health insurance to cover your stay in Australia. This can be obtained in your home country or in Australia. More information is available from www.immi.gov.au/visitors/.

Second Working Holiday visa

The second Working Holiday visa is available to people who have undertaken work for a minimum of 3 months (88 days in total) in a specified field or industry* in a designated area of regional Australia** on a first Working Holiday visa.

Specified work is any type of work in the list below:

- **plant and animal cultivation:**
 - the harvesting and/or packing of fruit and vegetable crops;
 - pruning and trimming vines and trees;
Note: This must be the primary employment task and directly associated with the cultivation and commercial sale of plant produce, such as fruit and nut crops (commercial horticultural activity). General garden maintenance is not eligible.
 - general maintenance crop work;
 - cultivating or propagating plants, fungi or their products or parts;
 - immediate processing of plant products;
 - maintaining animals for the purpose of selling them or their bodily produce, including natural increase;
Note: Maintaining animals for tourism or recreational purposes is not eligible.
 - immediate processing of animal products including shearing, butchery in an abattoir, packing and tanning;
Note: Secondary processing of animal products, such as smallgoods processing and retail butchery is not eligible.
 - manufacturing dairy produce from raw material.

- **fishing and pearling:**

- conducting operations relating directly to taking or catching fish and other aquatic species;
- conducting operations relating directly to taking or culturing pearls or pearl shell.

- **tree farming and felling:**

- planting or tending trees in a plantation or forest that are intended to be felled;
- felling trees in a plantation or forest;
- transporting trees or parts of trees that were felled in a plantation or forest to the place where they are first to be milled or processed or from which they are to be transported to the place where they are to be milled or processed.

- **mining:**

- coal mining;
- oil and gas extraction;
- metal ore mining;
- construction material mining;
- non-metallic mineral mining and quarrying;
- exploration;
- mining support services.

- **construction:**

- residential building construction;
- non-residential building construction;
- heavy and civil engineering construction;
- land development and site preparation services;
- building structure services;
- building installation services;
- building completion services;
- other construction services.

Specified work:

- must be an activity listed above.
- must be the primary role / function / activity performed during your employment.
- work undertaken in the mining and construction sectors must appear in the Australian and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification (ANZSIC) division for these sectors to meet the specified work requirement.

For information regarding ANZSIC Mining Division and ANZSIC Construction Division see the department's website:

www.immi.gov.au/visitors/working-holiday/417/specified-work.htm

In addition to the eligibility requirements for a first Working Holiday visa (see 'Eligibility requirements' above), applicants for a second Working Holiday must also have:

- entered Australia on no more than one Working Holiday visa previously; and
- done specified work in regional Australia for a minimum of 3 months (88 days in total) while holding a Working Holiday visa.

You can apply while you hold a first Working Holiday visa, or at a later date.

* For further information please see 'Specified work' www.immi.gov.au/visitors/working-holiday/417/eligibility-second.htm

** 'Regional Australia' is restricted to areas within the postcodes listed in the table on page 3.

Applications can be made either in Australia or outside Australia. If you apply in Australia, you should lodge your application before your current visa ceases, and must be in Australia for the visa to be granted. If you apply outside Australia, you must be outside Australia for the visa to be granted.

If you apply for a second Working Holiday visa, you will need to provide evidence that you have worked for a minimum of 3 months doing specified work in regional Australia (see postcode table for areas defined as regional Australia).

Acceptable evidence includes:

- a completed form 1263 *Working Holiday visa: Employment verification*, signed by your employer(s), which you can obtain from the nearest office of the department or from www.immi.gov.au/allforms/; and/or
- an original or certified copies of payslips, group certificates, payment summaries, tax returns, employer references and/or an original Australian bank statement covering the period of declared specified work.

Note: Providing form 1263 and additional evidence will allow your application to be assessed more quickly.

Eligible regional Australia postcodes

Regional areas	Postcodes
New South Wales (most areas except the greater Sydney area, Newcastle, the Central Coast and Wollongong)	2311 to 2312 2328 to 2411 2420 to 2490 2536 to 2551 2575 to 2594 2618 to 2739 2787 to 2898
Northern Territory	Entire Territory
Queensland (most areas except the greater Brisbane area and the Gold Coast)	4124 to 4125 4133 4211 4270 to 4272 4275 4280 4285 4287 4307 to 4499 4510 4512 4515 to 4519 4522 to 4899
South Australia	Entire State
Tasmania	Entire State
Victoria (most areas except the greater Melbourne area)	3139 3211 to 3334 3340 to 3424 3430 to 3649 3658 to 3749 3753, 3756, 3758, 3762, 3764 3778 to 3781 3783, 3797, 3799 3810 to 3909 3921 to 3925 3945 to 3974 3979 3981 to 3996
Western Australia (most areas except Perth and surrounding areas)	6041 to 6044 6083 to 6084 6121 to 6126 6200 to 6799

Information about harvest work opportunities in regional Australia is available from the Harvest Trail website www.jobsearch.gov.au/harvestrail

Note: Some vacancies on the Harvest Trail website may not be in the above eligible postcodes.

How much does the visa cost?

Refer to *Part G – Payment details* of this form to calculate the correct charge and make payment.

Refer to www.immi.gov.au/fees-charges for a complete and current list of applicable fees and charges.

Fees and charges may be subject to change at any time and this may increase the cost of a visa application.

Generally, Visa Application Charges are reviewed on 1 July each year, and the exchange rates used to calculate the amount payable in a foreign country are updated on 1 January and 1 July each year.

If you do not pay the full Visa Application Charge amount, your visa application will not be valid.

Charges are generally not refundable, even if the application is withdrawn or refused.

Method of payment

In Australia

To make a payment, please pay by credit card, debit card, bank cheque or money order made payable to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Debit card and credit card are the preferred methods of payment.

Outside Australia

Before making a payment outside Australia, please check with the Australian Government office where you intend to lodge your application as to what methods of payment and currencies they can accept and to whom the payment should be made payable.

How to apply

Step 1

Complete this application form.

Please use a pen, and write neatly in English using BLOCK LETTERS.

You must provide the address where you intend to live while your application is being dealt with. Failure to give a residential address in your application will result in your application being invalid. A post office box address will not be accepted as your residential address.

Step 2

Refer to *Part G – Payment details* of this form to calculate the correct charge and make payment. Ensure that payment or evidence of payment is included with this application.

Step 3

Lodge your completed application with the correct Visa Application Charge, and required attachments (see *Application checklist* on page 6 of this form) as outlined below.

All applicants for a first Working Holiday visa can lodge their application by posting, faxing or hand delivering this form to any Australian Immigration office overseas. See

www.immi.gov.au/contacts/overseas.

Applicants for a second Working Holiday visa can lodge their application by posting to:

2nd Working Holiday Centre
PO Box 1269
CAIRNS QLD 4870
AUSTRALIA

Do not send cash or your passport with your application.

What happens next?

Your application will be assessed. You may be asked to provide additional information to enable a decision to be made. You will be advised in writing whether your application has been approved. If your application is refused, you will be given reasons for the decision.

You should not make any irreversible travel arrangements until you receive written advice of the department's decision on your application.

Activating your Working Holiday visa

If you applied for your Working Holiday visa outside Australia, your 12 month stay period starts when you enter Australia. Your 12 month stay period will start if you pass through immigration clearance in Australia (the counter where you present your passenger card and passport), even if you are in transit or hold an Electronic Travel Authority or Maritime Crew visa.

If you are intending to transit or travel to Australia, and you do not want to start your Working Holiday visa, you should delay applying for this visa until you wish to commence your working holiday.

Important – change of personal/passport details

If you wish to change any details after you lodge your application, including your passport details, or if you wish to withdraw the application, please contact the department as follows:

- **First Working Holiday visa applicants** – Contact the Australian Government office where you lodged your application. Contact details for offices of the department are available on the department's website www.immi.gov.au/contacts/overseas/ or if you lodged your application online email evisa.whm.helpdesk@immi.gov.au
- **Second Working Holiday visa applicants** – e-mail 2ndWHM.Helpdesk@immi.gov.au

Your Working Holiday visa application is linked to the passport number provided in your application. **If you are granted a Working Holiday visa, but do not provide the department with the details of any new passport you use to travel to Australia, you will experience significant delays at the airport and could be denied permission to board your plane.**

Immigration assistance

A person gives immigration assistance to you if he or she uses, or claims to use, his or her knowledge or experience in migration procedure to assist you with your visa application, request for ministerial intervention, cancellation review application, sponsorship or nomination.

In Australia a person may only lawfully give immigration assistance if he or she is a registered migration agent or is exempt from being registered. Only registered migration agents may receive a fee or reward for providing immigration assistance.

If an unregistered person in Australia, who is not exempt from registration, gives you immigration assistance they are committing a criminal offence and may be prosecuted.

Migration agents in Australia

Migration agents in Australia must be registered with the Office of the Migration Agents Registration Authority (Office of the MARA) unless they are exempt from registration.

Migration agents outside Australia

Migration agents who operate outside Australia do not have to be registered. The department may give some overseas agents an ID number. This number does not mean that they are registered.

Note: Some Australian registered migration agents operate overseas.

Migration agent information

A migration agent is someone who can:

- advise you on the visa that may best suit you;
- tell you the documents you need to submit with your application;
- help you fill in the application and submit it; and
- communicate with the department on your behalf.

If you appoint a migration agent, the department will assume that your migration agent will be your authorised recipient, unless you indicate otherwise.

Your migration agent will be the person with whom the department will discuss your application and from whom it will seek further information when required.

You are not required to use a migration agent. However, if you use a migration agent, the department encourages you to use a registered migration agent. Registered agents are bound by the Migration Agents Code of Conduct, which requires them to act professionally in their clients' lawful best interests.

Information on migration agents, including a list of registered migration agents, is available on the Office of the MARA website www.mara.gov.au

You can also access information about migration agents on the department's website www.immi.gov.au

Exempt persons

The following people do not have to be a registered migration agent in order to provide immigration assistance, but they must not charge a fee for their service:

- a close family member (spouse, de facto partner, child, parent, brother or sister);
- a member of parliament or their staff;
- an official whose duties include providing immigration assistance (eg. a Legal Aid provider);
- a member of a diplomatic mission, consular post or international organisation.

Appointing a migration agent/exempt person

To appoint a migration agent/exempt person you should complete *Part F – Options for receiving written communications*.

Your migration agent/exempt person should complete form 956 *Advice by a migration agent/exempt person of providing immigration assistance*.

Form 956 is available from the department's website www.immi.gov.au/allforms/

Options for receiving written communications

If you do not appoint a migration agent/exempt person you may still authorise another person, in writing, to receive written communications on your behalf. This person is called the authorised recipient.

Authorised recipient information

All written communication about your application will be sent to your authorised recipient, unless you indicate that you wish to have health and/or character information sent directly to you.

The department will communicate with the most recently appointed authorised recipient as you may only appoint one authorised recipient at any time for a particular application.

You will be taken to have received any documents sent to that person as if they had been sent to you.

To appoint an authorised recipient you should complete:

- *Part F – Options for receiving written communications*; and
- form 956A *Appointment or withdrawal of an authorised recipient*.

Note: Migration agents/exempt persons do not need to complete form 956A.

Form 956A is available from the department's website www.inmmi.gov.au/allforms/

Consent to communicate electronically

The department may use a range of means to communicate with you. However, electronic means such as fax or e-mail will only be used if you indicate your agreement to receiving communication in this way.

To process your application the department may need to communicate with you about sensitive information, for example, health, police checks, financial viability and personal relationships. Electronic communications, unless adequately encrypted, are not secure and may be viewed by others or interfered with.

If you agree to the department communicating with you by electronic means, the details you provide will only be used by the department for the purpose for which you have provided them, unless there is a legal obligation or necessity to use them for another purpose, or you have consented to use for another purpose. They will not be added to any mailing list.

The Australian Government accepts no responsibility for the security or integrity of any information sent to the department over the internet or by other electronic means.

If you authorise another person to receive documents on your behalf and they wish to be contacted electronically, their signature is required on form 956 or 956A to indicate their consent to this form of communication.

Note: Electronic communication is the fastest means of communication available and the department prefers to communicate electronically because this results in faster processing.

About the information you give

The department is authorised to collect information provided on this form under Part 2 of the *Migration Act 1958* 'Control of Arrival and Presence of Non-Citizens'. The information provided will be used for assessing your eligibility for a visa to visit to Australia.

The information provided might also be disclosed to agencies who are authorised to receive information relating to adoption, border control, business skills, citizenship, education, health assessment, health insurance, health services, law enforcement, payment of pensions and benefits, taxation, superannuation, review of decisions and registration of migration agents.

Relevant information about you will be disclosed to federal, state and territory police to assist in your location and possible detention in the event that you become an unlawful non-citizen. You will become an unlawful non-citizen if your visa ceases (by cancellation for breach of visa condition for example) or expires and you do not hold another visa authorising you to remain in Australia.

The collection, access, storage, use and disclosure by the department of the information you provide in this form is governed by the *Privacy Act 1988* and, in particular, by the 11 Information Privacy Principles. The information form 993i *Safeguarding your personal information*, available from offices of the department, gives details of agencies to which your personal information might be disclosed.

The information provided on this form, including any information on your health, will be used to assess your health for an Australian visa and may be disclosed to the relevant Commonwealth, state and territory health agencies and examining doctor(s).

Form 1163i *Health requirement for temporary entry to Australia* provides additional information on Australia's visa health requirements. Form 1163i is available at offices of the department or from the department's website www.inmmi.gov.au/allforms/

The department is authorised under the *Migration Act 1958*, in certain circumstances, to collect a range of personal identifiers including a facial image, fingerprints and a signature from non-citizens, including from visa applicants. The department requires personal identifiers to assist in assessing your identity. The department is authorised to disclose your personal identifiers and information relating to your name and other relevant biographical data to a number of agencies including law enforcement and health agencies and to other agencies who may need to check your identity with this department. The information you provide may be disclosed to any Australian employer for whom you have worked to acquire eligibility for a further visa. Where the department obtains personal identifiers they will become part of your official record with the department.

The department is involved in international information exchanges with a number of countries, including the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada and New Zealand. These international information exchanges may involve the sharing of personal identifiers, including facial images and fingerprint data, collected by immigration agencies such as this department. If, as a result of this sharing between countries, there is a match with your personal identifiers, the department will disclose your biographical data, copies of travel and other identity documents or information from such documents, your immigration status and immigration history (which may include any immigration abuse and offences) and any criminal history information relevant to immigration purposes. The purpose of such disclosure would be to help confirm your identity and determine if you have presented to the department and the other agency under the same identity and with similar claims.

For more detailed information you should read information form 1243i *Your personal identifying information*, which is available from the department's website www.inmmi.gov.au/allforms/ or from any office of the department or Australian mission overseas.

Application checklist

This checklist is provided for your assistance and lists the required documents to include with your application. It is not a requirement of your application and does not apply to online applications.

Note: Processing of your application will be delayed if you do not provide all the required information and documents at the time of lodgement.

Note: **Certified copies** are copies authorised, or stamped as being true copies or originals, by a person or agency recognised by the law of the country in which you currently reside eg. police or notary.

Note: If your documents are in a language other than English, translations into English must be provided.

TICK when completed.

A certified copy of the pages of your passport containing your photo and personal details (Note: Your passport should preferably be valid for at least 6 months).	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Visa Application Charge (for the current Working Holiday Visa Application Charge, refer to the department's website www.immi.gov.au/fecs-charges)	<input type="checkbox"/>
If you are authorising another person to act and receive communications on your behalf, complete <i>Part F – Options for receiving written communications</i> on page 10 and form 956 <i>Appointment of a migration agent or exempt agent or other authorised recipient</i> .	<input type="checkbox"/>
If you are applying for a second Working Holiday visa: Evidence of your specified work in regional Australia, which may include a completed and signed form 1263 <i>Working Holiday visa: Employment verification</i> , and/or original or certified copies of payslips, group certificates, payment summaries, tax returns, employer references and an original Australian bank statement covering the period of declared specified work.	<input type="checkbox"/>

A list of offices of the department in Australia is available from www.immi.gov.au/contacts/offices.htm

Further information about the Working Holiday visa is available from www.immi.gov.au/visitors/

<i>Home page</i>	www.immi.gov.au
<i>General enquiry line</i>	Telephone 131 881 during business hours in Australia to speak to an operator (recorded information available outside these hours). If you are outside Australia, please contact your nearest Australian mission.

Please keep these information pages for your reference



Please use a pen, and write neatly in English using BLOCK LETTERS.

Tick where applicable

Note: Any reference in this form to 'country' refers to 'foreign country' which is defined in paragraph 22(1)(f) of the *Acts Interpretation Act 1901* as any country (whether or not an independent sovereign state) outside Australia and the external territories.

Part A – Your details

1 Your full name exactly as it appears on the passport on which you will be travelling to Australia

Family name

Given names

2 Have you been known by any other names?
(including name at birth, previous married names, aliases)

No

Yes Give details

3 Sex Male Female

4 Date of birth

5 Place of birth
 Town/city

Country

6 Relationship status
 Married Separated Never married or
 Engaged Divorced been in a de facto
 De facto Widowed relationship

7 Details from your passport

Passport number

Country of passport

Date of issue

Date of expiry

Issuing authority/
 Place of issue as shown in your passport

If you hold more than one passport please provide details of those passports

Your full name as it appears in the passport
 Family name

Given names

Passport number

Country of passport

Date of issue

Date of expiry

Issuing authority/
 Place of issue as shown in your passport

Note: Visa applicants must hold a valid passport to be granted a visa. It is recommended that the passport be valid for at least 6 months.

If you change your passport after you have been granted the visa you must notify the nearest Australian mission or office of the department.

If you do not provide the department with the details of any new or additional passport you use to travel to Australia, you will experience significant delays at the airport and could be denied permission to board your plane.

8 Do you hold any citizenship other than that shown as your country of passport above?

No Yes Give details

9 Details of identity card or identity number issued to you by your government *(if applicable)* eg. National identity card.

Note: If you are the holder of multiple identity numbers because you are a citizen of more than one country, you need to enter the identity number on the card from the country that you live in.

Identity number

Country of issue

10 Usual occupation

11 What type of employment do you intend to seek during your stay?

12 Qualifications

13 Current residential address
(If applying in Australia, please give your current address in Australia)
Note: A post office box address is not acceptable as a residential address. Failure to give a residential address will result in your application being invalid.

 POSTCODE

14 Address for correspondence
(This may be required by the department to communicate with you about your application. If the same as your residential address, write 'AS ABOVE')

 POSTCODE

15 Your telephone numbers
Mobile/cell
Office hours

COUNTRY CODE	AREA CODE	NUMBER
()	()	

After hours

()	()	
-----	-----	--

16 Do you agree to the department communicating with you by fax, e-mail, or other electronic means? *(Providing an e-mail address will allow for more efficient processing of your application)*
No
Yes Give details
Fax number

COUNTRY CODE	AREA CODE	NUMBER
()	()	

E-mail address
Please ensure you have access to this e-mail while your application is being processed

17 If you are outside Australia, date of proposed travel to Australia

DAY	MONTH	YEAR

18 Do you have sufficient funds for the initial period of your stay in Australia?
Note: You may be asked to provide evidence (eg. bank statement).
No
Yes

19 Do you have a return or onward ticket or the funds for a fare to depart Australia?
WARNING: You may be asked to provide evidence.

No
Yes

20 Do you have any dependent children that will accompany you to Australia?
No
Yes

Note: You cannot be accompanied by dependent children on this visa.

Part B – Previous applications

21 Have you previously been to Australia, applied for a visa, held or currently hold a visa for travel to Australia (including a Working Holiday visa)?

No
Yes Give full details including type of visa(s), place(s) of application and date(s) of entry to Australia *(if applicable)*

22 Have you previously had an Australian visa cancelled, been detained in Australia, removed or deported from Australia, or refused entry into Australia?

No
Yes Give full details

23 **If you are applying for a second Working Holiday visa**, have you undertaken 3 months of specified work in regional Australia on a Working Holiday (subclass 417) visa? *(See postcode table on page 3 for areas defined as regional Australia)*

No You are not eligible to apply for a second Working Holiday visa.
Yes Please attach evidence of 3 months of specified work in regional Australia.

Note: Acceptable evidence of 3 months of specified work in regional Australia may be any of the following (providing evidence will allow your application to be assessed more quickly):

- completed form 1263 *Working Holiday visa: Employment verification*; and/or
- certified copies of payslips, tax returns, group certificates, employer references and an original Australian bank statement covering the period of declared specified work.

Part C – Health

24 In the last 5 years, have you visited, or lived, outside your country of passport for more than 3 consecutive months?

No

Yes Give details

1. Country(s)

Date from DAY MONTH YEAR to DAY MONTH YEAR

2. Country(s)

Date from DAY MONTH YEAR to DAY MONTH YEAR

3. Country(s)

Date from DAY MONTH YEAR to DAY MONTH YEAR

25 Do you intend to enter a hospital or a health care facility (including nursing homes) while in Australia?

No

Yes Give details

26 Do you intend to work as, or study to be, a doctor, dentist, nurse or paramedic during your stay in Australia?

No

Yes Give details

27 Do you intend to work, or be a trainee, at a child care centre (including preschools and creches) while in Australia?

No

Yes Give details

28 Do you intend to be in a classroom situation for more than 3 months (eg. as either a student, teacher, lecturer, or observer)?

No

Yes Give details

29 Have you:

- ever had, or currently have, tuberculosis?
- been in close contact with a family member that has active tuberculosis?
- ever had a chest x-ray which showed an abnormality?

No

Yes Give details

30 During your proposed visit to Australia, do you expect to incur medical costs, or require treatment or medical follow up for:

- blood disorder;
- cancer;
- heart disease;
- hepatitis B or C and/or liver disease;
- HIV infection, including AIDS;
- kidney disease, including dialysis;
- mental illness;
- pregnancy;
- respiratory disease that has required hospital admission or oxygen therapy;
- other?

No

Yes Give details

31 Do you require assistance with mobility or care due to a medical condition?

No

Yes Give details

32 Have you undertaken a health examination for an Australian visa in the last 12 months?

No

Yes Give details (including HAP ID if available)

33 Do you hold health insurance to cover your stay in Australia?

Note: See page 2 of this form for further information about health insurance.

No
Yes

Part D – Character

34 Have you ever:

- been convicted of a crime or offence in any country (including any conviction which is now removed from official records)? No Yes
- been charged with any offence that is currently awaiting legal action? No Yes
- been acquitted of any criminal offence or other offence on the grounds of mental illness, insanity or unsoundness of mind? No Yes
- been removed or deported from any country (including Australia)? No Yes
- left any country to avoid being removed or deported? No Yes
- been refused a visa for Australia or another country? No Yes
- been excluded from or asked to leave any country (including Australia)? No Yes
- committed, or been involved in the commission of war crimes or crimes against humanity or human rights abuses? No Yes
- been involved in any activities that would represent a risk to Australian national security? No Yes
- had any outstanding debts to the Australian Government or any public authority in Australia? No Yes
- been involved in any activity, or been convicted of any offence, relating to the illegal movement of people to any country (including Australia)? No Yes
- served in a military force or state sponsored/private militia, undergone any military/paramilitary training, or been trained in weapons/explosives use (however described) **other than** in the course of compulsory national military service? No Yes

If you answered 'Yes' to any of the above questions you **must** give all relevant details in the space provided below.

If the matter relates to a criminal conviction, please give the nature of the offence, full details of sentence, dates of any period of imprisonment or other detention and a personal account of the events leading up to and including the offence(s).

Part E – Assistance with this form

35 Did you receive assistance in completing this form?

No ► Go to Part F
Yes ► Please give details of the person who assisted you

Title: Mr Mrs Miss Ms Other

Family name

Given names

Address

 POSTCODE

Telephone number or daytime contact

Office hours

COUNTRY CODE	AREA CODE	NUMBER
()	()	

Mobile/cell

E-mail address

36 Is the person an agent registered with the Office of the Migration Agents Registration Authority (Office of the MARA)?

No
Yes ► Go to Part F

37 Is the person/agent in Australia?

No ► Go to Part F
Yes

38 Did you pay the person/agent and/or give a gift for this assistance?

No
Yes

Part F – Options for receiving written communications

39 All written communications about this application should be sent to: (Tick one box only)

Myself

OR

Authorised recipient ► You should complete form 956A *Appointment or withdrawal of an authorised recipient*

OR

Migration agent ► Your migration agent/exempt person should complete form 956 *Advice by a migration agent/exempt person of providing immigration assistance*
Exempt person

Part G – Payment details

40 Do you have the **application charge** to include with your application?

(To check the application charge, refer to the department's website www.immi.gov.au/fees-charges or check with the nearest office of the department.)

No ► This application will be returned to you as a valid application will not have been made
Yes

41 IMPORTANT: You must refer to the department's website at www.immi.gov.au/fees-charges to complete this part of your application. The website shows reference tables with the Visa Application Charges applicable to each visa subclass.

Visa subclass you are applying for

▶ **Base Application Charge**

Write the amount shown on the reference table for your visa subclass

AUD (1)

+

▶ **Non-Internet Application Charge** (if applicable)

Write the amount shown on the reference table for your visa subclass

AUD (2)

+

▶ **Additional Applicant Charge aged 18 years or over** at the time your application is lodged

Write the amount shown on the reference table for your visa subclass

Number of additional applicants aged 18 years or over

AUD

X (multiplied by)

=

AUD (3)

+

▶ **Additional Applicant Charge under 18 years of age** at the time your application is lodged

Write the amount shown on the reference table for your visa subclass

Number of additional applicants under 18 years of age

AUD

X (multiplied by)

=

AUD (4)

+

▶ **Subsequent Temporary Application Charge** (if applicable)

Write the amount shown on the reference table for your visa subclass

Number of applicants

AUD

X (multiplied by)

=

AUD (5)

=

▶ **Total (1) + (2) + (3) + (4) + (5)**

Total

AUD

You must pay the **total amount** or your visa application will not be valid.

Note: A second instalment of the Visa Application Charge must also be paid before we can grant some visas.

42 How will you pay your application charge?

If applying **in Australia**, debit card or credit card are the preferred methods of payment. Debit cards cannot be used for applications lodged by mail. If paying by bank cheque or money order please make payable to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

If applying **outside Australia**, please check with the Australian Government office where you intend to lodge your application as to what methods of payment and currencies they can accept and to whom the payment should be made payable.

Bank cheque

Money order

Debit card ▶ Cannot be used for applications lodged by mail

Credit card ▶ Give details below

Payment by (tick one box)

Australian Dollars

MasterCard <input type="checkbox"/>	Diners Club <input type="checkbox"/>	AUD <input type="text"/>
American Express <input type="checkbox"/>	JCB <input type="checkbox"/>	
Visa <input type="checkbox"/>		

Credit card number

Expiry date MONTH / YEAR

Cardholder's name

Telephone number	COUNTRY CODE	AREA CODE	NUMBER
<input type="text"/>	(<input type="text"/>)	(<input type="text"/>)	<input type="text"/>
Address	<input type="text"/>		
	<input type="text"/>		
	POSTCODE		
	<input type="text"/>		
Signature of cardholder	<input type="text"/>		

Credit card information will be used for charge paying purposes only.

Part H – Declaration and consent

WARNING: Giving false or misleading information is a serious offence.

43 I declare that:

- the information on this form is correct;
- I have read the notes at the front of this application, and am aware that I am required to abide by the conditions that are placed on my visa;
- after applying, I will notify the Department of Immigration and Citizenship of any change in my circumstances, including my address details; and
- I will respect Australian values as listed on this form, during my stay in Australia and will obey the laws of Australia.

For offshore applicants who are required to provide their fingerprints and facial image:

- I understand that my fingerprints and facial image and my biographical information held by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship may be given to Australian law enforcement agencies to help identify me, to help determine my eligibility for grant of the visa I have applied for, and for law enforcement purposes.
- I consent to:
 - Australian law enforcement agencies disclosing my biometric, biographical and criminal record information to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship for any of the purposes outlined above; and
 - the Department of Immigration and Citizenship using the information obtained for the purposes of the Migration Act 1958 or the Citizenship Act 2007.

Signature of applicant

Date

DAY	MONTH	YEAR
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Please check all questions are answered. If your form is incomplete, there may be delays in processing your application.

We strongly advise that you keep a copy of your application and all attachments for your records.



Life in Australia – Australian values

The Australian Government encourages people to gain an understanding of Australia, its people and their way of life, before applying for a visa to live in Australia. As part of this application every person aged 18 years or over must declare that they will respect Australian values, as outlined below and obey the laws of Australia.

Australian values include respect for the freedom and dignity of the individual, freedom of religion, commitment to the rule of law, Parliamentary democracy, equality of men and women and a spirit of egalitarianism that embraces mutual respect, tolerance, fair play and compassion for those in need and pursuit of the public good.

Australian society also values equality of opportunity for individuals, regardless of their race, religion or ethnic background.

It is also important to understand that English is the national language.

Further information is contained in the *Life in Australia* booklet, however, you are not required to read the booklet. The booklet is available in a wide range of languages. If you would like a copy of the booklet it can be obtained from www.immi.gov.au

About this form

Important – Please read this information carefully before you complete your application. Once you have completed your application we strongly advise that you keep a copy for your records.

Note: Any reference in this form to 'country' refers to 'foreign country' which is defined in paragraph 22(1)(f) of the *Acts Interpretation Act 1901* as any country (whether or not an independent sovereign state) outside Australia and the external territories.

Who should use this application?

Applicants applying for a Work and Holiday (subclass 462) visa.

Each applicant must apply individually and cannot include family members in their application.

Online applications

Applicants from the United States of America (USA) may apply on the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (the department) website. Payment must be made by credit card for online applications. Further information is available from the department's website www.immi.gov.au/visitors/

If you wish to apply online **do not** use this application.

Integrity of application

The department is committed to maintaining the integrity of the visa and citizenship programs. Please be aware that if you provide us with fraudulent documents or claims, this may result in processing delays and possibly your application being refused.

Visa overview

The Work and Holiday visa program encourages cultural exchange and closer ties between arrangement countries by allowing young people to have an extended holiday supplemented by short-term employment.

A Work and Holiday visa allows the visa holder to:

- enter Australia within 12 months of the date of visa grant;
- stay in Australia for up to 12 months;
- leave and re-enter Australia any number of times while the visa is valid;
- work in Australia for up to 6 months with each employer; and
- study for up to 4 months.

Arrangement countries

Australia currently has reciprocal Work and Holiday arrangements with:

- Argentina;
- Bangladesh;
- Chile;
- Indonesia;
- Malaysia;
- Thailand;
- Turkey;
- the USA; and
- Uruguay.

Note: There is an annual limit to the number of visas that may be issued to applicants from:

- Argentina;
- Bangladesh;
- Chile;
- Indonesia;
- Malaysia;
- Thailand;
- Turkey; and
- Uruguay.

If the limit has been reached, applicants will be notified and the processing of their application may be delayed.

Australia continues to negotiate Work and Holiday arrangements with additional countries. To see whether any arrangements have been established with additional countries, check the department's website www.immi.gov.au/visitors/

Eligibility requirements

To be granted a visa, there are a number of eligibility requirements that applicants must meet.

All applicants must:

- be aged between 18 years and 30 years inclusive (at the time you apply);
- hold a passport from an eligible country, preferably valid for at least 6 months;
- have functional English;
- meet education requirements (see tables on pages 2 and 3);
- not be accompanied by dependent children;
- be outside Australia when you apply and when the visa is granted;
- not have entered Australia on a Work and Holiday (subclass 462) or Working Holiday (subclass 417) visa;
- have sufficient funds (generally AUD5,000);
- have funds for a return or onward ticket to depart Australia (or an actual ticket);
- have health insurance (recommended) covering your stay in Australia. This can be obtained in your home country or in Australia. More information is available from www.immi.gov.au/visitors;
- meet Australia's health requirement – depending on the country you are from and your intentions in Australia (such as entering a hospital, health care area, childcare centre or classroom), you may need to undertake a medical examination. More information is available from www.immi.gov.au/allforms/health-requirements/; and
- meet Australia's character requirement. More information is available from www.immi.gov.au/allforms/character-requirements/

Applicants from Argentina, Bangladesh, Chile, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Turkey and Uruguay must also:

- provide a letter of approval from your government agreeing to your stay in Australia under the Work and Holiday visa arrangement (the letter of support does not guarantee a place in the Work and Holiday program); and
- provide proof of English proficiency.

Argentina	<p>Hold tertiary qualifications, or have successfully completed at least 2 years of undergraduate university study.</p> <p>Tertiary qualifications include a:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doctoral degree; • Masters degree; • Graduate diploma; • Graduate certificate; • Bachelor degree; • Associate degree; • Advanced diploma; • Diploma level qualifications. <p>Note: Tertiary qualifications do not include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Certificate IV; • Certificate III; • Certificate II; • Certificate I; • Senior Secondary Certificate of Education.
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Bangladesh	<p>Hold tertiary qualifications, or have successfully completed at least 2 years of undergraduate university study.</p> <p>Tertiary qualifications include a:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doctoral degree; • Masters degree; • Graduate diploma; • Graduate certificate; • Bachelor degree; • Associate degree; • Advanced diploma; • Diploma level qualifications. <p>Note: Tertiary qualifications do not include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Certificate IV; • Certificate III; • Certificate II; • Certificate I; • Senior Secondary Certificate of Education.
Chile	<p>Hold tertiary qualifications or have satisfactorily completed or have been approved to undertake a third year of undergraduate university study.</p> <p>Tertiary qualifications include a:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doctoral degree; • Masters degree; • Graduate diploma; • Graduate certificate; • Bachelor degree; • Associate degree; • Advanced diploma; • Diploma; • Certificate IV; • Certificate III level qualifications. <p>Note: Tertiary qualifications do not include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Certificate II; • Certificate I; • Senior Secondary Certificate of Education.
Indonesia	<p>Hold tertiary qualifications, or have successfully completed at least 2 years of undergraduate university study.</p> <p>Tertiary qualifications include a:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doctoral degree; • Masters degree; • Graduate diploma; • Graduate certificate; • Bachelor degree; • Associate degree; • Advanced diploma; • Diploma level qualifications. <p>Note: Tertiary qualifications do not include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Certificate IV; • Certificate III; • Certificate II; • Certificate I; • Senior Secondary Certificate of Education.

Malaysia	<p>Hold tertiary qualifications, or have successfully completed at least 2 years of undergraduate university study.</p> <p>Tertiary qualifications include a:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doctoral degree; • Masters degree; • Graduate diploma; • Graduate certificate; • Bachelor degree; • Associate degree. <p>Note: Tertiary qualifications do not include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advanced diploma; • Diploma level qualifications; • Certificate IV; • Certificate III; • Certificate II; • Certificate I; • Senior Secondary Certificate of Education.
Thailand	<p>Hold tertiary qualifications.</p> <p>Tertiary qualifications include a:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doctoral degree; • Masters degree; • Graduate diploma; • Graduate certificate; • Bachelor degree; • Associate degree; • Advanced diploma; • Diploma level qualifications. <p>Note: Tertiary qualifications do not include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Certificate IV; • Certificate III; • Certificate II; • Certificate I; • Senior Secondary Certificate of Education.
Turkey	<p>Hold tertiary qualifications, or have successfully completed at least 2 years of undergraduate university study.</p> <p>Tertiary qualifications include a:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doctoral degree; • Masters degree; • Graduate diploma; • Graduate certificate; • Bachelor degree; • Associate degree; • Advanced diploma; • Diploma level qualifications. <p>Note: Tertiary qualifications do not include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Certificate IV; • Certificate III; • Certificate II; • Certificate I; • Senior Secondary Certificate of Education.
United States of America	<p>Hold a Senior Secondary Certificate of Education or equivalent.</p>

Uruguay	<p>Hold tertiary qualifications, or have successfully completed at least 2 years of undergraduate university study.</p> <p>Tertiary qualifications include a:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doctoral degree; • Masters degree; • Graduate diploma; • Graduate certificate; • Bachelor degree; • Associate degree; • Advanced diploma; • Diploma level qualifications. <p>Note: Tertiary qualifications do not include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Certificate IV; • Certificate III; • Certificate II; • Certificate I; • Senior Secondary Certificate of Education.
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How much does the visa cost?

Refer to *Part G – Payment details* of this form to calculate the correct charge and make payment.

Refer to www.immi.gov.au/fees-charges for a complete and current list of applicable fees and charges.

Fees and charges may be subject to change at any time and this may increase the cost of a visa application.

Generally, Visa Application Charges are reviewed on 1 July each year, and the exchange rates used to calculate the amount payable in a foreign country are updated on 1 January and 1 July each year.

If you do not pay the full Visa Application Charge amount, your visa application will not be valid.

Charges are generally not refundable, even if the application is withdrawn or refused.

Method of payment

Outside Australia

Before making a payment outside Australia, please check with the Australian Government office or Visa Application Centre where you intend to lodge your application as to what methods of payment and currencies they can accept and to whom the payment should be made payable.

How to apply

Step 1

Complete this application.

Please use a pen, and write neatly in English using BLOCK LETTERS.

You must provide the address where you intend to live while your application is being processed. Failure to give a residential address in your application will result in your application being invalid. A post office box address will not be accepted as your residential address.

Step 2

Refer to *Part G – Payment details* of this form to calculate the correct charge and make payment. Ensure that payment or evidence of payment is included with this application.

Step 3

Contact the Australian Government office or Visa Application Centre in the country which issued your passport to confirm application arrangements (eg. whether there are any additional local requirements). More information is available from www.immi.gov.au/contacts/overseas/

Step 4

Lodge your completed application with the correct Visa Application Charge, and required attachments (see *Application checklist* on page 6 of this application) as outlined below.

Applicants from the USA can lodge their application by post, fax or hand delivering this application to any Australian Immigration office overseas. Applicants from Argentina, Chile, Indonesia, Thailand and Turkey can lodge their application by post, fax or hand delivering this application to the Australian Immigration office in their country of passport. Applicants from Uruguay can lodge their application by post, fax or hand delivering this application to the Australian Immigration office in Argentina.

Do not send cash or your passport with your application.

Applicants from Bangladesh or Malaysia need to provide their biometrics (fingerprints scan and facial photograph) at a Visa Application Centre when lodging an application.

More information is available from www.immi.gov.au/contacts/overseas/

If you lodge your application with the Australian Immigration Office in Dhaka, Bangladesh or Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia you will be required to attend a Visa Application Centre in person to provide your biometrics.

What happens next?

Your application will be assessed. You may be asked to provide additional information to enable a decision to be made. You will be advised in writing whether your application has been approved. If your application is refused, you will be given reasons for the decision.

You should not make any irreversible travel arrangements until you receive written advice of the department's decision on your application.

Note: If you are granted an Electronic Travel Authority (ETA) or Maritime Crew visa (MCV) as well as a Work and Holiday visa, you will activate the Work and Holiday visa on arrival in Australia, rather than the ETA or MCV. This will activate the 12 month stay period of the Work and Holiday visa, which will not be able to be postponed or deferred. If you want to travel on the ETA or MCV, you must have your Work and Holiday visa cancelled before travelling to Australia. You will be able to apply for a Work and Holiday visa in the future, provided you meet the eligibility requirements.

Important – change of personal/passport details

If you wish to change any details after you lodge your application, including your passport details, or if you wish to withdraw the application, please contact the department:

- **Applicants from Argentina, Bangladesh, Chile, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Turkey and Uruguay** – contact the Australian Immigration office overseas or Visa Application Centre where you lodged your application. More information is available from www.immi.gov.au/contacts/overseas/
- **Applicants from the USA** – E-mail eVisa.WANDH.Helpdesk@immi.gov.au

Your Work and Holiday visa application is linked to the passport number provided in your application. **If you are granted a visa, but do not provide the department with the details**

of any new passport you use to travel to Australia, you will experience significant delays at the airport and could be denied permission to board your plane.

Immigration assistance

A person gives immigration assistance to you if he or she uses, or claims to use, his or her knowledge or experience in migration procedure to assist you with your visa application, request for ministerial intervention, cancellation review application, sponsorship or nomination.

In Australia a person may only lawfully give immigration assistance if he or she is a registered migration agent or is exempt from being registered. Only registered migration agents may receive a fee or reward for providing immigration assistance.

If an unregistered person in Australia, who is not exempt from registration, gives you immigration assistance they are committing a criminal offence and may be prosecuted.

Migration agents in Australia

Migration agents in Australia must be registered with the Office of the Migration Agents Registration Authority (Office of the MARA) unless they are exempt from registration.

Migration agents outside Australia

Migration agents who operate outside Australia do not have to be registered. The department may give some overseas agents an ID number. This number does not mean that they are registered.

Note: Some Australian registered migration agents operate overseas.

Migration agent information

A migration agent is someone who can:

- advise you on the visa that may best suit you;
- tell you the documents you need to submit with your application;
- help you fill in the application and submit it; and
- communicate with the department on your behalf.

If you appoint a migration agent, the department will assume that your migration agent will be your authorised recipient, unless you indicate otherwise.

Your migration agent will be the person with whom the department will discuss your application and from whom it will seek further information when required.

You are not required to use a migration agent. However, if you use a migration agent, the department encourages you to use a registered migration agent. Registered agents are bound by the Migration Agents Code of Conduct, which requires them to act professionally in their clients' lawful best interests.

Information on migration agents, including a list of registered migration agents, is available on the Office of the MARA website www.mara.gov.au

You can also access information about migration agents on the department's website www.immi.gov.au

Exempt persons

The following people do not have to be a registered migration agent in order to provide immigration assistance, but they must not charge a fee for their service:

- a close family member (spouse, de facto partner, child, parent, brother or sister);
- a member of parliament or their staff;
- an official whose duties include providing immigration assistance (eg. a Legal Aid provider);
- a member of a diplomatic mission, consular post or international organisation.

Appointing a migration agent/exempt person

To appoint a migration agent/exempt person you should complete *Part F – Options for receiving written communications*.

Your migration agent/exempt person should complete form 956 *Advice by a migration agent/exempt person of providing immigration assistance*.

Form 956 is available from the department's website www.immi.gov.au/allforms/

Options for receiving written communications

If you do not appoint a migration agent/exempt person you may still authorise another person, in writing, to receive written communications on your behalf. This person is called the authorised recipient.

Authorised recipient information

All written communication about your application will be sent to your authorised recipient, unless you indicate that you wish to have health and/or character information sent directly to you.

The department will communicate with the most recently appointed authorised recipient as you may only appoint one authorised recipient at any time for a particular application.

You will be taken to have received any documents sent to that person as if they had been sent to you.

To appoint an authorised recipient you should complete:

- *Part F – Options for receiving written communications*; and
- form 956A *Appointment or withdrawal of an authorised recipient*.

Note: Migration agents/exempt persons do not need to complete form 956A.

Form 956A is available from the department's website www.immi.gov.au/allforms/

Consent to communicate electronically

The department may use a range of means to communicate with you. However, electronic means such as fax or e-mail will only be used if you indicate your agreement to receiving communication in this way.

To process your application the department may need to communicate with you about sensitive information, for example, health, police checks, financial viability and personal relationships. Electronic communications, unless adequately encrypted, are not secure and may be viewed by others or interfered with.

If you agree to the department communicating with you by electronic means, the details you provide will only be used by the department for the purpose for which you have provided them, unless there is a legal obligation or necessity to use them for another purpose, or you have consented to use for another purpose. They will not be added to any mailing list.

The Australian Government accepts no responsibility for the security or integrity of any information sent to the department over the internet or by other electronic means.

If you authorise another person to receive documents on your behalf and they wish to be contacted electronically, their signature is required on form 956 or 956A to indicate their consent to this form of communication.

Note: Electronic communication is the fastest means of communication available and the department prefers to communicate electronically because this results in faster processing.

About the information you give

The department is authorised to collect information provided on this form under Part 2 of the *Migration Act 1958* 'Control of Arrival and Presence of Non-Citizens'. The information provided will be used for assessing your eligibility for a visa to visit Australia.

The information provided might also be disclosed to agencies who are authorised to receive information relating to adoption, border control, business skills, citizenship, education, health assessment, health insurance, health services, law enforcement, payment of pensions and benefits, taxation, superannuation, review of decisions and registration of migration agents.

Relevant information about you will be disclosed to federal, state and territory police to assist in your location and possible detention in the event that you become an unlawful non-citizen.

You will become an unlawful non-citizen if your visa ceases (by cancellation for breach of visa condition for example) or expires and you do not hold another visa authorising you to remain in Australia.

The collection, access, storage, use and disclosure by the department of the information you provide in this form is governed by the *Privacy Act 1988* and, in particular, by the 11 Information Privacy Principles. The information form 993i *Safeguarding your personal information*, available from offices of the department, gives details of agencies to which your personal information might be disclosed.

The information provided on this form, including any information on your health, will be used to assess your health for an Australian visa and may be disclosed to the relevant Commonwealth, state and territory health agencies and examining doctor(s).

Form 1163i *Health requirement for temporary entry to Australia* provides additional information on Australia's visa health requirements. Form 1163i is available at offices of the department or from the department's website www.immi.gov.au/allforms/

The department is authorised under the *Migration Act 1958*, in certain circumstances, to collect a range of personal identifiers including a facial image, fingerprints and a signature from non-citizens, including from visa applicants. The department requires personal identifiers to assist in assessing your identity. The department is authorised to disclose your personal identifiers and information relating to your name and other relevant biographical data to a number of agencies including law enforcement and health agencies and to other agencies who may need to check your identity with this department. Where the department obtains personal identifiers they will become part of your official record with the department.

The department is involved in international information exchanges with a number of countries, including the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada and New Zealand. These international information exchanges may involve the sharing of personal identifiers, including facial images and fingerprint data, collected by immigration agencies such as this department. If, as a result of this sharing between countries, there is a match with your personal identifiers, the department will disclose your biographical data, copies of travel and other identity documents or information from such documents, your immigration status and immigration history (which may include any immigration abuse and offences) and any criminal history information relevant to immigration purposes. The purpose of such disclosure would be to help confirm your identity and determine if you have presented to the department and the other agency under the same identity and with similar claims.

For more detailed information you should read information form 1243i *Your personal identifying information*, which is available from the department's website www.immi.gov.au/allforms/ or from any office of the department or Australian mission overseas.

Application checklist

This checklist is provided for your assistance and lists the required and optional documents to include with your application. It is not a requirement of your application.

Note: Processing of your application will be delayed if you do not provide all the required information and documents at the time of lodgement.

Note: **Certified copies** are copies authorised, or stamped as being true copies or originals, by a person or agency recognised by the law of the country in which you currently reside.

Note: If your documents are in a language other than English, translations into English must be provided.

TICK when completed.

A certified copy of the pages of your passport containing your photo and personal details (Note: Your passport preferably should be valid for at least 6 months).	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Visa Application Charge (for the current Work and Holiday Visa Application Charge, refer to the department's website www.immi.gov.au/fecs-charges)	<input type="checkbox"/>
If you are authorising another person to act and receive communications on your behalf, complete <i>Part F – Options for receiving written communications</i> on page 11 and form 956 <i>Appointment of a migration agent or exempt agent or other authorised recipient</i> .	<input type="checkbox"/>
If you are from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Argentina; • Bangladesh; • Chile; • Indonesia; • Malaysia; • Thailand; • Turkey; or • Uruguay an original letter of approval from your government.	<input type="checkbox"/>
If you are from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Argentina; • Bangladesh; • Chile; • Indonesia; • Malaysia; • Thailand; • Turkey; or • Uruguay proof of English proficiency.	<input type="checkbox"/>

A list of offices of the department in Australia is available from www.immi.gov.au/contacts/

Further information about the Working Holiday visa is available from www.immi.gov.au/visitors/

<i>Home page</i>	www.immi.gov.au
<i>General enquiry line</i>	Telephone 131 881 during business hours in Australia to speak to an operator (recorded information available outside these hours). If you are outside Australia, please contact your nearest Australian mission.

Please keep these information pages for your reference



Please use a pen, and write neatly in English using BLOCK LETTERS.

Tick where applicable

Note: Any reference in this form to 'country' refers to 'foreign country' which is defined in paragraph 22(1)(f) of the *Acts Interpretation Act 1901* as any country (whether or not an independent sovereign state) outside Australia and the external territories.

Part A – Your details

1 Your full name, exactly as it appears on the passport on which you will be travelling to Australia

Family name

Given names

2 Have you been known by any other names?
(including name at birth, previous married names, aliases)

No

Yes Give details

3 Sex Male Female

4 Date of birth

5 Place of birth

Town/city

Country

6 Relationship status

Married Separated Never married or
Engaged Divorced been in a de facto
De facto Widowed relationship

7 Details from your passport

Passport number

Country of passport

Date of issue

Date of expiry

Issuing authority/
Place of issue as
shown in your
passport

If you hold more than one passport please provide details of those passports

Your full name as it appears in the passport

Family name

Given names

Passport number

Country of passport

Date of issue

Date of expiry

Issuing authority/
Place of issue as
shown in your
passport

Note: Visa applicants must hold a valid passport to be granted a visa. It is recommended that the passport be valid for at least 6 months.

If you change your passport after you have been granted the visa you must notify the nearest Australian mission, Visa Application Centre or office of the department.

If you do not provide the department with the details of any new or additional passport you use to travel to Australia, you will experience significant delays at the airport and could be denied permission to board your plane.

8 Do you hold any citizenship other than that shown as your country of passport above?

No Yes Give details

9 Details of identity card or identity number issued to you by your government *(if applicable)* eg, National identity card.

Note: If you are the holder of multiple identity numbers because you are a citizen of more than one country, you need to enter the identity number on the card from the country that you live in.

Identity number

Country of issue

- 24** Please provide the contact details of a relative, friend or a person you know in Australia

Relationship to you

Family name

Given names

Address

 POSTCODE

Telephone numbers

Office hours (AREA CODE)

After hours (AREA CODE)

Mobile/cell

Part C – Health

- 25** In the last 5 years, have you visited, or lived, outside your country of passport for more than 3 consecutive months?

No

Yes Give details

1. Country(s)

Date from DAY MONTH YEAR to DAY MONTH YEAR

2. Country(s)

Date from DAY MONTH YEAR to DAY MONTH YEAR

3. Country(s)

Date from DAY MONTH YEAR to DAY MONTH YEAR

- 26** Do you intend to enter a hospital or a health care facility (including nursing homes) while in Australia?

No

Yes Give details

- 27** Do you intend to work as, or study to be, a doctor, dentist, nurse or paramedic during your stay in Australia?

No

Yes Give details

- 28** Do you intend to work, or be a trainee, at a child care centre (including preschools and creches) while in Australia?

No

Yes Give details

- 29** Do you intend to be in a classroom situation for more than 3 months (eg. as either a student, teacher, lecturer, or observer)?

No

Yes Give details

- 30** Have you:

- ever had, or currently have, tuberculosis?
- been in close contact with a family member that has active tuberculosis?
- ever had a chest x-ray which showed an abnormality?

No

Yes Give details

31 During your proposed visit to Australia, do you expect to incur medical costs, or require treatment or medical follow up for:

- blood disorder;
- cancer;
- heart disease;
- hepatitis B or C and/or liver disease;
- HIV infection, including AIDS;
- kidney disease, including dialysis;
- mental illness;
- pregnancy;
- respiratory disease that has required hospital admission or oxygen therapy;
- other?

No

Yes Give details

32 Do you require assistance with mobility or care due to a medical condition?

No

Yes Give details

33 Do you hold health insurance to cover your stay in Australia?

Note: See page 2 of this form for further information about health insurance.

No

Yes

34 Have you undertaken a health examination for an Australian visa in the last 12 months?

No

Yes Give details (including HAP ID if available)

Part D – Character

35 Have you ever:

- been convicted of a crime or offence in any country (including any conviction which is now removed from official records)? No Yes
- been charged with any offence that is currently awaiting legal action? No Yes
- been acquitted of any criminal offence or other offence on the grounds of mental illness, insanity or unsoundness of mind? No Yes
- been removed or deported from any country (including Australia)? No Yes
- left any country to avoid being removed or deported? No Yes
- been refused a visa for Australia or another country? No Yes
- been excluded from or asked to leave any country (including Australia)? No Yes
- committed, or been involved in the commission of war crimes or crimes against humanity or human rights? No Yes
- been involved in any activities that would represent a risk to Australian national security? No Yes
- had any outstanding debts to the Australian Government or any public authority in Australia? No Yes
- been involved in any activity, or been convicted of any offence, relating to the illegal movement of people to any country (including Australia)? No Yes
- served in a military force or state sponsored/private militia, undergone any military/paramilitary training, or been trained in weapons/explosives use (however described) **other than** in the course of compulsory military service? No Yes

If you answered 'Yes' to any of the above questions you **must** give all relevant details in the space provided below.

If the matter relates to a criminal conviction, please give the nature of the offence, full details of sentence, dates of any period of imprisonment or other detention and a personal account of the events leading up to and including the offence(s)

If insufficient space attach a separate sheet

Part E – Assistance with this form

36 Did you receive assistance in completing this form?
No ▶ Go to Part F
Yes ▶ Please give details of the person who assisted you

Title: Mr Mrs Miss Ms Other

Family name

Given names

Address

Telephone number or daytime contact

COUNTRY CODE	AREA CODE	NUMBER
{	}	}

Office hours

Mobile/call

37 Is the person an agent registered with the Office of the Migration Agents Registration Authority (Office of the MARA)?
No
Yes ▶ Go to Part F

38 Is the person/agent in Australia?
No ▶ Go to Part F
Yes

39 Did you pay the person/agent and/or give a gift for this assistance?
No
Yes

Part F – Options for receiving written communications

40 All written communications about this application should be sent to:
(Tick one box only)

Myself

OR

Authorised recipient ▶ You should complete form 956A *Appointment or withdrawal of an authorised recipient*

OR

Migration agent } Your migration agent/exempt person should complete form 956 *Advice by a migration agent/exempt person of providing immigration assistance*

OR

Exempt person }

Part G – Payment details

41 Do you have the **application charge** to include with your application?
(To check the Visa Application Charge, refer to the department's website www.immi.gov.au/fees-charges or check with the nearest office of the department.)

No ▶ This application will be returned to you as a valid application will not have been made

Yes

42 IMPORTANT: You must refer to the department's website at www.immi.gov.au/fees-charges to complete this part of your application. The website shows reference tables with the Visa Application Charges applicable to each visa subclass.

Visa subclass you are applying for

▶▶ **Base Application Charge**

Write the amount shown on the reference table for your visa subclass

AUD (1)

+

▶▶ **Non-internet Application Charge (if applicable)**

AUD (2)

+

▶▶ **Additional Applicant Charge aged 18 years or over** at the time your application is lodged

Write the amount shown on the reference table for your visa subclass

Number of additional applicants aged 18 years or over

AUD

X (multiplied by)

=

AUD (3)

+

▶▶ **Additional Applicant Charge under 18 years of age** at the time your application is lodged

Write the amount shown on the reference table for your visa subclass

Number of additional applicants under 18 years of age

AUD

X (multiplied by)

=

AUD (4)

+

▶▶ **Subsequent Temporary Application Charge (if applicable)**

Write the amount shown on the reference table for your visa subclass

Number of applicants

AUD

X (multiplied by)

=

AUD (5)

=

▶▶ **Total (1) + (2) + (3) + (4) + (5)**

Total

AUD

You must pay the **total amount** or your visa application will not be valid.

Note: A second instalment of the Visa Application Charge must also be paid before we can grant some visas.

43 How will you pay your application charge?

If applying **in Australia**, debit card or credit card are the preferred methods of payment. Debit cards cannot be used for applications lodged by mail. If paying by bank cheque or money order please make payable to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

If applying **outside Australia**, please check with the Australian Government office where you intend to lodge your application as to what methods of payment and currencies they can accept and to whom the payment should be made payable.

Bank cheque

Money order

Debit card ▶ Cannot be used for applications lodged by mail

Credit card ▶ Give details below

Payment by (tick one box)

Australian Dollars

MasterCard <input type="checkbox"/> Diners Club <input type="checkbox"/> American Express <input type="checkbox"/> JCB <input type="checkbox"/> Visa <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/> AUD
---	--------------------------

Credit card number

Expiry date /

Cardholder's name

Telephone number Address Signature of cardholder	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>COUNTRY CODE</td> <td>AREA CODE</td> <td>NUMBER</td> </tr> <tr> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3">POSTCODE</td> </tr> </table>	COUNTRY CODE	AREA CODE	NUMBER	()	()		POSTCODE		
COUNTRY CODE	AREA CODE	NUMBER								
()	()									
POSTCODE										

Credit card information will be used for charge paying purposes only.

Part H – Declaration and consent

WARNING: Giving false or misleading information is a serious offence

44 Please sign the declaration below

I declare that:

- the information on this form is correct;
- I have read the notes at the front of this application, and am aware that I am required to abide by the conditions that are placed on my visa;
- after applying, I will notify the Department of Immigration and Citizenship of any change in my circumstances including my address details; and
- I will respect Australian values as listed on this form, during my stay in Australia and will obey the laws of Australia.

For offshore applicants who are required to provide their fingerprints and facial image:

- I understand that my fingerprints and facial image and my biographical information held by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship may be given to Australian law enforcement agencies to help identify me, to help determine my eligibility for grant of the visa I have applied for, and for law enforcement purposes.
- I consent to:
 - Australian law enforcement agencies disclosing my biometric, biographical and criminal record information to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship for any of the purposes outlined above; and
 - the Department of Immigration and Citizenship using the information obtained for the purposes of the Migration Act 1958 or the Citizenship Act 2007.

Signature of applicant

Date

Please check all questions are answered. If your form is incomplete, there may be delays in processing your application.

We strongly advise that you keep a copy of your application and all attachments for your records.

Appendix 2: Fieldwork Questionnaire

NAME

AGE

COUNTRY

WHAT TYPE OF VISA

HOW LONG BEEN IN AUSTRALIA

WHERE HAVE YOU BEEN SO FAR

WHAT TYPES OF ACCOMMODATION HAVE YOU LIVED IN WHILE IN AUSTRALIA

HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION

WHAT IS WORK

1. What is work?
2. Are there certain activities that you consider work?
3. Why do people work? Is there a purpose or function of work?
4. Why do you work?
5. What is the opposite of work?
6. What activities are the opposite of work activities?

WHAT IS HOLIDAY

1. What is a holiday?
2. What activities are involved with a holiday?
3. Why do people go on a holiday? Is there a purpose or function of a holiday?
4. Why do you go on holiday?
5. What is the opposite of a holiday?
6. What activities are the opposite of holiday activities?

WORKING HOLIDAY

1. What is a working holiday?
2. What activities do you do on a working holiday?
3. What do you call someone who goes on a working holiday?
4. Why do people go on working holidays? Is there a purpose or function to a working holiday?
5. Why do you go on a working holiday?
6. Is a working holiday different from a holiday? Why? How?
7. Is work on a working holiday different from other types of work? How? why?

WORKING HOLIDAY IN AUSTRALIA

1. How did you hear about taking a “working holiday” to Australia?
2. Why did you decide to come to Australia on a working holiday visa? why not another type of visa?
3. What did you think a working holiday in Australia would involve before arriving to Australia?
4. How did you obtain your working holiday visa? who did you apply to?
5. What sort of things did you research to prepare for your trip?
6. What sources of information did you get information from? what are the names of these sources?
7. What sort of things did these sources tell you about a working holiday in Australia? what activities did they tell you about?
8. Did these sources discuss working in Australia? What did they say about working in Australia? Did they say what jobs you could get or how much you'd be paid?
9. What jobs were you planning to look for before arriving in Australia?
10. What jobs have you been looking for?
11. What types of jobs are you willing to take?
12. How important is having a paid job while here in Australia?
13. Are you here to work or to holiday? why?
14. What is the function of working on a working holiday in Australia?
15. What is the function of the holiday part of a working holiday in Australia?

16. What expenses did you have in preparing your trip to Australia?
17. What are your main expenses while here in Australia?
18. Have you seen many backpackers in Australia? Where do you see them?
19. Why do you think backpackers come to Australia?
20. What do backpackers do in Australia?
21. What is a backpacker?
22. Do you consider yourself a backpacker?
23. Do you see yourself as different from a Backpacker? why? What do you consider yourself if not a backpacker?
24. What specific tourist or holiday activities have you done in Australia so far?

25. Is there a difference between what you thought or envisioned a working holiday in Australia would be like before you arrived compared to your actual working holiday experience so far? How? Why?
26. have you gotten to learn more about the real Australia by working in Australia? what have you learned?

WORKER

1. What job did you have before you came to Australia?
2. Where are you currently working?
3. Do you enjoy working there?
4. Why did you choose to work there?
5. What other jobs have you applied for? Have you done the type of work you're doing before?

6. How long did it take you to find a job? was it hard to find?
7. How did you feel when you were waiting to hear about jobs you applied for?
8. What do you think the places you applied to were looking for in workers?
9. Do you think there's a lot of competition for finding work? why?
10. Is this your only job? Will you be looking for or taking on another job? why?
11. Do you feel you're taking on a role when you go to work? Do you identify yourself with your job? how?
12. Does work ever interfere with your holiday activities? how so?
13. Do your holiday activities ever interfere with your job responsibilities? how so?
14. Why do you work if you are also on a holiday? Is work a part of the holiday? why?
15. What is your pay wage?
16. Do you think that is a fair wage? Why?
17. What do you think of your employer? Do they treat you fair?
18. What job will you do when you leave Australia and go back home?
19. Do you spend (Have you spent) (do you plan to spend) more time working in Australia than you do traveling around Australia?

NAIVETY / PRE-KNOWLEDGE OF WORKERS RIGHTS

1. What is the minimum wage in Australia?
2. How are working holiday makers categorized when it comes to taxation of wages?
3. What is the tax rate for working holiday makers in Australia?
4. Are you eligible to get your tax back?
5. What is superannuation?
6. Are you familiar with Australian workers rights? What are they?
7. Is it important for workers to have rights? why
8. What specific rights do working holiday makers have if taking employment?
9. Is it important to know your rights when working on a working holiday? why?
10. If you thought you were being cheated would you report your employer to authorities? why?
11. how do you feel about your overall experience here in Australia?

OTHER

1. Did you have to show proof of funds at the border?
2. Did you have to show proof of insurance at the border?

Appendix 3: STA Travel Brochure

AUSTRALIA OUTBACK RANCH HAND



LOCATION: Start in Brisbane; placements throughout Outback/rural Australia



Work on ranches, cattle/sheep stations, or farms deep in the Outback for an unforgettable experience that will teach you things you never dreamed, all while earning money!

QUICK REFERENCE:

TYPES OF JOBS:	• Farm work, domestic work, childcare + more
WAGES:	• Varies, average salary \$230 - \$320 per week with room and board. If position does not include room & board, salary will be higher
INCLUDES:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guaranteed paid work placement • Room & board for most placements • Arrival airport transfer and orientation in Brisbane • 3 nights "Jet Lag Recovery" weekend at Rainbow Beach • Transportation to training site/farm • 5 days orientation & training with room & board • International Traveler's Insurance • Registration for Tax File Number • Bank Account set up • Pre-departure and local support • 24-hour telephone helpline
NOT INCLUDED:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International transportation • Visa Fees • Personal expenses • Meals and activities at Rainbow Beach
FEES:	• From \$1,990 (With Visa Processing \$2,265)



COUNTRY FACTS

Capital City: Canberra
 Population: 19.9 million
 Currency: Australian Dollars (A\$)

HIGHLIGHTS:

Work in Rural/Outback Australia is a unique chance to explore and live in the real Down Under. We will pre-arrange and guarantee a paid placement in Outback towns throughout Australia with room and board included. Work positions include farm work, domestic or childcare work on a ranch, or rural hospitality work. This is a wonderful opportunity to earn a local wage, interact and live with the locals, and travel in this beautiful country.

Contact your STA Travel Expert today

800.551.1740
statravel.com

FAQs



AUSTRALIA VISA FAQs

The Australia Work and Holiday Visa is now available for US citizens aged between 18 and 30 who want to go on a working holiday in Australia. The visa enables you to stay in Australia for up to 12 months and take up casual employment to help fund your stay.

You can apply for an Australia Work and Holiday Visa if you:

- are aged between 18 and 30 (inclusive) at the date of application;
- have graduated from high school;
- meet the health and character requirements of Australian Immigration;
- hold a passport from the USA;
- will be outside of Australia when you apply for and are granted the visa;
- will not be accompanied by any dependants when you travel to Australia.

Who is the Australia Work and Holiday Visa for?

This Australian Work and Holiday Visa is for high school-educated US citizens aged 18 to 30 who are interested in a working holiday of up to 12 months in Australia.

What is the purpose of the visa?

The purpose of this visa is for you to enjoy an extended vacation in Australia. You are entitled to work in Australia, but any work should be temporary to help fund your travels. Periods of work should be broken up by periods of vacation and travel.

What does this visa let me do?

If you are granted a Work and Holiday Visa you can:

- enter Australia any time within 3 months of the visa grant date;
- stay for up to 12 months in Australia;
- leave and re-enter Australia any number of times in the 12 months from the date of first entry;
- undertake temporary employment in Australia;
- study for up to 4 months;

How do I Apply?

Ask your STA Travel expert to apply for you. The cost is \$245 and the whole application is done by an expert over the phone.

How long does it take?

The required visa can be obtained as few as 48 hours (expedite fees apply) but we recommend applying 12-16 weeks prior to your desired start date.

How long is the visa valid for?

If granted a Work and Holiday Visa to Australia, you have 3 months from the date of issue to enter Australia. The visa is then valid for 12 months from the date you first enter Australia.

How long can I work for?

You can work throughout the 12-month validity of your visa but you are not entitled to work for more than 6 months with the same employer. Working beyond 6 months with one employer may result in your visa being cancelled and you may be required to leave Australia.

What type of work I can undertake?

You can take up any type of work in Australia as long as it is on a temporary basis. For Outback Ranch Hands, jobs are available on cattle and sheep stations throughout the Outback. Many different types of work are available, ranging from cattle mustering on horseback to tractor and backhoe work to childcare and domestic help and rural hospitality.

What will my working schedule be like and can I take time off to travel?

Of course, you are encouraged to travel. You may only work for any single employer for a maximum of 6 months. So travel before, between or after you take a job. While employed, please consult with your employer about expectations for time off. For Outback work, some ranches, especially cattle and sheep stations are in the remotest parts of the country and can take two days to reach. We recommend doing any traveling before or after your work placements.

FAQs

What if I am referred by an agency or labor supplier?

If you are referred by an agency or labor supplier to a business in Australia, you can still only work 6 months for that business on the Australia Work and Holiday Visa. However, the same agency or labor supplier can later refer you to another business where you can work for another 6 months.

Can my spouse come to Australia on my Work and Holiday (462) Visa?

No. Your spouse will need to apply for their own Australian visa if they want to accompany you.

Can I study in Australia on the Work and Holiday Visa?

While in Australia on a Work and Holiday Visa you must not study or train for more than 4 months. If you want to study for longer than 4 months, you should apply for an Australia Student Visa.

What are the medical and character requirements?

Health and character requirements for will vary depending on your personal circumstances. If required, you may need to provide additional information.

Do I need health insurance?

You must maintain adequate health insurance coverage during your stay in Australia on your Work and Holiday Visa.

How will I know when my application has been finalized?

When your Australian Work and Holiday Visa is approved, you will receive a visa approval letter at your nominated email or postal address. Make sure you keep a copy of this letter. This letter will confirm your visa approval and detail the validity date of your visa and conditions.

What happens when my Australian visa is approved?

When your visa is approved, you will receive a notification letter at your nominated email or postal address. Please keep this notification as it describes the conditions that apply to your visa. It will contain:

- your visa number;
- the validity date of your visa;
- the visa conditions;
- full details of what you must do next.

What do I do when I arrive in Australia?

When you arrive in Australia you must remember to collect your visa label at the nearest immigration office. You MUST remember to use the same passport as the one you used in this application.

Then What?

Before you can begin work, you will need to apply for a Tax Identification number (similar to your social security number). Additionally, you will need an Australia Bank Account. Australian employers will not pay into American accounts. See your STA Travel expert for assistance.



Appendix 4: Tourism Regions in Australia and Tourism Expenditure

Australia's top 20 tourism regions by expenditure, year ending March 2012

Rank	Tourism region	Expenditure (\$ million)
1	Sydney (NSW)	13,175
2	Melbourne (Vic)	11,126
3	Brisbane (Qld)	5,937
4	Experience Perth (WA)	5,077
5	Gold Coast (Qld)	4,312
6	Adelaide (SA)	3,003
7	Tropical North Queensland (Qld)	2,783
8	Sunshine Coast (Qld)	2,373
9	North Coast NSW	2,237
10	South Coast (NSW)	1,968
11	Canberra (ACT)	1,705
12	Hunter (NSW)	1,576
13	Northern Rivers Tropical NSW	1,506
14	Australia's South West (WA)	1,422
15	Darling Downs (Qld)	1,178
16	Western (Vic)	1,092
17	Hobart and the South (Tas)	1,082
18	Central NSW	1,061
19	Central Queensland (Qld)	1,031
20	Darwin (NT)	950

Source: Tourism Research Australia, *International Visitors in Australia*, March quarter 2012; Tourism Research Australia, *Travel by Australians*, March quarter 2012.

State/territory	Tourism regions		No. of regions
New South Wales (NSW)	Blue Mountains Capital Country Central Coast Central NSW Hunter Mid North Coast Northern Rivers	New England North West Outback NSW Riverina Snowy Mountains South Coast Sydney The Murray	14
Victoria (Vic)	Bellarat Bendigo Loddon Central Highlands Central Murray Geelong Gippsland Goulburn High Country Lakes Macedon Mallee	Melbourne Melbourne East Murray East Peninsula Phillip Island Spa Country Upper Yarra Western Western Grampians Wimmera	21
Queensland (Qld)	Brisbane Bundaberg Central Queensland Darling Downs Fraser Coast Gold Coast	Mackay Northern Outback Sunshine Coast Tropical North Qld Whitsundays	12
South Australia (SA)	Adelaide Adelaide Hills Barossa Clare Valley Eyre Peninsula Fleurieu Peninsula Flinders Ranges	Kangaroo Island Limestone Coast Murraylands Outback SA Riverland Yorke Peninsula	13
Western Australia (WA)	Australia's Coral Coast Australia's Golden Outback Australia's North West	Australia's South West Experience Perth	5
Tasmania (Tas)	East Coast Hobart and Surrounds Launceston and Tamar Valley Northern	North West Southern West Coast	7
Northern Territory (NT)	Alice Springs Central (<i>includes Barkly, Central Desert, Yulara</i>)	Darwin Top End (<i>includes Arnhem, Kakadu, Katherine Daly</i>)	4
Australian Capital Territory (ACT)	Canberra		1
Total number of regions			77