Malleable Success: The Identity Formation of Taiwanese Working Holidaymakers in Australia

Pin-Yao Chiu

PhD

University of York

Sociology

February 2019

Abstract

The number of Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia has grown rapidly over the last decade. They are criticized as 'losers' and are labelled 'Tai-Lao' in Taiwanese society. This thesis explores how Taiwanese working holidaymakers respond to the public narratives in Taiwan through their experiences in Australia and their achievements after returning home.

Based on 31 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with Taiwanese working holidaymakers conducted in Taiwan, I show that, in response to the prejudice they experience in Taiwan, these young people refute, relabel, or even redefine the term 'Tai-Lao' to avoid a negative social identity. Nevertheless, they also unconsciously reproduce prejudices, which has led to internal conflicts within this group. Some of them dream of being financial winners, while others identify themselves as cosmopolitans from a Western perspective. This thesis critically examines issues such as English language skills, cultural values and social networks as important resources for their identity formation within the Australian workplace. These resources enable them to make sense of who they are while at the same time leading to intra-group comparison between these Taiwanese. Moreover, becoming successful returnees requires negotiation between the self and neoliberal ideology. This negotiation enables them to commodify their experiences in Australia and forces them to participate in the competition in the Taiwanese labour market.

Inscribing itself within wider theoretical discussions about the role of capital, reflexivity, postcolonialism and cosmopolitanism on identity formation in a neoliberal economy, this thesis proposes the notion of 'malleable success.' A working holiday is seen as a journey for Taiwanese young people's identity formation. On the one hand, they try to become successful in Australia through their aspirations of becoming cosmopolitan subjects. On the other hand, they need to negotiate neoliberal ideology, social stratifications, and socio-cultural expectations of being a successful young person in Taiwanese society. Hence, success, for them, is malleable and shifting. The idea of malleable success is, I argue, essential for interpreting these young people's identity formation in neoliberal Taiwan.

Keywords: Working Holiday, Taiwanese young people, Identity, Neoliberal ideology, Cosmopolitans, Malleable Success

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

First of all, I really appreciate my supervisors Dr. Xiaodong Lin and Dr. Laurie Hanquinet. Both of them gave me useful feedback in every meeting and led me make progress step by step. I would also like to express my gratitude to my TAP member Professor Sarah Nettleton. Although we only met every six months, she could point out the strength and weakness of my research and helped me improve it. Because of their instructions during the last three years, I fortunately pass my viva with no corrections.

Moreover, I also need to appreciate my wife Pin-Fen Huang. When I met a deadline, she was willing to be my first reader and gave me suggestions before I submitted my work. Her patience helped me learn how to present my research for people who have no idea about sociology. Needless to say, she was the only person who accompanied with me when I met difficulty in my research.

Special thanks to my colleagues at the Department of Sociology, especially Kun Li, Qian Wang, and Víctor Ávila Torres. During the last few years, they were not only willing to share their research experience with me, but also provided me critical intellectual support to revise my draft.

Finally, I am indebted to my family members. It is not only for their investment in me, but also for their understanding about my absence from the family. Thanks for their understanding and support. As such, this thesis is dedicated to them.

Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Chapter 1
The Rise of Taiwanese Working Holidaymakers in Australia

According to the Working Holiday Maker Visa Programme Report, which was published by the Australian Government on 31 December 2017, a working holiday is a visa type which does not simply allow visa holders to stay in Australia for up to 24 months, but also endows them with the legal right to hold temporary jobs in Australia. Each visa applicant must be 18–30 years old at the time of application. In the Western cultural context, working holidaymakers are regarded as a subcategory of backpackers (Allon et al., 2008; Jarvis & Peel, 2013). However, in Taiwan, the rise of this activity is not simply because it is a travel strategy for backpackers, but it is further associated with a way to enable career development (Anderson et al., 2000; Kawashima, 2010; Yoon, 2014).

In this introductory chapter, I will elucidate how my life experience in Taiwan aroused my interest in Taiwanese working holidaymakers' understanding of self, and how the working holiday is interpreted in the Taiwanese cultural context. After this, I plan to explain why this group of Taiwanese young people is worthy of notice, and why Australia is one of the most popular places among them. Finally, I will present the structure of this thesis and explain how Taiwanese working holidaymaker's identity formation can be interpreted by using the idea of malleable success that I propose in this thesis.

1.1   Meeting Working Holidaymakers in My Life

While I was a master's student in Taiwan, I attended my college reunion party in 2011. At that party, about eight or ten old classmates mentioned that they had travelled to Australia for working holidays after working in Taiwan for one or two years. This was the first time I had heard the term 'working holiday' in my life. During their working holiday, some of my peers declared, they had experienced the Western lifestyle in Australia and made some friends from Western culture. For them, this travel had broadened their horizons and helped them to develop a good global perspective. However, others rarely mentioned their life experience in Australia during the party. Instead, these

old classmates emphasized that they had worked hard during their working holiday and brought a sum of money back to Taiwan. With this money, these old classmates had successfully started a business or invested in the stock market after returning to Taiwan. Although their focuses are different, about ten people agreed that their working holiday really had made their lives better.

Nevertheless, when these old classmates learned that I was studying for a master's degree, I felt that they treated me with contempt. In their view, I was simply a master's student in Taiwan without international experience. What is more, in order to have time for my coursework, I could only do part-time jobs paid by the hour. Unfortunately, my slender earnings led those peers who were satisfied with their financial achievements in Australia to label me as a 'mummy's boy' who was incapable of being financially independent. Even when I mentioned my plans to study for a PhD in the UK after completing my degree in Taiwan, they still claimed that I was wasting my time and money. I will never forget one of my old classmates asking me: 'you'll spend millions of New Taiwan Dollars to experience a Western lifestyle. However, I experienced it for free and brought money back. Are you sure you want to do this?'

To avoid breaking up the cheerful atmosphere at that party, I politely thanked him for his suggestion even though I really felt angry and resentful about his comment. In my understanding, those old classmates who had taken working holidays in Australia did not have good career development in Taiwan after graduation. Before travelling to Australia, they were dissatisfied with their salaries and working conditions. Some of them could only earn the national minimum wage in Taiwan. These difficulties forced them to change their jobs quite often. Hence, their attitude to me aroused my interest in working holidays. I was curious about why taking a working holiday in Australia could make my old classmates feel confident or even privileged. Because of this college reunion party, those Taiwanese young people who had chosen to become working holidaymakers in Australia left a deep impression on me.

A year later, an article in *Business Today*[1] entitled: 'Why Does a Young Person Graduating from National Tsing-Hua University Need to Be a Butcher in Australia?' (Yang 2012) led me to pay attention to working holidays again. The interviewee in this article had graduated from National Tsing Hua University, which is one of the top three universities in Taiwan. However, he was unable to get a satisfying job in the Taiwanese labour market to pay off his student loan. Thus, he decided to become a working holidaymaker in Australia for one year. Having the legal right to work in Australia, this interviewee chose to be a butcher in a meat factory during his working holiday. Although it is a low-skilled job, his earnings in Australia allowed him to bring 1,000,000 NTD (about 25,000 GBP) back to Taiwan. Thus, he successfully paid off his student loan with this money.

In Yang's (2012) article, a working holiday is described as an activity that is never helpful for Taiwanese young people to broaden their horizons. In his view, the real reason why they choose to be working holidaymakers in Australia is that these Taiwanese young people have actually met great difficulties in the Taiwanese labour market. Therefore, they have to travel to Australia with a working holiday visa and engage in low-skilled jobs to ease their financial burden. Yang (2012) further analogized Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia to Southeast Asian temporary migrant workers in Taiwan and labelled these Taiwanese young people as the lower class in Australia. In Taiwan, Southeast Asian migrant workers are called 'Wai-Lao.' Therefore, Yang (2012) used the term 'Tai-Lao' to judge those Taiwanese young people who choose to become working holidaymakers in Australia. Until now, these Taiwanese young people still carry this negative stereotype in Taiwanese society.

Obviously, the arguments presented in Yang's (2012) article are quite opposed to my old classmates' reflections on their own working-holiday experiences in Australia. Hence, it is unsurprising that this article caused the mass media in Taiwan to discuss those Taiwanese young people who choose to become working holidaymakers in Australia. Some of them maintained that this international mobility reflects the economic recession in Taiwan. As such,

---

[1] *Business Today* is one of the most popular finance magazines in Taiwan. Its circulation has risen more rapidly than any other in Taiwan for the last six years.

the Taiwanese government should feel shame about this phenomenon (Zhang, 2013; Shen, 2013). Another commented that the rise of the working holiday can be traced back to the lack of individual ability. The economic development of Taiwan was irrelevant (Lin, 2012). In addition, a proportion of Taiwanese people claimed that Yang's (2012) article actually distorted what Taiwanese working holidaymakers really experience in Australia. Like those old classmates, they insisted that a working holiday is actually an opportunity for Taiwanese young people to develop a good global perspective. These different understandings of working holidays motivated me to choose those Taiwanese young people who have taken a working holiday in Australia as the focus of my PhD thesis. I planned to critically explore how they make sense of self in terms of their experiences in Australia and their public impression in Taiwan.

1.2 The Rise of Taiwanese Working Holidaymakers in Australia

As presented in the press release published by The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Taiwan on 8 August 2016, there have been 15 countries that permit Taiwanese people to visit with a working holiday visa. According to survey results reported by *Daily View*[2] in 2017, the three most popular countries for Taiwanese working holidaymakers in 2016 were Japan, the USA, and Australia. However, before 2016, Australia had been the first choice among Taiwanese working holidaymakers since the Australian government signed the Working Holiday Agreement with Taiwan in November 2004. This means that Australia has always been one of the most popular choices for Taiwanese young people to take a working holiday.

Based on data from the Working Holiday Maker Visa Programme Report (see Table 1), there were 6,007 Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia in 2010. By 2017, this number had increased to over ten thousand. Moreover, from 2012 to 2014, Taiwanese were the most numerous of working holidaymakers in Australia among South Korean, Taiwanese, Japanese, and Hongkongese. The number of Taiwanese people did not simply peak in 2012, but it was also the highest among the above four groups from 2010 to 2017. Although the number in this group started to decrease after 2012, there were

---

[2] *Daily View* is one of the most authoritative on-line polling organizations in Taiwan.

Table 1

Total Number of Working Holiday (Subclass 417) Visa Applications

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
South Korea	14,002	15,201	16,844	14,907	12,160	11,139	10,968	10,797
Taiwan	6,007	9,112	17,969	15,703	12,960	11,089	9,949	10,254
Japan	3,342	3,966	4,732	4,859	4,938	5,633	5,097	5,088
Hong Kong	1,760	2,824	4,666	5,837	4,681	3,158	2,118	1,227

Units: People

Resource: The data presented above is based on two Working Holiday Maker Visa Programme Reports which are published by the Australian government on 31 December 2012 and 31 December 2017 respectively.

Inhabitants: In 2017, the number of total inhabitants in above areas is 51.47 million people in South Korea, 23.58 million people in Taiwan, 1.268 billion people in Japan, and 7.392 million people in Hong Kong.

Note: Although the Australian government has signed the Working Holiday agreement with China on 2015, only 5,000 Chinese people are able to gain the Working Holiday visa each year by random selection because of the restriction of the Australian government. As such, the number of Chinese working holiday maker in Australia is not recorded in Working Holiday Maker Visa Programme Report.

still over ten thousand Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia, except in 2016. In comparison with the other three developed areas in East Asia, the increasing number of Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia really impressed me. This is also the reason why I have focused on this group of Taiwanese young people in this thesis instead of Taiwanese working holidaymakers in other countries.

As a whole, the way in which the working holiday is interpreted within the Taiwanese cultural context is different from the meaning with which it is endowed in the Western context. For Western travellers, a working holidaymaker is regarded as one of the subcategories of backpacker (Allon et al., 2008; Jarvis & Peel, 2013). In contrast, Taiwanese people's understanding of working holidays is close to that of people in Japan and Korea. They understand working holidays as travel designed to enable career development or an opportunity to achieve upward social mobility (Anderson et al., 2000;

Kawashima, 2010; Yoon, 2014). Thus, the causes of the rise in the number of Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia can be further explained in two ways: the changes in the Taiwanese labour market and the admiration of the West in Taiwanese society.

1.2.1 The Changes in the Taiwanese labour market

Due to the rise of globalization after World War II, capitalists and entrepreneurs proactively looked for low-cost country sourcing around the world in order to earn more profit. To follow this global trend, the Taiwanese government established Export Processing Zones and started to develop original equipment manufacturing (OEM) from the 1950s. This policy successfully created many job opportunities for Taiwanese people and brought Taiwan rapid economic growth (Liu, 2017; Lin, 2015c). Unfortunately, since the Chinese economic reform of the 1980s, the role of Taiwan in the global economic system has been gradually replaced by China. As described by Liu (2017), the Chinese government put money on the table during the 1980s and 1990s. Moving their businesses to China could make almost double the profit for Taiwanese entrepreneurs. In comparison to Taiwan, China could not simply help entrepreneurs to reduce their labour costs, but it also provided them with a broader market. Meanwhile, due to the economic growth from the 1950s to the 1980s, the national minimum wage also increased year by year (Hsu et al., 2015; Liu, 2017). Entrepreneurs in Taiwan needed to meet higher labour costs than before.

By the 1990s, the rise of China and higher labour costs in Taiwan had forced the Taiwanese government and entrepreneurs to make a decision between the following two choices. The first was to upgrade the industries in Taiwan, improving product quality, and creating local brands. The second was to move business to low-cost countries, such as China and Vietnam, in order to maintain profits. Standing at this crossroads, the Taiwanese government decided to help entrepreneurs to choose the former and thus increased the number of higher education institutions in Taiwan. Hsu et al. (2015) reported that the number of higher education institutions in Taiwan was 121 in 1990. By 2014, there were 159. Furthermore, the total acceptance rate at Taiwanese universities was 40 percent in 1991. By 2014, this percentage had increased

to 95.7 percent. As we will discuss later, this policy actually caused problems. The Taiwanese government was attempting to improve young people's average educational attainment in order to provide more professional and technical workers for entrepreneurs to make business-centred technical upgrades.

Unfortunately, a large proportion of Taiwanese entrepreneurs made a different choice from the Taiwanese government during the 1990s. To keep labour costs low and avoid the problems of business-centred technical upgrades, these Taiwanese entrepreneurs moved their businesses to China and other Southeast Asian countries. As Cheng and Lin (2017) argued, the way in which Taiwanese entrepreneurs made profits during the 1990s mainly depended on low taxes, a low exchange rate, and low-cost country sourcing in China. These management strategies could still allow these entrepreneurs to maintain profits even if they did not make business-centred technical upgrades. Nevertheless, offshoring did not merely reduce job opportunities in the Taiwanese labour market, but also caused higher unemployment rates in Taiwan. Therefore, in comparison to the economic growth of the 1950s and 1960s, Taiwan has been in a recession since the 1990s. This harsh environment has left young people facing more competitive pressure in the Taiwanese labour market.

In 2009, the situation faced by young people in the Taiwanese labour market became worse because of the global financial crisis of 2008. Huang and Gao (2015) reported that Taiwan's economic growth in 2009 was -1.81%. This economic performance was the worst since 1950. The impact of this crisis on profit led most entrepreneurs in Taiwan to make mass layoffs or to force employees to apply for unpaid leave. The unemployment rate of 5.85% was also the highest for the past thirty years (Huang & Gao, 2015). To reduce the youth unemployment rate, the Taiwanese government proposed a policy named the 'Graduate Trainee Programme'.

According to the regulations declared by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan on 11 May 2009, applicants must be Taiwanese and have received their academic degree from a Taiwanese higher education institution in 2007, 2008,

or 2009. The number of participants was unlimited. Each participant would be a graduate trainee for one year in a company that was cooperating with their alma mater. During their training period, each participant could get 22,000 NTD (about 550 GBP) per month from the Taiwanese government. This salary matched the national minimum wage in Taiwan. Therefore, employers could gain a free labour force from the government through the Graduate Trainee Programme. However, employers would still need to pay the difference if they decided to pay their trainees more than 22,000 NTD.

Although the 'Graduate Trainee Programme' was helpful in easing the impact of the global financial crisis on young people's unemployment rates in Taiwan, it actually impaired young people's rights to negotiate with employers in the labour market. The Taiwanese government originally expected that employers would hire these trainees after this one-year programme and increase their salary depending on their performance. Hence, 22,000 NTD per month would be the minimum wage for these Taiwanese young people. However, for these Taiwanese entrepreneurs, if they paid each trainee 22,000 NTD per month during this one-year programme, they could get a free labour force from the Taiwanese government during this year. Therefore, some of these employers might find a reason to lay off their trainees after one year. Then, they would ask the government for new trainees to gain a free labour force again (Lin et al., 2011). Other employers might decide to hire these trainees, but still paid them 22,000 NTD per month. This means that 22,000 NTD for Taiwanese young people is actually not a minimum wage but a salary ceiling.

Due to the economic recession caused by the global financial crisis of 2008, a large proportion of Taiwanese young people had to accept low-paid employment contracts in order to avoid being unemployed for a long time. Although some of these young people were fortunate and got a job in the labour market, they still had to endure a low income and long working hours. Huang and Gao (2015) revealed that some employers in Taiwan even threatened their employees by laying them off and requiring them to work during unpaid leave. Within the loophole in Taiwan's Labour Standard Laws and due to the economic recession in Taiwan, these employers forced their

employees to work without pay. While these tricks have been judged as illegal by the judicial system in Taiwan, most Taiwanese young people are still disappointed with the employer-employee relationship in the Taiwanese labour market.

The increased number of higher education institutions in Taiwan also became a reason for Taiwanese entrepreneurs to pay young people no more than 22,000 NTD. As mentioned above, the total acceptance rates at Taiwanese universities in 2014 had reached 95.7 percent (Hsu et al., 2015). High acceptance rates led Taiwanese entrepreneurs to believe that those employees receiving higher education were no longer valuable because there were so many of them. As, such, the value of a higher education diploma gradually declined in the Taiwanese labour market. High educational attainment could no longer guarantee a high income.

Moreover, most Taiwanese entrepreneurs started their businesses as original equipment manufacturers due to Taiwan's economic policy since the 1950s. Hence, they strongly believed in learning on the field instead of learning on campus (Lin, 2015b). Some entrepreneurs even claimed that the knowledge students acquired from the higher education institutions in Taiwan was irrelevant to the skills needed in the workplace (Lin et al., 2011). Because of this problem, these employers declared that they needed to spend extra money on training new employees. Hence, they had no intention of paying Taiwanese young people more than 22,000 NTD per month.

Because of the above changes in the Taiwanese labour market, Taiwanese young people started to leave their home country in order to look for better job opportunities abroad. In such a social context, being a working holidaymaker in Australia gradually became one of the short-term career choices for Taiwanese young people. As reported by Shen (2013), if Taiwanese young people dreamed of buying an iPhone, they would need to work for more than one month in Taiwan to earn enough. However, in Australia, they only had to work for one week. Due to the limitations of the Working Holiday Visa, these Taiwanese young people could only engage in low-skilled jobs, such as butcher or fruit picker, in Australia. Nonetheless, in comparison to the

difficulties they faced in the Taiwanese labour market, the well-off life they had in Australia led these Taiwanese young people to feel less of a sense of exploitation. This was also one of the most crucial reasons why the number of Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia increased to 17,969 in 2010 from 6,007 in 2009 (see Table 1).

1.2.2 The admiration of the West in Taiwanese society

In addition to the changes in the Taiwanese labour market, Taiwanese young people's imagination on the West also motivates them to take working holiday in Australia. In Taiwanese cultural context, the West is considered as the leading group in the global order (Ho et al., 2014; Tsai & Collins, 2017). This understanding does not only exist in Taiwan, but also is prevalent in other developed East Asian countries, such as Japan and South Korea (Anderson et al., 2000). This is because the rise of colonialism in the past is still related to the development of East Asian cities nowadays. While exploring the hierarchy of world cities, Bracken (2015) argued that 'modern telecommunications have not created networks out of nothing' (p.16). That is to say, current global city network actually originates from the colonial network established in the past.

Bracken (2015) took Hong Kong and Singapore as examples to support his view about the current development of East Asian cities. He reported that the British government regarded Hong Kong and Singapore as the bases for developing international trade in Asia during the colonial period. This policy led the economic development of these two areas to be relatively stable during the rise of colonial globalism. Even though the British government ended its colonial rule in Singapore and Hong Kong in 1942 and 1997 respectively, both of these areas still play a crucial role in current Asian city networks. However, in comparison to metropolitan areas like London and New York in developed Western countries, these developed East Asian cities still play a secondary role in the current global economic system. Therefore, the West, for people in Hong Kong and Singapore, always symbolizes advancement and prosperity.

Despite the fact that Taiwan was not colonized by Western countries during the modern era, the USA has always played an auxiliary role in helping the Taiwanese government to maintain the country's sovereignty. After the

Chinese Civil War of 1927 to 1949, the Kuomintang party (which is called the Chinese Nationalist Party in English) retreated from China to Taiwan and ruled Taiwan with the country name of The Republic of China (ROC). This political development has led the legal regime in Taiwan to be different from that of China. Therefore, Taiwan's sovereignty is still a sensitive political issue between the Taiwanese government and the Chinese government. To protect Taiwan's sovereignty and avoid war at the same time, the Taiwanese government needs to cooperate with the USA in terms of diplomacy and military issues. Because of this international relationship, Taiwanese people not only place Westerners in a superior position to themselves, but also develop their global perspective from a Westerner's standpoint.

As reported by Ye (2016), most young elites in Taiwan expect to get their bachelor's degree from National Taiwan University[3], study for a PhD in the USA, and get a permanent job there after graduation. For Taiwanese people, this life plan represents being a winner at the game of life. Meanwhile, it also reflects their admiration of the West. In comparison to other Western countries, Australia is geographically positioned as the closest country to Taiwan. What is more, the Australian government does not control the number of Taiwanese working holidaymakers each year, as it does with Chinese working holidaymakers. Hence, Australia has become a popular choice for those Taiwanese young people who plan to experience Western culture through a working holiday.

1.3   Current Research Gaps and the Idea of Malleable Success

Although taking a working holiday in Australia is popular among Taiwanese young people, current research on this social group mainly focuses on their motivations for becoming working holidaymakers and their understanding of this activity. For instance, Ho et al. (2014) discovered that most Taiwanese young people regard cultural exploration, self-improvement, and building self-confidence to be the main motivations for being working holidaymakers in Australia. Additionally, Tsai and Collins (2017) argued that a working holiday is a form of mobility that is interpreted as a journey to freedom by Taiwanese working holidaymakers. The above studies have

---

[3] National Taiwan University is the top-ranked university in Taiwan.

reflected upon why Taiwanese young people choose to become working holidaymakers in Australia, and how they interpret their working holidays. However, the identity issues around Taiwanese working holidaymakers have not been fully explored in the current literature. To fill this research gap, I propose a concept that I name 'malleable success' to interpret how these Taiwanese young people make sense of self through their experiences in Australia.

In the concept of malleable success, I suggest that a working holiday, for Taiwanese young people, is a form of travel enabling them to realize who they are. As argued by Lawler (2014), 'Identity itself is a social and collective process and not, as Western traditions would have it, a unique and individual process' (p. 2). This statement reflects the idea that identities are the results of negotiation between the individual and different social principles. During their working holiday, it seems that these Taiwanese young people are able to become the successful person they want to be in Australia. Meanwhile, they still need to satisfy (or challenge) the accepted criteria for being winners in Taiwanese society. Also, they have to understand how to be a competent working holidaymaker from a Westerner's perspective. These negotiations reflect that the identities that Taiwanese working holidaymakers pursue are malleable. When choosing to become a successful working holidaymaker, they have to shape themselves based on neoliberal ideology, social stratifications, and socio-cultural expectations of being a successful young person in Taiwanese society.

In order to critically explore how Taiwanese working holidaymakers realize themselves by interweaving their experiences in Australia with social values in Taiwan, I plan to address the following four research questions.
1. How do Taiwanese working holidaymakers respond to the prejudices they may face in Taiwanese society?
2. How do Taiwanese working holidaymakers evaluate themselves through their work experience in Australia?
3. How do Taiwanese working holidaymakers choose and perform a 'successful' identity during the practice of their leisure time in Australia?
4. How do Taiwanese working holidaymakers become successful returnees

after returning to Taiwan?

As presented in the questions above, I attempt to examine the identity formation of Taiwanese working holidaymakers in terms of prejudice, work experience, leisure time, and achievements. To make sense of self, each individual perceives their experience within a social system and develops an understanding of their own position within this system. Thus, I employ qualitative research methods to analyse Taiwanese working holidaymakers' subjectivities in their identity formation process. In this research, I recruited 31 research participants and collected qualitative data using semi-structured interviews.

1.4　The Summary of Each Chapter

As a whole, this thesis is divided into eight chapters, including this introduction. **Chapter Two** is the literature review for this thesis. Guided by the above research questions, I examine the current literature relating to the following four issues. The first is the prejudice against young people in Taiwanese society. I explore sociological understandings of how young people are criticized as 'losers' in the Taiwanese labour market, and how Taiwanese working holidaymakers are associated with this negative stereotype. The second issue is the interpretation of jobs among working holidaymakers. I present how work experience is discussed in current research on working holidaymakers. Meanwhile, I explore how previous researchers have commented on the value of working holidaymakers' work experience and the ethnic group they work with. The third is working holidaymakers' identity formation in everyday life. I review the literature about lifestyle migration, backpacking travel, and working holidays to explore how working holidaymakers' leisure time is examined by current researchers. The fourth issue addresses successful returning working holidaymakers in a Taiwanese context. I present how current researchers have assessed the value of working-holiday experience in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan.

Within this literature review, I identify the current research gaps in the following three aspects. The first one is the reproduction of prejudice and the role of the Tai-Lao identity in the internal group conflict between Taiwanese

working holidaymakers. The second one how these Taiwanese young people define success with their work and life experiences in Australia. The third one is the criteria of becoming successful returnees in Taiwanese society. Furthermore, I also present how these gaps can be filled with Bourdieu's analysis on capital, Goffman's dramaturgical metaphor, and the development of neoliberalism and cosmopolitanism in a Taiwanese context.

Chapter Three describes the methodology for this qualitative research. This chapter will include how I designed the research and prepared my fieldwork, how I recruited interviewees and modified my research aims during the fieldwork, and how I analysed the interview data from an interpretivist position after the fieldwork. Meanwhile, I also present my reflections on this research process in order to elucidate how I made choices among the different qualitative research methods, and how I transferred my position between that of an outsider and an insider during the fieldwork. Within this chapter, I show the interplay between theories, methods and data in my research process. This interplay has further helped me to deduce reliable knowledge about the identity formation of Taiwanese working holidaymakers.

Chapters Four to Seven demonstrate the empirical evidence that I collected for this research. The focus of **Chapter Four** is directed towards the prejudice against Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Taiwanese society. The vested interest groups in Taiwan's free market believe that the reason why young people travel to Australia for working holidays is that they have been eliminated from the Taiwanese labour market. Therefore, they have to go to Australia and engage in low-skilled jobs there in order to survive in this world. Because of this negative stereotype, those young Taiwanese who engage in working holidays in Australia are always taunted as 'losers' or 'Tai-Lao' in Taiwanese society. In this chapter, I examine how the Tai-Lao identity can be interpreted in terms of the development of neoliberalism and cosmopolitanism in the Taiwanese cultural context. Also, I analyse how Taiwanese working holidaymakers avoid the prejudice against themselves by refuting, relabelling and redefining the prejudice itself. I conceive that the definition of Tai-Lao has not merely been reinterpreted by these young Taiwanese, but has also caused the internal group conflict between them.

The purpose of **Chapter Five** is to elucidate how Taiwanese working holidaymakers make sense of themselves through their work experience in Australia. To begin, I elucidate why Taiwanese working holidaymakers' ability in the English language is related to their job search process in Australia. After this explanation, I present how the unequal power relations between Taiwan and Western countries in the global order affects Taiwanese working holidaymakers' attitudes toward the ethnic groups they work with. I critically examine why those Taiwanese young people who work with colleagues from Western culture regard themselves as cosmopolitans and feel superior to their peers who work within the Chinese communities. Additionally, I further analyse the advantages and disadvantages of the Chinese ethnic networks for Taiwanese working holidaymakers' job search process in Australia. Examining the influence of work experience on identities, I suggest that the internal group conflicts, caused by different work experiences, between Taiwanese working holidaymakers are actually an extension of the Tai-Lao debate in Taiwanese society. Within these internal conflicts, these young people reproduce the ethnic inequalities in the development of cosmopolitanism without awareness.

In **Chapter Six,** I examine Taiwanese working holidaymakers' practice of everyday life and their understanding of success in Australia. I explain why these young people feel uncertain about their social connections in Australia. This sense of uncertainty further leads them to believe that their identities in Australia are closer to their own will than their identities in Taiwan. Therefore, these Taiwanese young people feel relatively free when they make sense of self in Australia. However, the way how they formulate themselves as successful working holidaymakers are still influenced by neoliberal ideology and people's expectations of cosmopolitans in Taiwanese society. Some of them dream to be financial winners; the other identify themselves as cosmopolitans in a Western perspective. As such, I further discuss how these social principles in Taiwan enable these young people to associate cosmopolitans or financial winners as identities for successful working holidaymakers, and how they make a choice between these two identities in Australia. Moreover, I also analyse how these young Taiwanese formulate

themselves with the identities of the cosmopolitan or the financial winner through their practice of everyday life in Australia.

Chapter Seven focuses on how Taiwanese working holidaymakers formulate themselves as successful returnees after their travels in Australia. At the beginning of this chapter, I present how a successful returning working holidaymaker is defined in a Taiwanese context. My purpose is to investigate how the West becomes symbolic power in a Taiwanese cultural context, and how this power combines with neoliberal ideology when Taiwanese people assess these returnees' achievements. In this discussion, I classify these returnees into three groups depending on the extent to which their working holiday experience has helped them in their career development. The first group is those returnees who are able to create an advantage in Taiwan's market competition by commodifying their working-holiday experience with their material or non-material resources in Taiwan. The second group is those returnees who succeed in being chosen by employers in the Taiwanese labour market because of their work and life experience in Australia. The third group is those returning Taiwanese working holidaymakers who are unable to gain any benefit on the Taiwanese labour market from their experience in Australia. Within the above three groups of returnees, I demonstrate how returning working holidaymakers interpret the winner identity when their achievements in Australia need to be examined in terms of the market demand in the Taiwanese labour market.

By exploring how Taiwanese working holidaymakers understand, negotiate, and articulate the notion of becoming successful, **Chapter Eight** concludes that success, for Taiwanese working holidaymakers, is a malleable identity. For these young people, taking a working holiday in Australia is not simply a travel for cultural exploration or for economic purposes. It is also a travel to make sense of self. On the one hand, they put effort to become the successful person they want to be in Australia. On the other hand, they have to negotiate with neoliberal ideology and socio-cultural expectations of being a successful young person in Taiwan. Namely, success is malleable for these young people. As such, I propose the idea of malleable success to interpret their identity formation process during and after working holiday.

Chapter 2
The Identity Formation of Working Holidaymakers in Australia

In Chapter One, I addressed the difficulties in the labour market and the aspirations towards the Western culture that motivate Taiwanese young people to participate in working holidays in Australia. These two factors arguably lead those Taiwanese working holidaymakers to hold contradictory identities within Taiwanese society. On the one hand, they are criticized as 'losers' in the Taiwanese labour market; on the other hand, they are expected to do something worthwhile with their experience in Australia after returning to Taiwan. This contradiction has drawn me to examine the identity formation of these young Taiwanese. In this chapter, I will review the current literature about working holidaymakers in the Taiwanese cultural context. I plan to unravel research gaps in this area and to further discuss those sociological theories which are applied to the empirical chapters of this thesis.

This chapter is divided into four sections. In the first section, I will discuss how Taiwanese young people are judged in Taiwanese society, and how these judgements are further developed to criticize those young Taiwanese who engage in working holidays in Australia. The second section will review studies related to working holidaymakers' work experience in Australia. I will present how working while travelling is discussed in the Western cultural context. Then I will further present why working in Westerners' workplace is valuable for those working holidaymakers from East Asian culture. Meanwhile, I also plan to review current research on the ethnic inequality in Westerners' workplaces and explain this problem using Hage's ([1998] 2000) idea of national capital. The third section of this chapter will focus on current research on working holidaymakers' practice of everyday life. I will explain how researchers nowadays have noticed the shadow of colonial globalism within these travellers' self-perception. Additionally, I will reveal the research gaps in working holidaymakers' everyday lives and explore the extent to which Goffman's dramaturgical theory ([1959] 1990) can be deployed to make sense of working holidaymakers' identities. Finally, within the current literature about returning working holidaymakers, I will discuss how Taiwanese working holidaymakers can be recognized as successful returnees to Taiwanese society. I will demonstrate the difficulties they may

meet, and suggest what resources they can use to overcome these challenges by using Bourdieu's ([1997] 2003) analysis of capital.

2.1 The Prejudice against Young People in Taiwanese Society

Negative stereotypes of young people in Taiwanese society are mostly examined from socioeconomic perspectives. For instance, in order to analyse the definition of 'the strawberry generation'[4], Lin (2015a) explores how this prejudice is related to Taiwanese young people's socioeconomic status. Drawing on discourse analysis, Lin argues that this negative stereotype is actually a double standard created by the mass media in Taiwan. According to his research, upper-class young people in Taiwanese society have more opportunities to get high-paying first jobs than their working-class contemporaries. The reason is that their parents' social connections are able to provide them with more job choices. Additionally, having more financial resources, the upper-class young people can earn an academic degree in Western countries to help them develop a global perspective. Even though these advantages are highly correlated with their family background, these young Taiwanese are admired as people 'who are young and promising, and have a global perspective' (Lin, 2015a, p. 31). They are defined as successful by the mass media in Taiwanese society.

In comparison, working-class young Taiwanese have fewer resources in their family than their upper-class compatriots. As such, they can only get an education in Taiwan and look for lower-paid jobs due to their lack of social connections to the upper class. Being unequal at the starting line, these young Taiwanese, in Lin's view, have to overcome more difficulties than the upper-class young people in the Taiwanese labour market. However, these working-class young people are criticized as 'strawberries' by the mass media in Taiwan because their performance in the market competition is not as successful as that of their peers from the upper class. They are judged as a group who 'stay comfortable and are afraid of the challenge of globalization' (Lin, 2015a, p. 31). Focusing on this phenomenon, Lin reveals that the idea of the 'strawberry generation' is not a negative stereotype for all Taiwanese young people who

---

[4] This term is mostly used to criticize those young Taiwanese who were born in the 1980s generation. For the dominant group in the Taiwanese labour market, this group of young people has a very low threshold for stress tolerance in the workplace. Their mental strength is like a strawberry, which is easily damaged by the environment.

were born in the 1980s. It is actually a bourgeois ideology which leads working-class youth to be labelled as losers in Taiwan's market competition.

In Lin's research, the term 'strawberry generation' is interpreted as referring to the class conflict within the Taiwanese social system. This conflict actually reflects the fact that free market competition has established a criterion to assess a person's identity in Taiwanese society. This phenomenon, in my view, also implies that the social principles in Taiwan are strongly influenced by neoliberal ideology. As argued by Palley (2005), the free market is an authoritative system for neoliberal adherents. They believe that this system 'will not let valuable factors of production (including labour) go to waste. Instead, prices will adjust to ensure that demand is forthcoming and all factors are employed' (Palley, 2005, p. 20). That is, the free market is regarded as the most balanced and neutral system, which is used to evaluate the value of each object or person. In this system, agents not only need to commodify themselves in order to quantify their value in terms of money, but they also have to compete with each other to demonstrate their personal value. Hence, competition is considered to be the crucial rule in the neoliberal system.

Even though competition may reflect individual value effectively, it also causes hostility between people within the same social system. While discussing the definition of success in today's society, Pahl (1995) observes that people nowadays are encouraged to accumulate private wealth through market competition. This social principle, which is based on competition, increases the gap between rich and poor. Meanwhile, it also increases the hostility between people in society. This hostility, in Pahl's view, originates from people's fear of becoming 'losers'. To avoid this negative identity, individuals are forced to defeat others via the accumulation of wealth. Their purpose is to be recognized as a successful person. Therefore, Pahl (1995) maintains that the definition of success in a neoliberal context should not be interpreted as an achievement. The reason is that the origin of success nowadays actually comes from people's fear of the loser identity. As such, success should be defined as a neurosis caused by eagerness for wealth and the fear of being a 'loser.'

Pahl's analysis of the competition within the neoliberal system can be used to explain the prejudice against young people in Taiwanese society. As discovered by Jian (2012), most young Taiwanese are labelled as incompetent by employers or experienced co-workers due to having less experience. This negative stereotype then becomes an excuse for employers to make them low salary offers. What is more, most of these employers were born in the Baby Boom Generation. Hence, 'their prejudice against Taiwanese youths further causes intergenerational injustice and the gap between rich and poor in Taiwanese society' (Jian, 2012, p. 173). Refuting this prejudice in order to earn a higher salary, Taiwanese young people must compete with each other in the labour market. This atmosphere leads a segment of Taiwanese youth to regard their colleagues as competitors instead of comrades. They are hostile towards each other in the workplace. As such, Jian (2012) reveals that all agents, regardless of whether they are employers or employees, are hostile towards each other in the Taiwanese labour market because of economic competition. This type of social connection obviously reflects Pahl's view about the negative impact of competition on the social system. Therefore, the prejudice against Taiwanese young people, expressed through epithets such as 'strawberry generation' and 'incompetent', should be traced back to the competition within the neoliberal system.

The studies cited above concern how these socio-economic issues, such as intergenerational injustice and the gap between rich and poor, lead the dominant group in Taiwanese society to criticize Taiwanese young people. That is to say, the prejudice against Taiwanese young people is currently discussed from a macro perspective. Few, if any, studies analyse these negative stereotypes that impact upon Taiwanese young people's self-reflection. To fill this research gap, I plan to discuss how Taiwanese working holidaymakers reflect on the prejudice they face in Taiwan, and how these judgements affect the process of their identity formation. Like other Taiwanese young people, those who engage in working holidays in Australia are also labelled as 'losers' in the Taiwanese labour market. As noted in Chapter One, the economic recession in Taiwan and generational injustice has caused most young Taiwanese nowadays to be faced with a low salary and/or poor working

conditions (Lin et al., 2011; Haepp & Hsin, 2016). Hence, when these young Taiwanese leave their country and engage in low-skilled jobs in Australia under a Working Holiday Visa, their low economic rewards on the Taiwanese labour market leads them to be taunted as 'Tai-Lao'[5] by the beneficiaries of Taiwan's neoliberal system.

The Tai-Lao identity, which is the central theme of Chapter Four, is the most common prejudice against working holidaymakers in Taiwanese society. On 12 September 2012, Yang (2012) published an article in *Business Today* and used the term 'Tai-Lao' to criticize these young Taiwanese. Because of this article, this negative stereotype started to be widely discussed in Taiwanese society. This negative identity is used to criticize those young Taiwanese, who engage in working holidays in Australia, as 'losers' in the Taiwanese labour market. Yang (2012) reveals that most of these young Taiwanese in Australia engage in low-skilled and labour-intensive jobs. Some of them have even experienced racial discrimination in Australia. For the beneficiary group in Taiwan's market competition, these problems that Taiwanese working holidaymakers meet in Australia are similar to Southeast Asian migrant workers' situation in Taiwan. Both groups are eliminated from the market system in their home countries due to a lack of individual capability. In Taiwanese society, the term 'Wai-Lao' is a Chinese way to address these Southeast Asian migrant workers. Hence, those Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia are taunted as Tai-Lao in Taiwanese society.

This negative stereotype can actually be analysed using Dixon and Levine's (2012) research on prejudice. They define prejudice as an intergroup conflict which is built upon unequal power relations. This conflict leads one social group to be perceived from 'a particular social vantage point' (Dixon & Levine, 2012, p. 13) by the out-group. Those young Taiwanese who choose to be working holidaymakers in Australia are a similar age group. Also, they engage in the same social practice (a working holiday). These similarities lead these Taiwanese to be regarded as a distinct social group within Taiwanese society. Most of all, most of these young Taiwanese are judged as 'losers' in the Taiwanese labour market. That is to say, the reason why these young

---

[5] Tai-Lao is a Chinese term which means low-skilled Taiwanese migrant workers in developed countries.

Taiwanese are looked down upon is not the working holiday itself. It is because they have difficulty in earning money within the Taiwanese labour market before engaging in their working holiday. This means that the Tai-Lao identity can be considered as a prejudice which springs from young people's loser identity in the Taiwanese neoliberal system.

To analyse Taiwanese working holidaymakers' self-reflection on the Tai-Lao identity, I will draw upon Giddens' ideas of reflexivity and knowledgeability. As Giddens (1984) defines them, reflexivity and knowledgeability are people's abilities to have a conversation with the social principles of a society. 'Reflexivity hence should be understood not merely as self-consciousness but as the monitored character of the ongoing flow of social life' (Giddens, 1984, p. 3). Hence, although social structures constrain people's behaviour, they are still able to act upon, ignore, or change what they do within that system via their reflexivity. Meanwhile, knowledgeability, in Giddens' view, refers to a person's awareness of his or her own practice. This concept can be further classified as 'discursive consciousness, practical consciousness, and unconscious motives/cognition' (Giddens, 1984, p. 7). Discursive consciousness means that those individuals are capable of developing arguments to explain their motivation for their practice. Practical consciousness means those agents who are capable of making choices. Nevertheless, they need to be guided by someone's questions in order to develop an explanation for their motivations for their practice. Unconscious motives/cognition means those people who react because of the influence of social circumstances. However, they are incapable of developing logical arguments to explain their motivation.

Examining current research on prejudice, it appears that the ideas of reflexivity and knowledgeability have been used to discuss the prejudice against those British young people who choose apprenticeships rather than university in UK society. By analysing interviewees' narrative focus, Ryan and Lőrinc (2018) demonstrate these young people's reflexivity and knowledgeability about this prejudice. As argued by these two researchers, apprenticeships in the UK are regarded as involving 'low pay and inconsistent training' (p. 1). Therefore, those young people who engage in apprenticeships

are associated with a group of people who 'are going to be jobless and unsuccessful' (Ryan & Lőrinc, 2018, p. 10). However, these young British people do not accept this negative stereotype. For them, although 'going to university has become normalized' (Ryan & Lőrinc, 2018, p. 2), it cannot guarantee graduate-level employment. Additionally, the tuition fees for university in the UK are quite expensive. In comparison, those British young people who choose apprenticeships regard them as 'a practical good way to go' (Ryan & Lőrinc, 2018, p. 13). They believe that an apprenticeship is an opportunity to learn job skills and can lead them to be financially independent earlier.

As noted above, those British young people in apprenticeships choose to refute the prejudice against them within UK society. Financial independence is the advantage which these young people use to develop their arguments. These arguments are actually built upon their self-perception and their experience of apprenticeships. Based on this qualitative data, Ryan and Lőrinc (2018) reveal that most individuals do not accept negative stereotypes when they themselves are stigmatized in a social system. Instead, they may choose to reject them with reflexivity and knowledgeability. Inspired by this study, I am aware that the prejudice against working holidaymakers in Taiwanese society should not simply be examined from a socio-economic perspective. Regardless of whether these young Taiwanese reject their social identities in Taiwan or not, most of them develop their own explanations of 'Tai-Lao' and 'losers'. These statements can be regarded as a demonstration of their reflexivity and knowledgeability they use to develop their self-identities. Hence, I suggest that the influence of these negative stereotypes on the identity formation of those young Taiwanese who engage in working holidays in Australia is worth further consideration.

2.2 The Interpretation of Jobs among Working Holidaymakers

Reflexivity and knowledgeability are abilities which individuals use to examine their own experiences within a social system. Therefore, to understand the identity formation of those young Taiwanese who engage in working holidays in Australia, considering their work and life experience in Australia is quite important. The purpose of this section is to present how

work experience is discussed in current research on working holidays. I plan to separate these studies into four categories. Firstly, I will discuss how working rights cause working holidaymakers to have a different social identity from backpackers. Secondly, I attempt to reveal how working holidaymakers' work experience is assessed within an Asian cultural context. I will further explore how Bourdieu's ([1997] 2003) idea of cultural capital can be deployed to interpret the value of the work experience that Taiwanese working holidaymakers gain in Australia. Thirdly, within current research on cosmopolitanism, I am going to discuss the reasons why spending time in the West is considered to be valuable experience for those East Asian working holidaymakers who declare themselves to be cosmopolitans. Meanwhile, I will also show how this impact affects Taiwanese working holidaymakers' assessment of their work opportunities in Australia. Finally, this section will illustrate how Hage's ([1998] 2000) concept of national capital and Massey's (1991) power-geometry theory can feed into the discussion about ethnic inequality in the workplace. I want to suggest that this inequality may be a crucial factor influencing the identity formation of Taiwanese working holidaymakers.

2.2.1 The boundary between the working holidaymaker and backpacker

Current research on working holidaymakers reflects that working while travelling leads the boundary between work and leisure to become blurred. Uriely (2001) examines the boundary between work and leisure by classifying work and travel into four types: 'travelling professional workers; migrant tourism workers; non-institutionalised working tourists; and working-holiday tourists' (Uriely, 2001, p. 1). 'Non-institutionalised' in Uriely's research means those workers or travellers who do not arrange their schedule in accordance with plans made by work or travel agencies and companies. According to Uriely, travelling professional workers and migrant tourism workers are also considered to be 'travelling workers' (Uriely, 2001, p. 1). Non-institutionalized working tourists and working holiday tourists are defined as 'working tourists' (Uriely, 2001, p. 1). In Uriely's view, the major difference between travelling workers and working tourists is motivation. Travelling workers are travelling for jobs, while the reason working tourists travel is for leisure.

In light of this motivational difference, Uriely (2001) further proposes that working tourists specifically plan to enjoy independent travel through work. They pay more attention to their tourism experience in Australia than their earnings from jobs. For non-institutionalized working tourists, 'in order to finance their prolonged trip, they also tend to engage in occasional and usually short-term employment as they travel' (Uriely, 2001, p. 4). That is to say, the reason why non-institutionalized working tourists seek jobs is to generate the financial support for their journeys. Hence, the jobs in which these travellers invest themselves are usually not related to their education, training or skills. As such, working holiday tourists are classified as working tourists. They consider work to be a leisure activity instead of a contract between employees and employers. What working holiday tourists pursue is experience, not income.

Examining Uriely's research, I suggest that his arguments may oversimplify the role of jobs and income in the working holiday experience. For Uriely, a job is interpreted as a way to engage in cultural exploration by working holidaymakers. Nevertheless, Uriely more or less ignores the fact that a job is mostly understood as a social behaviour for generating income. The reason why these working holidaymakers work is not simply for cultural exploration, it is also in order to earn money as part of the labour force. This motivation actually leads them to distinguish themselves from other independent travellers. Drawing on semi-structured interviews, Brennan (2014) analyses the extent to which the working holiday is related to backpacking travel in Australia in working holidaymakers' self-perception. As maintained by Brennan, despite the fact that both backpackers and working holidaymakers complete their journeys on a limited budget, working holidaymakers 'have a legal right to work' (Brennan, 2014, p. 94) in Australia. In contrast, 'getting something for nothing' (Brennan, 2014, p. 101) is the only strategy that backpackers use for their independent travel. In other words, work is considered to be the boundary between a working holiday and backpacking travel in a Western cultural context.

2.2.2 Cosmopolitan attitudes and the value of the West in East Asian workplaces

In comparison, the work experience that working holidaymakers gain during their travels becomes a criterion used to judge their achievements in an East Asian cultural context. As presented in Yoon's (2014) research, young Koreans who are defined as successful working holidaymakers after returning to Korea always describe their travel experience in Western countries as global experience in order to catch an employer's eye. That is to say, working holidays in the Korean cultural context are associated with a person's competitiveness in the labour market. These young Koreans' work experience during their working holiday was not gained simply for cultural exploration or to cover travel expenses. It also becomes a bargaining chip for Korean working holidaymakers. They need this experience to demonstrate their value in Korea's market competition after returning home. Examining the interview data, Yoon (2014) reports that working with Western colleagues is regarded as global experience by the dominant group in the Korean labour market. Thus, while engaging in a working holiday in Canada, most Korean working holidaymakers dream of working in those workplaces, such as Starbucks or Canadian-owned small businesses. The reason is that most of these workplaces are composed of Westerners, especially Anglophone Canadians. For Korean young people, these colleagues can make their working holiday experience valuable in the Korean labour market.

Yoon's research reveals that Western culture is valuable cultural capital in the Korean labour market. According to Bourdieu's analysis of cultural capital, this form of capital can be classified into three states: objectified, institutionalized, and embodied. The objectified state means cultural goods, such as paintings and antiques. The institutionalized state means the certification that is endowed by a neutral institution to validate a person's educational attainments. The embodied state means cultural knowledge, such as language skills, within a social structure. Differently from the first two states, embodied cultural capital cannot be 'transmitted instantaneously by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange' (Bourdieu, [1997] 2003, p. 48). It takes time for agents to incorporate cultural knowledge into their practices. In Yoon's research, Korean working holidaymakers need to spend time

interacting with those colleagues from the Western culture in the workplace. By this method, they are able to improve their English language skills and grasp the rules in the Canadian workplace. As such, the knowledge that these Korean working holidaymakers acquire from the Canadian workplace can be regarded as embodied cultural capital. In the Korean labour market, this cultural capital from Western society is interpreted as having a global perspective and is admired as valuable experience by the dominant group.

A similar phenomenon can also be perceived in Japanese society. Focusing on Japanese independent travellers, Anderson et al. (2000) argue that they can be broadly classified into three types, depending on their motivations. The first type is the careerists. This type of young Japanese assess their journey from a utilitarian perspective. They expend effort in learning skills that will be helpful for their future career during the journey. The second type is the collectors. They regard independent travel as a journey for collection. These Japanese independent travellers do not merely collect different cultural experiences and souvenirs, they also regard them as prestige and novelty. The last type is the mainstreamers. This type of Japanese backpacker is similar to those Western backpackers who engage in independent travel for cultural exploration. They prefer Western things without utility. These three types of Japanese independent travellers have great admiration for Western culture, especially the careerist type. Similarly to the Korean working holidaymakers mentioned by Yoon (2014), the careerist type of Japanese young people also regard the cultural capital gained in Western society as an advantage on the Japanese labour market. They believe that the cultural capital they accumulate in Westerners' workplace can take their career to a higher level after they return to their home countries.

Integrating the studies above, we can see that Western culture has been capitalized in East Asian society. This cultural capital becomes a criterion which is used by the dominant group in East Asian society to examine a person's global perspective. In addition to Korea and Japan, this principle also exists in Taiwan. Although Taiwan was not colonized by Western countries during the modern era, the USA has always played an auxiliary role to help the Taiwanese government maintain Taiwan's sovereignty. This international

relationship not only leads the Taiwanese to place Westerners in a superior position to themselves, but it also inspires the Taiwanese to develop a global perspective from the Western perspective. In other words, the West is believed to be a superior civilization in an East Asian cultural context. This phenomenon, in my view, can actually be explained by the current discussion on cosmopolitanism and the value of the West in East Asian society.

Being cosmopolitan is an identity that originates in the contemporary rise of globalization. As maintained by Beck (2002), this concept is a worldview which reveals that 'globalization is a non-linear, dialectic process in which the global and the local do not exist as cultural polarities but as combined and mutually implicating principles' (Beck, 2002, p. 17). This means that the idea of cosmopolitanism focuses on cultural diversity and equality. Each individual should have equal rights and value regardless of his or her cultural background. Vertovec and Cohen (2002) further argue that cosmopolitanism nowadays is interpreted from different perspectives. Some researchers define cosmopolitanism as 'global democracy and world citizenship' (p. 1). For them, it is a system which is superior to the nation-state model. However, others suggest that cosmopolitanism is actually a 'new transnational framework' (p. 1). That is to say, cosmopolitanism should be regarded as a fairly new international relation and cannot replace the current role of the nation in today's global order. What is more, in order to examine the influence of cosmopolitanism from a micro-perspective, some researchers further associate it with personal identity. In their view, cosmopolitanism is considered to be an identity which 'challenges conventional notions of belongings, identity, and citizenship' (p. 1). The reason is that the cosmopolitan identity is built upon a sense of globality instead of cultural or group belonging. Additionally, cosmopolitanism is also considered as the individual capacity for 'engaging cultural multiplicity' (p. 1). This ability means the extent to which people are able to tolerate different cultures, and how they reconcile the conflicts caused by cultural diversity.

In this thesis, I am aware that cosmopolitanism can be defined as the capital that young Taiwanese try to accumulate during their working holidays in Australia. This phenomenon can actually be traced back to the unequal

power relations between the West and East Asian countries. Hage ([1998] 2000) proposed the term 'the White nation fantasy' (p. 18) to criticize the current development of cosmopolitanism. Examining cultural interactions in Australia, Hage argues that the power relations between different races leads White people to establish 'a space structured around a White culture' (Hage, [1998] 2000, p. 18) when they emphasize cultural diversity. As such, cosmopolitanism nowadays is actually shaped by Westerners' fantasies about the world. This worldview encourages Westerners to demonstrate their tolerance and generosity to those non-westerners who were classified as the inferior ethnic groups in the past colonial order. Due to the lack of cultural equality, cosmopolitanism for Hage is an extension of colonial globalism instead of cultural diversity.

The influence of Western culture on cosmopolitanism also affects Asian people's understanding of the concept. Interviewing Asian backpackers and working holidaymakers in Australia and Vietnam, Bui et al. (2013) examine how these independent travellers cater to their imagination of the West with their travel experience. They declare that most Asian independent travellers associate the West with 'modernity, progress, and advancement' (Bui et al., 2013, p. 134). Therefore, they dream of pursuing a cosmopolitan identity from Western perspectives. For these young Asians, this identity implies prestige. The cosmopolitan identity, which is built upon colonial perspectives, can do more than just help these young Asians to gain a positive judgement in their own countries. This identity also becomes a criterion by which they perceive their own travel experience. As such, their motivation for being cosmopolitans continually encourages these Asian independent travellers to accumulate cultural capital in Western society during their travels.

Cosmopolitanism, as a Western attitude, is conceived of as superior under the influence of the Western world over the non-Western. For example, Ho et al. (2014) examine young Taiwanese people's understanding of the working holiday and their motivations for engaging in it. Analysing their questionnaire data using means-end theory, Ho et al. argue that most Taiwanese working holidaymakers attempt to experience different cultures, to broaden their horizons, and to build self-confidence during their travels in

Australia. What is more, according to the data from this research, these Taiwanese young people believe that exploring Western culture can satisfy these three purposes. Similarly to other working holidaymakers from East Asian countries, these young Taiwanese also associate the cosmopolitan identity with Western culture and regard it as a superior identity in Taiwanese society.

2.2.3 Ethnic inequality and power-geometry in the West

The prevalence of Westernized cosmopolitanism further affects how Asian working holidaymakers assess job choices in Australia depending on ethnicity. As noted in the previous discussion, young Korean working holidaymakers prefer specific workplaces which are composed of Westerners (Yoon, 2014). In their opinion, these jobs, such as waiter/waitress in Starbucks or workers in Canadian-owned small businesses, are jobs for Westerners, especially for Anglophone Canadians. According to the interview data for this thesis, Taiwanese working holidaymakers also have the same understanding of their job choices in Australia. Similarly to the Korean working holidaymakers in Yoon's research, these young Taiwanese believe that jobs in service industries in Australia, such as coffee-shop waiter/waitress, constitute Westerners' work opportunities. Most Taiwanese can only engage in primary industry jobs, such as fruit pickers or factory butchers, in Australia (Yang, 2012). This understanding obviously implies that the labour market in Western countries does exhibit ethnic inequality.

This problem was also confirmed by Li (2018a) when he investigated the situation of second-generation ethnic minorities in the UK labour market. Drawing on quantitative research methods, Li (2018a) examines whether second-generation ethnic minorities are unequally treated based on income, labour-market position, and family poverty. Unfortunately, his research hypothesis is significant. Li (2018a) argues that 'in both aspects of life-course trajectory, ethnic minorities are found to face much greater risks than do their equally qualified white peers' (p. 19). This means that White people, in comparison with other ethnic groups, do have an advantage in the labour market when they stay in Western countries. In another study, Li (2018b) further validates that the ethnic inequality in the UK labour market has

already become an ethnic hierarchy, 'running from Indian, Chinese, black Caribbean, Pakistani/Bangladeshi to black African groups' (p. 1). Breaking away from this hierarchy in the labour market is a big challenge for ethnic minority groups in the UK.

The ethnic inequality in Western society can be explained using Hage's idea of national capital. According to Hage ([1998] 2000), this form of capital means the cultural capital which can be converted into national belonging. Most of the time, national capital is formulated by the dominant cultural group within a nation. 'Resources and assets such as language knowledge, accent or light skin' can be defined as national capital (Erel, 2010, p. 644). In other words, the national capital in each country is correlated with the power relations between different ethnicities in that country. Within this concept, Hage ([1998] 2000) argues that White people's culture should be regarded as the national capital in Australia. The reason is that the unequal power relations between different ethnic groups in Australia lead White people to be the dominant group. In comparison with other cultures, White people's culture is the mainstream in Australia and is considered more valuable in the labour market. Drawing on Hage's argument, I suggest that Taiwanese working holidaymakers may have difficulty in choosing some specific jobs due to their lack of national capital in Australia. This difficulty may further affect the ethnic distribution in working holidaymakers' workplaces and leads these Taiwanese young people to associate job categories with ethnicity.

As noted in current research, working holidays can be defined as global mobility (Muzaini, 2006; Nagai et al., 2018; Kawashima, 2010). Therefore, to understand Taiwanese working holidaymakers' job choices in Australia, Massey's (1991) idea of power-geometry can be useful. Massey illustrates that globalization has accelerated time-space compression and has caused people to engage frequently with international mobility. Therefore, a power relationship between different social groups is gradually becoming influential within global mobility. This relationship, in Massey's words, is called power-geometry. Because of this interconnection, 'some people are more in charge of it [mobility] than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving-end of it [mobility] than others; some are

effectively imprisoned by it [mobility]' (Massey, 1991, p. 26). Hence, the idea of power-geometry is used to explain how different social categories are allocated to different positions within global mobility.

Teo and Leong's (2006) research on female backpackers demonstrates how the idea of power-geometry can be applied to independent travel. As revealed by their research, most female backpackers from Asian countries have the experience of being judged as exotic or erotic visitors by local people in Khao San[6]. Exploring the reason behind this stereotype, Teo and Leong explain that local people in Khao San 'perceive Western women backpackers as independent and brave' (Teo & Leong, 2006, p. 124). In contrast, Asian women are 'viewed as dependent and vulnerable' (Teo & Leong 2006, p. 124). Additionally, local people in Khao San also believe that female backpackers from Western countries as a group have better purchasing power than other female backpackers from Asian countries. The reason is that Western countries, in their view, have political power over other countries. Therefore, they avoid offending Western backpackers in order to make a good impression. Obviously, although both Asian women and Western women engage in backpacking travel in Khao San, they are endowed with different social identities and are treated differently by local people. This inequality is coherent with Massey's idea of power-geometry. It clearly reflects how the power relations between Western countries and Asian countries affect local people's impression of guests in Khao San.

Considering Teo and Leong's research, it can be assumed that the power-geometry may not simply work at the boundary between hosts and guests. Their lack of national capital in Australian society may also lead Taiwanese working holidaymakers' jobs choices in the labour market to be influenced by the power-geometry in the global order. Within this thesis, I plan to discuss Taiwanese working holidaymakers' impressions of occupational employment by race and ethnicity in Australia. I attempt to explore what kind of jobs are regarded as jobs for Chinese by these young Taiwanese, and what kind of jobs are considered to be jobs for Westerners. Through this analysis, I will demonstrate how those Taiwanese working holidaymakers shape their

---

[6] Khao San is a road located in Bangkok, the capital of Thailand. This road is a famous backpacking destinations for independent travelers.

self-identities based on the ethnic groups that they work with in Australia, and how these identities change the Tai-Lao identity into an internal conflict between Taiwanese working holidaymakers.

2.3 Working Holidaymakers' Identity Formation in Everyday Life

In addition to work, leisure time also plays a crucial role in the identity formation of Taiwanese working holidaymakers. The purpose of this section is to discuss how independent travellers' practice of everyday life is discussed by current researchers, and what sociological theories can be used to develop the discussion further. This section is categorized into two aspects. First, I will demonstrate how researchers currently reveal the influence of colonial globalism on cosmopolitanism by examining independent travellers' everyday lives during their travel. Second, I will review the current literature to discuss how backpackers lead people to recognize them as backpackers by their social practices. Meanwhile, I plan to explain how Bauman's (2004) concept of 'liquid modernity' and Goffman's ([1959] 1990) dramaturgical theory can be used to analyse working holidaymakers' identity performance.

2.3.1 Colonial perspectives and the characteristics of ethnic groups

When interpreting travellers' practice of everyday life, current tourism research mainly focuses on the influence of colonial perspectives and the characteristics of ethnic groups. Korpela (2010) examines Western backpackers' interpretations of traditional Indian music when they engage in independent travel there. He argues that the way in which these Westerners understand Indian culture actually implies 'the colonial imagination' (Korpela, 2010, p. 1299). According to Korpela's research, Western backpackers prefer classical, traditional Indian music and are less interested in those Indian performers who mix modern elements with the traditional music. For these Westerners, this type of performance is simply borrowing elements from Western music, implying that 'Indian people are not capable of preserving their own musical heritage' (Korpela, 2010, p. 1311). This interpretation, in Korpela's view, reflects a colonizer's perspective on non-western culture. These Western backpackers are pursuing 'the frozen past' (Korpela, 2010, p. 1311) to cater to their imagination, which is established within colonial perspectives. Hence, they reject to appreciate how Indian people reinterpret

traditional Indian culture. For Western backpackers, this interpretation is a way to destroy the tradition.

Taking music appreciation as an example, Korpela's research reveals that Western independent travellers may comment on their travel experiences from a colonial perspective without knowing it. This problem is also reflected by Snee (2014), when she analyses British independent travellers' consumption preferences and route arrangements. Drawing on frame analysis, Snee discovers that British independent travellers prefer to demonstrate their cultural tolerance in order to emphasize their cosmopolitan identities. They may buy products from non-Western culture because these are regarded as exotic goods. Meanwhile, these British young people also like destinations with fewer modern facilities. For them, these places can be associated with an 'undiscovered land' (Snee, 2014, p.88) and are endowed with exotic meanings. Travelling around these places is understood as an adventure by these British independent travellers. Snee argues that the way in which these Westerners demonstrate their cultural tolerance actually implies 'a colonizing eye' (Snee, 2014, p. 91). Although cosmopolitanism focuses on cultural diversity and cultural tolerance, this idea in the Western cultural context is actually an extension of colonialism.

What is more, as declared by Maoz (2007), 'although the range of nationalities represented is growing, backpackers are still predominantly of Western origin and culture' (p. 124). This means that current research about backpacking travel is western-oriented. As such, this international mobility is regarded as an undifferentiated phenomenon. Yet, this focus has been challenged by research focusing on Asian independent travellers (Nagai et al., 2018; Paris et al., 2015). These researchers attempt to present cultural diversity through Asian travellers' practice of everyday life. Paris et al. (2015) investigate the similarities and differences between Asian and Australasian backpackers from a cultural perspective. Drawing upon quantitative research methods and collected questionnaire data in Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok, and Krabi Province, Thailand, Paris et al. (2015) report that both Asian and Australasian backpackers are willing to spend money on a 'once in a lifetime experience' (p. 188). Meanwhile, 78% of research participants in both groups

agree that interacting with other backpackers is a crucial part of their journey. Both Asian and Australasian backpackers regard helping each other as the most unforgettable experience of their travels.

These results from Paris et al.'s study reflect that Asian and Australasian backpackers share a consensus about backpacking culture. Nevertheless, there are still some differences between Asian and Australasian backpackers due to their different cultural backgrounds. As presented by Paris et al. (2015), backpackers from Australasia are very interested in 'parties, drinking and sex' (p. 189) and have flexible travel plans. In contrast, Asian backpackers prefer to insist on their travel schedule and complete it step by step. Hence, Paris et al. conceive that backpackers from Australasia have more aspirations for adventure than backpackers from Asian countries. That is to say, Paris et al.'s research clearly reflects how the characteristics of different ethnic groups are presented in their practices of everyday life during independent travel.

Nagai et al. (2018) further illustrate the distinction between Asian working holidaymakers and Western independent travellers by exploring their accommodation preferences. Drawing on a mixed methods approach, the article reports that cleanliness, safety, cultural and language barriers, and unfamiliarity are four significant factors which affect Asian working holidaymakers' accommodation preferences. As reported in this article, Asian working holidaymakers are inclined to live with people from a similar cultural background instead of staying with people from an unfamiliar culture. Therefore, Asian working holidaymakers prefer living in shared houses with other Asians. They are less interested in the backpacker hostels which are commonly chosen by Western independent travellers. The authors argue that this accommodation preference actually reflects the cultural difference between Asian working holidaymakers and Western independent travellers. For Westerners, a backpacker hostel is a good place to experience cultural diversity. Nevertheless, Asian working holidaymakers worry that cultural diversity may bring inconveniences or even conflicts into everyday life.

Both Paris et al. and Nagai et al. emphasize the uniqueness of Asian independent travellers by comparing the differences between Western

backpackers and Asian backpackers. Nevertheless, even though comparative research can clearly reflect Asian backpackers' uniqueness, these arguments are actually based on the context of Western culture. Nagai et al.'s (2018) research can be considered as an example. As discussed above, they demonstrate the uniqueness of Asian working holidaymakers' practice of everyday life by comparison. Specifically, the reason why Asian working holidaymakers' accommodation preferences are assessed as unique is that their choices are different from those of Western working holidaymakers. Nagai et al. ignore how Asian working holidaymakers interpret different forms of accommodation through their own cultural background. This interpretation obviously labels shared houses as the accommodation type for Asian working holidaymakers based on the Western cultural context. As such, I suggest that the research described above does reflect how independent travel works in non-Western cultures. However, those statements are still developed from Western perspectives.

2.3.2 Liquid modernity and dramaturgical theory

To avoid interpreting independent travel from a single cultural perspective, researchers nowadays focus more on travellers' identity formation according to their social practices (Walsh & Tucker, 2009; Jayne et al., 2012; O'Regan, 2016). These researchers try to explore how these independent travellers build their self-identities through tourism experiences. Walsh and Tucker (2009) draw on actor network theory to demonstrate how backpacking inspires young independent travellers to define themselves as backpackers. Although the backpack is a material object, it 'organizes backpacking tourism in many complex and subtle ways' (Walsh & Tucker, 2009, p. 235). As such, this object is associated with the backpacker identity and becomes a symbol of backpacking travel. Therefore, the backpack is regarded as the most important equipment by independent travellers wanting to perform as backpackers.

Moreover, O'Regan (2016) argues that how to 'dress remains an important aspect of a secondary socialization that, in an evolving process, leads to specific (western) backpacker habitus' (p. 329). Drawing on Bourdieu's idea of habitus and cultural capital, his study focuses on how the

backpacker identity is performed through clothing. As presented in O'Regan's (2016) research, some Western backpackers in Nepal may prefer to dress like locals in order to make a connection between Nepal and themselves. Others may regard local outfit as cultural capital and accumulate it to compete with their peers. These interactions demonstrate that dress is used by these young Westerners to perform the backpacker identity during their independent travel. Nevertheless, backpacking, I argue, is simply a tourism strategy for independent travellers. It is not the identity which these young people try to pursue. That is, backpacking is actually the social practice which people engage in for other self-identities.

Regarding backpacking travel as an activity instead of an identity, O'Reilly (2009) further analyses the social structures behind backpacking travel. Looking through Bauman's idea of liquid modernity, she demonstrates how this structure shapes backpackers' identity. In Bauman's view, there are three types of social structures in human history: 'traditional society, solid modernity, and liquid modernity' (O'Reilly, 2009). Traditional society is established by long-term habituation, such as 'rigid hierarchy, traditional loyalties, and customary rights' (Bauman, 2004, p. 3). In contrast, solid modernity is established 'in economic terms' (Bauman, 2004, p. 4). This structure is used to reformulate traditional orders and to release people 'from their old ties and obligations [and they] were simply expected to locate themselves in new patterns' (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 103). Taken as a whole, both traditional society and solid modernity pursue stability, but they are organized in different ways. However, when it comes to liquid modernity, the power of the solid structure has been lost through uncertainty and risk due to the rise of globalization. According to Bauman, liquid modernity is the form of our social system nowadays. Agents start to pursue an 'individualized, privatized version of modernity' (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 103). This means that people within a liquid structure do not put consensus or social values in first place. They will emphasize personal goals and establish personal values which may be irrelevant to social expectations.

In O'Reilly's research, backpacking travel is regarded as the global

mobility in liquid modernity. Those young people who engage in this activity do not have common goals during their travels. They simply 'seek out, or hunt, personal privatized good life' (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 104). That is to say, backpackers' purpose is to escape from a typical routine life and pursue the lifestyle they dream of having. As such, current tourism researchers reveal that independent travel is imbued with sacred meaning by these travel lovers (Bui et al., 2013; Tsai & Collins, 2017). Within this activity, they are able to leave behind the pressures and constraints of everyday life for a while. This freedom provides these independent travellers with an opportunity to 'individualize self-development' (Tsai & Collins, 2017, p. 129) during their travels. This means that the liquid structure lying behind independent travel leads those travellers to choose what kind of person he or she wants to be with fewer social constraints, such as family expectations or a job progression plan. Therefore, the self in daily life, for these travellers, is much more profane than the self in the travel.

As maintained by Lawler (2014), 'Identity itself is a social and collective process and not, as Western traditions would have it, a unique and individual process' (p. 2). This statement reflects the idea that identity is shaped by the social principles in a social system. It is not a fixed thing which is innately owned by agents. Goffman ([1959] 1990) further discussed this point of view using the dramaturgical metaphor. Comparing the social system to the stage, Goffman argues that agents in the social system are similar to players on the stage. Both groups are required to display a series of masks to others. These masks, in Goffman's view, are identities shaped through collective impressions.

According to Goffman's dramaturgical metaphor, all of these identities are like characters in a play. Each agent performs it in accordance with social expectations (or, we could say, audience expectations). Take backpackers as an example; some of them may insist on travelling with a backpack (Walsh & Tucker, 2009). Others may prefer local dress to demonstrate cultural tolerance (O'Regan, 2016). These behaviours actually belong to parts of people's impression of backpackers. When agents hope to be recognized as backpackers, they need to behave like these to cater to the public image of backpackers. In other words, these people are performing as backpackers

based on social expectations, instead of owning this identity innately.

When staying in different social situations, we can predict that agents may behave differently for different identities. However, this does not mean that people always need to meet each other with a mask made by social constraints. The reason is that the self, for Goffman, is actually composed of masks. This argument is further applied by Bullingham and Vasconcelos (2013) to study online identities. As reported by them, 'the individual is not becoming somebody else when s/he does this. Both the mask worn and the hidden person behind it are facets of the same individual' (p. 102). That is to say, there is no fixed self-identity behind the roles which people play online. The roles are just the performers themselves. Although people are sometimes able to feel at ease on some occasions, this feeling does not mean that they are performing their real/fixed self at that moment.

A similar phenomenon can also be perceived in current research on tourism studies. As noted above, Bui et al. (2013) discovered that most Asian independent travellers regard their travel as a 'sacred journey' (p. 130). Tsai and Collins (2017) considered independent travel as an opportunity to 'individualize self-development' (p. 129). Both of these statements reveal that these independent travellers feel that they are being their real selves during the travel. However, according to Goffman's dramaturgical theory, I argue that these travellers are still performing the identity instead of owning it innately. The reason why they feel relaxed is that the liquid social structure behind independent travel brings fewer social constraints for these agents. Therefore, people may feel relaxed and believe that they are being themselves.

To explain the relation between the mask and the self, Goffman proposes two further concepts. One is the profane identity; the other is the sacred identity. According to Goffman, the profane identity means those identities which are 'tainted by the social' (Lawler, 2014, p. 123). This type of identity is strongly constrained by social principles. In contrast, the sacred identity is 'pure, untainted by the social' (Lawler, 2014, p. 123). It is an identity which people can perform of their own free will with fewer social constraints. While analysing online identity, Bullingham and Vasconcelos (2013)

noticed the influence of the boundary between these two types of identities on people's presentation of the self. They report that most bloggers and Second Life[7] users may present an appearance or identity online which is entirely different from their identity in the real world. These bloggers and Second Life users 'mostly cannot act in real life as they want to do because of family pressure or society pressure' (p. 108). This finding reveals that the identity performed by people in the real world is always shaped by social constraints. Each individual has to perform themselves in light of others' expectations. As such, a person's identity in the real world can be defined as the profane identity. In contrast, the bloggers and Second Life users in Bullingham and Vasconcelos' research are able to decide what kind of person they want to be in the virtual world based on their own free will. In comparison with the real world, they feel that their identity performance in the virtual world is less restricted by social expectations. Therefore, these people's online identity is closer to Goffman's idea of a sacred identity.

In addition to online identity, I want to suggest that Goffman's idea of the sacred identity is also coherent with the identities that Taiwanese working holidaymakers perform in everyday life while they are staying in Australia. Engaging in global mobility, these Taiwanese young people move within a relatively liquid structure. Being less restricted by the social structure, they have more opportunities to choose the identity they prefer and to perform it based on their understanding of the preferred identity. Drawing on Goffman's view of identity performance, this thesis will analyse how Taiwanese working holidaymakers choose and perform their self-identity in Australia, and how they refute the Tai-Lao identity with their identity performance in Australia.

2.4 Successful Returning Working Holidaymakers in a Taiwanese Context

Due to the lack of social constraints, those young Taiwanese who engage in working holidays in Australia can develop self-identity more freely. Hence, they feel that their identity is relatively sacred in Australia. Nonetheless, after returning to Taiwan, the value of their achievement in Australia needs to be examined in light of the social principles in Taiwan. This

---

[7] Second Life is an online virtual world which was developed by Linden Lab.

means that their identity needs to be affected by the social constraints in Taiwanese society. At the beginning of this section, I will review current research on East Asian working holidaymakers' performances after returning to their home countries. I attempt to demonstrate how these returnees are judged in their countries, and what resources they can use to create a positive identity. After this, I will draw on Bourdieu's idea of symbolic power to explain the advantages and disadvantages of the West for Taiwanese working holidaymakers' performance in the labour market. Furthermore, I will discuss how the patriarchal family system in Taiwan affects female Taiwanese working holidaymakers' socioeconomic status after they return to Taiwan.

2.4.1 Neoliberal ideologies and Bourdieu's analysis of capital

While discussing the prejudice against Taiwanese young people (see section 2.1), I have mentioned that market competition is the major principle in the neoliberal system. Under these circumstances, individuals have to commodify their labour and compete with each other in the free market by demonstrating personal values (Overbeek, 2002). The winners in this competitive game are able to gain monetary rewards. As such, Ganti (2014) argues that, 'neoliberalism is a class-based project that seeks to restore the power of economic elites' (p. 94). This means that neoliberalism is a system which allows people to gain the most benefit with the resources they originally have by competition. Each agent is labelled as either a winner or a loser depending on their rewards under market competition. Thus, when Taiwanese working holidaymakers return to their home country, their experiences in Australia have to be examined by the Taiwanese labour market. These returnees need to satisfy the demands of the Taiwanese labour market with their working holiday experiences in order to validate that their travel experience in Australia is valuable. Only then are these returning Taiwanese working holidaymakers qualified to take up a positive identity in Taiwanese society.

Unfortunately, although most Asian working holidaymakers believe that their global perspective may be helpful for their future career, things do not go as expected after they return home. Kawashima (2010) reports that a working holiday in Australia is regarded as 'a way to kill many birds with one stone' (p.

269) by those Japanese young people who plan to engage in this activity. For them, this is not simply an opportunity to work, study, and travel, but also to stay in a Western society, which is 'associated with modernity, progress, advancement, and prestige' (Kawashima, 2010, p. 271). Therefore, most Japanese working holidaymakers believe that they are able to achieve self-improvement by being cosmopolitans. Nevertheless, after returning to Japan, they realize that most of them are only able to obtain casual employment when they need money to reintegrate into Japanese society. What is more, the seniority-based system of wages and promotions also leads these returning young Japanese to feel that their career development is much slower than that of their peers. Although some returning Japanese can get a job which requires English language skills to demonstrate their achievement in Australia, long working hours and low pay lead them to feel frustrated all the time. As such, Kawashima argues that these returning Japanese working holidaymakers are a Lost Generation of workers in Japanese society.

Kawashima's research reveals that Japanese working holidaymakers have difficulty reintegrating into the labour market after returning home. Their experiences in Western countries cannot help them to create the advantage necessary to solve this problem. In Tsai and Collins' (2017) research, the value of working holiday experience is further discussed. They argue that the working holiday is a form of mobility which is interpreted as a journey to freedom by Taiwanese working holidaymakers. For these young Taiwanese, this is 'an opportunity to discover new things, do something different, and experience a different culture and way of life' (Tsai & Collins, 2017, p. 135). Meanwhile, they are also able to leave social and family expectations for a while and engage in self-development of their own free will. However, according to Tsai and Collins (2017), working holiday experience is judged as 'a gap in the CV' (p. 135) in Taiwanese society. As such, it leads working holidays to be criticized as 'a waste of time' (Tsai & Collins, 2017, p. 135) within the Taiwanese social-cultural dimension. Hence, the Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Tsai and Collins' research feel anxious about their future careers after returning to Taiwan.

The studies noted above reflect current researchers' views about the

value of working holiday experience in the Taiwanese labour market as pessimistic. This activity is evaluated as a useless experience in the Taiwanese labour market. The reason is that the working holiday can only help participants to experience cultural diversity. For young Taiwanese, it is a good opportunity to accumulate embodied cultural capital, such as English-language skills, coffee-making skills, and table manners in Western society. Nevertheless, as stated by Lin (2015b), '[t]he economic miracle in Taiwan during the 1960s was mainly because of OEM [Original Equipment Manufacture]. Hence, most Taiwanese employers nowadays still believe in learning-by-doing instead of a diploma' (p. 12, my translation). This means that technical experience and seniority are the two major requirements in the Taiwanese labour market. Obviously, the embodied cultural capital mentioned above is less relevant to these requirements. Therefore, after these young Taiwanese people's labour is commodified on the free market, the cultural capital that they have accumulated during their travels is not as valuable as expected. I conceive that Tsai and Collins' (2017) statement may successfully account for the difficulties which those Taiwanese working holidaymakers meet after returning home. However, it fails to explain why some of these Taiwanese young people can be regarded as successful returnees due to their achievements in the workplace. Furthermore, their statement also cannot explain why some Taiwanese working holidaymakers still feel superior to other Taiwanese, even though their performance on the labour market does not match up to expectations.

Considering the two questions mentioned above, it appears that current researchers may have overestimated the influence of cultural capital on a person's achievement. As noted previously, cultural capital includes cultural knowledge, diplomas, and cultural goods. In addition to cultural capital, Bourdieu ([1997] 2003) also proposed the concepts of economic capital and social capital, depending on the field in which it works. Economic capital means private property, such as money and estate. Social capital means those social connections which people can take advantage of to gain benefits from each other. These three forms of capital are able to determine an agent's social status. In other words, cultural capital should not be considered as the only factor relevant to a person's achievement in the free market. However,

regardless of Kawashima's study or Tsai and Collins' study, cultural capital is always treated as the only factor which determines working holidaymakers' achievement after returning home. As such, I want to suggest that the value of the Western embodied cultural capital may be reflected in Taiwan's market competition when it integrates with (or converts into) other forms of capital.

2.4.2 The inversion and integration of symbolic power in Taiwanese society

In addition to these three forms of capital, Bourdieu further proposes the concept of symbolic capital in order to discuss the benefit which people can gain from symbolic power. This form of capital, in my view, is another resource for returning Taiwanese working holidaymakers to create an advantage in the labour market. Bourdieu (1991) defines 'symbolic power' as 'a power of constructing reality, and one which tends to establish a gnoseological order' (p. 166). Thus, it is a power mechanism that leads people to believe that the order of things is naturally caused. Even though people are suffering under it, they still believe that there is really nothing to be done about it. Of course, this does not mean that symbolic power can only bring suffering for individuals. Most of the time, it helps a specific group of people to create an advantage within a social structure. This advantage, in Bourdieu's view, can be defined as symbolic capital.

2.4.2.1 The symbolic power of the West and inverted symbolic violence in Taiwan

While previously examining the development of cosmopolitanism, I discussed the way in which Western culture plays a dominant role in the global order because of the unequal power relations between different countries. This inequality is a good example of the concept of symbolic power. To analyse the power of the West in global mobility, Basaran and Olsson (2017) further investigate how Westerners create the advantage with this symbolic power when they move to non-Western countries. They argue that the development of globalization nowadays is actually an extension of the past colonial order. As such, Westerners in non-Western contexts are not simply an ethnic group, but also represent privilege. Basaran and Olsson (2017) maintain that 'the colonies provided them [Westerners] with the possibility to become white (Europeans), a position of social distinction' (p. 7). In this statement, 'white'

does not simply mean skin colour. It also becomes the capital which endows people with a superior identity. This advantage, which originates from ethnic inequality, reflects the fact that the West is the symbolic capital for Westerners. In addition to Westerners, this capital can also be owned by a select group of non-Western people who have ever stayed in Western countries. This is also the reason why some current tourism researchers reveal that Asian independent travellers feel superior to others after returning from the West (Anderson et al., 2000; Tsai & Collins, 2017; Yoon, 2014).

In contrast, in some cases, symbolic power may not become an advantage for people even if they are protected by it. This phenomenon, in Burke's (2017) view, is defined as 'inverted symbolic violence' (p. 393). Burke further applies this concept to the difficulties which underemployed middle-class graduates encounter in the UK. As argued by Burke, most university graduates in the UK come from middle-class families. Hence, the symbolic power of the middle class in UK society has shaped their expectations of their employment trajectory since they were born. When these young people fail to get a job which is coherent with this trajectory through market competition, they may feel that they are 'in a relatively downward, or unsuccessful, trajectory' (Burke, 2017, p. 393). Meanwhile, they also prefer some work opportunities, such as room attendants in a four-star hotel or waiters/waitresses in a high-end restaurant. For these young people, such jobs can help them to persuade themselves that they are still in the field of the middle class. In this situation, symbolic power is inverted and 'the restrictions on their possibilities are not created under a glass ceiling but, instead, atop a concrete floor' (Burke, 2017, p. 402). That is to say, the symbolic power of the middle class is no longer a useful form of capital for these underemployed young British people. It becomes a violence which they suffer due to the gap between expectations and reality.

A similar problem may also be reflected in Taiwanese working holidaymakers' lives after they return home. As presented in previous sections, East Asian working holidaymakers believe that the cultural capital they accumulate in Western society can help them to gain an advantage in the labour market after returning to their home countries (see section 2.2.2). This

understanding is obviously influenced by the symbolic power of Western culture in East Asian society. However, while trying to reintegrate into the labour market in their home countries, they may discover that this embodied cultural capital is not as valuable as expected (Kawashima, 2010; Tsai & Collins, 2017). As such, their reflection on this difficulty may be similar to that of British young people who are underemployed in the UK labour market. To interpret this problem, the idea of inverted symbolic violence will be applied in this thesis.

2.4.2.2 Patriarchal symbolic power and the patriarchal dividend in Taiwan

To explain Japanese working holidaymakers' performance after returning home, Kawashima (2010) reveals that gender inequality in the workplace reduces female returnees' work opportunities in the Japanese labour market. As such, they may 'seek marriage as a way to make a living' (p. 282). These Japanese women have difficulties in getting hired on a permanent contract in the Japanese labour market. Therefore, homemaker becomes an alternative career choice for these female returnees to Japanese society. The same point of view can also be perceived in Taiwanese society. To explain the role of women in the Taiwanese family, Lan (2009) argues that career, in the Taiwanese cultural context, is defined as a public affair. Family duty is regarded as a private affair. 'In traditional Taiwanese culture, public affair, is men's responsibility. Private affair belongs to women' (Lan, 2009, p. 5). This traditional social principle causes Taiwanese women to have fewer opportunities to be financially independent within a marital relationship.

Lan's research obviously reflects the influence of patriarchal symbolic power on gender roles within the Taiwanese family system. This power forces men and women to be breadwinners and homemakers, respectively. However, due to the current rise of gender equality, women's working rights are taken more seriously in the Taiwanese labour market. This phenomenon, in Lan's (2009) view, does not merely encourage Taiwanese women to manage their home for family members, but also inspires them to develop individual competitiveness in the labour market. Hence, the rise of gender equality leads women to have more flexible career choices than men in Taiwanese society.

Yu (2011) further applies the idea of a patriarchal dividend to discuss gender roles in marriage and the family. This concept, which was proposed by Connell (1997), is used to explain the extent to which men are able to gain benefit from the patriarchal system. In 'Gender politics for men,' Connell (1997) takes American society as an example. Connell observes that men's average incomes are twice those of women in the USA. Furthermore, the number of male representatives in the US congress is ten times greater than the number of women. These advantages, which originate in the unequal gender power relations, are defined as the patriarchal dividend. However, Connell argues that this dividend is never equally shared by all of the men in a patriarchal society. Some specific groups, such as working-class youth and unemployed men, can only access very little of it.

Additionally, Connell (1997) further argues that 'other groups of men pay part of the price, alongside women, for the maintenance of an unequal gender order' (Connell, 1997, p. 64). This means that men, in some situations, may allow women to share the patriarchal dividend with them in order to maintain men's patriarchal power. Based on this point of view, Yu (2011) points out that men are required to be the breadwinners in Taiwanese families. This principle leads some Taiwanese women to achieve upward social mobility by building a marital relationship with a man of a higher social class. Even though these Taiwanese women are able to gain benefit from the patriarchal family system, this benefit is actually a way for upper-class men to maintain the gender inequality in the family. Inspired by Yu's research, the empirical chapters of this thesis will discuss whether the patriarchal dividend can help female Taiwanese working holidaymakers to create an advantage in the labour market after returning to Taiwan. If so, I will further examine whether this patriarchal dividend is related to the symbolic capital of the West in Taiwanese society.

2.5 Conclusion

Within the current literature discussed in this chapter, I have critically shown how current researchers examine working holidaymakers' identities from neoliberal and cosmopolitan perspectives. Due to the influence of

neoliberalism on Taiwanese social principles, individual achievement under market competition becomes a crucial criterion by which to judge a person. This principle leads everyone in Taiwanese society to be labelled as either 'winners' or 'losers'. Due to financial recession in Taiwan and the lack of resources within their families, Taiwanese working-class young people who were born after 1980 have difficulty in becoming winners in the labour market. This problem leads other Taiwanese, who were born in the Baby Boom Generation, to criticize these young Taiwanese and label them with the loser identity, using such epithets as 'strawberries' and 'incompetents'. Therefore, when these young Taiwanese leave their home country to engage in low-skilled jobs in Australia under a Working Holiday Visa, their situation in Australia is associated with that of Southeast Asian migrant workers in Taiwan by the beneficiary group of Taiwan's market competition. In Taiwanese society, the term Wai-Lao is a Chinese word for Southeast Asian migrant workers. Hence, Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia are taunted as Tai-Lao in Taiwanese society.

Facing this prejudice in Taiwan, most Taiwanese working holidaymakers try to refute this negative stereotype through their work and life experience in Australia. Because of the unequal power relations between Western countries and East Asian countries in the global order, cosmopolitanism, in the Taiwanese cultural context, is understood as meaning a Western attitude. Hence, like most East Asian working holidaymakers, Taiwanese working holidaymakers also regard being cosmopolitan as a superior identity to that of their compatriots. To be recognized as cosmopolitans, these young Taiwanese make efforts to accumulate cultural capital in Australia. They dream of working in Westerners' workplaces and behave as Westerners do during their working holiday in Australia. For these young Taiwanese, a cosmopolitan identity is a weapon to fend off the prejudice against them in Taiwanese society.

As stated by current researchers, the working holiday can be defined as global mobility (Muzaini, 2006; Nagai et al., 2018; Kawashima, 2010). Thus, in comparison with routine life, the working holiday is an activity that exists within a liquid structure. Under such circumstances, these travellers are able

to choose their identity by their own will. Nevertheless, when they return to their home countries and restart their lives, their identity choices are once again restricted by social constraints, such as family expectations and career development plans. That is to say, although Taiwanese working holidaymakers can perform the identity they choose in Australia, those achievements which they own there need to be re-examined by the Taiwanese labour market after they return home. This means that returnees have to commodify their cosmopolitan identity and create an advantage under market competition in order to be recognized as successful working holidaymakers. To realize the identity formation of these young Taiwanese, it is important to capture these Taiwanese young people's subjectivity and the rhetorical devices they use to create their self-identities. These two elements will be further discussed in the next chapter, which includes the interplay of theory, method, and data analysis.

Chapter 3

Investigating Working Holidaymakers in a Taiwanese Cultural Context

As stated by Clough and Nutbrown ([2002] 2007), a methodology chapter is actually 'a research diary' (p. 35). It does not simply record researchers' reflections on their research activities, but also includes 'how research questions are articulated with questions asked in the field' (p. 23). In this methodological chapter, I will discuss the research decisions I made before, during, and after fieldwork. Also, I will present how these research decisions led me to formulate the research questions for this thesis, which are:

1. How do Taiwanese working holidaymakers negotiate the prejudice against them in Taiwanese society?

2. How do Taiwanese working holidaymakers evaluate themselves through their work experience in Australia?

3. How do Taiwanese working holidaymakers choose and perform a positive identity during the practice of their everyday lives in Australia?

4. How do Taiwanese working holidaymakers become successful returnees after returning to Taiwan?

In order to discuss the methodological issues I encountered during my research, this chapter is divided into three sections. The first one presents the research design. I will explain how I decided upon my initial research focuses, and how I prepared my fieldwork in accordance with these focuses. The second section describes the data collection procedures and the reformulation of my research aims. I will briefly introduce my interviewees and provide details about my data collection procedure. After this, I am going to elucidate how my fieldwork experience inspired me to reformulate my initial research aims. The last section is about data analysis. I will show what difficulties I met during data analysis, and how fieldnotes and NVivo software helped me to solve these problems. Meanwhile, I will further explain how I drew on thematic analysis to deal with the qualitative interview data collected from the fieldwork.

3.1 Research Design and Preparation

3.1.1 Choosing a research method

During the initial stages of this research, my focus was strongly influenced by the mass media in Taiwan. Thus, I was interested in how Taiwanese working holidaymakers negotiate the prejudice against them in Taiwanese society. As reported by the mass media in Taiwan, some Taiwanese young people choose to travel to Australia for a working holiday in order to ease their financial difficulties at home (Yang, 2012). Nonetheless, one may ask whether all Taiwanese working holidaymakers regard money as the only purpose for their travels in Australia. According to the travelogues I read before my fieldwork, although some authors may discuss how to get hired effectively, or what job categories they have engaged in in Australia (Chen, 2012; Lewis & Vivi, 2014), none of them describe their working holiday as travel to make money. What is more, in a Western cultural context, independent travel, such as working holidays and backpacking, is considered to be a leisure activity for middle-class young people (Snee, 2014; Loker-Murphy & Pearce, 1995). Hence, in addition to the prejudice in Taiwanese society, another research focus in the initial stages was how Taiwanese young people's socioeconomic status in Taiwan leads them to formulate different self-identities during their working holidays in Australia.

Regardless of prejudice or socioeconomic status, these two issues imply that my research focus is firmly upon the identity formation of Taiwanese working holidaymakers. As noted in Chapter Two, self-identity is the result of the negotiation between an individual and a social system (Goffman, [1959] 1990; Giddens, 1984; Lawler, 2014). Using reflexivity and knowledgeability, each individual perceives their experience within a social system and develops an understanding of their own position within this system. Thus, while exploring Taiwanese working holidaymakers' self-identities in practice, their subjectivity needs to be put first. This was also the reason why I designed this research to employ qualitative methods.

Analysing the advantages and disadvantages of qualitative interviews, Bryman ([2004] 2016) maintains that: 'in qualitative interviewing, there is greater interest in the interviewee's point of view' (p. 466). This means that

the qualitative interview is one of the most effective research methods for reflecting an interviewee's subjectivity. As such, I chose the qualitative interview method for this research project. Within qualitative interviews, my purpose was not to verify a phenomenon by the distribution of people within a category. Instead, my responsibility was to demonstrate Taiwanese working holidaymakers' self-perceptions and to interpret them from a sociological perspective. Hence, the qualitative interview could be the most direct way for me to investigate how they develop their self-perception on working holidays, the prejudice they face, and their personal background. I took an interpretivist position and critically analysed those words and acts which Taiwanese working holidaymakers presented during the interview.

To guarantee that participants' subjectivity could be clearly reflected, I needed to 'emphasize the importance of not starting out with too many preconceptions' (Bryman, [2004] 2016, p. 470) when I collected interview data. Therefore, a semi-structured interview strategy was the most appropriate way for me to organize my interview outline. Using semi-structured interviews, I could provide more leeway for my interviewees and encourage them to reveal their subjectivity during the interview. Additionally, even though I am interested in working holidays, I have not experienced a working holiday myself. Before the fieldwork, my knowledge about this activity mostly originated from the mass media in Taiwan and from travelogues, either in bookstores or on the internet. By interviewing those Taiwanese who have working-holiday experience, I could examine whether my research questions are suitable for uncovering these Taiwanese young people's real experiences in Australia. Furthermore, during my fieldwork, unexpected ideas led me to reformulate my research questions (see section 3.2.3).

3.1.2 Creating an interview outline

As presented in Appendixes 5 and 6, the interview outline is divided into five sections. The first section collected the basic background information about my interviewees and their social status in Taiwan. I planned to recruit a diversity of interviewees in terms of age, gender, educational attainment, job category in Taiwan, job position in Taiwan, and family's socio-economic status. The questions that I asked in this section provided me with basic information

about interviewees' social status. However, as suggested by Leu et al. (2016), the 'poverty threshold in Taiwanese society can be broadly divided into the objective threshold and the subjective threshold' (p. 1). Take the upper-middle class in Taiwan as an example; even though some Taiwanese have reached the income level of the upper-middle class in Taiwanese society, they may still regard themselves as lower-middle class due to many reasons, such as high self-expectations, personal safety, or social perceptions. That is to say, a sense of crisis or self-expectation may cause a gap between the objective threshold and the subjective threshold. If this gap appeared in my interview data, the results of my research would be influenced.

To ease the problem caused by the gap between the objective and subjective thresholds, the second section of my interview outline was designed to investigate the extent to which my interviewees were satisfied with their lives in Taiwan before travelling to Australia for their working holiday. I invited my interviewees to share their experiences of family life, campus life, and work experience in Taiwanese society. For instance, when I started a conversation about work experiences in Taiwan with my interviewees, I planned to ask them several closed questions, such as: 'when the lowest score is 1 and the highest score is 7, to what extent are you satisfied with your salary in Taiwan before traveling to Australia?' (See section two, Appendix 5) After this question, I would ask my interviewees why and how they evaluated their salary with that score. This strategy could lead me to understand how these interviewees felt about their lives in Taiwanese society, and how they associated these feelings with their social status within that society.

The third section inquired into how my interviewees respond to the prejudice against working holidaymakers in Taiwanese society. In the travelogues written by Taiwanese working holidaymakers, they always emphasize their working holiday as 'a travel for courage' (Lewis, 2014, p. 8) or 'a travel for self-exploration' (Mai, 2006, p. 5). These self-identities contrast with their public image in Taiwanese society. As such, I sought to understand how Taiwanese working holidaymakers defined their self-identities through their work experiences and everyday life in Australia. Additionally, during the interviews, I showed an article to my interviewees. This article is written by

Yang (2012) and entitled: 'Why Does a Graduating Student of National Tsing Hua University[8] Become a Butcher in Australia?' It was published in *Business Today*[9] on 12 September 2012 and was the first article to label Taiwanese working holidaymakers as Tai-Lao in Australia. As a result of this article, the identity of Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia started to be discussed in Taiwanese society. This strategy, which provides 'short stories about hypothetical characters in specified circumstances, to whose situation the interviewee is invited to respond' (Finch, 1987, p. 105) is called vignettes. The purpose of this research method is to help researchers explore how their participants comment on sensitive or controversial topics. As noted in section 2.1, Taiwanese young people who engage in working holidays in Australia are always criticized as 'losers' or 'Tai-Lao'. Using Yang's (2012) article as one of the topics in my semi-structured interviews, my aim was to invite my interviewees to express their views about the public image of working holidaymakers in Taiwanese society in accordance with their experiences in Australia.

The fourth section is about interviewees' work and life experiences in Australia. I also asked what kind of working holidaymaker he or she tried to be during their travels. The purpose of this section is to discover how these young Taiwanese formulated their self-identity through their experiences in Australia. To elucidate the relation between their socioeconomic status in Taiwan and their experiences in Australia, I would also compare their response in this section with their responses in sections one and two. My initial purpose was to investigate whether their socio-economic status in Taiwan could affect their identity formation in Australia.

The last section of my interview outline assesses how my interviewees planned their future careers after their travels in Australia, or what they experienced after returning to Taiwan. In current research on Taiwanese working holidaymakers' motivations, these young people believe that a working holiday is a journey to 'develop a considerable range of skills' (Ho et al., 2014, p.477) and is helpful for their future careers. A similar result was

---

[8] National Tsing Hua University is one of the top three universities in Taiwan.
[9] *Business Today* is one of the popular finance magazines in Taiwan. Its circulation has risen more rapidly than any other in Taiwan for six years.

also obtained by Kawashima (2010) when she studied Japanese working holidaymakers in Australia. Based on her study, young Japanese regard the working holiday as an activity which can lead them to prepare future career development and develop a global perspective at the same time (Kawashima, 2010). Similar to Taiwanese working holidaymakers, before travelling to Australia, Japanese working holidaymakers also expect to broaden their horizons and learn different skills that will be useful for their future. However, after returning to Japan, most of them discover that there is a huge gap between expectations and reality. They have difficulty in reintegrating into the Japanese labour market. Hence, I was wondering whether Taiwanese working holidaymakers encounter the same problems as Japanese working holidaymakers. Additionally, I was also interested in whether the working holiday became a way for young Taiwanese to achieve upward social mobility in Taiwanese society.

3.1.3 Recruiting strategies

The age requirement for interviewees is 18 to 35 years old. Among the 31 interviewees, six of them were still in Australia on their working holiday when they accepted my interview invitation. Twenty-five interviewees had already finished their journeys and returned to Taiwan. While recruiting research participants, I required that each interviewee must have had a working holiday experience in Australia of at least eight months. These requirements were in accordance with the policy of the Australian government and the research questions of this study. In the Working Holiday Maker Visa Programme Report, which was published by the Australian government on 31 December 2017, people who hold a Working Holiday visa (subclass 417), are allowed to stay in Australia for up to 12 months. When first-time Working Holiday visa holders engage in 'agriculture, mining, and construction industries' (p. 4) for 88 days in regional Australia during their stay, they are permitted to apply for this visa again for the next 12 months. That is to say, all working holidaymakers can only hold this type of visa twice in their lifetime.

In normal cases, each applicant can stay in Australia for 24 months with a Working Holiday visa. Furthermore, the Australian government also requires that all Working Holiday visa applicants must 'be aged 18–30 at time of

application' (p. 3). That is to say, the oldest working holidaymakers in Australia can be 32 years old. Considering the age of those returning Taiwanese working holidaymakers, I decided that 35 should be the maximum age requirement for my interviewees. Additionally, working holidaymakers 'may not remain with any one employer for longer than six months' (p. 4). In other words, the longest work experience for working holidaymakers in Australia is no more than six months. To guarantee that all my interviewees had work experience in Australia, I required that all of them must have engaged in a working holiday for at least eight months.

I travelled to Taiwan for my fieldwork interviews in July 2016. Based on the topic of this research, Australia might also have been a good choice to do the fieldwork. However, to have more opportunities to recruit returning Taiwanese working holidaymakers, I chose Taiwan for my fieldwork. Before starting, I spent four months recruiting interviewees. By the end of my fieldwork, I had successfully recruited 31 interviewees. Taken as a whole, the way in which I recruited these participants can be divided into three steps. The first step was voluntary sampling. Facebook communities are the main medium for young Taiwanese who have done working holidays in Australia to exchange information. Therefore, I joined the top five Facebook communities created by Taiwanese working holidaymakers, and posted a message on each forum asking for volunteers. Through this method, I recruited 18 interviewees. To avoid interviewees who might be less interested in my interview questions, I did not recruit participants in an active way. Hence, all the interviewees whom I recruited in this step were volunteers.

Even though those interviewees who were recruited via Facebook communities were willing to share their working-holiday experiences with me, the number of participants was still less than my minimum expectation (20 or more interviewees). Therefore, I started the second step – snowball sampling. This strategy is frequently used by researchers when sampling populations are hard to recruit (Bryman, [2004] 2016). I encouraged the 18 interviewees whom I had recruited in the first step to recommend their friends or family members who also had working-holiday experience in Australia. This strategy helped me to find a further eight participants for my interviews.

The third step was attending conferences. I attended an orientation for Taiwanese working holidaymakers in September 2016. This activity was organized by The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Taiwan. The main purpose of this activity was to introduce what the working holiday programme is for young Taiwanese who are preparing to start their journeys, or who are interested in working holidays. The organizer invited five young Taiwanese to share their experiences in Australia. These five people were not simply returning working holidaymakers, but were also recognized as 'winners' in the Taiwanese labour market. Two of them were even authors of the travelogues I had read before starting fieldwork. Their experiences, in my view, might be helpful for this research. Therefore, I invited them to be my interviewees. Fortunately, four of them were willing to participate.

In addition to the above steps, I met a female interviewee by chance. To understand how the mass media in Taiwan discusses Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia, I read an article that was published by an online magazine entitled *Crossing*[10]. In this article, the author discusses how she broadened her horizons by engaging in a working holiday in Australia. Having published an article in *Crossing*, this woman is undoubtedly recognized as a successful returnee in Taiwanese society. Hence, I sent a private message to her Facebook fan page. Fortunately, the author replied and promised to be my interviewee. In addition to the three interviewees whom I recruited at the orientation, I did not have any other interviewees who are also recognized as successful working holidaymakers in Taiwanese society. Due to this amateur writer's participation, I was able to have more interviewees who were admired as successful returnees in Taiwanese society. These interviews would be helpful for me to understand how Taiwanese people evaluate returning Taiwanese working holidaymakers' achievements in Australia against the principles of the Taiwanese social system. Using the above four recruitment strategies, by the end of my fieldwork I had successfully invited 31 interviewees to participate in this research.

---

[10] *Crossing* is an online magazine in Taiwan. The purpose of this magazine is to create a space for Taiwanese amateur writers or columnists to share their experiences in other countries.

3.2 Data Collection Procedures and the Reformulation of Research Questions

3.2.1 Interviewees

As presented in Table 2, I successfully recruited 31 interviewees to participate in this research. To guarantee their privacy, I coded their names with their gender, the first letter of their preferred name, and the date of the interview. If there were two interviewees of the same sex whose preferred name started with the same letter, they would be respectively coded as, for example, Mr P1 and Mr P2, depending on which interviewee participated first. As can be seen in the column, Name, this research recruited 14 male interviewees and 17 female interviewees.

In order to record their ages at the same stage of life, the column, Age, gives the age when interviewees started their working holiday in Australia. In this column, the youngest age among my interviewees is 23 years old. The oldest is 29 years. The average age at which these 31 interviewees began their working holiday is 25.90 years old. Based on this average age and their educational attainment, Table 2 implies that all these interviewees chose to finish their degree and work for one or two years before starting their working holiday in Australia.

The column, Education, records the highest educational level for each interviewee. According to their ownership, all universities in Taiwan can be divided into national universities or private universities. Generally speaking, national universities have more educational resources than private universities. Hence, the entrance requirements for national universities are higher than those for private universities. The higher education system in Taiwan is classified into comprehensive universities and universities of science and technology. The former focuses on academic education, and the latter on vocational education. As shown in this column, all interviewees have received higher education in Taiwan. Of these, 28 participants have a bachelor's degree. Among these 28 interviewees, 13 have BA degrees. Eight people have a BBA degree, and seven have a BS degree. Additionally, only three interviewees have a master's degree. Two of them have an MS degree and the third has an MA degree.

Table 2:

The List of Interviewees (for further information please refer to Appendix 7)

Name	Age	Education	Before WHM	During WHM	After WHM	Family's social class	Married
Mr A	28	PCU, MS	Marcom Staff	Agricultural Jobs Italian Restaurant	Amateur Writer	Upper-Mid	No
Miss A1	29	NTec, BBA	Sales	Sales Lady on the Boutique Counter	Homemaker	Lower-Mid	Yes
Miss A2	24	PTec, BA	Sales	Chinese Massage Agricultural Jobs	Unemployed	Lower-Mid	No
Miss A3	22	PCU, BA	Student	Agricultural Jobs Beverage Stores	N/A	Upper-Mid	No
Mr B1	26	NTec, BA	Service Industry	Butcher Factory Worker	Editor	Working	No
Mr B2	23	PTec, BS	Engineering Internship	Agricultural Jobs	Labour Union Staff	Working	No
Mr C1	28	NCU, BA	Stage Staff	Construction Worker Agriculture Jobs	Amateur Writer	Lower-Mid	No
Mr C2	25	NTec, BS	Sales Assistant	Agricultural Jobs	Engineer	Upper-Mid	No
Mr D	27	PCU, BA	Factory Worker	Agricultural Jobs	Postman	Upper-Mid	No
Miss F	25	NCU, BBA	Clerical-Admin	Tour Guide Chinese Restaurant	Sales	Lower-Mid	No
Miss G	23	PCU, BA	Student	Chinese Restaurant Agricultural Jobs	Sales	Upper-Mid	Yes
Mr H	25	PCU, BS	Warehouse Clerk	Agricultural Jobs Postal Delivery Worker	Street Vendor	Upper-Mid	No
Miss H	27	NCU, BA	Clerical-Admin	Souvenir Clerk Hotel Waitress	Amateur Writer	Upper-Mid	Yes
Miss I	26	NCU, BS	Ecotourism Tour Guide	Agricultural Jobs NGO Participant	N/A	Lower-Mid	No
Mr K	27	NTec, BBA	Service Industry	Agricultural Jobs Coffee Shop	Shop Owner	Lower-Mid	No
Miss L	26	PCU, BA	Clerical-Admin	Agricultural Jobs	Clerical-Admin	Lower-Mid	No
Miss M1	26	PTec, BBA	Clerical-Admin	Chinese Massage	Clerical-Admin	Lower-Mid	Yes
Miss M2	25	NCU, BA	Clerical-Admin	Coffee Shop Factory Worker	N/A	Upper-Mid	No
Mr N	26	PTec, BS	Research Assistant	Agricultural Jobs Butcher	Unemployed	Upper-Mid	No
Miss N	27	PTec, BBA	Clerical-Admin	Agricultural Jobs Chinese Restaurant	Chinese Teacher (Part time)	Working	No
Miss P	26	NCU, MS	Student	Fruit Picker	English Teacher (Part time)	Lower-Mid	No
Mr R	29	PCU, BA	Guitar Player	Guitar Teacher Tour Guide	N/A	Upper-Mid	No
Mr S	29	PTec, BBA	Service Industry	Fruit Picker	Clerical-Admin	Lower-Mid	No
Miss S	28	PCU, BA	Sales	Family Caregiver Local Restaurant	N/A	Upper-Mid	No
Mr T	25	NCU, BBA	Sales	Italian Restaurant Factory Worker	Sales	Upper-Mid	No
Miss T	24	PCU, BA	Clerical-Admin	Coffee Shop Hotel Waitress	Clerical-Admin	Lower-Mid	No
Miss U	24	NCU, MA	Primary School Teacher (part time)	Butcher Agricultural Jobs	English Teacher (part time)	Upper-Mid	Yes
Miss W	24	NCU, BBA	Sales	Coffee Shop Clerk, Souvenir Clerk	Shop Owner	Working	No

Mr Y	26	PTec, BS	Computer Maintainer	Postal Delivery Worker	Computer Maintainer	Working	No
Miss Y	28	NCU, BA	High-School Teacher (Part time)	Chef in a Local Restaurant	Chef in a 5-star hotel	Lower-Mid	No
Mr Z	25	PCU, BS	Software Engineer	Tour Guide Sales Assistant	N/A	Working	No

Note: 1. WHM means working holidaymakers.

      2. National comprehensive university is abbreviated to NCU. Private comprehensive university is abbreviated to PCU. National university of science and technology is abbreviated to NTec. Private university of science and technology is abbreviated to PTec. NGO participant means people who work for a non-governmental organization. N/A means that the interviewee is still on his or her working holiday in Australia.

      3. BA means Bachelor of Arts. BBA means Bachelor of Business Administration. BS means Bachelor of Science. MS means Master of Science. MA means Master of Arts.

The column, Before WHM, shows the longest job that each interviewee ever had before going on their working holiday in Australia. For most of these young Taiwanese, it takes time to prepare for their travels. They need to collect information about job vacancies, travel route, and life trivia. Hence, some of them might quit their job and take a part-time job before starting the working holiday. Considering this, I chose to record the longest job that each interviewee had before their working holiday. The purpose of the column, Before WHM, is to investigate the social status that interviewees are able to achieve in Taiwanese society before they engage in a working holiday. Although income is also a key factor in assessing social status, it is an embarrassing question to ask in Taiwanese culture. Therefore, I chose to enquire about my interviewees' jobs only.

The column, During WHM, is about the jobs that interviewees undertook in Australia. When these interviewees shared their working holiday experiences with me, most of them mentioned that they had done many types of jobs in Australia. Miss H, for instance, declared that she had done seven different types of jobs during her two-year working holiday in Australia. Therefore, the column, During WHM, in Table 1 only records those jobs which interviewees repeatedly mentioned or regard as their achievements in Australia. As shown in During WHM, agricultural jobs, factory work and the service industry are the three types of jobs which Taiwanese working holidaymakers most frequently undertake in Australia.

The column, After WHM, reveals the longest job that each interviewee ever had after returning to Taiwan. This is to show the extent to which working-holiday experience may be helpful for these interviewees in the Taiwanese labour market. As shown in this column, some interviewees, such as Mr K and Miss W, started small businesses with the money they had earned in Australia. Thus, it is possible that a working holiday may provide an opportunity for young Taiwanese to achieve upward social mobility in Taiwanese society. Therefore, I wondered how interviewees interpret the influence of their working holiday experience on their achievements in the Taiwanese labour market after returning home.

The column, Family's Social Class, indicates the socio-economic status of each interviewee's family. Generally speaking, there are two criteria for evaluating the socio-economic status of a person's family. One is the objective threshold. This is established by factors relating to 'food-energy intake and cost of basic needs' (Ajakaiye & Adeyeye, 2001, p. 8). The other is the subjective threshold, which originates from personal understandings of social class. In this research, the main focus is on exploring how social class affects Taiwanese working holidaymakers' self-identity. My purpose is not to investigate which social class my interviewees actually come from. Therefore, their self-perception of their family's socioeconomic status is more important than the objective threshold of social stratification in Taiwanese society. As such, I invited interviewees to explain their family's socio-economic status in their own words. While conducting the interviews, I gave participants five choices about the socio-economic status of their families: upper class, upper-middle class, lower-middle class, working class, and less than working class. The Chinese version of my interview questions is provided in Appendix 6. In this column, 13 interviewees regarded their families as upper-middle class and 12 regarded their families as lower-middle class. Six interviewees regarded their family as working class.

The last column, Married, means whether interviewees were married before agreeing to be interviewed. When I started my fieldwork, marriage was not one of my main focuses. This changed when I met Miss M1. Inspired by her response, I started to investigate interviewees' marital status. Among the

31 interviewees, five chose to get married after their working holiday. In addition to Miss U, who married one of her friends in Taiwan, the other four female interviewees chose to marry White Australians during their working holiday. Furthermore, these four interviewees also came back to Taiwan with their husbands rather than staying in Australia. This similarity encouraged me to pay attention to the influence of marriage on female Taiwanese working holidaymakers' self-identity after returning to Taiwan.

3.2.2 Skype and face-to-face interviews

Although I chose Taiwan for my fieldwork, some of my interviewees were still engaged in their working holidays in Australia when they agreed to be interviewed. Furthermore, some of the interviewees who had returned to Taiwan were too busy to make appointments for face-to-face interviews. Considering these difficulties, I decided to interview participants either by Skype or by face-to-face interview in order to collect my qualitative data. Examining current research on Skype interviewing, it appears that this type of interview has several advantages. In comparison with face-to-face interviews, Skype interviews can help interviewers to save time and money (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014). This advantage is obviously reflected in my fieldwork experience. As I mentioned, some of my interviewees were still in Australia when I started my fieldwork in Taiwan. In these cases, Skype was the best choice for me. I did not need to travel to Australia and saved much time and travel expenses for my fieldwork.

Moreover, as discovered by Bryman ([2004] 2016), the convenience brought by Skype may motivate people to agree to an interview. When I invited several returning Taiwanese working holidaymakers to participant in this research, they might have rejected me because they felt exhausted after work. Even though these returnees were in Taiwan, they were reluctant to be confined to a quiet corner of a coffee shop or McDonald's, sharing their experiences in Australia with an unfamiliar person like me, and wasting their hard-earned free time. Skype can solve this problem. Due to its flexibility and convenience, three interviewees, Mr A, Miss F, and Mr Y, changed their minds and decided to participate in this research when I offered a Skype interview. Within Skype, these three interviewees felt that they were less disrupted by

my interview. They could stay at home and share their experiences with me at the same time.

These three interviewees' statements, in my view, reflect another advantage of Skype interviews. As Bryman ([2004] 2016) comments, 'there are fewer concerns about the safety of both parties to an interview' (p. 492) when interviewers and interviewees choose a Skype interview. Interacting with each other by internet, both of them can feel safer during the interview. According to my fieldwork experience, some interviewees preferred to make an appointment with me after work. This meant that we needed to meet at night. In this case, a Skype interview was a good way to solve the safety problem after the interview. Some interviewees were even willing to share more experiences with me because they did not need to worry about traffic congestion. This is also the reason why some of my interviewees chose a Skype interview instead of a face-to-face interview.

However, the Skype interview also has several disadvantages. One of the most obvious of these is technological problems. As maintained by Bryman ([2004] 2016), 'Skype can be prone to fluctuations in the quality of the connection (and sometimes outages) which can make the flow of the interview less than smooth' (p. 492). That is to say, a slow internet connection would be a serious problem for a Skype interview if it happened. This problem actually occurred three times during my fieldwork and caused three interviewees to become impatient with our interaction during the interview. At that moment, my solution was to stop the interview process and reschedule an appointment with that interviewee at the same time. The reason is that those interviewees' emotions had been influenced by the bad internet connection. This problem might have led them to brush off my questions and affected the quality of their responses.

To reduce the possibility of a slow internet connection, neither the interviewees nor I used a webcam when we interacted with each other by Skype. Although this method did improve the quality of connection, I missed the information delivered by nonverbal communication. In my view, this problem actually reflects the advantages of face-to-face interviews. During a

face-to-face interview, I was able to observe the interviewees' descriptions and body language at the same time. The interweaving of these two types of information provided me with more opportunities to notice interviewees' hesitations in their responses. These hesitations further helped me to discover the tensions between interviewees' self-perception and social expectations, and this encouraged me to reformulate my research questions.

At the same time as face-to-face interviews gave me more nonverbal information about the interviewees, it also gave interviewees the opportunity to read my mind through nonverbal communication. For example, when interviewees shared stories that made me feel shocked or confused, they could read my feelings from my facial expression or body language, even though I tried to hide them. At that moment, some of them might change their expression or even modify their answer. Therefore, I, the interviewer, attempted to record the interviewees' responses during face-to-face interviews. Meanwhile, these interviewees could also read my reaction through nonverbal communication at the same time. Therefore, the interviewer's nonverbal language has a higher probability of affecting the interviewee's response in a face-to-face interview than in a Skype interview.

Additionally, examining current research on interviewees' performance during Skype interviews, it appears that 'prospective Skype interviewees are more likely than face-to-face interviewees to fail to be present for an interview' (Bryman, [2004] 2016, p. 492). However, this disadvantage was not reflected in my fieldwork experience. Instead, talking from behind a computer screen, my interviewees found the courage to share experiences that they would not have mentioned in a face-to-face meeting. For instance, during the Skype interview with Miss H, she told me how she met a White Australian and became his sex buddy in Australia. In Taiwanese culture, having a sex mate is a private topic for women. It is quite embarrassing for Taiwanese women to admit it to a man with whom they are not familiar. During the interview, although both of us briefly introduced ourselves before starting, we did not turn on the webcam because of the bad connection speed. The computer screen seemed like an anonymous mask for both of us. Hence, Miss H had more courage to share some experiences which she might have

chosen to hide in a face-to-face interview.

Examining the Skype interviews and face-to-face interviews in my fieldwork, both had several advantages and disadvantages. Skype interviews were convenient and helped me save time and money during fieldwork. They also led interviewees to have the courage to share some private stories that it might have been embarrassing for them to share face to face. However, interruptions happened frequently while I was talking with interviewees over Skype. This did not merely cause interviewees to become distracted from our talk, but it also influenced their answers to the interview questions. In comparison, this problem seldom took place in face-to-face interviews. Face-to-face interviews gave me more opportunities to read the interviewees' nonverbal information, such as body language and facial expressions. These opportunities, in my view, are double-edged swords. On the one hand, this information helped me to explore the implied meaning of their words. On the other hand, the interviewees were also able to perceive my nonverbal communication during face-to-face interviews. This meant that they might change their responses depending on my facial expression or body language. Therefore, even though I expected that the length of each interview would be an hour, interviewees' nonverbal information usually led me to spend 20–30 minutes longer than this on face-to-face interviews.

3.2.3 My reflexivity in fieldwork and the reformulation of research questions

While explaining the influence of researchers' reflexivity on fieldwork, Berger (2015) reports that researchers must 'understand the role of the self in the creation of knowledge' (p. 220). This means that the researcher's roles in the interview are able to determine how their reflexivity affects the interpretation of qualitative research. Examining my roles in the fieldwork, I discovered that I was judged as both an outsider and an insider at the same time, depending on how interviewees judged my social identities. Having no working holiday experience in any country, I was regarded as an outsider by some interviewees when I interacted with them during the interview. As argued by Berger (2015), 'While conducting a study as outsiders prevented role confusion and partiality of view, it also deprived us of the benefits that

come with familiarity' (p. 228). As such, I read several popular travelogues written by young Taiwanese who have experienced working holidays in Australia before starting my fieldwork. I tried to absorb more knowledge about this group from these travelogues to compensate for the weakness of being an outsider.

To gain the interviewees' trust, I would not start the topic immediately. At the beginning of each interview, I briefly introduced myself and allowed my interviewees to ask any questions they had about me or this research project. Being considered as an outsider by some interviewees, I tried to break down the boundary between them and me with this opening. Hence, I not only had to organize an interview outline beforehand, but I also needed to prepare answers to those questions that interviewees might ask. Within this interview process, I effectively balanced the power relations between the interviewer and the interviewee. The interviewees were not simply expected to answer questions, but were also endowed with the right to ask them. This strategy might reduce the efficiency of data collection because some interviewees might provide too much information which is unrelated to the topic of this research. However, it could lead interviewees to feel respected and encourage them to share more private experiences that they had had during their working holiday.

In addition to being a researcher without working-holiday experience, I was also an international PhD student in the UK. This identity led those interviewees who had engaged in a working holiday for cultural exploration to regard me as an insider. As observed by Berger (2015), 'respondents may be more willing to share their experiences with a researcher whom they perceive as sympathetic to their situation' (p. 220). That is to say, when interviewees recognize interviewers as being one of them, or believe that interviewers are able to step into their shoes, they may be more willing to share more experiences. For my interviewees, my PhD experience in the UK was similar to their working-holiday experience in Australia. Both of these were opportunities to experience Western culture and to develop a broader self-identity. Because of this similarity, they were more proactive in sharing their work and life experience in Australia. Meanwhile, these interviewees were also curious

about my everyday life in the UK. They might be interested in how I made friends with British people, what leisure activities I engaged in in the UK, and what the differences are between university students in the UK and those in Taiwan. For me, conducting an interview with these Taiwanese young people was close to sharing experiences of living abroad with each other instead of enquiring about their working-holiday experience only.

Although all of these interviewees' comments on my PhD experience in the UK were irrelevant to the topic of this research, I conceived that these comments and questions actually reflected their expectations about successful returnees. There are actually two different criteria for successful returnees that emerged from my interviews. One is creating an advantage within the Western experience in Taiwan's market competition. The other is emphasizing a personal understanding of Western culture. These two different criteria further inspired me to notice that the research questions I had formulated before the fieldwork might oversimplify the identity formation of Taiwanese working holidaymakers. As noted previously in this chapter, my initial research questions focused on the effects of prejudice and socio-economic status on the identity formation of Taiwanese working holidaymakers. However, during the fieldwork, I found that the influence of their socioeconomic status in Taiwan on their working holiday experience in Australia was quite limited. This was because there was a gap between their purposes and their real experiences in Australia.

From Miss P's and Mr Z's responses, I discovered that the socioeconomic status of these Taiwanese young people's families in Taiwan might affect their reason for being working holidaymakers in Australia. Nevertheless, this factor might be less related to their work and life choices in Australia. To avoid the Tai-Lao identity, 12 interviewees declared that they had chosen to get close to Western culture instead of working ceaselessly while they were staying in Australia. Namely, the prejudice against Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Taiwanese society actually played a crucial role in their life experience in Australia. This negative stereotype did not simply lead some interviewees, like Miss P and Mr Z, to reject an ascetic lifestyle in Australia, but it also stimulated them to think about what a successful working

holidaymaker should be. Therefore, I started to consider whether it would be possible to change my research focus from prejudice and social stratification to the definition of success for those Taiwanese who engage in working holidays in Australia.

Despite the fact that some interviewees regarded cultural exploration as a way to be recognized as successful working holidaymakers, others attempted to achieve upward social mobility in Taiwan through their working holidays in Australia. This intention might lead these Taiwanese young people to be criticized as 'Tai-Lao' by the people around them in Taiwanese society. However, these interviewees, such as Mr R and Miss N, believed that 'no one dares to taunt a person after he or she becomes rich'. Obviously, the way in which they defined successful working holidaymakers was based on their financial achievements in Australia. This understanding inspired me to propose that there are two different definitions of success among Taiwanese working holidaymakers. One is established through their cultural knowledge about Western society; the other is based on their financial achievements under market competition. This difference was a crucial point for me when I reformulated my research questions.

During the fieldwork, I noticed Taiwanese working holidaymakers' eagerness to be successful and their different views about success. This motivation and diversity led these young Taiwanese to shape identities in different ways. Although the prejudice in Taiwanese society and their family's socioeconomic status also affects their self-perception, these two elements are simply a small part of the whole process of identity formation. Hence, I decided to reformulate my research questions into more open-ended questions. After the fieldwork, I planned to investigate how Taiwanese working holidaymakers shape their identities in the following four respects. The first is how they develop their own identity by negotiating with the prejudice against them in Taiwanese society. The second is how these young Taiwanese build an identity through their work experience in Australia. The third is how Taiwanese working holidaymakers choose and formulate their self-identities through the practice of everyday life in Australia. The last is how these Taiwanese young people create an advantage in the labour market after returning to Taiwan. To

demonstrate how I investigated these four research questions through my data, the next section will present how I analysed my interview data using thematic analysis.

3.3 Data Analysis

3.3.1 Trial and error

When starting my data analysis, I was eager to formulate my interview data in sociological terms. Therefore, during the early stage of data analysis, I set some related sociological theories, such as neoliberalism, cosmopolitanism, and liquid modernity, as the categories of my research results. Then, I tried to code my data in accordance with these theoretical categories. However, after discussing this strategy with my supervisors, I realized that it was not the way forward. As Back (2007) put it, a good sociological researcher is actually a listener: 'Conceptual and theoretical work should not climb to a level where the voices of the people concerned become inaudible' (p. 21). That is to say, although researchers need to draw upon the literature related to their data and go back and forth between data and literature, the theories and concepts taken from the literature are simply tools for interpreting the data, rather than replacing it. Standing in an interpretivist position, my duty was not to engage in theoretical sophistication with the qualitative data. I had to allow the data to speak for itself without any preconceived theories. As such, I decided to restart my data analysis and develop a data-led discussion.

After realizing the problem with my data analysis, I chose to redo it using thematic analysis. The reason is that this method 'is not simply to summarize the data content, but to identify, and interpret, key, but not necessarily all, features of the data, guided by the research question' (Clarke & Braun, 2017, p. 297). Within this strategy, I could develop the results of this thesis into a data-led analysis. Meanwhile, I also needed to guarantee that the results of my data analysis would be highly correlated with the research questions that were presented at the beginning of this chapter. Therefore, when starting thematic analysis, I focused on the following four themes: 'Negotiating the Prejudice in Taiwan', 'Work Experience in Australia', 'Everyday Life in Australia', and 'Achievements after Returning to Taiwan'.

In order to develop a nuanced thesis, I tried to look for other subthemes or categories related to the above four major themes from my qualitative data. In this step, the fieldnotes, which I used to do the initial coding, were extremely helpful. To emphasize the importance of fieldnotes, Emerson et al. (1995) argue that 'to preserve and convey that closeness, they [researchers] must describe situations and events of interest in detail' (p. 243). Hence, the details recorded in fieldnotes are like bridges. They lead the research results to be close to the real situations in the field. My fieldnotes not only include details about my interviewees' non-verbal responses, but they also record my reflections on their response at that moment. For instance, when those interviewees who preferred to stay with Western independent travellers mentioned their peers who stayed in the Chinese community, they declared that every choice should be respected. However, their body language and tone actually showed a contempt for these compatriots. At that time, I wrote down 'contempt, group conflict' in my fieldnotes. Because of these memos, I could efficiently connect the four themes mentioned above with other, higher-order themes or subthemes.

In addition to fieldnotes, NVivo software was the other useful tool for my data analysis. This software helped me deal with those extracts that were labelled with more than one code. For example, while analysing Miss H's interview excerpt, I coded the sentence 'I think I have a better life now because of my husband's advantage in Taiwan' with 'Western Superiority', 'Patriarchal Dividend,' and 'Achievements after Returning to Taiwan'. Within NVivo, I could instantly know how many other extracts are also labelled with these three codes at the same time. Therefore, the similarities between those interviewees who also mentioned the same experience during the interview could be noticed efficiently.

3.3.2 Five major themes in this thesis

Within the interview data, fieldnotes and NVivo, I organized a thematic framework for this research. This framework is 'an index of central theme and subthemes' (Bryman, [2004] 2016, p. 589) to demonstrate how Taiwanese working holidaymakers formulate positive self-identities using their experiences in Taiwan and Australia. Through the analysis of my data, five

major themes emerged, as follows.

The first major theme is 'Negotiating the Prejudice in Taiwan'. The extracts in this theme were classified into two categories. One concerns interviewees' comments on how they are judged in Taiwanese society. I further coded these extracts with 'neoliberal ideology' and 'Taiwanese people's expectations of the cosmopolitan identity'. The second category is about how these Taiwanese working holidaymakers respond to the prejudice against them in Taiwanese society. The extracts related to this category were coded with 'Refuting the Tai-Lao Identity by Being Sceptics', 'Relabelling the Tai-Lao Identity by Reproducing Neoliberal Ideology' and 'Redefining the Tai-Lao Identity with the Western Perspective'.

The second major theme is 'Work Experience in Australia'. This theme includes interviewees' job search in the labour market, the job categories they engaged in, the difficulties they met in the workplace, and the role of work experiences in their identity formation process. While analysing this major theme, I discovered that those interviewees working in Westerners' workplaces were inclined to define themselves with a superior identity to their peers in the Chinese community. As such, I coded the extracts related to work experience in Australia with 'Working in Westerner's Place' and 'Working in the Chinese Community' in order to examine the differences and the group conflict between Taiwanese working holidaymakers.

The third major theme is 'Everyday Life in Australia'. The focus of this theme is on how my interviewees commented on the social structures within which they stayed in Australia, and how they performed their preferred self-identity through the practice of everyday life in Australia. In this theme, I coded the extracts from my interviewees' statements depending on the identities they had formulated during their working holiday. One was performing as 'Cosmopolitans' and the other was performing as 'Financial Winners'.

The fourth major theme is 'Achievements after Returning to Taiwan'. This theme was used to investigate how interviewees formulated themselves

as successful working holidaymakers after returning to Taiwan. Their comments relating to this theme were classified into three categories. The first is 'Integrating Working Holiday Experience with Resources in Taiwan'. This category relates to how interviewees created an advantage in Taiwan's market competition by combining their working-holiday experience in Australia with their different forms of capital in Taiwan. The second category is 'Being Chosen in the Taiwanese Labour Market'. This category reveals how interviewees got themselves hired in the Taiwanese labour market by using their working-holiday experience. The final category is 'Emphasizing the Cosmopolitan Identity'. This category reflects how interviewees emphasized the value of their working holiday experiences when such experiences have been assessed as worthless in the Taiwanese labour market.

The last major theme, 'Malleable Success', is the higher-order theme connecting the above four themes. Synthesizing these four themes, I discovered that prejudice, the workplace, everyday life, and the labour market are actually the processes which formulate Taiwanese working holidaymakers' positive self-identities. The word 'malleable' is a metaphor to describe how Taiwanese working holidaymakers' identities are developed. On the one hand, they try to become a successful person in Australia by their will. On the other hand, they need to negotiate with neoliberal ideology, social stratifications, and social expectations of cosmopolitans in Taiwanese society. Success for these Taiwanese young people can be defined differently depending on which social principles are influencing them.

3.4 Conclusion

As argued by Mills ([1959] 2000), 'the sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society' (p. 6). This means that the sociological imagination is a reflection on the link between individual behaviour and social context. Within this imagination, in this thesis I plan to interpret the identity formation of Taiwanese working holidaymakers based on the neoliberal and cosmopolitan contexts. To achieve this goal, this chapter has not simply presented my reflections on fieldwork preparation and data analysis, but also explained how I formulated my research questions through my reflections on the fieldwork.

Before fieldwork, my initial research focus was to investigate how prejudice and socioeconomic status affect the identity formation of Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia. However, after interviewing several research participants, I became aware that these young people's social status in Taiwan is not as influential as expected. Moreover, while negotiating with the prejudice against them in Taiwanese society, these young people did not simply choose to accept or reject the loser identity. Instead, they developed two different definitions of success during the negotiation process. One is established through an understanding of cultural knowledge about Western society; the other is based on financial achievements under market competition. Inspired by this diversity, I reformulated my research questions to explore how Taiwanese working holidaymakers shape their identities.

Drawing on thematic analysis, I described success as malleable in order to interpret the identity formation of Taiwanese working holidaymakers. For these Taiwanese young people, the different social principles between Taiwan and Australia are similar to forging tools for ironworking. They do not simply have to negotiate with these social principles, but also put effort to become the successful person they want to be. This contradiction enables these young Taiwanese to shape different definitions of success. Hence, I use the term, 'malleable success' to elucidate how their identities are shaped by the negotiation of prejudice, jobs and everyday life in Australia, and their achievements after returning to Taiwan. In Chapters Four to Seven, I will explain how Taiwanese working holidaymakers present identities in terms of the above four aspects.

Chapter 4
'Travel for a Dream' Instead of 'Travel as a Tai-Lao'

In Chapters Four to Seven, I will analyse the empirical evidence collected for this research in order to discuss the identity formation of Taiwanese who have experienced being working holidaymakers in Australia. Within this first analysis chapter, I am going to explore the extent to which people in Taiwanese society define Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia as 'Tai-Lao', and how these Taiwanese young people's identities are malleable within this prejudicial context. This chapter is organised into two sections. Each section is further divided into three aspects.

The purpose of the first section is to account for the interpretation of the Tai-Lao identity in a Taiwanese context. To begin, I will explain why people travelling to Australia for working holidays are related to 'losers' in Taiwan's neoliberal system. After this, I will draw upon Massey's (1991) idea of power-geometry to examine why Taiwanese working holidaymakers are associated with Southeast Asian migrant workers in Taiwan. Finally, I will discuss how a middle-class ideology makes sense of cosmopolitanism in Taiwanese society, and how this shapes the prejudice against Taiwanese working holidaymakers.

The second section focuses on how Taiwanese working holidaymakers refute, relabel and redefine the prejudice against them in Taiwanese society. First, I will analyse how Taiwanese working holidaymakers challenge the neoliberal ideology that lies behind the negative stereotyping they face. Meanwhile, I will elucidate why this prejudice can be regarded as symbolic violence perpetrated by the dominant group in Taiwan's neoliberal system. After this, I attempt to explore how these Taiwanese young people present the social boundary between Tai-Lao and themselves in order to avoid the Tai-Lao identity, and how this boundary reproduces the neoliberal ideology in Taiwanese society. Finally, I will explore how Taiwanese working holidaymakers emphasize the symbolic boundary between Tai-Lao and themselves through their interest in Western culture. I will argue that this boundary reproduces the ethnic inequality in the current development of cosmopolitanism in a Taiwanese cultural context, and that the definition of Tai-Lao is reinterpreted

by these young Taiwanese.

4.1 The 'Tai-Lao' Identity in a Taiwanese Context

When young Taiwanese decide to travel to Australia for a working holiday, the dominant group in the Taiwanese labour market always regard them as a group of people who face great difficulties in finding employment in Taiwan. As such, these Taiwanese are further associated with Southeast Asian migrant workers in Taiwan. For Taiwanese in general, both of these groups are 'losers' in their home country. They need to move to other developed countries and engage in low-skilled jobs in order to survive in this world. In Taiwan, Southeast Asian migrant workers are called 'Wai-Lao'. Therefore, those Taiwanese young people who engage in working holidays in Australia are called 'Tai-Lao' by the dominant group in Taiwan's market competition.

4.1.1 'Tai-Lao' in Australia and 'losers' in the Taiwanese labour market

As noted in Chapter Two, the identity formation of Taiwanese young people nowadays is strongly influenced by neoliberal ideology. Under these circumstances, the reason why these young Taiwanese choose to take a working holiday in Australia also needs to be examined using the winner-loser logic. Miss F provided her experience of this during the interview. She started her working holiday in Australia in 2012 when she was 25 years old. After two years of travelling, Miss F returned to Taiwan and became a saleswoman in a medium-sized enterprise. The following extract is Miss F's friends' attitude towards her working holiday experience in Australia:

Interviewer: How do your friends feel about your Australian experience?

Miss F: Honestly, most of them treat me with contempt.

Interviewer: What! Why?

Miss F: Well…when Taiwanese know you were a working holidaymaker in Australia, they always taunt you as a loser in Taiwan. Some people even show their contempt with a rude attitude. After returning to Taiwan, my friends always ask: 'Oh! You have ever engaged in a working holiday in Australia. It's good, right? How much money did you earn there? Have you run out?' These people always ask these questions in a rude and impolite way.

> For them, I engaged in a working holiday in Australia because I was eliminated from the workplace in Taiwan. They believe that we are losers in Taiwan. So, I really feel offended by these questions and the term, Tai-Lao.

Looking at Miss F's friends' questions/enquiries, it appears that a section of Taiwanese society regards economic purposes as the main motivation for Taiwanese young people to engage in working holidays in Australia. Due to the restrictions of the Working Holiday Visa, Taiwanese working holidaymakers are only allowed to take low-skilled and labour-intensive jobs, such as waiters/waitresses, fruit pickers, or butchers, in Australia. In Miss F's view, her friends believed that she had been eliminated from the Taiwanese labour market. She had to go to Australia with a Working Holiday Visa and undertake low-skilled jobs there in order to survive in this world. This misunderstanding led her friends to associate Miss F's social position in Australia with those of Southeast Asian migrant workers in Taiwan. Thus, Miss F was taunted as 'Tai-Lao' by these friends. Their questions about Miss F are not because they are interested in her life experience in Australia but because they despise her choice of being a working holidaymaker there.

During the interview, Miss F also mentioned her motivation for being a working holidaymaker in Australia. Growing up in a working-class family, Miss F has fewer resources than her peers from the upper middle class. When competing with them in the workplace, Miss F felt very frustrated and under pressure. Therefore, after working for four years in Taiwan, she decided to travel to Australia and took two gap years. For Miss F, the working holiday was an opportunity to relax. However, as presented in the above extract, her friends believed that she engaged in a working holiday for economic purposes and labelled her as a 'loser'. This misunderstanding obviously reflects the difficulties that most lower-class young people face in Taiwanese society (see section 2.1 in Chapter Two). The prejudice against Taiwanese young people actually means the oppression of lower-class youth by the vested interest group in Taiwan's market competition (Lin, 2015a). When young Taiwanese like Miss F feel frustrated due to their lack of resources in market competition, their employers may either reject them or offer them a low-wage employment

contract. When they seek to escape from this competitive pressure for a while, their peers despise them as 'losers' who are eliminated from the Taiwanese labour market.

Considering the above extract and Miss F's difficulty in Taiwanese society, I contend that the loser identity attached to Taiwanese working holidaymakers is not used to criticize the working holiday itself. Instead, this negative stereotype actually reflects how the Taiwanese labour market is unfriendly to lower-class youth. As stated by Ganti (2014), neoliberalism is a system that is used to 'restore the power of economic elites' (p. 94). Regarding competition as the foundation of human progress, neoliberal adherents attribute their successes within market competition to individual ability instead of class privilege. To emphasize individual ability, they deliberately ignore the influence of family socioeconomic status on personal career development. Hence, vulnerable social groups, such as lower-class Taiwanese youth, are derogated as lazy or incapable. This neoliberal ideology leads to those young Taiwanese who travel to Australia for a working holiday having to bear the loser identity in Taiwanese society.

4.1.2 'Tai-Lao,' 'Wai-Lao,' and power-geometry

When the loser identity attached to young Taiwanese is discussed in the context of working holidays, those young Taiwanese who travel to Australia for a working holiday are labelled as a new negative stereotype — Tai-Lao. As noted in section 2.1, this Chinese term is used disparagingly by Taiwanese people to indicate that Taiwanese working holidaymakers' social position in Australia is similar to that of Southeast Asian migrant workers in Taiwan. For the vested interest groups in Taiwanese society, both of these groups leave their home countries for economic purposes and are willing to be the lower class in other countries in order to survive. This prejudice was mentioned by Mr C1 during his interview. He travelled to Australia for a working holiday when he was 28 years old. After returning to Taiwan, he decided to be an amateur writer and published one travelogue about his working holiday experience in Australia. The following extract is how Mr C1's friend's teacher commented on Taiwanese working holidaymakers' social position in Australia.

Mr. C1: My friend's major is also sociology like you. His teacher really encourages his students to travel to Australia for working holidays. This professor declares that sociology is simply modules for your diploma. If you are a working holidaymaker in Australia, you will experience what these theorists are talking about. This is because you are Tai-Lao in Australia. Like those Wai-Lao in Taiwan, you are treated as the lower class there. Although you may graduate from a top three university in Taiwan, it doesn't mean anything. All you can do is engage in labour-intensive jobs in Australia. Because of poor English language skills, you also have no idea about how to show your anger even if you are full of rage. No one wants to help you. All of these problems are caused by your poor English skills and poor interpersonal relationships in Australia.

In Taiwanese society, Wai-Lao is a Mandarin Chinese term for migrant workers from Southeast Asian countries. This term, in a Taiwanese cultural context, implies derogatory meanings which depict Southeast Asian migrant workers as an inferior outgroup. According to this extract, the reason why Mr C1's friend's teacher associated Taiwanese working holidaymakers with those Southeast Asian migrant workers in Taiwan is their social position in Australian society. Both of these social groups are regarded as outsiders in the country where they are temporarily living. Also, they belong to the lower class there. With the term 'Tai-Lao', Mr C1's friend's teacher analogized their situation in Australia to those Wai-Lao in Taiwan.

As explained by Mr C1's friend's teacher, Tai-Lao and Wai-Lao are vulnerable social groups in Australia and Taiwan respectively in terms of the job categories they are able to engage in. This similarity can be interpreted using Massey's (1991) idea of power-geometry. This concept is defined as the unequal power relations between different countries in the global order that lead people from different cultures to be treated unequally when they travel to other countries. Due to the economic development gap between Australia and Taiwan, Australia is in a superior position to Taiwan in the world economic order. As such, when Taiwanese young people travel to Australia for working

holidays, the Australian government regards them as a labour force that can be used to ease the problem of labour shortages in primary industry, such as agriculture and stock farming (Reilly, 2015; Tan & Lester, 2012). Therefore, the Australian government encourages Taiwanese working holidaymakers to choose low-skilled jobs, such as fruit pickers and factory butchers, by setting restrictions on the Working Holiday Visa.

Similarly to the unequal relationship between Taiwan and Australia, Taiwan is in a higher position than other Southeast Asian countries, such as the Philippines and Indonesia, in the world economic order. As such, for the Taiwanese government, Southeast Asian migrant workers also form a labour force that can solve the labour shortage in primary industry. The job categories in which they engage in Taiwan are quite similar to the job categories in which Taiwanese working holidaymakers engage in Australia. These migrant workers are limited to taking labour-intensive jobs in Taiwan, such as construction and production workers. Thus, because of the economic inequality between different countries, people's job choices are restricted by the political authorities when they move to other countries. This phenomenon clearly demonstrates how Massey's idea of power-geometry works on global mobility. Although Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia and Southeast Asian migrant workers in Taiwan are living in different social systems, the influence of power-geometry on global mobility leads them to have the same socioeconomic status within these different social systems. This similarity causes both groups to be stigmatized with similar negative identities in Taiwanese society, one as Tai-Lao; the other as Wai-Lao.

The unequal power relations between Australia, Taiwan and other Southeast Asian countries potentially affect Taiwanese working holidaymakers' assessments of their individual abilities. Mr S's response during his interview can be considered an example of this statement. Meeting the same difficulties in Australia as Wai-Lao in Taiwan, Mr S believed that he deserves to be judged as Tai-Lao in Australia by people in Taiwanese society. The following extract is Mr S's perception of his working holiday experience in Australia and his change after returning to Taiwan.

Mr. S: Yes, even though I did not discriminate against Wai-Lao before going to Australia, I would avoid them. When meeting Wai-Lao in Taiwan, I felt that I was in a higher position than these people. However, after my working holiday, I do not have that kind of prejudice anymore. This is because I feel that my situation in Australia was similar to a Wai-Lao's role in Taiwan.

Interviewer: Why do you perceive yourself in this way?

Mr. S: I know Tai-Lao is a negative term, but it is an accurate one. We can only choose those work opportunities that are rejected by local workers in Australia. Needless to say, we are also racially discriminated against by White Australians. Our role in Australia is the same as those Wai-Lao in Taiwan. I am not as good as Bai-Ren[11], just as Southeast Asian migrant workers are not as good as us. So, I will accept it if someone calls me Tai-Lao. This is because I can understand Wai-Lao's culture and difficulties in Taiwan.

As shown in this extract, Mr S was aware that most Taiwanese working holidaymakers are a vulnerable group in Australian society. Thus, he associated his identity in Australia with Southeast Asian migrant workers' identity in Taiwan. This reflection is similar to the previous extract from Mr C1's interview. In terms of job categories, language barriers and social connections, Mr C1 also analogized Taiwanese working holidaymakers' situation in Australia to Southeast Asian migrant workers' roles in Taiwan. However, Mr S's narrative point of view on the Tai-Lao identity is slightly different from that of Mr C1. The way in which Mr C1 explained this prejudice in Taiwan was based on his friend's teacher's understanding of Taiwanese working holidaymakers. That is to say, he did not disclose his personal point of view about this issue and instead emphasized how Taiwanese people judge Taiwanese working holidaymakers. In contrast, while responding to questions related to the Tai-Lao identity, Mr S presented his own subjective take on this negative stereotype. He was able to put himself into a Wai-Lao's shoes after returning to Taiwan and further judged himself as carrying the Tai-Lao identity. In comparison with Mr C1, Mr S tried to negotiate with the prejudice against

---

[11] Bai-Ren is a Chinese term which can be literally translated as 'white people' or Caucasians. In Taiwan, it generally means people from Western culture.

Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Taiwanese society in order to formulate his self-identity.

While assessing individual capability and the Tai-Lao identity, Mr. S declared that 'I am not as good as Bai-Ren, just as Southeast Asian migrant workers are not as good as us.' This self-evaluation actually depends on the power-geometry between different ethnicities in the global order rather than on personal achievement. As noted in the previous paragraph, Australia is in a superior position to Taiwan in the global order. However, in comparison with Southeast Asian countries, Taiwan has more advantages in global market competition. This means that Mr S had internalized these unequal power relations and regarded them as one of the crucial elements for individual capability when he explained the similarities between Tai-Lao and Wai-Lao.

A similar phenomenon is also reflected in Baas' (2017) research on Indian international students in Australia. Baas reports that most Indian international students in Australia come from the middle class in India. Nonetheless, while travelling in Australia, most of them have to live with a working-class lifestyle. Their downward social mobility 'contributed to a particular kind of marginalization or othering' (Baas, 2017, p. 189). This marginalization reflects how the unequal power relations between Australia and India affects these Indian young people's social position within global mobility. Obviously, both Mr S's self-evaluation and Indian international students' social position in Australia reflect the influence of power-geometry on people's assessment of individual abilities. That is, although power-geometry refers to the unequal power relations between different countries in the global order, it is further associated with individual ability within market competition. This inequality not only happens at a macro level, but can also be perceived in micro terms.

As explained above, it seems that Mr S has accepted the Tai-Lao identity because of his reflections on power-geometry and individual abilities. Nevertheless, Mr S still tried to endow this negative identity with positive meanings. When he declared himself Tai-Lao, he also emphasized that his working holiday experience in Australia had enabled him to empathize with

Southeast Asian migrant workers in Taiwan. He maintained that 'after my working holiday, I do not have that kind of prejudice anymore.' Hence, although the social principles of Taiwanese society forced Mr S to judge himself using a negative stereotype, he never gave up building his self-identity with positive personality traits, such as generosity and cultural tolerance. This identity conflict is actually a demonstration of Mr S's reflexivity. This ability helps people like Mr S to examine their choices within the social structure and inspires them to find other possibilities in the process of identity negotiation.

4.1.3 Middle-class ideology and the development of cosmopolitanism in Taiwan

In addition to the loser identity, a cosmopolitan orientation also causes prejudice against Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Taiwanese society. This expectation is formulated by the middle-class ideology in Taiwan. This argument can be illustrated by Miss A3's account of her father's view on the Tai-Lao identity. When Miss A3 mentioned her working holiday plans to her family, her father would not allow her to do it. The following extract is Miss A3's description of her father's view of working holidays in Australia.

Miss A3: My father always says that, when he was young, most Taiwanese travelled abroad either for business purposes or for academic degrees. All of them were Tai-Shang [台商] or Hai-Gui [海歸]. So, Taiwanese of his age declared that the reason why the Massachusetts Institute of Technology is abbreviated to MIT is because there are so many Taiwanese international students there. These students are MADE IN TAIWAN. They are cosmopolitan Taiwanese. They are Taiwan's honour. For my father, the purpose of travelling abroad is to do as the elites do. However, young Taiwanese nowadays travel to Australia for low-skilled jobs, such as killing pigs and picking fruit. Even though I believe that my experience in Australia really helped me to develop a global perspective, my father still regarded me as Tai-Lao instead of cosmopolitan. He felt that being working holidaymakers in Australia is shameful for Taiwanese people.

Tai-Shang is a Chinese term for Taiwanese entrepreneurs who have business enterprises in other countries. Hai-Gui means overseas Taiwanese international students in Western countries. Both of these groups come from the middle class in Taiwanese society. The above quote implies that Miss A3's father's understanding of travelling abroad is based on the social practices of the middle class in Taiwanese society.

The influence of the middle class on the development of global mobility does not simply occur in Taiwan. It can also be perceived in the rise of low-cost air travel. As Casey (2010) states, although low-cost air travel does provide people with more opportunities to enjoy mobility with a smaller financial burden, the airline ticket is only one financial cost of mobility. A person's social connections and necessary knowledge about travel also play important roles in his or her interest in mobility. As such, lower-class people may have less interest in travel than the middle class due to a lack of these two elements. Therefore, Casey argues that the upper working class and the middle class may have more opportunities to benefit from low-cost air travel. These two social groups are able to 'utilize their income and knowledge to increase their mobilities and touristic experiences' (Casey, 2010, p. 178). That is to say, the major group involved in global mobility nowadays is composed of the upper working class and the middle class.

The middle class does not simply play the dominant role in global mobility, but also affects the interpretation of a cosmopolitan identity in the Taiwanese cultural context. In the above extract, Miss A3's father's comment about Taiwanese international students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology obviously reflects this phenomenon. As demonstrated in Table 1 (see section 3.2.1), Miss A3 grew up in an upper-middle-class family. Therefore, her father's socioeconomic status in Taiwan also belongs to the upper middle class. For this upper-middle-class man, only those Taiwanese who 'do as elites do' in Western countries are qualified to be recognized as 'cosmopolitan Taiwanese'. As argued by Vertovec and Cohen (2002), 'even where the reactions were not so extreme, the common stereotype of cosmopolitans suggested privileged, bourgeois, politically uncommitted elites'

(p. 5). Namely, those agents who are endowed with a cosmopolitan orientation have to perform as elites in order to cater to social expectations of cosmopolitans. Hence, I maintain that Miss A3's father's imagination of the cosmopolitan identity is quite similar to his own understanding of global mobility. Both of these are established under middle-class ideology in Taiwanese society.

Due to the dominant role of middle-class ideology in the development of cosmopolitanism, those Taiwanese young people who travel to Australia for working holidays can hardly be recognized as cosmopolitans by people in Taiwanese society. For those Taiwanese like Miss A3's father, there is a gap between what 'cosmopolitan Taiwanese' should do in Western countries, and what Taiwanese working holidaymakers actually do in Australia. This gap, in my view, can be explained using Goffman's (1963) analysis of stigma. According to him, when people first meet a stranger, 'we lean on these anticipations that we have, transforming them into normative expectations, into righteously presented demands' (Goffman, 1963, p. 5). In other words, those anticipations based on collective consciousness lead people to build a social identity for the strangers they meet. This social identity, in Goffman's definition, is called a virtual social identity. As discussed above, the criterion that Miss A3's father used to judge Taiwanese working holidaymakers is the public image of Tai-Shang and Hai-Gui in Taiwanese society. This means that Miss A3's father's impression of Taiwanese working holidaymakers is mainly influenced by the role of middle-class ideology on cosmopolitanism. This impression can be interpreted as Taiwanese working holidaymakers' virtual social identity in Taiwanese society.

At the same time, Goffman also proposed the idea of an actual social identity, which is opposed to virtual social identity. Goffman (1963) defines this as: 'the category and attributes he [the individual] could in fact be proved to possess will be called his actual social identity' (p. 5). That is to say, the establishment of a person's actual social identity is in accordance with his or her social practice, rather than the collective consciousness. As presented in the above extract from Miss A3's interview, most Taiwanese working holidaymakers take low-skilled jobs in Australia. The job categories they

engage in are far from the social expectations of a cosmopolitan identity in Taiwanese society. This difference further exacerbates the gap between the virtual social identity that Taiwanese people expect and the actual social identity that Taiwanese working holidaymakers have.

In Goffman's view, this gap is the way in which stigma is created. That is to say, there is a conflict between Taiwanese working holidaymakers' virtual social identity and their actual social identity in Taiwanese society. The former is built upon cosmopolitanism from a middle-class perspective; the latter is built upon the job categories in which they actually engage in Australia. When people's virtual social identity is in a superior position to their actual one, they are forced to bear the stigma or the prejudice of others. Hence, in addition to the market competition in Taiwanese society, the role of middle-class ideology in the development of cosmopolitanism also leads those Taiwanese young people who travel to Australia for working holidays to be labelled as 'Tai-Lao' in Taiwanese society. In the next section, I will further discuss how Taiwanese working holidaymakers respond to this negative stereotype.

4.2 Reflections on Prejudices

Having to face prejudices in Taiwanese society, most Taiwanese working holidaymakers choose to refute them and to formulate positive self-identities. In this process of identity formation, some of these Taiwanese young people may be sceptical about the ability of their lifestyle in Taiwan to challenge neoliberal ideology. Others may relabel their peers, who have less income, as 'Tai-Lao' by emphasizing their financial achievements in either Taiwan or Australia. Furthermore, other Taiwanese working holidaymakers even redefine 'Tai-Lao' as referring only to the group of Taiwanese young people who remain within the Chinese community, have little interest in Western culture, and dream of taking a sum of money back to Taiwan.

4.2.1 'I'm living in this world instead of just surviving in it.'

To refute the Tai-Lao identity, some Taiwanese working holidaymakers may challenge the neoliberal ideology in Taiwanese society. They may compare their lifestyle in Taiwan with their life experience in Australia. Miss M1, one of my interviewees, belongs to this group of young Taiwanese. After

experiencing different lifestyles in Australia, she was sceptical about her life within the Taiwanese social system. As such, she further criticized Taiwan as 'Gui-Dao.' The following extract includes Miss M1's interpretation of 'Gui-Dao', and her views about the different lifestyles in Australia and Taiwan.

> Miss M1: I know most Taiwanese call us Tai-Lao in Australia, but what I pursue in Australia is not money but a better lifestyle. In Australia, most of my jobs are low skilled, but I don't need to spend much time on making money. Even so, I can still live without financial pressure. I'm allowed to get off work at four o'clock. I have time to enjoy a movie with my friends, cook a meal with my boyfriend, and have a nice sleep. Although I always need to move from one place to another when I'm living in Australia. However, these changes provide me with a good quality of life. In Australia, I can feel that I'm living in this world instead of just surviving in it. I know everyone says Taiwan is Taiwan, Australia is Australia, and we have our rules. But Taiwan is really a Gui-Dao for me (Sigh). The lifestyle is busy and routine. The financial pressure is heavy. I really need to live for my job and demonstrate that I'm a useful person. I really don't get it; why do I need to be scolded as Tai-Lao just because I can have a better life in Australia?

'Gui-Dao' is a Chinese term which means 'the ghost island'. Given the above extract, most Taiwanese young people like Miss M1 not only have to endure a busy and routine life, but they also face heavy financial pressure to survive under Taiwan's market competition. These competitive circumstances, in Miss M1's view, are so hard that they lead her to feel deprived. Therefore, she criticized her country, Taiwan, as 'Gui-Dao' to show her dissatisfaction with the neoliberal system.

Miss M1's description of her lifestyle after returning to Taiwan is coherent with Bauman's idea of solid modernity. As argued by Bauman (2004), the difference between traditional society and solid modernity is that the principles of traditional society are established through 'political, ethical and

cultural entanglements' (p. 4). People in traditional societies may be constrained by social principles, such as loyalties, customary rights and family obligations. In contrast, a solid social structure reformulates 'a new order, defined primarily in economic terms' (Bauman, 2004, p. 4). Compared with traditional society, a solid social structure is mainly organized through economics. People in this social system are educated to regard profit and private wealth as the main purpose of their lives. Like Miss M1, most Taiwanese are forced to live for their jobs and make money in order to survive under Taiwan's market competition. This pressure leads Miss M1 to feel that 'I'm living in this world instead of just surviving in it.' This reflection, in my view, implies that she felt alienated from Taiwanese society. Hence, Miss M1 was motivated to look for other lifestyles by taking a working holiday in Australia.

In contrast to her life in Taiwan, while engaging in global mobility like a working holiday, Miss M1 felt that her lifestyle in Australia was changeable. Under these shifting circumstances, she did not feel uneasy or pressured. Rather, she was no longer forced to pursue private wealth due to social constraints and was able to set goals for her life by her own choice. In Australia, Miss M1 could finish work at four o'clock, have time to enjoy a movie with friends, cook a meal with her boyfriend, and have a nice sleep. Unlike her lifestyle in Taiwan, she did not need to work ceaselessly and make money to 'perform as a useful person'. Her aimless but free lifestyle in Australia is coherent with Bauman's (2004) idea of liquid modernity. Bauman argues that the social structure nowadays is neither traditional nor solid. Because of the uncertainty and risk caused by the rise of globalization, nowadays the form of solid social structure is gradually being shed and has no fixed shape. That is to say, it is becoming relatively liquid. As such, agents try to pursue an 'individualized, privatized version of modernity' (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 103). In the above extract, Miss M1 engaged in geographical mobility across nations. Meanwhile, she also arranged her life in Australia in accordance with her personal preferences.

Miss M1's life experiences in Taiwan and Australia are entirely different because she is living within different forms of social structure. In Taiwanese

society, a solid social structure established under economic terms, people must build an identity through private wealth. Therefore, while living under Taiwan's market competition, Miss M1 was socially required to live for money. In contrast, individual will is perceived to be key in a liquid social structure. Under these circumstances, individuals can 'seek out, or hunt, personal privatized good life' (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 104) with fewer social constraints. As such, Miss M1 had opportunities to experience a relatively free lifestyle during her working holiday in Australia. Thus, when she asked: 'why do I need to be scolded as Tai-Lao just because I am able to have better life in Australia?' her question actually implies the value conflict between these two different types of social structures. That is, the way in which Miss M1 refuted the Tai-Lao identity was in order to develop a positive self-identity with different social principles under a different social structure.

Moreover, Taiwanese working holidaymakers may further doubt the logic of the negative stereotypes directed against them in Taiwanese society when they are labelled as 'losers' or 'Tai-Lao'. Mr K's interview could be seen as an example of this type of response. In Miss M1's case, we can see that the balance between work and life is the key condition for having a good quality of life. Nonetheless, this is difficult to achieve without a healthy employee-employer relationship. This problem was proposed by Mr K to refute the prejudice against Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Taiwan. He was a team leader in a fine-dining restaurant for four years before engaging in his working holiday in Australia. After working there for three years, Mr. K decided to have a working holiday in Australia in order to look for better work opportunities. The following extract is Mr K's description of his work experience in Taiwan and his reflections on his employer.

> Mr. K: For me, the 'Tai-Lao' identity is simply the strategy which Taiwanese employers use to exploit me. When I was a team leader in a fine-dining restaurant in Taiwan, I had to work overtime most of the time without overtime pay. This is the fate of most people running the service industry in Taiwan. On the contrary, I can get paid for every working hour in Australia. In Taiwan, employers always say, 'I never pay for your time. I only

pay for your responsibility. If you need to work overtime, it's the problem of your personal ability.' However, none of my colleagues ever gets off work on time. What's worse, to avoid being judged as a loser, I need to endure this exploitation and continue to stay in this company until an ugly thing happens.

Interviewer: Can you tell me about this?

Mr. K: Yes, I found my employer's son's Facebook by chance. On his Facebook, he declared, 'Ability makes you rich' and showed a photo of his Porsche. Listen! HIS OWN PORSCHE! He's only 20 years old and never worked in his life. At this moment, I realized why I always have 30,000 NTD [75 GBP] per month and cannot have the extra pay. (Sigh) So, I quit! Employers in Taiwan are extremely ugly! So, whether it's Tai-Lao or loser, these terms are simply used to exploit young Taiwanese like me.

As noted in previous sections, the Tai-Lao identity is actually a form of prejudice that creates but also maintains the class inequality in Taiwan's neoliberal system (see section 4.1.1). Being a team leader, Mr K was afraid that his individual ability may be doubted by his employer and colleagues. Thus, Mr K chose to endure working overtime without extra pay. His experience in Taiwan's workplace reveals that prejudice and stigma are weapons used by the dominant class. When the oppressed group is labelled with negative identities by the dominant class, these stigmatized people may make the same choice as Mr K. They choose to endure extra exploitation in order to avoid a ruined social identity. By using this weapon, the vested interest groups, such as Mr K's employer and his employer's son, are able to extract financial rewards.

Analysing the above extract from Mr. K's interview, I maintain that prejudice and stigma can actually be interpreted as symbolic violence within Taiwan's neoliberal system. Indeed, what we see here is a power mechanism which leads agents to follow the principles of a social structure (Bourdieu, 1991). Despite the fact that agents may be suffering under it, they still believe that these principles are naturally caused, and that there is really nothing to be done about it. By means of commodification and market competition,

neoliberal ideology educates Taiwanese people that private wealth represents individual ability (see section 2.1). Although young Taiwanese like Mr K feel dissatisfied with this system, they still believe that 'this is the fate of most people running the service industry in Taiwan'. This understanding obviously implies that neoliberalism is a form of symbolic power in Taiwanese society.

When they remain within the Taiwanese labour market, young Taiwanese who have few financial resources are always labelled with negative identities, such as losers or Tai-Lao, by the vested interest group (see section 2.1). To refute these stereotypes, they endure extra exploitation and demonstrate individual ability in the workplace. By the process of stigmatization, the vested interest groups, such as Mr K's employer, are able to extract benefits from these young people, who are judged as having a damaged social identity. Therefore, 'one of the major characteristics of neoliberalism is conditions of heightened stigmatization for minority subjects' (Tyler & Slater, 2018, p. 734). That is to say, when neoliberalism in Taiwan is interpreted as symbolic power, the prejudice against young Taiwanese is actually the symbolic violence which the vested interest groups are using to exploit labour. Within this violence, the privilege of the dominant group in the Taiwanese labour market can be endlessly reproduced.

Knowing his employer's intention, Mr K declared that these negative identities 'are simply strategies which those employers use to exploit me.' This statement clearly reveals that the prejudice against Taiwanese working holidaymakers not only damages Mr K's social identity in Taiwan, but also leads him to feel deprived. Therefore, Mr K doubted the logic behind this prejudice in order to refute it. As argued by Clair et al. (2016), when facing prejudice, agents may choose to refute it by 'shifting causal attributions' (p. 223). To destigmatize the loser identity and the Tai-Lao identity, Mr K challenged the social principle presented in the above extract — 'ability makes you rich'. He tried to explain the problem of this social principle in order to challenge whether the Tai-Lao identity is reasonable.

The way that Mr K criticized the relationship between being rich and individual ability was taking his employer's son as an example. In a neoliberal

Taiwanese society that forces people to commodify themselves and compete with each other in the free market, monetary rewards become the most direct way to assess personal value. Private wealth, in a Taiwanese neoliberal context, almost comes to represent individual ability (Lin, 2015a). Nevertheless, this principle seems to be challenged by Mr K's description of his employer's son. For Mr K, the reason why his employer could accumulate private wealth was not due to personal ability but by exploitation. Also, the reason why his employer's son could have a luxury car was through kinship rather than ability. That is to say, both of them had accumulated their economic capital via class privilege instead of individual ability.

As discussed above, Mr K's observations about class privilege are actually coherent with Tyler's (2015) analysis of the relationship between social stratification and the development of neoliberalism. The rise of neoliberalism deepens the inequality between different social classes within a social structure. Therefore, 'the effects of class-based inequalities and the forms of exploitation accompany and enable inequalities to be sustained and reproduced' (Tyler, 2015, p. 496). Hence, in addition to individual ability, class privilege also plays a dominant role in a person's wealth accumulation within a neoliberal system. Having the advantages of the upper class, Mr K's employer was allowed to make money through exploitation in order to give the impression of individual ability. In contrast, being a working-class youth in Taiwanese society, Mr K had to make money through his own efforts in order to prove individual ability. That is to say, the above extract from Mr K's interview implies that neoliberal ideology, in Taiwan's cultural context, is not used to reward people who prove individual ability with money. Instead, it is used to admire people who buy individual ability with money.

4.2.2 'I'm not Tai-Lao, but they are.'

In order to avoid the prejudice in Taiwan, Taiwanese working holidaymakers may also emphasize their own financial achievements in either Taiwan or Australia and relabel their peers as Tai-Lao by reproducing neoliberal ideology. Among my 31 interviewees, eleven of them used this strategy when they discussed their views on the Tai-Lao identity. Mr Z, who was a software engineer in Taiwan before embarking upon his working holiday,

is one of these eleven interviewees. Feeling pressure in the workplace, he left Taiwan for a while and planned to give himself an opportunity to experience different cultures. Thus, Mr Z decided to travel to Australia for a working holiday. When answering questions about Tai-Lao, Mr Z shared his views with me as follows:

> Mr. Z: Well, I don't think I'm a Tai-Lao. I came here [Australia] for Western culture and English-language skills. Honestly, the media is right. Some Taiwanese engage in the working holiday programme in Australia only because they have a lower income in Taiwan. I met several Taiwanese who worked in the service industries and earned 22,000 NTD [550 GBP] per month in Taiwan before coming to Australia. They have to endure long working hours and low wages in Taiwan. So, they come for the money and are willing to be butchers or fruit pickers with illegal employment contracts. They're incapable of living in Taiwan. Even though those are low-paid jobs in Australia, the pay is still much higher than those people's jobs in Taiwan. Of course, I'm not that kind of person. I earned 40,000 NTD [1,000 GBP] per month in Taiwan. I'm not Tai-Lao, but they are.

Mr Z did not plan to debate whether Taiwanese working holidaymakers are Tai-Lao in Australia or not. Instead, he declared that some of them are willing to be Tai-Lao in Australia. Nevertheless, Mr Z excluded himself from this group. In his understanding, the reason why these young Taiwanese engaged in working holidays in Australia is that 'they're incapable of living in Taiwan.' To avoid the long working hours and low wages in Taiwan, they need to travel to Australia for better opportunities, even though these job vacancies are temporary and low-skilled. In comparison, being a 25-year-old software engineer earning 40,000 NTD per month, Mr Z was qualified to be recognized as middle class in Taiwanese society. He could not merely have a well-paid job in Taiwan, but could also experience Western culture in Australia. Hence, through his job and income in Taiwan, Mr Z attempted to draw a distinction between Tai-Lao and himself. He assessed himself as having a superior position to other Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia.

Mr Z's response to the Tai-Lao identity can be interpreted using the idea of social boundaries. Lamont and Molnar (2002) define social boundaries as being built via the social differences caused by an 'unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities' (p. 168). As discussed in previous sections, the Tai-Lao identity can be traced back to the negative stereotypes employed against lower-class young people in the Taiwanese labour market. As such, Mr Z tried to use his income and job in Taiwan to emphasize how he was different from his peers, who deserved the Tai-Lao identity. For Mr Z, although both Tai-Lao and he had chosen to take working holidays in Australia, his achievements in the Taiwanese labour market should lead him to be classified as a member of the group of winners in Taiwan's market competition. This understanding obviously demonstrates a social boundary established by means of the income inequality among individuals in Taiwanese society.

Within this social boundary, Mr Z successfully avoided to be labelled with the Tai-Lao identity. However, the purpose of his statements is not to challenge this negative stereotype in Taiwanese society. Instead, Mr Z further reproduced this prejudice with the logic of the dominant groups in Taiwan's market competition. In other words, the social boundary that Mr Z presented did not simply relabel his peers as 'Tai-Lao', but also reproduced the neoliberal ideology within Taiwanese society. In the process of reproducing this ideology, Mr Z emphasized his income in Taiwan to explain why he deserved a superior social identity to his peers. This means that quantifying individual ability is a strategy that Mr Z used in order to avoid the Tai-Lao identity for himself while relabelling his peers with this negative identity.

A similar strategy can also be perceived in Miss N's interview. Growing up in a working-class family, Miss N hoped to improve her family finances through her individual ability. However, due to the lack of family resources, Miss N met with great difficulties when she looked for a job in Taiwan. Although she finally got a job as a clerk administrator in a small enterprise, her salary could only cover her personal expenses. Therefore, she decided to travel to Australia to look for better opportunities. Unfortunately, when this

decision became known to friends and colleagues, Miss N's difficulties in the Taiwanese labour market led her to be taunted as Tai-Lao in Australia. The following extract is Miss N's description of this bad experience.

> Miss N: Before I travelled to Australia, I was poor. So, I was taunted as Tai-Lao by the people around me. Ok, that's fine. I'll take it. After I returned to Taiwan, my friends and colleagues always asked me 'Hey, how was your Tai-Lao experience in Australia?' Although I wore a smile on my face, I actually feel contempt for these people. I lived in Australia for two years and brought 800,000 NTD [about 20,000 GBP] back to Taiwan. With this money, I buy and sell stocks on Taiwan's stock market and successfully make handsome profits. Until now, these stocks are still helping me to make money. In comparison, my colleagues and friends are the same as before. They earn 28,000–32,000 NTD (700–800 GBP) per month and save 1,000 or 2,000 (25 or 50 GBP) each month. Who should be taunted as Tai-Lao? (Laughs.) So, the working holiday for me was not travel as Tai-Lao. It was travel for my dream.

This extract reveals that Miss N was unable to find a well-paid job to achieve social mobility before engaging in her working holiday in Australia. Therefore, her situation in the Taiwanese labour market was close to the loser identity formulated by the neoliberal ideology. In contrast, after bringing a sum of money back to Taiwan, Miss N drew herself up into a higher position than her friends and colleagues in Taiwan. Obviously, the self-identities she formulated were based on the quantification of individual ability. This process of identity formation reflects the prevalence of commodification in Taiwan's neoliberal system. Commodification is the process that quantifies the value of each thing and form of labour with a price. Within this process, agents are able to compete with each other to accumulate more private wealth in the free market (Pahl, 1995; Palley, 2005). Hence, like Miss N, most Taiwanese become accustomed to quantifying individual ability by means of private wealth and they pursue wealth in order to be recognized as winners in market competition.

To refute the prejudice against Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Taiwanese society, Miss N did the same thing as Mr Z. Both of them quantified their individual ability by means of income and reproduced the neoliberal ideology to relabel their peers as Tai-Lao. As argued by Parker and Aggleton (2003), 'stigma feeds upon, strengthens and reproduces existing inequalities of class, race, gender, and sexuality' (p. 13). That is to say, prejudice and stigma are always used by the dominant group to maintain their power within a social structure. For Miss N, bringing 800,000 NTD [about 20,000 GBP] back to Taiwan led her to achieve upward social mobility in Taiwanese society. As such, she regarded herself as a winner in Taiwanese society and had the qualification to ask: 'who should be taunted as Tai-Lao?'

In Miss N's case, she never doubted the existence of the Tai-Lao identity even though she has been stigmatized with it. What is more, Miss N chose to reproduce this negative stereotype in order to emphasize how she had transformed herself from a 'Tai-Lao' into a 'winner'. This means that the prejudice against Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Taiwanese society is hard to reconcile with these young people's financial achievements. Instead, these achievements may help these Taiwanese young people to reproduce this prejudice through the quantification of individual ability. Finally, they will continue the conflict between the dominant versus dominated groups in Taiwan's free market.

4.2.3 Redefining the Tai-Lao identity with a Western perspective

The above discussion illustrated two different strategies used by Taiwanese working holidaymakers to challenge the label of 'Tai-Lao'. A third strategy can be illustrated by Miss T's response. Growing up in a lower-middle-class family, Miss T did not have enough resources to study abroad in Western countries, such as the USA, UK, or Australia. Therefore, she was envious of her friends who were able to study abroad in these countries. After working for three years in Taiwan, Miss T successfully accumulated a sum of money and travelled to Australia for a working holiday in 2013. Like most Taiwanese young people who decide to have a working holiday in Australia, Miss T was also labelled as a 'loser' and 'Tai-Lao' by the people around her

before starting her travels. The following extract is her reflection on the negative stereotypes against herself in Taiwanese society.

> Miss T: Well…some Taiwanese do engage in working holidays for money in Australia. So, I can't disagree with this term [Tai-Lao]. However, I have to say that I'm totally different from those Taiwanese.
>
> Interviewer: Can you explain more specifically about this difference?
>
> Miss T: Tai-Lao make money for money itself. I make money for Western culture. That's why I'm different from them. They spend most of their time on work. Their life in Australia is work and sleep. They want to bring as much money back to Taiwan as possible. The reason why these people are called working holidaymakers is simply because their visa is a working holiday visa. Their purpose is wrong. A good working holidaymaker should put effort into experiencing Western culture instead of making money.

Like Mr Z and Miss N, Miss T also tried to distinguish herself from her peers whose lifestyle in Australia was close to the Tai-Lao identity. However, as shown in this extract, the boundary that Miss T presented was built upon her motivation for engaging in a working holiday in Australia. In contrast, the social boundary emphasized by Mr Z and Miss N was built upon their socioeconomic status in Taiwan. The former is based on different motivations and lifestyles. The latter depends on the unequal distribution of resources. Therefore, the boundary that Miss T presented can be explained as a symbolic boundary.

Within these different motivations and social practices, Miss T successfully presented a symbolic boundary in order to make the distinction between Tai-Lao and herself. As presented in the above extract, Miss T repeatedly declared that her motivation for having a working holiday in Australia was to experience Western culture. Meanwhile, she also criticized those Taiwanese young people who engage in working holidays for economic purposes. In Miss T's view, these peers are not working holidaymakers at all.

They should be regarded as Taiwanese migrant workers who work in Australia on a working holiday visa. This symbolic boundary helps Miss T to keep away from the prejudice against her in Taiwanese society. Nevertheless, the negative impact of this boundary is the same as the social boundary proposed by Mr Z (see section 4.2.1). The symbolic boundary proposed by Miss T cannot be used to reconcile the prejudice against Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Taiwanese society. Instead, these boundaries actually reproduce this prejudice and continually lead those young Taiwanese who engage in working holidays for economic purposes to remain the vulnerable group in Taiwanese society.

A similar symbolic boundary was also presented by Miss W when she discussed the Tai-Lao identity during her interview. Because of the influence of the mass media in Taiwan, Miss W believed that Western culture is more advanced than Taiwanese culture. Therefore, Miss W was quite interested in Western culture during her schooldays. After working for two years in Taiwan, she decided to travel to Australia for a working holiday. The following extract is how Miss W refuted the Tai-Lao identity, and how she commented on her peers who remain within the Chinese communities in Australia.

Miss W: Never make friends with a group of people from Chinese culture. I mean ALL PEOPLE WHO SPEAK CHINESE. They may give you a sense of safety and make you feel comfortable. However, you may feel too comfortable to explore the Western culture in Australia. Take me, for example, I always make friends with Bai-Ren. I can have more opportunities to explore western culture than other Taiwanese who just stay in the Chinese communities. They only care about money. (Laughs)

Interviewer: Really? Why do you think they only care about money?

Miss W: This is why they are called Tai-Lao, isn't it? Most Taiwanese working holidaymakers are aimless in Australia. They only live in Chinese communities and are incapable of interacting with Bai-Ren. They are only interested in job vacancies and money. They did nothing but make money in Australia. So, they deserve to be called Tai-Lao. I never make friends with them. I need to

develop my global perspective.

Similarly to Miss T, Miss W's interpretation of the Tai-Lao identity is also different from the definition of this negative stereotype in Taiwanese society. Her interpretation even redefines the meaning of the Tai-Lao identity. In contrast to the common definition of Tai-Lao in a Taiwanese context as those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who feel dissatisfied with their income in Taiwan, do low-skilled jobs in Australia, and dream of taking a sum of money back to Taiwan, Miss W regarded 'Tai-Lao' as those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who stay within the Chinese communities, have no interest in Western culture, and only travel to Australia for economic purposes. Obviously, Miss W's interpretation of the Tai-Lao identity does not simply put Western culture in first place, but also regards it as a criterion for assessing Taiwanese young people's global perspective.

The symbolic boundary that Miss W used to avoid the Tai-Lao identity actually reproduces the ethnic inequality caused by current cosmopolitanism in Taiwanese society. In East Asian countries, such as Japan, Korea and Taiwan, Western countries are associated with 'modernity, progress, and advancement' (Bui et al., 2013, p. 134). In the above extract from Miss W's interview, a passion for Western culture and a number of Western friends become the symbolic boundaries between cosmopolitans and Tai-Lao. These boundaries demonstrate a global perspective based on the global hierarchy of race. Meanwhile, these boundaries also help those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who pursue Western cultural experiences in Australia to avoid the Tai-Lao identity, which was originally defined by means of the neoliberal ideology in Taiwanese society.

In contrast, as implied in Miss W's extract, the symbolic boundary built on the global hierarchy of race also separates Taiwanese working holidaymakers into two subgroups. One subgroup lives in Chinese communities and travels to Australia for economic purposes; the other has a strong interest in exploring Western culture and making 'Bai-Ren' friends. Regarding themselves as cosmopolitans, the latter group positions themselves in a superior position to the former. Hence, those Taiwanese working

holidaymakers who remain within the Chinese communities and spend most of their time on work are taunted as Tai-Lao by their peers who emphasize Western cultural exploration. This means that the symbolic boundaries built on ethnic inequality in the development of cosmopolitanism never reconcile the prejudice against Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Taiwanese society. Instead, they further extend this prejudice into group conflict between different groups of Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia.

4.3 Conclusion

The prejudice against Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Taiwanese society seems to follow two ideological trends. One is the rise of neoliberal ideology in Taiwan; the other is the influence of middle-class ideology on the development of cosmopolitanism in Taiwan. In a Taiwanese neoliberal context, those Taiwanese young people who travel to Australia for working holidays are judged as 'losers' by the dominant groups in the Taiwanese labour market. Meanwhile, the role of power-geometry in global mobility also leads Taiwanese working holidaymakers and Southeast Asian migrant workers to be positioned as the lower class in Australia and Taiwan, respectively. These Taiwanese young people's social position in Australia obviously contradicts people's expectations of the cosmopolitan identity created by middle-class ideology in Taiwanese society. Therefore, they are judged as 'Tai-Lao' by the dominant groups in Taiwan's market competition.

The above two ideological trends force Taiwanese working holidaymakers to formulate positive self-identities in order to challenge the prejudices against them in Taiwan. Most of these Taiwanese young people may choose one or more of the following three strategies to achieve this goal. Firstly, they may refute the Tai-Lao identity by challenging the neoliberal ideology in Taiwanese society. These Taiwanese young people may challenge their stressful lifestyle in Taiwan by their uncertain but lovely lifestyle in Australia. Meanwhile, these Taiwanese working holidaymakers further argue that the prejudice against them is actually symbolic violence, which the vested interest groups in Taiwan's neoliberal system use to exploit them.

Secondly, these Taiwanese young people may relabel their peers as Tai-Lao by reproducing the neoliberal ideology. By citing their financial achievements in either Taiwan or Australia, they emphasize the social boundary between Tai-Lao and themselves. For these Taiwanese working holidaymakers, this boundary can be used to define themselves as the winners in Taiwan's neoliberal system and prevent their social identity from being damaged. However, this strategy does not reconcile the prejudice against Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Taiwanese society. Instead, it actually reproduces the neoliberal ideology that causes this negative stereotype.

Thirdly, those young Taiwanese who have a strong interest in Western culture may redefine 'Tai-Lao' as the group of Taiwanese working holidaymakers who remain within the Chinese community, have little interest in Western culture, and dream of taking a sum of money back to Taiwan. This reinterpretation actually reproduces the ethnic inequality in the development of cosmopolitanism. It also leads Taiwanese working holidaymakers to separate into two subgroups and causes group conflict between them. One lives in the Chinese communities and travels to Australia for economic purposes; the other has a strong interest in Western culture and regards a cosmopolitan identity as an honour. In the next chapter, I will further demonstrate how this group conflict affects the self-identities that working holidaymakers build through their work experience in Australia.

Chapter 5

Jobs for Cosmopolitans or Jobs for 'Tai-Lao'

In Chapter Four, I discussed how the symbolic boundary created by the neoliberal ideology in Taiwan leads to the internal group conflicts between Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia. Hence, the purpose of this chapter is to ask how these Taiwanese young people's admiration for the West affects their reflections on their work experiences in Australia, and how they define themselves as success within their work experiences in Australia. Taken as a whole, this chapter will be divided into three sections. Firstly, I plan to explain why Taiwanese working holidaymakers' English language skills are related to their socioeconomic status in Taiwan, and how these skills become important embodied cultural capital affecting their wages and working conditions in Australia. Secondly, I attempt to analyse why those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who have good English language skills prefer working with colleagues from Western culture. I will further investigate how they formulate a cosmopolitan identity for themselves by challenging the power-geometry (Massey, 1991) of global mobility, and how they judge their peers in the Chinese workplace as an inferior group by admiring the West. Finally, I will draw on Bourdieu's idea of social capital ([1997] 2003) to examine whether looking for jobs within the Chinese ethnic network in Australia is as easy as expected. I will present the advantages and disadvantages which the Chinese ethnic network can bring for Taiwanese working holidaymakers during the job search process in Australia.

5.1. English-Language Skills and Social Categories

For people in Taiwanese society, English is not only a compulsory module in their schooling, but also an important skill to bring better employment opportunities. Nonetheless, English is not Taiwanese people's mother tongue and it is difficult for most Taiwanese to learn it in normal daily life. To improve their English skills, personal effort is simply the basic requirement for young Taiwanese. In addition, they need either a better family background or more financial support to access more learning opportunities.

5.1.1 English proficiency and personal socioeconomic status in Taiwan

One interviewee, Miss M2, presented how her English-language skills are related to her family's socioeconomic status when she mentioned her English learning experience in Taiwan. This interviewee was 25 years old when she started her working holiday in Australia. Her father is a senior manager in a transportation company. During the interview, Miss M2 evaluated her family background as upper middle class. Since her first year at primary school, her parents have hired native English speakers to tutor her in English at home. Based on Miss M2's statement, she has already been learning English for 16 years. Her parents believed that good ability in English is one of the criteria for evaluating whether a person has received higher education or not. Meanwhile, they also regarded English as an important skill for Miss M2's career development. Therefore, her parents were willing to pay for educational resources to provide her with a rich English-language environment. Their efforts had enabled Miss M2 to speak English fluently by the time she started her working holiday in Australia. She got several legal employment contracts there thanks to her good English.

Examining Miss M2's English learning experience, we can see that English is cultural knowledge in an English-speaking society. As noted before, language skills can be considered a form of embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, [1997] 2003). It takes time for people to incorporate this form of cultural capital into their social practices. Therefore, growing up in a non-English-speaking society, Miss M2 needed enough educational resources, such as a native English-speaking tutor, to create a rich English-language learning environment. That is, in Miss M2's case, English-language skills actually demonstrate the effects of family socioeconomic status on the accumulation of cultural capital. Due to the unequal distribution of wealth, education becomes 'the reproduction of the structure of power relationships and symbolic relationships between classes' (Lamont & Lareau, 1988, p. 155). Although all pupils have the right to receive education, not all of them can share the same educational resources. Miss M2's parents' socio-economic status in Taiwanese society has played an important role in her English proficiency. Growing up in an upper middle class family, Miss M2 had more opportunities to access more educational resources than most young people through her parents' economic

capital. Her parents even regarded English as knowledge that belongs to people who have higher educational attainment. This attitude reveals that English language is 'the elite status culture' (DiMaggio, 1982, p. 189) in the Taiwanese social system.

The attention paid by Miss M2's parents to their daughter's English learning further reflects that the upper middle class in Taiwanese society does not merely regard English as cultural knowledge, but also recognizes it as an important skill for career development. Hence, it is cultural capital that 'may yield advantages or profits' (Weininger & Lamont, 2003, p. 597). Mr Z's English learning experience can further validate that English and money are convertible in Taiwanese society. Differently from Miss M2, Mr Z grew up in a working-class family. Because of his family background, he had fewer opportunities to improve his English-language skills during his education. Nevertheless, after completing his bachelor's degree, Mr Z became a software engineer and obtained a good salary in Taiwan. Having the financial ability to pay for tuition at a language school in Australia, Mr Z took an eight-week English course there before starting his working holiday. The following extract is about his English learning experience and his economic capital in Australia:

Mr Z: Before I went to Australia, I had read some articles about working holidays in Australia on the website. Most people said if you engaged in this activity without good English ability, illegal jobs would be your only choice. Those local employers might exploit you because you could not negotiate the employment contract with them in English. I am not from a rich family. My father is a carpenter. My mother is a homemaker. I could only learn English through my formal education in Taiwan. You can imagine how few opportunities I had for learning English during my education. I know my English is poor. However, I did not want to be exploited in Australia. So, I spent my hard-earned savings in Taiwan on an eight-week English-language course in Australia before I started my travels there. Even though this was a huge cost for me, I obtained a software engineering job after completing my bachelor's degree in Taiwan. So, I could afford it.

In light of this extract, it appears that English-language skills are crucial determinants of Taiwanese working holidaymakers' salaries when they work in Australia. Unfortunately, not all Taiwanese working holidaymakers have equal opportunities to learn English before starting their travels in Australia. In Mr Z's case, he was able to improve his English language skills due to his upward mobility in Taiwanese society. Coming from a working-class family, he had tried to improve his socio-economic status in Taiwanese society with a bachelor's degree. In Bourdieu's ([1997] 2003) analysis of the different forms of capital, a diploma is defined as institutionalized cultural capital (section 2.2.2). Similarly to other forms of cultural capital, it also has monetary value and 'can be exchanged on the labour market' (Bourdieu, [1997] 2003, p. 51). When Mr Z put effort into accumulating personal economic capital with his bachelor's degree, this practice can be interpreted as the way in which he converted his cultural capital into economic capital.

With his bachelor's degree, Mr Z successfully changed his socio-economic status from a working-class young person to a white-collar worker in Taiwanese society. This upward social mobility led him to have enough financial ability to acquire the educational resources he needed, such as the tuition fee for an English language school, to improve his English. In different ways, both Miss M2's and Mr Z's cases validate that the relationship between socioeconomic status and education reproduces social inequality (Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999). This embodied cultural capital, such as English-language ability, is only accessible to people who have higher social status or more economic capital in Taiwan. Mr Z's experience of an English language school can be interpreted as a transformation that illustrates how economic capital is converted into cultural capital. Accumulating different forms of capital via this conversion, Mr Z did not merely improve his socio-economic status in Taiwanese society, but also acquired better employment opportunities in Australia than his peers who are unable to speak fluent English.

5.1.2 Cultural capital, legal employment contracts and social categories

The role of English ability/competence in these Taiwanese young people's work experience in Australia is repeatedly reflected upon by most interviewees in this research. Miss G's response is an example. Having obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree in English literature, she is quite confident in her English ability. While mentioning her job search process in Mandurah (a coastal city in Western Australia), Miss G discussed how her English ability affected her work experience in Australia.

> Miss G: My first job in Mandurah was as a waitress in a local restaurant. It was a legal job vacancy. I got this information through *Indeed* and gave the employer a call. Of course, the reason why I could get it is my English language skills. You know what?! I am not the same as other Taiwanese working holidaymakers. They always speak poor English and can only look for jobs in the Chinese communities. Because of my English, I think my work experience is on a completely higher level than the experience of those Taiwanese. (Laugh) Of course, this is just my personal viewpoint.

In this extract, Miss G was proud that her first job in Australia was a legal job vacancy. She attributed this experience to her good English ability. For Taiwanese working holidaymakers, legal job vacancies mean those jobs in which employers are willing to pay workers the national minimum wage and provide legal working conditions. Of course, employees are obliged to pay taxes. Because of cultural and language obstacles, it is difficult for Taiwanese working holidaymakers to negotiate their employment contracts with local employers. These obstacles cause information asymmetry and lead some Taiwanese working holidaymakers to accept illegal employment contracts. Therefore, English-language skills constitute the cultural capital which these Taiwanese really need in the Australian labour market. Unlike Miss G, those Taiwanese who have limited English may be paid less than the national minimum wage and have to endure poor working conditions. Hence, Taiwanese working holidaymakers regard legal employment contracts as well-

paid jobs in the Australian labour market. They even believe that getting a legal employment contract is an achievement during their travel experience in Australia.

The national minimum wage is the basic protection for labour rights in Australia. However, Taiwanese working holidaymakers like Miss G define receiving this basic treatment as an achievement. This phenomenon actually reflects the fact that the cultural resources provided by different cultures are not equal in Australian society. That is to say, not all cultures and their specific resources have the same value within a social structure. People have to accumulate 'specific forms of knowledge, skills and abilities that are valued by the privileged group in society' (Yosso, 2005, p. 76). For instance, the Chinese language is the crucial embodied cultural capital that Miss G must use in order to live in Taiwanese society. Nevertheless, it is not a necessary skill when she chooses to become a working holidaymaker in Australia, because English is the language that is commonly used in Australian society. The value of cultural knowledge is dependent on the social context.

As argued by Erel (2010), 'cultural capital plays an important part in migrants' occupational and social mobility' (p. 643). When Taiwanese working holidaymakers try to get a legal employment contract in Australia, they have to accumulate the cultural capital that is judged to be valuable knowledge by the dominant class in Australia. These Taiwanese young people need to show their employers that they have good English communication skills in order to prove that they have the same cultural knowledge as local workers. Within these skills, they are able to validate that their labour deserves the basic protections of the Australian labour market before they are protected. For Taiwanese working holidaymakers, a legal employment contract represents not merely higher wages or better working conditions than an illegal one but it is also regarded as a criterion for judging whether these young Taiwanese have the same language competence as local residents in Australia.

Given the above discussion, the unequal distribution of wealth, which is caused among other things by varying English ability, leads Taiwanese working holidaymakers to compare themselves with each other. Miss G's words, such

as 'not the same as others' and 'on a completely higher level', reflect how she tried to distinguish herself from other Taiwanese working holidaymakers through her employment contract and English ability. As proposed by Turner (1982), social categories are built by 'social comparisons with other categories along relevant value dimensions' (p. 34). Miss G used her employment contract and English proficiency as a way to differentiate herself from her peers. This intention reveals that the influence of English ability on employment contracts has created a hierarchy among Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia.

This hierarchy was further explained by Mr K when he described his work experiences in Australia during his interview. He had worked in five different jobs during his working holiday in Australia. Unfortunately, none of these employers provided him with a legal employment contract. The following extract is Mr K's description of his jobs in Australia:

> Mr K: I accepted an illegal employment contract in Sydney because my English is quite poor. When you live in the city centre and speak poor English like me, you can only work for Chinese employers. Unfortunately, 99 percent of Chinese employers only provide illegal job vacancies to reduce labour costs. Take me, for example. The average hourly pay in my previous five jobs was about 11–12 AUD. However, one of my friends was a waiter and earned 20 AUD per hour. Although his duties were much easier than mine, he can speak English fluently.
>
> Interviewer: So, you think the only difference between you and your friend is language skills.
>
> Mr. K: Yes, definitely! English ability leads our income to be on different levels. His level is higher than mine, of course. (Sigh) After all, we're living in a Western society. So, it's reasonable that English-language skills determine our fate in the workplace.

Differently from Miss G, who benefitted from her English-language skills during her job search, Mr K had difficulty in getting hired with legal employment contracts because of his poor English-language skills. This

language barrier did not merely lead Mr K to take exploitation as a matter of course, but also made him feel inferior to others who may have this linguistic competence. Synthesizing Miss G's and Mr K's responses, I notice that Miss G's understanding of self is superior to Mr K's due to her better English ability and better employment contract. That is, having a legal employment contract further establishes a hierarchy between Taiwanese working holidaymakers and divides these Taiwanese young people into two subgroups. One secures a legal employment contract through their good English-language skills; the other accepts illegal employment contracts due to poor English ability.

The hierarchy between these Taiwanese working holidaymakers reflects the fact that social stratification is not only determined by personal financial ability. As argued by Bourdieu, cultural knowledge also plays 'an equivalent role to economic resources in generating stratification position' (Bottero, 2005, p. 138). For instance, the extract from Mr Z's interview in section 5.1.1 implies that improving English-language skills is required in order to achieve upward mobility in Taiwanese society. In contrast, when examining Miss G's and Mr K's work experiences in Australia, we can see why English-language skills can be regarded as cultural capital, and how this form of capital affects their income and their social position between peers. It means that these young Taiwanese people's socioeconomic status in Australia is actually established through a complex interweaving between their economic and cultural capital.

5.2 Working as a Cosmopolitan

My interviews also show that those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who are confident in their English ability prefer job vacancies which require them to interact with nationals and Western independent travellers. They not only try to get close to Western culture with these jobs, but also regard the jobs as a way to become more cosmopolitan. Therefore, they prefer jobs like waiter/waitress in local restaurants, hotel room attendant, or souvenir clerk.

5.2.1 Power-geometry and Taiwanese people's admiration of the West

Another interviewee, Miss S, belongs to this type of Taiwanese working holidaymaker. Before starting her working holiday in Australia, she had been a sales lady in a Taiwanese branch office of a US company. Therefore, Miss S

was quite confident about her English ability. She had worked as a lottery retailer, bakery clerk, souvenir clerk, and hotel room attendant while she lived in Australia. The following extract is about how Miss S chose jobs in Adelaide. This city is a coastal capital in South Australia.

> Miss S: I lived in Australia for two years. However, I have to say, I never worked on a farm or in a slaughterhouse. This is why I am different from other Taiwanese in Australia.
>
> Interviewer: What kinds of jobs did you have in Australia?
>
> Miss S: I've had many jobs, such as lottery retailer, bakery clerk, souvenir clerk, and hotel room attendant. All my jobs were located in the city centre. At that time, I hoped to work with Westerners to practise English. If I had chosen to be a fruit picker or a butcher, I would have had less opportunity to achieve my goal. This is because most Chinese, Taiwanese, and Hong Kong people are only able to engage in those jobs. I tried to avoid them. I am different from them. For me, they are migrant workers, not working holidaymakers. My purpose is not to bring money back to Taiwan but to validate my ability. This purpose is much more meaningful and is better than theirs.
>
> Interviewer: Ah…sorry, what do you mean by ability? I mean what kind of ability do you want to validate?
>
> Miss S: Oh, I mean the ability to work with Bai-Ren. They are the leading group in today's global world. I hope to learn how to be part of the cosmopolitan elite in this world from them.

As presented in this extract, Miss S classified jobs as those for Chinese and those for Westerners, and considered that her work experiences made her a good fit for Westerners' jobs. Her purpose was to distinguish herself from other Taiwanese working holidaymakers and to endorse a cosmopolitan identity. While studying prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination, Zarate (2009) proposes that 'people are theorized to desire a positive self-esteem. They do it by derogating relevant outgroups to make the in-group appear more positive' (p. 394). Although Miss S is Taiwanese, she regarded herself as one of the members of a Westerner's workplace and judged her compatriots,

who worked in the Chinese workplace, as the outgroup. Even though Miss S did not use the term Tai-Lao in her description, she was obviously tainting her peers as the lower class in Australian society with the definition of Tai-Lao in Taiwanese society (see Chapter Four). That is, within this extract, we realize that Taiwanese working holidaymakers are classifying themselves into two subgroups, depending on their tactics, to distinguish themselves from others. One is cosmopolitan, the other is a migrant worker. Miss S regarded herself as the former, which is, in her view, superior to the latter.

Although both 'Bai-Ren' and Taiwanese engage in international mobility for the working holiday programme in Australia, Miss S believed that Western working holidaymakers' social status in Australia is higher than that of Taiwanese working holidaymakers. This understanding is actually a demonstration of Massey's (1991) idea of power-geometry (see section 2.2.3). In the above extract, Miss S derogated Taiwanese working holidaymakers who work in the Chinese community as the lower class in Australia. Furthermore, when she mentioned her own work experience, she paid less attention to the job itself and instead emphasized how her Western colleagues are superior to her peers in the Chinese community. Her understanding of this hierarchy reflects the unequal power relationship between Westerners and Taiwanese in the global order. Within the social stratification in Australian society, Miss S illustrated how the power-geometry led Westerners and Taiwanese to be treated unequally within global mobility. In this context, the Tai-Lao identity is used not only to criticize the job categories in which Taiwanese working holidaymakers engage, but also to discriminate against these Taiwanese young people as an inferior ethnic group.

Reviewing current research about working holidaymakers' jobs in Australia, it appears that Miss S's understanding of farming jobs and slaughterhouse jobs is only half right. Tan and Lester (2012) illustrate that 'farm hand (including fruit and vegetable pickers and other duties) accounted for the largest share (26.7%) of the total jobs, with most farm hands (86%) working in regional areas' (p. 372). This quantitative result reveals that agricultural jobs are the most common type for working holidaymakers in Australia regardless of their race or ethnicity. To recruit seasonal workers

effectively, some farm managers and meat-industry owners in Australia may hire Chinese contractors. These contractors may recruit workers from websites and online communities that are commonly used by Taiwanese working holidaymakers to exchange job information. Therefore, compared with other job categories, information about agricultural and meat-industry jobs is relatively easy for Taiwanese young people to find.

In addition to current research on the working holiday programme in Australia, Mr C2's work experience can also validate the idea that agricultural jobs are not always taken by people from the Chinese community. Mr C2 had little confidence in his English ability. When he engaged in his working holiday in Australia, he hoped to experience farm life and looked for agricultural jobs. However, he had difficulty getting hired because he refused to be exploited by contractors. Fortunately, his landlord suggested that he should collect job information from the official job centre. This is the most common way for Western working holidaymakers to get a job in Australia. Hence, Mr C2 decided to get information there and successfully got his first farm job near Melbourne. The employer provided him with a legal employment contract. According to Mr C2, the ethnic groups in his workplace were quite diverse. Most of his colleagues were working holidaymakers from France, Italy, and Germany. In comparison with other Taiwanese working holidaymakers' experiences of agricultural jobs, the way in which Mr C2 gathered information on available jobs led him to meet colleagues from European countries. That is, Taiwanese working holidaymakers can easily get a low-skilled job through websites and online communities. This does not mean that low-skilled jobs, such as fruit pickers or butchers, are the only choices available to these Taiwanese young people.

In comparison, even though Miss S's impression of jobs for Chinese people and Mr C2's real farm experience do not align, both of them reflect how power-geometry affects working holidaymakers in different ways. Miss S's observation implies that power-geometry is related to working holidaymakers' social stratification in Australia. Meanwhile, Mr C2's farm experience demonstrates how power-geometry is related to the value of cultural capital in different cultures and further affects working holidaymakers' labour rights. As

described by Mr C2, Western working holidaymakers are accustomed to looking for jobs through official job centres. Their labour rights can be protected by national institutions. However, due to their lack of English-language skills, some Taiwanese working holidaymakers choose to contact Chinese contractors or employers directly instead of the official institutions. They would rather take the risk of being cheated by an illegal employment contract. That is, although both Taiwanese and Westerners engage in the same type of mobility – working holidays in Australia – their labour rights are affected differently because they belong to different ethnic groups.

Analysing Western working holidaymakers' advantages in Mr C2's case, it appears that their cultural background is close to that of the dominant group, White Australians, in Australian society. Therefore, their embodied cultural capital is more valuable than that of other working holidaymakers from non-Western cultures. This advantage is coherent with Hage's ([1998] 2000) idea of national capital (see section 2.2.3). This form of capital is mostly recognized by the dominant cultural group within a nation. Therefore, it can also reflect the power relations between different ethnic groups in a country. Although Australia is an immigrant country and emphasizes cultural diversity, White Australians are the dominant group (Hage, [1998] 2000). In comparison with Taiwanese working holidaymakers, Western working holidaymakers' cultural capital, such as English-language proficiency, is closer to Australian people's national capital. Therefore, Western working holidaymakers may have more advantages on the Australian labour market.

Both Miss S and Mr C2 reveal how power-geometry endows Westerners with a superior position to Taiwanese when these two ethnic groups engage in working holidays in Australia. Those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who prefer Westerners' workplaces believe that the social status of non-labour-intensive employees is superior to labour-intensive workers' status. Therefore, non-labour-intensive workers' social status should be close to these young Taiwanese's idea of what Western superiority is. When putting effort into working in Bai-Ren's workplace, their actual purpose is to prove that they have enough ability to challenge the power-geometry created by cultural and language barriers. In this process, Taiwanese working holidaymakers dream of

being one of the members of the leading global group of 'Bai-Ren'. Hence, their experiences in Westerners' workplace make these young Taiwanese feel honoured/privileged. This feeling further leads them to label themselves as cosmopolitans. For these Taiwanese young people, this identity allows them to feel superior to their peers who remain within the Chinese communities.

5.2.2 Cosmopolitanism, colonial globalism, and symbolic power

Due to the role of power-geometry in global mobility, some Taiwanese working holidaymakers believe that working in a Westerner's workplace is a way to present a cosmopolitan identity and gives them a higher symbolic value. However, these Taiwanese young people also derogate their peers who work in the Chinese community at the same time. Because of their work experience in Westerners' workplace, these young Taiwanese believe that they have the qualifications to be identified as cosmopolitans. For them, getting close to Westerners is a criterion for Taiwanese people who are pursuing a cosmopolitan identity. This is a typical global perspective that is based on a Westerner's point of view. This means that 'the White nation fantasy' (Hage, [1998] 2000, p. 18) can also be perceived in Taiwanese working holidaymakers' understandings of cosmopolitanism. Under the symbolic power caused by the dominant position of Western countries in the global landscape, the way in which these Taiwanese working holidaymakers have developed a cosmopolitan identity is entirely different from that of Western independent travellers (Maoz, 2007). These Taiwanese young people are inclined to deny their own ethnicity first in order to emphasize their cosmopolitan identity.

The influence of the symbolic power attributed to Western symbols, such as a certain working environment, is further reflected in these Taiwanese young people's global perspectives. While discussing about his Western colleagues at an Italian restaurant during his interview, Mr T shared his views about globalization and race. He was a waiter in this restaurant during his working holiday in Australia. The following extract is Mr T's reflection on his work experience and his comments on Westerners and Asian people.

Mr T: I think these foreigners led me to have a global perspective and

taught me to be a globalized person. This is why Asians are falling behind Bai-Ren in the global order, especially Taiwanese. (Laugh)

Interviewer: Sorry, what do you mean by foreigners?

Mr T: Oh! I mean my Bai-Ren colleagues in Australia.

Interviewer: So, you think Asian people are not foreigners, do you?

Mr T: Ah…not really…ah…we call people from Asian countries Asian people because Asia is a regional place. They're not globalized enough. We call Bai-Ren foreigners because foreign means globalization. Sorry, it's common sense for us. So, I don't know how to say it.

Interviewer: No, it's ok. You just said: 'we call'. Can you tell me who 'we' are?

Mr T: Oh, I mean those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who also frequently interact with Bai-Ren.

The term 'foreigner' is generally used to describe people from other countries. In Mr T's view, all people from non-Chinese/Taiwanese culture should be considered as foreigners. However, he described Westerners and Asian people in different terms. Mr T used the term 'foreigners' to describe Westerners without hesitation. When mentioning people from Asian countries, he defined them as Asians instead of foreigners. His reason is that 'they're not globalized enough.' In other words, globalization, in Mr T's view, is classified into several levels. Westerners' position is at the top. Asians belong to the inferior group in this hierarchy. Taiwanese are in the lowest position. This racial classification obviously reveals how the symbolic power created by the dominant position of Western countries in the global landscape has affected Mr T's definition of who is foreigners. Only Westerners have the right to sketch a blueprint for globalization. Furthermore, according to this extract, this idea is not Mr T's personal point of view but is taken as common sense by those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who prefer Western colleagues. For these Taiwanese young people, the power relations between different ethnicities in today's global order is still shaped by Western European colonialism.

The historical influence of Western colonialism on globalization has been

discussed in various studies. For instance, when Abbas (1997) examined the political economy in Hong Kong during and after British colonization, he reported that the British government regarded Hong Kong as the port city that was used to engage in international trade with Asia during the colonial period. Even though the British government ended its colonial rule in Hong Kong in 1997, this place is still 'increasingly at the intersections of different times or speeds' (Abbas, 1997, p. 4) in this era of globalism. Based on the changes in the political economy of Hong Kong, Abbas argues that the role a city takes in the global system is actually influenced by the colonial system in the past. Bracken (2015) further maintains that the hierarchy of world cities 'can be taken as a sign that there is an important link between colonial networks and global cities' (p. 16). In other words, those Western countries that played a dominant role in the colonial network are still regarded as the leading group in the current global system.

This power relationship leads White people to establish 'a space structured around a White culture' (Hage, [1998] 2000, p. 18) when they emphasize cultural diversity. In addition to Mr T, Mr C2's case, which was mentioned in section 5.2.1, is also an obvious example. Although both Western and Chinese cultures can exist in Australia at the same time, Western culture is undoubtedly dominant there. This is why Western working holidaymakers have more opportunities to get job information from the official job centre than Taiwanese working holidaymakers. The power-geometry that causes Taiwanese and Western working holidaymakers to look for jobs in different ways is still influenced by the dominant position of Western countries in the global landscape. Namely, although non-Western cultures are expected by Western cosmopolitans to survive, they seldom 'acknowledge their worth' (Hage, [1998] 2000, p. 18). This phenomenon validates the idea that cosmopolitanism in Australia actually implies 'the White nation fantasy' (Hage, [1998] 2000, p. 18). This fantasy shapes cosmopolitanism into a concept that is used to encourage Westerners to show their tolerance and generosity to non-Westerners, who were classified as inferior ethnic groups in the past colonial order.

5.2.3 Ethnic self-denial and the cosmopolitan identity

In comparison with these Taiwanese, Western independent travellers characterize their cosmopolitan identity by cultural tolerance (Snee, 2014; Korpela, 2010). That is, although Western independent travellers try to be friendly to people from non-western cultures, their attitude actually implies a patronizing attitude. Thus, when Western independent travellers emphasize their cosmopolitan identity, they are also glorifying their ethnicity at the same time. In contrast, most Taiwanese working holidaymakers choose to demonstrate why they deserve to be regarded as cosmopolitans by denying their own ethnicity. Miss Y's response can validate this phenomenon. She was a chef in a local restaurant while she engaged in her working holiday in Australia. According to Miss Y, this restaurant is owned by a White Australian. All of her colleagues were also Westerners. Due to this work experience, Miss Y believed that she had developed a good global perspective and deserved the identity of a cosmopolitan. She shared her reflection on identity with the interviewer as follows:

Miss Y: Nowadays, most powerful countries in this world are Western nations. Taiwan is falling behind the USA, UK, Australia, and other European countries. So, the only way for Taiwanese to be cosmopolitans is to learn why Bai-Ren have become the most developed race in today's global order. To become a cosmopolitan, I tried hard to look for a job that would enable me to work with Bai-Ren. I hoped to become one of them through my personal ability. I really despise those Taiwanese who stay in their Chinese comfort zone or work with Asians, such as Koreans and Japanese. Some of these Taiwanese are even willing to work with Middle Eastern people and declare that they have experienced globalization in Australia. However, they never interact with the global elite. So, I cannot understand why these Taiwanese believe that they have broadened their horizons and have been globalized.

Interviewer: Yes, I see. Can you tell me how you define the global elite? Have you met them?

Miss Y: Ah…I mean Bai-Ren. They are the leading ethnic group nowadays. So, I think they are the elite.

Similarly to previous extracts provided by Taiwanese working holidaymakers who prefer a Western workplace, Miss Y's descriptions, such as 'powerful countries' or 'the most developed race', reveal the extent to which she is subservient to Bai-Ren (Westerners). Her definition of the global elite even reflects her adoration of the West. Additionally, Miss Y's attitude towards non-western people is close to a Western colonizer's perspective. She regarded all non-westerners as inferior in the global hierarchy of race, including her compatriots – Taiwanese. Obviously, Miss Y's understanding of cosmopolitanism lacks cultural diversity. This understanding reveals that Taiwanese working holidaymakers like Miss Y define themselves as cosmopolitans by denying their own ethnicity. Their purpose is to emphasize that their own ethnicity, Taiwanese, cannot bring them any advantages in formulating a cosmopolitan identity. The reason why they are able to work with Westerners, the leading ethnic group in the global hierarchy, is their own individual ability.

Integrating Taiwanese working holidaymakers' ethnic self-denial with their emphasis on individual ability, I argue that admiring the West, for these young Taiwanese, does not merely imply racial superiority, but it is also a scale for the measurement of individual ability. Their purpose is to challenge the social principles that are used to evaluate individual ability in Taiwanese society. As criticized by Hall (2011), neoliberalism is nowadays the hegemony that has been established by the free market. The rise of neoliberal ideology has educated Taiwanese people to believe that private wealth is the most authoritative criterion for assessing a person's individual ability (see section 4.1.1). To escape from the value system of this hegemony, those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who prefer working with Western colleagues try to look for another principle to prove that individual ability should be assessed in diverse ways. They choose to embrace another hegemony, that which was established by colonial globalization.

As we know, ethnic identity is an inherent social identity which cannot be changed by personal effort. Nevertheless, Miss Y tried to reinterpret the

ethnic issue in the colonial system by emphasizing the role of individual ability in ethnic identity. She believed that her ethnic identity could be changed into a Westerner as long as she showed great ability in the Western workplace. That is, ethnic identity, in Miss Y's view, can be changed through individual ability. Although there may be a gap between Miss Y's belief and reality, Western superiority is not simply ethnic superiority for Taiwanese working holidaymakers like Miss Y. Instead, it becomes a criterion for evaluating individual capacity. In the next section, I attempt to engage with those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who are denigrated as the inferior group by their peers in this reformed colonial globalization. I will present whether these Taiwanese young people working in the Chinese community are as comfortable as their peers believe.

5.3 The Social Capital Created by the Chinese Ethnic Group

Differently from those young Taiwanese who have many opportunities to improve their English language skills before engaging in a working holiday in Australia, most Taiwanese working holidaymakers are less confident about their English, and feel anxious in an English-language environment. Consequently, they regard the balance between novelty and familiarity to be an important factor in their travel plans. For these young Taiwanese, the ethnic identity of being Chinese/Taiwanese becomes a crucial factor that helps them to get hired in Australia. They choose to stay within the Chinese communities and look for jobs through Chinese ethnic networks. Working with people from the same cultural background, these Taiwanese young people are able to avoid language barriers and to feel comfortable in the workplace. Hence, the workplace established within the Chinese ethnic group is called the Chinese comfort zone by most Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia.

5.3.1 The Chinese comfort zone and social capital

The importance of maintaining a balance between novelty and familiarity was emphasized by Mr S when he described how he chose the first stop for his working holiday in Australia. Coming from the lower-middle class, Mr S had little opportunity to learn English in Taiwan. Thus, he was not confident in his English-language ability. As such, he chose Brisbane to be his first stop. The following extract is his explanation for this choice.

Mr S: All Taiwanese working holidaymakers will choose Brisbane, Sydney, or Perth to be their first stop because of the flight route. I chose Brisbane to be my first stop. The flight ticket from Taipei to Brisbane is the cheapest. The weather in Brisbane is similar to Taiwan. Also, many Taiwanese working holidaymakers choose Brisbane. I am not good at English. So, I thought Brisbane would be a safe choice for me.

When explaining how he arranged his first stop in Australia, he used the term 'safe choice' to comment on his strategy. In this context, the meaning of safe choice is not to do with avoiding dangerous situations. Instead, it means a sense of security. Mr S was quite anxious about the cultural differences between Australia and Taiwan. He did not feel that he had the courage to get involved in the local culture immediately. Thus, he looked for a city which has some similarities with his native land, Taiwan, to be his first stop in Australia. For those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who have less confidence in their English-language skills, a sense of security depends on whether they are able to associate their travel experience in Australia with the culture in Taiwan. In Mr S's case, flight distance, climate, and the number of compatriots are three elements which inspired him to make this association. He hoped to be protected by the 'environmental bubble' (Cohen, 1972, p. 168), which is composed of the balance between novelty and familiarity. This is the reason why he regarded Brisbane as a safe choice for his first stop in Australia.

The idea of an environmental bubble was proposed by Cohen (1972) when he analysed the influence of cultural environment on tourist passion. Cohen found that some tourists may feel anxious when they are staying in a completely alien environment, even though they expect to experience cultural differences during their journey. Mr S belonged to this type of tourist due to his lack of valuable cultural capital, such as English-language skills, in Australian society. To ease this problem, Taiwanese working holidaymakers like Mr S need 'something to remind them of home' (Cohen, 1972, p. 166). As such, compatriots play a crucial role in their journey. Staying with people from

Chinese/Taiwanese culture, these young Taiwanese can feel at ease in Australia. This interpersonal relationship, which is established by a shared ethnicity, becomes a social network. In Mr S's case, the Chinese/Taiwanese ethnic network was the main factor giving him a sense of security.

In addition to a sense of security, the Chinese ethnic networks also bring employment opportunities for those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who remain within the Chinese community. Miss P's response reflects how her ethnic identity was helpful in her job search process. Coming from a lower-middle-class family in Taiwan, Miss P also had few opportunities to improve her English skills. Because of poor English-language proficiency, she had difficulty in getting hired in Australia. Fortunately, after contacting a Chinese contractor, she got a job on a peach farm. The following extract is her description of this experience:

> Miss P: I went to Australia with my boyfriend and tried to get a job to cover our travel expenses. However, both of us are bad at English and we had difficulty in communicating with local people. Needless to say, local employers refused to hire us because of this language barrier. At last, we told this problem to our flatmate, who also comes from Taiwan. He [flatmate] recommended us to his contractor. This contractor is Chinese. After realizing our problem, he hired us without any problems. He said, 'We are all Chinese. So, we must help each other.'

Being unable to speak English, Miss P and her boyfriend could not compete with other working holidaymakers on the Australian labour market. Their difficulty coincides with the arguments I made previously about the influence of English-language ability on Taiwanese working holidaymakers' jobs in Australia (see section 5.1.1). However, this does not mean that Taiwanese working holidaymakers with poor English competence have to be excluded from the Australian labour market. In Miss P's case, her ethnic identity, Taiwanese, helped her to get involved in the Chinese ethnic network. Because of this connection, Miss P and her boyfriend met the Chinese contractor and

successfully got a job in Australia. For Miss P, the Chinese ethnic network replaced English-language ability and became a resource for her job search.

The above extract reflects that this Chinese ethnic network actually became a form of social capital on the Australian labour market for Miss P. As explained by Bourdieu ([1997] 2003), social capital means a social network that is 'more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (p. 51). Agents take advantage of this network to benefit from each other. The effect of social capital on personal benefits depends on agents' reflection on the social network in which they get involved. To create an advantage from social capital, agents also need to establish or reproduce those social connections that may be useful in the short or long term. An analysis of Miss P's contractor's descriptions, such as 'we are all Chinese', reveals that the ethnic identity of being Chinese builds a network that could be useful for Miss P's job search. Although the relationship between Taiwan and China is a sensitive political issue, Chinese culture does play an important role in Taiwanese culture. Both Taiwanese and Chinese share part of the same collective memory because of the historical relationship between these two places. This memory and sense of belonging led Miss P's contractor to believe that Miss P and her boyfriend belong to the same social category as himself.

Examining how the Chinese ethnic network becomes one kind of resource for Taiwanese working holidaymakers to find a job, it appears that trust is the foundation of this interpersonal network. These young Taiwanese build trust with people due to their ethnic identity in order to take advantage of this network. As maintained by Gert Tinggaard Svendsen and Gunnar Lind Haase Svendsen (2009), trust as social capital can be built in two ways. The first is through 'a strict historical norm' (p. 2). The second is 'a rational choice based on information' (p. 2). In Miss P's case, the trust between herself and her contractor originates from their ethnicity rather than information. Coming from the same cultural background, both of them regard 'helping each other' as the social norm in Chinese culture. Hence, the contractor decided to hire Miss P and her boyfriend. This situation is close to the first way of building trust.

Although ethnic identity inspires people in the Chinese community to build trust, at the same time it also excludes people from different cultures. That is to say, the Chinese ethnic network becomes a 'closed inward-looking network' (Svendsen & Svendsen, 2009, p. 9). This bonding social capital is a social network which 'derives from exclusive interactions and solidarity among people like us that has the potential to lead to cooperation' (Hunt et al., 2015, p. 218). In the Chinese ethnic network, the ethnic identity of being Chinese is the main factor in the establishment of this network. However, the actual purpose of the network is not to foster people's sense of ethnic belonging. Instead, the Chinese ethnic network is a strategy for people from Chinese culture to collect different resources, such as work opportunities and a labour force, in a country that is dominated by Western culture. Hence, when Taiwanese working holidaymakers and Chinese contractors get involved in this network, their purpose is to benefit and survive in the market competition in Australia. Hence, there must be a gap between their reflexivity around ethnic identity and their difficulties on the Australian labour market.

5.3.2 An uncomfortable comfort zone and imagined social capital

The Chinese ethnic network is not simply utilized by working holidaymakers to look for jobs, it is also used by local employers or contractors, who are Chinese Australians, to recruit employees. The interviewee, Mr B2, shared his observations about this phenomenon during his interview. He had experienced three farmhand jobs when he engaged in his working holiday in Australia. His three contractors were all Chinese Australians and only provided Mr B2 with illegal employment contracts. Realizing his situation, a White Australian woman, whom Mr B2 knew at church, recommended that he join a labour union named the National Union of Workers (NUW) to protect his labour rights. He took her advice and successfully got the national minimum wage from his employer through the NUW. After his working holiday, Mr B2 hoped to help more Taiwanese working holidaymakers and decided to become the representative of the NUW in Taiwan. So far, he has dealt with seven cases involving controversy between Taiwanese working holidaymakers and employers in Australia. During his interview, Mr B2 gave his analysis of the job vacancies in the Chinese ethnic network as follows:

Mr B2: Those contractors who recruit workers through Facebook communities for working holidaymakers from Chinese culture are migrants from China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan. These contractors need a large number of workers to guarantee to their landlords that they can finish the harvest on time. If not, they will be fired. When a contractor successfully recruits 100 Taiwanese working holidaymakers through Facebook, these working holidaymakers may recommend their friends or friends' friends to join them. Within this strategy, these contractors can recruit enough workers for their landlords in a short time. These contractors are all migrants. It is the easiest way for them to recruit workers.

Facebook communities for people from Chinese culture are typical Chinese ethnic networks. For both contractors and working holidaymakers, Chinese culture is the collective memory that leads these people to trust each other. Within this ethnic network, Taiwanese working holidaymakers can get hired effectively. Meanwhile, these migrant employers from Chinese culture can also recruit enough workers to finish the harvest on time. However, the reason why these Chinese contractors are determined to hire Taiwanese working holidaymakers is not really influenced by their passion for a shared ethnicity. Instead, they are simply attempting to demonstrate their efficiency to their employers to avoid being eliminated from the market competition in Australia.

In the above extract from Mr B2's interview, the social capital accumulated by Chinese ethnic networks is slightly different from Bourdieu's ([1997] 2003) definition. For Bourdieu, social capital is a concept that includes 'the analysis of objective relations between different positions within the social field' and 'the analysis of actual social relations' (Ivana, 2017, p. 53). This means that the accumulation of social capital should be based on social interactions in the real world. Nevertheless, the establishment of Chinese ethnic networks is mainly based on the sense of belonging evoked by the same ethnicity. Taiwanese working holidaymakers on Facebook never interact

with the contractors in the real world before they start looking for jobs in Australia. That is, the social capital accumulated by the Chinese ethnic networks is actually 'the benefit that is created by participating in imagined or symbolic networks' (Quinn, 2010, p. 68). This type of social capital can be defined as imagined social capital.

While this symbolic social capital can bring work opportunities for Taiwanese working holidaymakers on the Australian labour market, it also brings some problems for these Taiwanese young people in terms of labour rights. Most of the Chinese contractors in the Chinese ethnic network have enough economic capital to stay within the Australian free-market economy. However, the lack of national capital in Australia leads them to increase their competitiveness by exploiting Taiwanese working holidaymakers. For instance, even though employers in the Chinese community are willing to provide job opportunities for working holidaymakers from Taiwan, most of them refuse to provide a legal employment contract for these young Taiwanese. During his interview, Mr B2 further discussed how these employers explained this behaviour to their employees:

> Mr B2: It seems that there are large numbers of Chinese immigrants in Australia. However, Bai-Ren are still the leading group in Australian society. Migrants from Chinese culture have difficulty competing with them. So, these Chinese migrant contractors have to exploit compatriots in order to survive. I have experienced three farmhand jobs in Australia. All my contractors have been Chinese Australian. When they decide to hire me, they always tell me: 'I know you have difficulty in getting hired here [Australia]. I come from China. I can understand your problem now. No worries, I will hire you. Chinese have to help each other. However, I am also exploited by those Bai-Ren landlords. So, I can only provide you with an illegal contract.' If you're a rookie like I was, you will be touched by these words. However, those cases in the NUW reveal that they are all liars. The fact is, these contractors cut the price to compete with each other to gain landlords' business. In short, they provide illegal

work contracts to guarantee their personal profit.

Because of the language barrier, those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who choose to remain within the Chinese community cannot get complete information about their labour rights in Australia. As declared by Svendsen and Svendsen (2009), 'we trust when we lack information' (p. 2). In this situation, the only choice for these young Taiwanese is to trust their Chinese-Australian employers. However, farm and factory contractors who recruit workers from Facebook communities set up for Taiwanese working holidaymakers are also outsiders in Australia. Although these contractors/employers have enough economic capital to stay in Australia, they do not have enough national capital, such as Western friends and knowledge about Westerners culture, to integrate into Australian society. To maintain their business, they take advantage of Taiwanese working holidaymakers, who have less national capital than themselves.

The imagined social capital created by the Chinese ethnic networks is a resource that can help Taiwanese working holidaymakers to get a job on the Australian labour market. However, according to Mr B2's description of Chinese contractors, such as 'they are all liars', I maintain that this imagined social capital is also used by Chinese contractors to compensate for their lack of national capital in Australian society. Although both Taiwanese working holidaymakers and Chinese contractors are from Chinese culture, their different length of stay in Australia means that they have accumulated unequal national capital in Australia. This inequality further leads Chinese contractors to have more advantages within Chinese ethnic networks. Hence, when these two groups try to survive the market competition in Australia using this imagined social capital, these Taiwanese young people are easily exploited in the workplace.

A similar problem has also been investigated by Li (2018a, 2018b) when he considered the situation of second-generation ethnic minorities in the UK labour market. For these young people, 'the UK is their country, English is their mother tongue, and British education is their passport to labour market achievement' (Li, 2018b, p. 3). Hence, accumulating each form of mainstream

cultural knowledge is the basic requirement for second-generation ethnic minorities to compete with White British workers in the UK labour market. Similarly, the importance of national capital is also reflected in Mr B2's experiences in Australia. Having unequal national capital causes information asymmetry between Taiwanese working holidaymakers and contractors within the Chinese ethnic networks. Hence, these Chinese contractors can efficiently take advantage of the imagined social capital created by Chinese ethnic networks and exploit Taiwanese young people to make more personal profit on the Australian labour market. In other words, the Chinese comfort zone, which is established by the Chinese ethnic network, is like a double-edged sword. On the one hand, this community brings these Taiwanese young people an 'environmental bubble' (Cohen, 1972, p. 168), which helps them to feel a sense of security in their job search. On the other hand, it is also taken advantage of by those Chinese-Australian employers, who ignore these Taiwanese people's labour rights.

5.4 Conclusion

Given the above, Taiwanese working holidaymakers classify themselves into two subgroups depending on the ethnic groups with whom they work. One prefers working with Western colleagues; the other chooses to work in the Chinese community. As such, the identities which these two groups of Taiwanese young people formulate for themselves can further be analysed by considering their English proficiency and the difficulties they meet in the workplace.

For Taiwanese working holidaymakers, their English-language skills almost completely determine their wages and working conditions in Australia. Those Taiwanese young people who have better English communication skills have more opportunities to gain a legal employment contract on the Australian labour market. In contrast, those who are unable to speak fluent English are vulnerable to having their labour rights ignored by employers. Therefore, English-language skills are valuable embodied cultural capital for Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia. Most of those Taiwanese young people who have good English ability feel superior to their peers who have poor English-language skills because of their advantages on the Australian labour

market. However, English is not Taiwanese people's mother tongue. To gain more educational resources to learn English, Taiwanese need to have higher socioeconomic status or more economic capital in Taiwanese society. That is to say, Taiwanese working holidaymakers' socioeconomic status in Taiwan not only plays a crucial role in their employment contracts in Australia, but also affects their process of identity formation during their travels in Australia.

When looking for jobs in Australia, those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who are confident in their English-language skills prefer jobs that require them to interact with Westerners. In their understanding, Westerners are the leading group in the global order. As such, their work experience in a Western workplace constitutes the identity-formation process of being cosmopolitans. Their interpretation of cosmopolitanism obviously implies their admiration of the West. Nevertheless, for these Taiwanese young people, this admiration is not racial discrimination but a criterion for validating individual ability. Working with Western colleagues means that they can successfully challenge the global hierarchy of race through their individual ability and become a member of the Westerners' group. For those Taiwanese young people in the Western workplace, their peers who work with colleagues from Chinese cultures are an inferior group. They feel the need to remain within the environmental bubble that is established to create a balance between novelty and familiarity and are incapable of challenging the power-geometry created by the dominant position of Western countries in the global landscape. Hence, those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who work in the Western workplace call Chinese people's workplaces the Chinese comfort zone. They believe that their identity is much superior to that of their peers who work there.

Although Taiwanese working holidaymakers are able to get efficiently hired by using the Chinese ethnic networks in Australia, their work experience is not as comfortable as expected. The Chinese ethnic network is actually the social capital created by a sense of belonging. This sense of belonging does not originate in social interactions in the real world, but rather is established through people's imagination of the same ethnicity. This imagined social capital is a resource for Taiwanese working holidaymakers to get a job in

Australia. Meanwhile, it is also the bargaining chip for those Chinese contractors who do not have enough national capital to compete with White Australians in the free market. Therefore, when these Taiwanese young people are unable to gain equal amounts of information, they are easily exploited by these Chinese contractors.

In comparison to their compatriots in the Western workplace, I argue that those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who get a job by using the Chinese ethnic network also have great difficulty in protecting their own labour rights. Taiwanese young people in the Western workplace criticize their peers by labelling them as an inferior social group in Australia with/without purpose. Their purpose is to formulate a positive social identity for themselves by integrating Western superiority with individual ability. In the next chapter, I will further discuss how this interpretation of cosmopolitanism affects their identity formation during everyday life in Australia.

Chapter 6
Becoming a Successful Working Holidaymaker

In the last chapter, I discussed how Taiwanese working holidaymakers perceive themselves in relation to their work experience in Australia. Moving on, this chapter will focus on Taiwanese working holidaymakers' everyday lives in Australia. I plan to discuss how these Taiwanese young people shape their identities through their life experiences in Australia, and why they feel successful due to their understanding of self in Australia.

To explore this issue, this chapter will be divided into four sections. The first section focuses on how Taiwanese working holidaymakers make sense of self in diverse ways. I will examine how these young people make a distinction between their identities in Taiwan and in Australia by using a Chinese name and an English name. I use this phenomenon as an example to demonstrate why Taiwanese working holidaymakers feel uncertain about their identities in Australia. The second section draws on Giddens' (1984) structuration theory to analyse why these Taiwanese people dream of being either cosmopolitans or financial winners, and how they make a choice between these two identities. The third section draws on Goffman's ([1961] 1997) dramaturgical metaphor to discuss Taiwanese working holidaymakers' identity performance. I plan to examine how they perform as cosmopolitans through their choice of accommodation, church attendance, and language expression. Based on their practices in everyday life, I argue that these Taiwanese people's interpretation of cosmopolitanism actually implies Western superiority instead of cultural diversity. The last section will take the changing meaning of potluck dinner parties as an example. I attempt to explain how Taiwanese working holidaymakers endow things in everyday life with neoliberal meanings. Meanwhile, I also consider why these young Taiwanese admire successful Taiwanese entrepreneurs as exemplars, and how they learn to be financial winners at such parties.

6.1 Regarding Australia as the Front Stage

When interviewees mentioned their working holiday during the interview, most of them used several terms, such as 'adventure' or

'exploration', to describe their travels in Australia. This reflection does not mean that they had ever experienced danger or risk there. Instead, with these words, these Taiwanese young people attempted to emphasize their courage and the country's sense of strangeness. To engage in a working holiday in Australia, they have to leave their native land and travel to a place where they have never set foot before. Moving out of the social structure they are familiar with, Taiwanese working holidaymakers need courage to face an unknown environment in Australia. During their travels, they gradually notice their change of circumstances and start to examine their self-positioning within this international mobility.

Mr N provided an opinion about his working holiday experience and the interpersonal relationships between Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia. He was a research assistant for a medical device manufacturer before leaving Taiwan. Getting tired of this job, Mr N decided to take two gap years and chose to become a working holidaymaker in Australia. His response implies that, for Taiwanese working holidaymakers, identities are actually full of uncertainties.

> Mr N: Most Taiwanese people's social lives in Australia are frequently changing because of the length of employment. The Australian government stipulates that employers cannot hire the same person for more than six months if he or she holds a Working Holiday Visa. So, some of these Taiwanese never plan to build deep, sincere friendships in Australia. We are only allowed to stay in the same place for six months. Why do we need to make close friendships with each other? Of course not! We always call each other by English names. We even have no idea what each person's real name in Taiwan is. No one cares about it because we will never meet again in our entire life. So, I don't need to know anything about your life in Taiwan, such as your family, your job, or your education level. We only share our experiences in Australia with each other.

The policies that the Australian government has established for working holidaymakers leads these young Taiwanese to move within uncertain social networks. This problem is coherent with Bauman's (2004) analysis of globalization and social structure. In his view, the rise of globalization changes the forms of social structure from solid to liquid. As such, people nowadays emphasize private thoughts instead of the order in a social system. They 'are let out from their cages' (Bauman, 2004, p. 7). In this extract, Mr N chose to leave his routine life in Taiwan for a while and become a working holidaymaker in Australia. This mobility can be regarded as the practice of liquid modernity.

Taiwanese working holidaymakers like Mr N are not very interested in building stable interpersonal relationships. The reason is that the people they meet in Australia are simply passing by in their lives. This phenomenon further affects how Taiwanese working holidaymakers make sense of themselves in Australia. Engaging in international mobility between different social systems, people's 'belonging and identity are not cut in rock, are not secured by a lifelong guarantee' (Bauman, 2000, p. 11). Hence, identities are changeable and uncertain when the form of social structures becomes relatively more liquid than before. This is why most Taiwanese working holidaymakers, as Mr N mentioned, prefer to use their English names in everyday life instead of their Chinese name while they are living in Australia. The social relations that these young Taiwanese build in Taiwan and Australia inspire them to perceive themselves with different trains of thought. Hence, they are inclined to formulate an identity to go with their English name to distinguish their identities in Australia from their identities in Taiwan.

Having different self-perceptions of their life experience in Australia and in Taiwan, some Taiwanese working holidaymakers shape two different identities in these two countries. Nonetheless, this does not mean that they treat these identities equally, even though all of them originate from their self-perception. Examining the above extract, it seems that Mr N described his Chinese name as his real name. The English name he used in Australia is relatively artificial for him. However, in comparison with the following extract, Mr N's definition of real identity is worth discussing.

Interviewer: Do you mean each Taiwanese may build a new identity for their social life in Australia?

Mr N: Well, not exactly. When you say social life, my understanding is that you are still forced to be friendly and to care about other people's feelings. However, my emphasis is that you don't need to do this in Australia. You can completely be yourself. You can make any decision you wish. You don't have to pretend to be friendly in Australia.

Interviewer: I see. So, the self whom you present in Australia is close to your free will. Am I right?

Mr N: Yes, this is because I don't need to care about other people. For example, Tim is the English name I used in Australia. Those people whom I met in Australia regarded me, Tim, as a person who seeks nothing but profit there. Honestly, I was actually this kind of person in Australia. I hoped to bring some money back to Taiwan to start a small business. However, there are thousands of Tims in Australia. I don't care how they [those people whom Mr N met in Australia] judge Tim. (Laugh) I am Mr N again after returning to Taiwan. I am assessed as a friendly, kind, and responsible person here. Working holidaymakers are like actors in a film. We leave when the film ends.

In this extract, Mr N regarded his English name in Australia as his 'true self'. At the same time, when he mentioned his Chinese name in the previous extract, he described it as his 'real name'. That is to say, the definition of real identity, in Mr N's view, does mean the true self. The distinction between real identity and true identity in Mr N's response can be further interpreted using Goffman's analysis of the influence of social structures on identities. As Goffman ([1961] 1997) maintains, 'There is a vulgar tendency in social thought to divide the conduct of the individual into a profane and sacred part' (p. 41). The 'profane' in this argument means the identity which is strongly influenced by social principles. Following this, Mr N's definition of real in this context does not seem to represent reality but practicality. For him, his Chinese name is an identity which is built by following expectations and rules

in Taiwanese society. That is to say, during the process of building this identity, Mr N felt that it was tainted by the social structures in Taiwan. Hence, the Chinese name, Mr N, for him is mainly composed of rules in practical circumstances.

In contrast to being 'profane', the reason why identity can also be 'sacred' is the distance between agents and social rules. Goffman finds that 'there are occasions on which we are more or less relaxed' (Lawler, 2014, p. 123) because we are under less pressure from social rules. Under such circumstances, agents can take on identities that are untainted by the constraints of society. This concept can actually be used to explain Mr N's response about his English name, Tim, which he described as his true self. Living in Australia for a short time, Mr N could pay less attention to the constraints of Australian social structures. Therefore, the way in which he perceived himself actually retained a distance from the constraints of society in Australia. It could be argued that Mr N's definition of 'true' in this context reflects the distance between social constraints and the self. However, his 'sacred' identity, Tim, was still established by the interactions between this interviewee and the social world. In other words, each person's identity 'is not behind the mask; rather, it is the mask' (Lawler, 2014, p. 123). As such, the identity, Tim, in the above extract still cannot be defined as a fixed self because there is no fixed self for each individual.

In comparison with Taiwanese society, although the constraints of Australian society on Taiwanese working holidaymakers are relatively fewer, this also brings more uncertainty for these young people. Thus, it is difficult for them to trust each other. The lack of trust in this relationship further leads Mr N to consider working holidaymakers in Australia as 'actors in a film'. This statement can be interpreted using Goffman's analysis of identity and social practices. Goffman ([1959] 1990) indeed points out that society is similar to a stage. Identities are like roles in a play. Agents are defined as actors from this dramaturgical perspective. They perform those identities, which are chosen or allocated to them, through social practice.

As argued by Goffman, ([1959] 1990), 'when the individual presents himself before others, his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society' (p. 45). That is, each person's performance and identity must follow social expectations in order to avoid leaving a bad impression on others. This phenomenon leads to the fragmentation of identity. In the above extract, the interviewee always has an identity, whether he is Mr N in Taiwan or Tim in Australia. The only difference is that most Taiwanese working holidaymakers are like Tim, who regards Australia as simply a temporary stop in life. Due to the lack of any sense of belonging, the constraints of the Australian social system are less effective than the social expectations in Taiwanese society. Thus, these Taiwanese young people feel that they are able to choose whatever characters they prefer, even if this character may arouse moral controversies.

6.2 Choosing to be a Good/Successful Working Holidaymaker

The unstable lifestyle in Australia leads Taiwanese working holidaymakers to notice their changeable identities. As such, they regard Australia as a front stage for their identity performance. These Taiwanese believe that they are no longer constrained by social principles and can choose what kind of person they want to be by their own free will. However, examining the identities that they pursue, it appears that these chosen identities are still shaped by either Western or Taiwanese culture. That is to say, their identity choice is not as free as they believe. This section will discuss how Taiwanese working holidaymakers choose to be recognized as either cosmopolitans or ascetic business starters in their own self-perception.

6.2.1 A good working holidaymaker

When discussing the Tai-Lao identity in Chapter Four, we discovered that Taiwanese working holidaymakers regard Western culture as a symbolic boundary enabling them to refute this negative stereotype in Taiwanese society. It not only helps these Taiwanese young people to develop strong arguments clarifying their social identity, but also affects their understanding of working holidays in Australia. This influence can be further observed when Mr D provided an opinion about what a good working holidaymaker should be. The reason why Mr D chose to engage in a working holiday in Australia was to

broaden his horizons. Also, being a manufacturing worker in Taiwan, Mr D hoped to escape his daily routine for a while.

> Mr D: Those Bai-Ren from Western countries, such as the USA, UK, and Italy, can be exemplary working holidaymakers for Taiwanese. A working holiday should be a way for young people to develop global perspectives on a limited budget. I know that English is not the mother tongue for all Bai-Ren, but it is still commonly used in Western countries. This is why most of them can speak fluent English. Because of this advantage, they can easily express their views with global perspectives. Additionally, Bai-Ren's lifestyle is quite different from Taiwanese. We are always worried about problems like jobs and budget. Some Taiwanese even engage in working holidays for money. However, Bai-Ren are never restricted by these problems and just travel around anywhere they want to. In comparison with us, they are quite brave. Although this attitude is good, I can't persuade myself to do this. It's too risky for me. Their global perspectives cause Bai-Ren to be the leading group in the global order. Taiwanese have to learn these advantages from them and make friends with them. This is my way to pursue a cosmopolitan identity.

Mr D perceived working holidays as a travel strategy that provides people with an opportunity to develop global perspectives on a limited budget. His understanding of working holidays corresponds to the way in which the middle class in Western countries define independent travel (Adler, 1985). For these middle-class young people, independent travel is imagined as an adventure. It should be 'an emergent (realist) tourist aesthetic' (Adler, 1985, p. 337) and cannot be contaminated by mundane tasks, such as jobs or budget. That is to say, independent travel is romanticized as an adventure. From his admiration of White Europeans as models, it is obvious that Mr D has chosen to accept this point of view. Because of its influence, Mr D put cultural exploration first when he discussed his purpose for being a working holidaymaker in Australia.

As presented in the above extract, Mr D chose to arrange his working

holiday based on the principles of the middle class in Western countries. Meanwhile, this idea also led him to believe that cultural exploration must be put first for those Taiwanese who try to be good working holidaymakers. Hence, when Mr D chose to follow Westerners' perspectives on working holidays, this point of view simultaneously constrained his interpretation of working holidays. Mr D's situation in this extract can actually be explained by Giddens' (1984) analysis of the relation between agency and structure. For Giddens, structures are regarded as rules and resources which are used to organize a social system. In this system, each agent, in choosing to behave in a certain way, takes certain actions. These actions create the structures of the system in which those people are situated. However, these structures also empower and limit the actions of the people in the group. This relation is defined as 'the duality of structure' (Giddens, 1984, p. 25).

This idea of a duality of structure tells us that Mr D chose to approve of Westerners' views on working holidays. Yet, the ideology that is established by Western culture also constrains his choices within the Australian social system. Mr D's understanding of his working holiday is evidence of this limitation. He was led to believe that cultural exploration should be the main task for working holidaymakers and rejected other possibilities. This phenomenon reveals that agents' practices and choices create the social structures, but these structures also limit their future practices and choices.

Due to the influence of Western culture on his working holiday, Mr D believed that a good working holidaymaker should also be cosmopolitan. In this Western cultural context, it is not surprising that his understanding of cosmopolitanism is the same as those of his peers who pursue a cosmopolitan identity in the Western workplace (see Chapter Five). All of them interpret cosmopolitanism from a colonial global perspective. As presented in the above extract, Mr D simplified their advantages as light skin colour and English-language skills. As argued by Ritzer and Goodman (2003), 'objects are seen simply as things out there in the real world; what is of greatest significance is the way they are defined by actors' (p. 353). In other words, the object itself is meaningless. Only people are able to interpret it with different meanings.

In Mr D's case, English language skills and light skin colour are not merely a communication tool and ethnic characteristic. These two elements are also endowed with global significance. Under these circumstances, those opportunities which help Mr D to interact with Western working holidaymakers are resources allowing him to become distinctive. These resources can be traced back to the structure that is established by Westerners' views about working holidays. By getting close to these Western cosmopolitans, Mr D put effort into English speaking and hoped to be recognized as a member of the Western ethnic group. This practice led him to feel that his identity could be seen as cosmopolitan. Meanwhile, it also reproduced the idea of working holidays within the structures of Western culture.

6.2.2 The definition of success for Taiwanese young people

To fight the prejudice against them in Taiwanese society, many Taiwanese working holidaymakers choose to interpret their position based on the perspective of Western independent travellers. However, this is not the only choice for them. Instead of pursuing a cosmopolitan identity, some Taiwanese young people understand their working holiday through the definition of success in Taiwanese society. Miss U's motivation for becoming a working holidaymaker, and her understanding of the prejudice in Taiwanese society, can illustrate this phenomenon. For her, a working holiday is neither a leisure activity nor a cultural exploration. It is a journey to become a successful person in Taiwanese society.

> Miss U: The reason why we are labelled as Tai-Lao is our lack of money. We don't have money to protect our dignity. You know Tai-Ming Guo, Zhong-Mou Zhang, and Xue-Hong Wang. These successful Taiwanese entrepreneurs also make money in other countries. Have you ever heard anyone call them Tai-Lao? Who dares to insult them like this? (Laugh) As long as I bring a lot of money back to Taiwan, I will also be recognized as a successful person. At that time, people around me will shut up and applaud me. This is why I didn't go home for Chinese New Year this year. I would have felt ashamed if I had gone home. I told myself that I could not go home before I became successful. I must learn

from those entrepreneurs who are not afraid of hard work for money. I also read many articles about their philosophy of life through Facebook. These articles inspired me to start an ascetic lifestyle in Australia.

Examining Miss U's words, such as 'we don't have money to protect our dignity', it appears that, for her, income is the main factor causing the Tai-Lao debate. According to Miss U, her income in Taiwan did not make her a successful person. Therefore, she understood that she was judged as Tai-Lao when she decided to engage in a working holiday in Australia. To prove her point, Miss U further gave several famous Taiwanese entrepreneurs, who own multinational corporations, as examples. She contended that the only way for Taiwanese working holidaymakers to escape the Tai-Lao identity is to become rich. In other words, wealth in Taiwanese society does not simply mean material possessions. It also represents the foundations of human dignity and the criterion for being a successful working holidaymaker. This criterion further led Miss U to understand her working holiday as a temporary career option instead of a tourist strategy.

In comparison with Mr D's response in the previous section, Miss U provided a different perspective on working holidays. Both Mr D and Miss U tried to develop their own identities through their working holiday. Nevertheless, as mentioned in the previous section, the structure that Mr D presents is established by the middle class in Western countries. Miss U's self-perception focuses on a negotiation between self and the neoliberal ideology in Taiwan. As Giddens (1984) argues, 'Among the structural properties of social systems, structural principles are particularly important' (p. 283). These two interviewees' choices for their everyday lives in Australia are influenced by different social principles in different social structures. Considering Mr D's response in the previous extract, it appears that Westerners' views about working holidays leads some of these Taiwanese young people to regard them as a sign of cosmopolitanism. This understanding demonstrates how the principles of Western society affect these Taiwanese people's practices.

Nevertheless, Miss U's case reveals that the constraints of Western

cultural ideology are not as effective when these Taiwanese working holidaymakers choose to pay attention to their social identity within Taiwanese society. The Tai-Lao identity, which was attached to Miss U, is the prejudice against Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Taiwanese society. As noted in Chapter Four, it is actually related to the prevalence of neoliberal ideology in Taiwanese society. In a neoliberal context, money becomes a symbol representing individual ability. Only winners in the competitive market are able to own it (Harvey, 2007). That is, the structure of the Taiwanese social system educates people to define individual ability in terms of personal wealth. Understandably, then, Miss U put money first when she engaged in her working holiday. She believed that being rich is the best policy to refute Taiwanese people's prejudice against her in Australia. This ideology inspired Miss U to regard her working holiday as a way to improve her socio-economic status in Taiwanese society. Meanwhile, it also led her to treat money as a key factor in evaluating whether she was qualified to be defined as a successful working holidaymaker.

Although Taiwanese working holidaymakers believe that they are free to be themselves in Australia, their choices are never the fixed true self they expect them to be. Regarding Westerners as the leading group in the global order, some of these Taiwanese young people may choose to become working holidaymakers in order to better grasp Western culture. Examining their own practices and lifestyles with Western society (or at least how they perceive it) as their point of reference, they prefer to define themselves with a cosmopolitan identity.

In contrast, other Taiwanese young people may choose the principles of Taiwanese society as a frame of reference when they take a working holiday in Australia. They are influenced by the rise of neoliberal ideology in Taiwan and declare that being a financial winner is the most effective way to prove themselves as successful working holidaymakers. Given the above discussion, most Taiwanese working holidaymakers are inclined to be either cosmopolitans or financial winners during their travels in Australia. These two options are formulated by the development of the cosmopolitan in a Western cultural context and the rise of neoliberal ideology in Taiwanese society, respectively.

In the next section, I will draw on Goffman's dramaturgical metaphor to investigate how these Taiwanese working holidaymakers perform a cosmopolitan identity through the practice of everyday life in Australia.

6.3 Do as 'Bai-Ren' (白人) Do

Bai-Ren is a Chinese term which literally means 'white people' or Caucasians. In Taiwan, this term is generally used to describe people from Western culture. Taiwanese working holidaymakers regard White Europeans as exemplars when they try to pursue this identity. They even try to imitate their everyday life to be recognized as cosmopolitans. In light of my interview data, it appears that light skin and English language skills are two signs which are endowed with cosmopolitan meanings by those young Taiwanese who dream of being cosmopolitans. Most of them make efforts to demonstrate these two characteristics in order to perform the cosmopolitan identity in their everyday lives in Australia. This section will analyse this identity formulation based on their accommodation choices, church attendance, and language expression.

6.3.1 Hostels and shared houses; front stage and back stage

For Taiwanese working holidaymakers, light skin does not simply represent Western superiority, but also symbolizes a cosmopolitan identity. However, being Asian, these young Taiwanese do not have the same skin colour as Westerners enabling them to perform as cosmopolitans in everyday life. The alternative way is to get close to Westerners and try to be identified as one of them. Hence, those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who dream of being recognized as cosmopolitans prefer hostels rather than shared houses when choosing accommodation. Miss A3 provided an opinion about the differences between hostels and shared houses when she described her life experience in Sydney. At the beginning of her journey, Miss A3 lived in a shared house with her cousin. After three months, she decided to leave her cousin and moved to a hostel.

> Miss A3: My cousin studied for an MA degree in Sydney. So, I lived in a shared house with her when I arrived in Australia. However, I decided to leave after three months because it was so terrible.
>
> Interviewer: Terrible? Did you have bad flatmates? Or did you have

some problems with your cousin?

Miss A3: No. No. No! All of them are nice, but her [the cousin's] friends, classmates, and flatmates are all Chinese. I didn't feel that I was in Australia when I lived with them. Australia is Bai-Ren's country, right? My expectation is meeting Bai-Ren. Nonetheless, everyone I met was Chinese, Taiwanese, and people from Hong Kong. That's why I felt terrible. So, I left my cousin and booked a hostel near the city centre.

Interviewer: Did you try another shared house or just book a hostel?

Miss A3: No! Hostel only! Only Asian backpackers prefer shared houses. Most Western backpackers choose to hostel. If I rent a room in a shared house, I will meet Asians again. The reason why I came to Australia was to develop my global perspectives. So, I need to stay with Bai-Ren. I don't have white skin, but I still hope to become one of them through friendship. This can make me into a globalized person. If I live in a shared house, I will have a private space. It is possible that I'm lucky enough to meet Bai-Ren. However, I may stay in my room to avoid them because of shyness. The hostel has a big room for six to eight people. It's a public space. This environment will force me to interact with White backpackers and make more White friends.

Miss A3 lived in a Chinese community when she started her working holiday in Australia. Living with people from her own culture in an unfamiliar place, Miss A3 should have felt at ease. However, she described it as a 'terrible' experience even though her flatmates were nice. At first glance, Miss A3's attitude seems to involve racial discrimination. Nonetheless, examining her words in this context, I maintain that this response actually reflects Miss A3's anxiety about the gap between the role she planned to perform and the setting in which she found herself.

This phenomenon can be further interpreted using Goffman's idea of setting. As mentioned in the previous discussion about Mr N's identities, Goffman compares society to a stage. Identities are like roles in a play. To give a persuasive performance, agents do not simply have to act in

accordance with the social expectations connected with these identities, but also need 'stage-craft and stage management' (Goffman, [1959] 1990, p. 26). This means that people need an environment that is designed by the expressive equipment related to their performative identities. For instance, when Miss A3 mentioned Western backpackers, she instantly associated them with hostels. According to Goffman's dramaturgical theory, in this response, we can interpret the hostel as a front stage, which is set with appropriate expressive equipment for Westerners to perform the backpacker identity.

Moreover, not all the expressive equipment on this stage is materials. Some is related to appearance and manner, such as clothing, racial characteristics, posture, and speech patterns. This expressive equipment is defined as a 'personal front' (Goffman, [1959] 1990, p. 26). Based on the above extract, cosmopolitan was the identity which Miss A3 dreamed of having in Australia. However, she believed that this identity can only be performed perfectly by Westerners. For Miss A3, Westerners' racial characteristics, such as white skin colour, are a necessary personal front for cosmopolitans. Hence, white skin colour, in Miss A3's view, has been endowed with cosmopolitan meanings. Therefore, Miss A3 considered the Chinese community to be an inappropriate front stage for her role as a cosmopolitan and decided to leave her cousin's shared house and move to a hostel in the city centre.

To act as a competent cosmopolitan, these Taiwanese working holidaymakers like Miss A3 put extra effort into interacting with Western independent travellers. They proactively make friends with 'Bai-Ren' to compensate for the weakness of their racial characteristics, such as not having a light enough skin colour. Miss A3's choice of accommodation is an example of this. Comparing shared houses with hostels, Miss A3 regarded private space as the major difference between these two types of accommodation. The space in a shared house is composed of public space, such as the kitchen and living room, and private space, such as the bedroom. Based on Goffman's dramaturgical metaphor of this design, I suggest that a shared house can be analysed as a space which is organized with areas for both the front stage and the back stage.

The private room in a shared house is a good example of the back stage. As explained by Collins (1988), the back stage is a place where agents can 'act spontaneously without concern for the proper impression one is making' (p. 46). While remaining in the back-stage area, people are allowed to keep a distance from the role they perform in public space/on the front stage. In Miss A3's view, the private room in a shared house is a place for escape. Like an inexperienced actor who may have stage fright before their first performance, Miss A3 understood that she may also meet this problem in her cosmopolitan performance. Hence, she moved to the hostel to force herself to interact with Westerners. A hostel is sociable accommodation. Residents have to share a bedroom and hardly have any private space. This circumstance is absolutely a front stage for identity performance. There is nowhere for Miss A3 to escape to. The circumstances of the hostel forced her to interact with Western people since most Western independent travellers prefer to live in a hostel instead of a shared house. Therefore, the way in which Miss A3 assessed shared houses and hostels obviously reflects her eagerness to be recognized as a cosmopolitan.

6.3.2 Church and English language: the frontstage and the personal front

A similar motivation can also be perceived when young Taiwanese become interested in church activities. Most of my respondents are not Christians. However, they are still willing to attend church at weekends, as this is in line with the cosmopolitan identity they are trying to build. Mr B1 was one of these Taiwanese when he engaged in a working holiday in Australia. The reason why he attended church every weekend was not for religious purposes. Instead, he was simply attempting to get more opportunities to interact with 'Bai-Ren' in English. The following extract is about Mr B1's experiences of church in Australia.

> Mr B1: The reason why I attended church was not for religious purposes. I simply forced myself to attend. It's a good opportunity to practise English speaking and meet many White Australians. I would lose such a good chance to broaden my horizons if I didn't do it [attend church].

Interviewer: So, you think church is a place that helps you develop global perspectives instead of religious belief?

Mr B1: Exactly! Church is a social place for Bai-Ren. It's an opportunity for me to practise speaking English. Although I could only understand half of their words, I tried really hard to say something instead of keeping silent. I strictly forced myself to speak English with Bai-Ren. Sometimes, I might meet other Taiwanese at church, but I would avoid them on purpose. This was a great opportunity to develop global perspectives. I didn't want to be disturbed by them.

Interviewer: How can you communicate with people when you only understand half of their words? If you only knew a little English, how could you have a conversation with Bai-Ren?

Mr B1: I have to admit that I have difficulty in communicating with them [Westerners] in English. However, English is an international language. So, English itself is international. When you build friendships with Bai-Ren in English, it means that you have not been restricted to Taiwan.

Mr B1's attitude towards church attendance reveals that this activity is a self-imposed requirement for him. As argued by Blumer (1969), 'a tree will be a different object to a botanist, a lumberman, a poet, and a home gardener' (p. 11). The function of an object and its implied meaning are changeable because agents endow it with diverse interpretations depending on their subjective point of view. As such, these interpretations also reflect people's understanding of self at the same time. For Christians, church is a place for religious activities. Nevertheless, it is not considered as a religious building by those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who dream of being cosmopolitans. Similarly to Miss A3's understanding of hostels, church, in Mr B1's view, is a stage which is used to perform cosmopolitanism.

Examining the historical development of Christianity, it can be seen that church is not merely a religious symbol. It has also been associated with Western superiority and European colonial powers during the era of European colonialism (Andrews, 2009). Even today, Mr B1 still believed that 'church is a social place for Bai-Ren.' It is still a building that symbolizes Western

superiority for those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who attend church activities regularly. This authority further leads these Taiwanese young people to associate church with a cosmopolitan identity. That is to say, church for them is interpreted as the front stage which is established by European colonial authority and Western cosmopolitanism. Associating cosmopolitanism with Western superiority, Taiwanese young people like Mr B1 regard church attendance as an opportunity to act as cosmopolitans.

In addition, the English language is the personal front which is used by these Taiwanese working holidaymakers to perform as cosmopolitans at church in Australia. As presented in the above extract, Mr B1 showed great eagerness to speak English, even though his proficiency was quite limited. Examining the role of language in a pragmatic way, it is actually a 'significant symbol' (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003, p. 343). For instance, when people hear the word 'rabbit' at the zoo, the image of a small cute mammal is elicited in their minds. Most of them are able to imagine the same image as long as they know what the word, rabbit, refers to. This word can be regarded as a significant symbol which 'calls out the same response in the individual who is speaking that it does in others' (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003, p. 344). Hence, language is considered a tool of communication. However, this concept seems to be challenged in Mr B1's response. His English-language skills were not good enough to deliver his thoughts or to describe events. Nevertheless, English for Mr B1 was not merely a tool to carry significance, but also symbolized cosmopolitanism. Therefore, although Mr B1 could not have very meaningful conversations with White Australians in English, he still believed that he was performing a cosmopolitan identity while speaking simple English sentences.

6.3.3 Chinese expression: dramatic realization and misrepresentation

As a key feature of their cosmopolitan toolkit, Taiwanese working holidaymakers are eager to speak English. This phenomenon can also be perceived when they speak Mandarin Chinese. Some of these young Taiwanese prefer to mix Chinese with English when they interact with compatriots in Mandarin Chinese. The way in which Miss A2 communicated with me is a good example of this. During the interview, she mixed Chinese

with English even though both of them are native Chinese speakers. The following extract is how Miss A2 presented her view of working holidays in Australia. To demonstrate how she mixed Chinese with English during the interview, the following extract will mark the words that she spoke in English in bold letters. Meanwhile, as shown in the footnote, I also present how Miss A2 communicated with me by mixing Mandarin Chinese with English in this extract,[12] and how I tested her English ability with complete English sentences.

Miss A2: My working holiday led me to **make friends** from different countries, such as **American, German, and Greek**. These people broadened my horizons and developed my **global view**. Furthermore, our friendships were opportunities for me to **practise English**. Because of this, I can easily think in **English**. In contrast, most Taiwanese engage in working holidays in Australia **for money**. I think we are on different levels.

Interviewer: Yes, I see, but what you said can only reflect different motivations. How can you associate this difference with a difference in levels?

Miss A2: Ah… (silence and smile for 13 seconds)

Interviewer: Sorry, I mean how do you associate this difference with the level difference?

Miss A2: Oh…ah…**because they want money back Taiwan**…and… ok, maybe I need to speak in Chinese. Those Taiwanese people travel to **Australia** for money. They want to bring money back to Taiwan. So, most of them choose to live an ascetic life to save money. They deserve to be criticized as Tai-Lao because they

---

[12] Miss. A2: da gong du jia rang wo zai ao zhou he hen duo qi ta guo jia de ren **make friend.** li ru: **American, German, and Greek** xi la ren. zhe xie ren tuo zhan le wo de shi ye. pei yang wo de **global view**. er qie rang wo you ji hui **practise English**. yin wei zhe yang wo xian zai hen zi ran de hui yong **English** lai si kao. ke shi you hen duo tai wan ren lai zhe bian zhi shi **for money**. wo he zhe xie ren shi bu tong **level** de.
Interviewer: Yes, I see, but what you said can only reflect different motivations. How can you associate this difference with level difference?
Miss A2: ah….(silence and smile for 13 seconds)
Interviewer: bao qian, wo de yi si shi wei shi me ni jiao de shi ceng ci de bu tong?
Miss A2: ah… **because they want money back Taiwan**…and…ah…wo hai shi yong zhong wen shuo ba. na xie ren lai **Australia** jiu shi wei le ba qian dai hui tai wan. suo yi ta men hui bi zi ji guo zhe hen jie jian de **lifestyle**. ta men ben lai jiu suan shi tai lao. zhi shi na zhe **working holiday** de **visa** er yi. dan shi wo shi zhen de nu li de jie you da gong du jia pei yang guo ji guan. zhe jiu shi wei shi me wo jiao de wo bi ta men **better.**

simply live in Australia with a **Working Holiday Visa** but never engage in a working holiday. In comparison with them, I really put effort into developing global perspectives with my working holiday. That's why I think I'm **better** than them.

What Miss A2 presents in this extract is very similar to other Taiwanese working holidaymakers who pursue a cosmopolitan identity in the Western workplace (see Chapter Five). All of them understood cosmopolitanism through the idea of Western superiority in the global landscape. Thus, they declared that their position is superior to that of their peers who engage in a working holiday in Australia for economic purposes. For them, the English language is the personal front which is used to perform this superior identity—cosmopolitanism. This idea is reflected in both Mr B1's and Miss A2's responses. However, the difference between them is that Mr B1, who was quoted in the previous extract, performed the cosmopolitan identity by getting involved in Westerners' social circle by using the English language. In contrast, Miss A2 chose to emphasize this identity by demonstrating her English language skills to her compatriots.

As presented in this extract, Miss A2 used several common English words deliberately even though she knew how to express these meanings in Mandarin Chinese. For instance, when Miss A2 mentioned Greek, she knew that this word is 'xi la ren' in Mandarin Chinese. Nonetheless, she would rather speak English first and then explain it in Chinese. Also, while Miss A2 knew that the word, view, can be translated as 'shi ye' in Chinese, she still chose to express it by using the term 'global view' in the following comment. Through these expressions, her purpose is to emphasize that she 'can easily think in English.' Nevertheless, this ability to speak English is invisible when these young Taiwanese interact with compatriots. Therefore, to perform as a cosmopolitan with Western superiority, Miss A2 mixed in some English words while speaking Chinese. Interpreting these expressions through Goffman's dramaturgical metaphor, it could be argued that she was infusing 'otherwise unapparent or obscure activity' (Branaman, 1997, p. lii) with the meaning she was trying to present. Her purpose is to make her identity performance more persuasive. This practice, in Goffman's term, is the dramatic realization.

Understanding cosmopolitanism in terms of Western colonial perspectives, it is not surprising that Miss A2 used the speaking of English as a way to express her cosmopolitanism. Yet, Miss A2's English expression ceaselessly reminds audiences that she is Taiwanese. Her identity performance has difficulty bridging the gap between her ethnicity and the cosmopolitan identity she seeks. Hence, considering Miss A2's English language skill as a sign of cosmopolitan identity, it appears that she misinterpreted the cosmopolitan identity in terms of colonial global perspectives. Nevertheless, this misrepresentation, in Miss A2's view, was actually evidence to persuade her audience that she had put effort into pursuing the cosmopolitan identity. Within this effort, Miss A2 formulated herself as cosmopolitan, and furthermore placed herself in a superior position to her peers who engage working holidays for economic purposes.

6.4 Playing as a Financial Winner: The Changing Meaning of Stage Settings

As noted in section 6.1, no matter which values they pursue, most Taiwanese working holidaymakers regard Australia as a front stage for their identity performance because of their lack of trust in interpersonal relationships. There are two main ideals that these Taiwanese young people pursue and use in order to develop their sense of self. One is a cosmopolitan identity, which has been discussed above; the other is seeking to become a financial winner, which is the central theme of this section.

Due to the rise of neoliberal ideology in Taiwanese society, most Taiwanese believe that personal wealth is a symbol of individual ability. Therefore, as noted in section 6.2.2, a working holiday is not a leisure activity for those Taiwanese young people who dream of being financial winners. Instead, it is regarded as an opportunity for upward mobility in Taiwanese society. As such, they prefer to interpret their social interactions in neoliberal ways. This point of view is obviously different from those of their more cosmopolitan peers in Australia. Although the stage setting is the same, the objects on the front stage are endowed with different meanings by these young Taiwanese in order to present different identities. Based on the interview date for this research, this phenomenon can be further perceived in

these Taiwanese people's interpretations of a potluck dinner party.

A potluck dinner is one of the most common ways that independent travellers use to organize a gathering. Each participant is required to bring a dish to the party and share it with each other. This rule enables participants to enjoy diverse cuisines on a limited budget. If participants have different cultural backgrounds, they will have more opportunities to enjoy foods from different countries at this party. Hence, a potluck dinner is not simply an affordable way for working holidaymakers to host a party. Some Taiwanese young people even regard it as an opportunity to make friends from different countries or to explore different cultures.

In contrast, those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who dream of being financial winners after returning to Taiwan are inclined to perceive these potluck dinner parties as useful for their career development. Mr R's response during his interview is a good example of this. His father is a Taiwanese entrepreneur who owns a business in Thailand. As such, Mr R noticed that he had grown up in an upper middle-class family. Refusing to be labelled as such, Mr R decided to travel to Australia for a working holiday in order to accumulate funds for his own entrepreneurship. Travelling to Australia for his future career, Mr R perceived the interpretation of potluck dinner parties as cultural interaction to be quite shallow. This activity, in his view, should be evaluated as a chance to make social connections and possibly reap subsequent economic rewards. The following extract is Mr R's comment on a potluck dinner:

Mr R: Culture is a complicated issue. Can they realize the economic development of a country by trying a dish? Of course not! Honestly, most participants at this gathering are your friend's friends. For me, they are casual acquaintances. All the people in that situation are like actors. They just take some pictures with people and food from different countries to pretend that they are developing global perspectives.

Interviewer: Please allow me to ask a question. Why do you still attend potluck dinner parties if you despise those participants?

Mr. R: Oh! This is because I need to collect useful information for my future. For instance, I joined a potluck dinner party several months ago and met a Korean. He told me why Korea has a higher GDP [Gross Domestic Product] and GNI [Gross National Income] than Taiwan. I also met a Japanese woman at another potluck party. I tried to talk with her to understand employment issues in Japan. These issues are much more meaningful than food, alcohol, and drugs.

Interviewer: What do you mean by meaningful? Can you explain more about this?

Mr R: You know what? Successful Taiwanese entrepreneurs always pay attention to this information every day! It reveals whether a country can be evaluated as a consumption market. It also determines whether they can set up a branch in a country. Why do you think these topics are meaningless? The future is very hard to predict. What I can do now is learn something from those successful entrepreneurs.

As presented in this extract, Mr R repeatedly used the third person pronoun to describe his peers who regard potluck dinner parties as cultural exploration. This narrative point of view implies that he was trying to distinguish himself from these young Taiwanese. Mr R's understanding of potluck dinner parties led him to believe that he did not belong to this group. He emphasized that a potluck dinner party should be an opportunity to 'collect useful information for my future' instead of cultural exploration. Nevertheless, the essence of a potluck dinner party is simply a way of gathering. As Blumer (1969) argues, 'a chair is clearly a chair in itself, a cow a cow, a cloud a cloud, a rebellion a rebellion, and so forth' (p. 4). Those different interpretations of things are actually endowed by agents. An object itself does not have any intrinsic meaning. Whether the purpose of a potluck dinner party is for cultural exploration or to better one's future career, these meanings depend on how participants interpret this activity.

These interpretations of potluck dinner parties resonate with Blumer's (1969) analysis of the meanings behind objects. In Blumer's view, the

sociological meaning of things is derived from social interaction. When actors choose how to behave, they need to 'point out the things that have meaning' (Blumer, 1969, p. 5). In order to learn to be a financial winner, Mr R liked to attend potluck dinner parties. He indicated that these parties are opportunities to understand the world economic situation and prospects. This understanding is actually an internalized social interaction which Mr R is communicating with himself. During the process of self-interaction, 'the actor selects, checks, suspends, regroups, and transforms the meanings in the light of the situation in which he is placed and the direction of his action' (Blumer, 1969, p. 5). This process can help actors to indicate the meanings behind their actions.

Based on the results of such self-interaction, actors are able to develop their own interpretations of things. Mr R's doubts about the effect of potluck dinner parties on cultural realization can be considered as his interpretation of such events. In the above extract, Mr R stated that the interpersonal relationships in this party are quite uncertain because most of them are simply casual acquaintances. Furthermore, food culture, in Mr R's view, is far less important than the world economic situation. Therefore, he deduced that a potluck dinner party should not be interpreted as a leisure activity for cultural exploration. Instead, it is defined as an opportunity to learn how to be a financial winner by accumulating economic knowledge. This changing meaning of potluck dinner parties also reveals Mr R's ambition to be recognized as a financial winner in Taiwanese society.

Similarly to Mr N's response in section 6.1, Mr R also described interpersonal relationships in Australia with dramaturgical metaphors because of the uncertain friendships between working holidaymakers. Identifying each participant as 'actors', Mr. R's response implies that the potluck dinner party is actually a stage setting for identity performance. Considering Mr R's interpretation of potluck dinner parties, it is predicable that he chose to perform as a financial winner on this front stage. As Goffman ([1959] 1990) maintains, 'A performance is socialized, molded, and modified to fit into the understanding and expectations of the society in which it is presented' (p. 44). When an agent performs a social identity within a social system, he or she needs to meet the social expectations of this identity. At the potluck dinner

party, Mr R demonstrated his interest in the world economic situation and its prospects. This issue, in his view, is also of interest to most people who are recognized as successful entrepreneurs in Taiwanese society. He was trying to meet the social expectations of financial winners in Taiwanese society as he performed this identity at the party.

Moreover, Mr R classified social interactions at the potluck dinner party as either 'meaningful' or 'meaningless' when he shared his experiences at the party with the interviewer. As presented in the above extract, Mr R regarded issues such as GDP in Korea and GNI in Japan as meaningful social interactions, while he labelled topics about everyday life, such as food, alcohol, and drugs, as meaningless information. Even though Mr R was unable to explain how these meaningful things are helpful for his future career, he declared that they can be associated with the consumption market. Hence, discussing these issues is regarded as a way to 'learn something from those successful entrepreneurs.'

In Mr R's case, the ability to gain market information is a criterion for judging a person's achievements. Examining current literature about neoliberalism, it appears that the market does play a crucial role in today's economic system. It is evaluated as 'an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide to all human action, and substituting for all previously held ethical beliefs' (Harvey, 2005, p. 3). That is to say, market orientation not only appears in the global economic situation, but is also is treated as a social principle within the neoliberal system. This point of view obviously reflects that neoliberal ideology actually plays a crucial role in Mr R's social practice. Therefore, we can further deduce that the social expectations of Taiwanese society have led Mr R to perform as a financial winner from a neoliberal perspective.

Identity is the negotiation between self and the principles of a society. Although Mr R was living in Australia, his identity performance is still influenced by the social expectations in Taiwanese society. Mr R's performance at potluck dinner parties does not merely reflect how financial winners are presented in neoliberal ways, but also validates the idea that agents are able

to choose which social principles they want to negotiate with. In comparison with Mr R, those Taiwanese who put their effort into performing as cosmopolitans at potluck dinner parties have chosen to become working holidaymakers based on the context of Western culture. That is to say, both Mr R and his peers are on the same front stage (a potluck dinner party). However, the identities they perform on that stage actually originate from different social structures. Therefore, it is not surprising that Mr R tried to distinguish himself from his peers in the above extract.

6.5 Conclusion

Given the above, the uncertain lifestyle experienced during a working holiday leads Taiwanese young people to believe that their self-identities in Australia are changeable. Therefore, Australia for Taiwanese working holidaymakers is analogized to a front stage where they can perform their self-identities as they want. According to their practice of everyday life, cosmopolitans and financial winners are two self-identities which these Taiwanese young people choose to formulate in Australia. This phenomenon reveals that Taiwanese working holidaymakers are not as free as they might expect in terms of identity choices. Their options for self-identities are actually shaped by the cosmopolitanism of Western culture and the neoliberal ideology of Taiwanese society.

Regarding Western culture as the leading culture in the development of cosmopolitanism nowadays, some Taiwanese working holidaymakers are inclined to imitate Western independent travellers' lifestyles in Australia in order to be recognized as cosmopolitans. They consider light skin and English-language skills to be the personal front that is required to perform the cosmopolitan identity. Therefore, when choosing their accommodation, these Taiwanese working holidaymakers prefer hostels, which are mostly chosen by Western independent travellers. Meanwhile, these Taiwanese young people may also attend church regularly, even though they are not Christians. The reason is that hostels and church can provide them with more opportunities to interact with Westerners. These Taiwanese young people proactively make friends with 'Bai-Ren' in order to compensate for the weakness of their racial characteristics, such as a skin colour that is not light enough. As such, hostels

and church are appropriate front stages for them to perform a cosmopolitan identity. Furthermore, these Taiwanese working holidaymakers also insist on speaking English. Even when they are communicating with compatriots, they may still prefer to mix Chinese with English. In their understanding, English-language skills are not merely a communication tool, but are also endowed with globalization significance.

In addition to a cosmopolitan identity, being a financial winner is the other identity that is most often chosen by Taiwanese working holidaymakers. The way in which they perform this identity is actually dictated by the neoliberal ideology in Taiwanese society. Thus, these Taiwanese young people may regard successful Taiwanese entrepreneurs as exemplars and interpret their everyday lives from a business perspective. One of the most representative examples in my interview data is the potluck dinner party. For most Taiwanese working holidaymakers, this is an opportunity to enjoy diverse cuisines on a limited budget and make friends from different countries. However, those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who dream of being financial winners interpreted this activity as an opportunity to discuss economic issues, such as GDP and GNI, with people from different countries. In their view, being proactively concerned with economic issues in different countries is the personal front for financial winners in Taiwanese society. Hence, these Taiwanese working holidaymakers try to emphasize this characteristic when they perform as financial winners at potluck dinner parties.

Examining Taiwanese working holidaymakers' practices of everyday life in Australia, it appears that these Taiwanese young people need to choose the identity that they prefer and perform it based on social expectations. In contrast, after returning to Taiwan, their identities are actually formulated by the market competition in Taiwanese society. The value of their achievements in Australia will be assessed by the market demand in the Taiwanese labour market. In the next chapter, I will discuss how Taiwanese working holidaymakers formulate their identities after returning to Taiwan.

Chapter 7
Negotiating to Become a Successful Returnee

Through the discussions in Chapters Five and Six, I have shown that most Taiwanese working holidaymakers dream of becoming socio-culturally cosmopolitan or/and financial winners through their travels in Australia. No matter what job they hold in the Australian labour market, or how they make choices in everyday life, these young Taiwanese display these two self-identities in Australia. However, regardless of which self-identity they formulate, all of these Taiwanese working holidaymakers have to be examined in terms of the social principles of Taiwan once they return home. Therefore, the central theme of this chapter is to discuss how these returnees commodify their working holiday experience and formulate themselves as 'successful' returnees to the Taiwanese labour market.

To deal with the above issue, this chapter is divided into four sections. Firstly, I will draw on Bourdieu's idea of symbolic power to explain how the West becomes the bearer of symbolic value in Taiwanese society. Secondly, I plan to discuss how these returnees make their working holiday experience more valuable by drawing upon their resources in Taiwanese society. In this section, I will analyse how those female returnees who marry Westerners during their working holiday use the patriarchal dividend they gain from their husbands to achieve upward social mobility within the Taiwanese patriarchal system. Meanwhile, I will also present how returning Taiwanese working holidaymakers start small businesses in Taiwan by integrating their experience in Australia with their social connections in Taiwan. Thirdly, I will turn my attention to those returnees who simply get hired because of their working holiday experience in Australia. I analyse the reasons why they are recognized as successful returnees by the people around them, and what effect this identity brings to them. Finally, I will look at those returnees who formulate their self-identities positively even when their experiences in Australia are judged as less positive by the Taiwanese labour market. I plan to examine how the symbolic power that the West holds in Taiwan limits these Taiwanese young people's job choices when this symbolic power cannot be transformed into advantages in Taiwan.

7. 1. The Role of Western Culture in Taiwanese Society

As discussed in previous chapters, the 'West' and Western culture represent authority and privilege in the context of colonial globalism. This power is not simply recognized by those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who interpret cosmopolitanism from Western perspectives. It can also be perceived in the Taiwanese worldview. In August 2016, I attended an orientation for prospective Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Tainan (a county of Taiwan). It was organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan). Mr F, a government official, gave a talk for this occasion. His speech strongly reflects the extent to which the Taiwanese admire Western culture. The following extract is from Mr F's speech:

> Mr F: All of you are quite lucky. You are able to cross the Pacific and travel to those developed Western countries. I suppose that most of you will be Taiwanese entrepreneurs in the future. It is impossible for you to make a profit in Taiwan only. You have to develop a global perspective when you engage in working holidays in developed Western countries like Australia, the USA, or the UK. You have to think about what you can bring back to Taiwan from these countries. For instance, if you are able to bring a submarine or rocket from the USA to Taiwan, all Taiwanese and I will appreciate your achievement. This is because you bring high technology back to Taiwan and make Taiwan progress. Meanwhile, if you can take products, such as fruit or ASUS products, from Taiwan to Western countries, I will also appreciate your achievement. This is because you increase Taiwan's trade surplus with developed Western countries. You guys need to bring valuable things back to Taiwan from the West and bring Taiwanese a better future.

Regarding Taiwanese working holidaymakers as prospective entrepreneurs, Mr F understood working holidays as travel to look for commercial opportunities. As such, he assessed the value of working holidays in terms of the power relations between Western countries and Taiwan. According to Mr F's

impression of American products, such as 'submarines or rockets', Western countries for him represent high technology and power. In contrast, the Taiwanese products that he admired are agricultural products and original equipment manufacturers (OEM), which belong to labour-intensive industries. This difference suggests that the position of Western countries in the global value chain is higher than that of Taiwan. Hence, Mr F believed that Western things can 'make Taiwan progress' or 'bring Taiwan a better future.'

The way in which Mr F interpreted the power relations between Western countries and Taiwan actually implies colonial globalism. Simultaneously, this point of view can also be perceived in most Asian people's impressions of Western countries. As Bui et al. (2013) argue, 'Young Asians perceive the West to be associated with modernity, progress, and advancement' (p. 134). This means that Asians nowadays still regard the West as a symbol of civilization and progress. The Western-colonial order exists in Asian people's understandings of the global hierarchy nowadays. Therefore, Western countries are able to maintain their dominant role in the global system. In the context of colonial globalism, most Taiwanese are like Mr F. They believe that Western countries are in a superior position to Taiwan. That is to say, 'developed Western countries' is a consensus among people in Taiwanese society. Because of the leading role of Western countries in the global order, the West in Taiwanese society represents high technology, wealth, and power.

The way in which the West is perceived in Taiwan is an example of symbolic power, which I have defined as a power mechanism that leads people to believe that the order of things is naturally caused. Even though people are suffering from it, they still believe that there is really nothing to be done about it (Bourdieu, 1991). For Mr F, the global hierarchy, which is organized by the West, can never be challenged, even though Taiwanese have to evaluate themselves as an inferior group within this order. Therefore, the West becomes a resource to be used to build an advantage in Taiwanese society. In this context, the West can be considered as a source of symbolic power.

Taiwanese people's understandings of a global perspective are not concerned with the rest of the world. Instead, they emphasize the extent to

which people are able to show their alignment with Western symbolic power. As argued by Massey (1991), 'the current popular characterization of time-space-compression represents very much a Western, colonizer's, view' (p. 24). This means that the power relations between different countries in this world are influenced by the colonialism of the early modern period. Western countries are regarded as the dominant group in the global order. In the above extract, Mr F repeatedly described Western countries as 'developed Western countries'. He further commented that Taiwanese working holidaymakers are very lucky that they can travel to these Western countries to develop a global perspective. These arguments reflect the fact that Mr F's definition of 'developed' is actually based on Western perspectives. For him, the reason why these young Taiwanese are 'lucky' is that they gain the opportunity to advance within Taiwanese society. That is, a working holiday, for Mr F, is actually travel which helps Taiwanese young people to develop a global perspective based on the symbolic power of the West.

Basaran and Olsson's (2017) analysis of the relationship between the symbolic power of the West and the idea of internationalization nowadays is useful to explain Mr F's understanding of global perspectives. To demonstrate the meaning behind internationalization, Basaran and Olsson (2017) take Americans as an example. According to their research, if an American has a degree and works in Silicon Valley, his or her diploma, work experience, and linguistic skills will be easily endowed with international value. Even though the American in Basaran and Olsson's study never leaves their home country, he or she is still regarded as an internationalized person by others.

In contrast, those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who dream of being recognized as people with good global perspectives, are not as lucky as that American. They have to leave their native land and live for a while in a developed Western country like Australia. With their work and life experience in Australia, they are able to persuade other Taiwanese that they have been internationalized/globalized. Namely, internationalization nowadays is 'a symbolic ordering principle that shapes social power between groups and individuals' (Basaran & Olsson, 2017, p. 9). It is not a social practice for geographical mobility or spatial relations but is a measurement to evaluate

people's obedience to the symbolic power of the West.

From Mr F's speech, we realize that the West holds symbolic power in the Taiwanese society. This power is also a crucial factor for Taiwanese to interpret what globalization is nowadays. Therefore, it can be expected that those people who are perceived as internationalized do have an advantage in Taiwan. The value of a working holiday is actually established within this context. Once Taiwanese working holidaymakers return to Taiwan from Australia, they have to be examined against the high symbolic value that the West holds in Taiwanese society. For some of these Taiwanese young people, their working holiday experiences in Australia may be assessed as valuable things in the Taiwanese labour market because of the prevalence of this symbolic power in Taiwanese society. The central theme of the next section is to present how returning Taiwanese working holidaymakers integrate their experiences from Australia with their own resources in Taiwan to create an advantage in Taiwan's market competition.

7.2 Integrating Western Experience with Resources in Taiwan

Understanding the symbolic value of the West in Taiwanese society, most returning Taiwanese working holidaymakers attempt to use their work and life experience in Australia in the Taiwanese labour market to their own advantage. Hence, among 17 female interviewees, six of them chose to marry Westerners in Australia and bring them back to Taiwan. For them, this is a way to gain benefits from the symbolic power of the West in order to survive under patriarchal power in Taiwanese society. Additionally, returning Taiwanese working holidaymakers may also start small businesses, such as a coffee shop, by integrating their experience in Australia with their social connections in Taiwan. Within these efforts, their purpose is to make their working holiday experience valuable and to formulate themselves as successful returnees to Taiwan's market competition.

7.2.1 Western superiority, marriage, and the patriarchal dividend

Miss A1's case is an example of how female returnees achieve upward social mobility in Taiwan through the interweaving between Western superiority and the patriarchal power in Taiwanese society. Before starting her

working holiday in Australia, Miss A1 was an insurance sales agent in Taiwan. Having been a lower-paid white-collar worker for five years, she decided to look for other opportunities in Australia. During her working holiday in Australia, Miss A1 married a White Australian, who was a construction worker. When the deadline for her Working Holiday Visa approached, Miss A1 returned to Taiwan with her husband and started a new life. The following extract describes the difficulty which Miss A1 met in the Taiwanese workplace before travelling to Australia for her working holiday.

> Miss A1: When I was an insurance sales agent before travelling to Australia, I only earned 30,000 NTD [750 GBP] per month. Like most Taiwanese employers, my previous employers refused to increase my salary and promote me just because I'm a woman. Even though I did not get married at that time, he still believed that I would quit my job sooner or later after getting married. For them, women are required to pay attention to family in the end. So, I really felt financial stress at that time. However, when I met my husband, I knew that I could release this pressure.

In Miss A1's understanding, the difficulties she encountered in the Taiwanese workplace before her working holiday actually originated from the social expectations of women's role in the family. Based on traditional family values in Taiwan, men are expected to be the breadwinners. They are recognized as the person who should be responsible for the family's financial support. In contrast, women are assigned to domestic work and are expected to be homemakers. As such, when people discuss social stratification by taking the household to be the unit, women are treated as 'male appendages' (Crompton, [1995] 2003, p. 60). Women's identity in social stratification is limited or even ignored after marriage. Despite the rise of women in the workplace nowadays, this phenomenon remains present, even if less so, in Taiwan and elsewhere. However, Miss A1's employer still believed that Miss A1 might quit after getting married. As such, this male employer refused to increase her salary or promote her. This means that the conservative view of women's role in the family restricts women's career development in the Taiwanese workplace. This

problem led Miss A1 to feel financially stressed in Taiwan even though she had worked for five years.

A similar problem is further analysed in Lu's (2011) research on employers' stereotyping of female workers in the Taiwanese labour market. Lu argues that 'most Taiwanese nowadays believe that Taiwanese workplace culture is built with gender equality. Unfortunately, it is simply a hallucination' (p. 22). According to Lu's research, when employers, regardless of whether they are male or female, need their employees to go on frequent business trips, they prefer male employees to female employees. Most employers in Taiwan believe that female employees may not be able to go on frequent business trips because they need to deal with family issues. What is worse, some employers even require female workers not to get pregnant for several years in order to follow the employee schedule in the company. Those female workers who cannot obey this rule will be treated as incompetent workers and will be laid off. That is to say, women nowadays are still treated unequally by the patriarchal system in Taiwanese workplace culture.

As argued by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), the patriarchal system 'is the relative autonomy of the economy of symbolic capital that explains how male domination can perpetuate itself' (p. 174). In other words, patriarchy can be defined as a symbolic power which is used to shape social structures. Those shaped structures do not simply impose social expectations on men and women, but also reproduce patriarchal values. Under these circumstances, men are required to perform as winners in order to present masculinity. Meanwhile, women like Miss A1 are also judged as unstable employees or even incompetent workers because of the role which they are expected to take in the family. This means that patriarchy in Taiwan has become symbolic violence which creates an unequal system between men and women in the Taiwanese workplace.

Although the role of patriarchy in the Taiwanese society leads Miss A1 to feel oppressed in the workplace, she successfully achieved upward social mobility in this unequal system by marrying a White Australian. During the interview, Miss A1 presented her husband's and her experience in Taiwanese

society as follows.

> Miss A1: My husband's income in Australia was not enough if we had children. So, I persuaded him to go back to Taiwan with me when the deadline for my visa was around the corner.
>
> Interviewer: Oh! Is he happy with this decision now?
>
> Miss A1: Sure! The reason why we chose to come back was my husband's competitiveness in Taiwan. He is a White Australian. It is undoubtedly true that his professional capability is better than Taiwanese. He can have more opportunities than other people in the Taiwanese labour market. His advantage in Taiwan can also give me a better life.
>
> Interviewer: Do you mean house construction skills?
>
> Miss A1: Not really. My husband is White Australian. It can be his advantage in Taiwan. After returning to Taiwan, his income from cram schools is about 80,000 NTD [2,000 GBP] per month. Additionally, he was also invited to teach English speaking and listening classes in two private senior high schools. So, my husband's total income is about 100,000 NTD [2,500 GBP] per month.
>
> Interviewer: WOW! That's a lot of money. A permanent lecturer in Taiwan can only earn about 70,000 NTD [1750 GBP] per month.
>
> Miss A1: Exactly! Because of my husband's better income in Taiwan, I feel that the working holiday really changed my life. It made my life better.

Miss A1's husband's job in Australia belonged to the working class. His income was not enough to support a family. However, after leaving Australia and moving to Taiwan, he did not simply become a teacher, but also earned a higher income than highly educated, salaried professionals in Taiwan. Meanwhile, Miss A1 has also benefitted from this marital relationship, thus she declared that the working holiday 'made [her] life better.' As such, it seems that the reason why Miss A1 and her husband can achieve upward social mobility in Taiwan is their geographical mobility. Because of the influence of the Western culture in Taiwanese society, those Taiwanese like Miss A1 are

convinced that a Westerner's competitiveness is better than that of a Taiwanese. Therefore, being a Westerner in Taiwan, Miss A1's husband was able to create an advantage in the labour market by means of his native language.

Miss A1's husband's advantage in the Taiwanese labour market can actually be interpreted using the idea of international capital in Basaran and Olsson's (2017) research. They explain that colonial histories have played a crucial role in the development of globalization. Therefore, Westerners nowadays still 'possess a higher conversion value in formerly colonised countries and/or societies understood as non-Western' (Basaran & Olsson, 2017, p. 17). This means that the Western ethnic group holds an advantage in non-Western countries just because they come from the West. As such, the West should be regarded as a source of symbolic capital which results from the power relations between Western and non-Western countries. This form of capital is defined as international capital by Basaran and Olsson (2017). By leaving a western country and moving to a non-western country, Miss A1's husband converted the West, which exists in his cultural background, into international capital. This symbolic capital leads him to have a chance for upward social mobility in Taiwanese society. Hence, Miss A1's husband's upward social mobility actually demonstrates how the West works as international capital in the Taiwanese labour market.

The international capital that Miss A1's husband owned in Taiwanese society did not only benefit her husband. Miss A1 was also able to share it with him. Having a better income in Taiwan due to his Western superiority, Miss A1's husband did not simply help Miss A1 escape from the gender inequality in the Taiwanese workplace, but also led both of them to achieve upward social mobility. The benefit that Miss A1 shared with her husband obviously reflects the positive effect of the patriarchal dividend on women's socioeconomic status in Taiwan. As Connell (1997) defined it, the patriarchal dividend is the benefit or advantage created by patriarchal symbolic power within a social system. Under these unequal conditions, a portion of women are allowed to share this dividend with men in order to maintain men's patriarchal power (see Chapter Two).

Before her working holiday, Miss A1, a female worker, was exploited because of the gender inequality in the Taiwanese workplace. After her working holiday, gender inequality can still be perceived in Miss A1's marriage. While discussing her own experience after returning to Taiwan, Miss A1 did not mention her experience in the Taiwanese labour market. During the interview, she simply emphasized her husband's achievements. This narrative point of view implies that Miss A1 put herself in an inferior position to her husband. She attempted to hide herself behind her husband's achievement. However, the patriarchal dividend, which Miss A1 was able to share with her husband, led her to ignore the gender inequality between them. This dividend successfully contributed to the maintaining of inequality between Miss A1 and her husband. Furthermore, Miss A1 even achieved upward social mobility through the patriarchal dividend she gained from this inequality. Because of the interweaving between Western superiority and patriarchal symbolic power in Taiwan, marrying Westerners, for female returnees, is a way to better one's position within the Taiwanese patriarchal system.

In addition to income, linguistic competence, which is defined as embodied cultural capital by Bourdieu ([1997] 2003), is the other form of patriarchal dividend which these female returnees are able to share with their partner. Similar to Miss A1, Miss G also fell in love with a white Australian and married him during her working holiday in Australia. Her husband was a temporary chef in a small restaurant. Refusing to endure irregular income and employment, Miss G decided to bring her husband back to Taiwan in order to look for better job vacancies. After returning to Taiwan, her husband fortunately got a permanent job as a chef in a deluxe hotel. Meanwhile, Miss G was also employed by a trading company in Taiwan. The following extract is about Miss G's and her husband's jobs in Taiwan.

> Miss G: My husband got a chef's job in a deluxe hotel after returning to Taiwan. The employer pays him 70,000 NTD [about 1,750 GBP] per month. Both my husband and I are satisfied with this because most Taiwanese chefs can only earn 35,000–40,000 NTD [about 875–1,000 GBP] per month in Taiwan. In Taiwan,

Bai Ren are always able to get higher pay than Taiwanese.

Interviewer: Oh! Yes, I know this. Some interviewees have mentioned this before.

Miss G: Right, after knowing that my husband was on track, I started to look for a job to prove myself. I don't like to depend on my husband's income. Being a woman, I hope to be financially independent. At that time, a trading company hired me with a salary which is 5,000 NTD [about 125 GBP] more than the market price. So, I finally took this job.

Interviewer: Congratulations! Why are they willing to pay you a higher salary?

Miss G: Well, I told them that my husband is a White Australian. So, my employer might have hired me because of my husband. He believed that I am more familiar with Westerners and Western culture than other Taiwanese. It's helpful to negotiate contracts with customers from Western countries.

Experiencing the same thing as Miss A1's husband, Miss G's husband also had an advantage in the Taiwanese labour market due to his ethnicity and cultural background. Because of the symbolic value that the West holds in Taiwanese society, the embodied cultural capital in Western society helped both of these Westerners to gain opportunities for upward social mobility in Taiwanese society. When Miss G decided to look for a job, the advantage which her husband had in the Taiwanese labour market was also shared with her. Her marriage led Taiwanese employers to believe that the embodied cultural capital she owned is close to Western culture. As such, Miss G was able to earn a higher salary than her peers in the workplace. That is to say, economic capital is not the only form of patriarchal dividend. It can also become cultural resources and helps female Taiwanese returnees to compete with others in the patriarchal system.

The patriarchal dividend that both Miss A1 and Miss G owned after returning to Taiwan, not only originated from the interweaving of Western superiority and patriarchal power. This dividend can also be traced back to the class assimilation caused by marriage. As reported by Acker (1973), 'the

female's status is equal to that of her man, at least in terms of her position in the class structure because the family is a unit of equivalent evaluation' (p. 937). That is to say, men's social position is almost always used to judge a family's socioeconomic status. Therefore, women's social position is strongly influenced by their partner after marriage. In Miss A1's case, her experience confirms that this class assimilation can be perceived from an economic perspective. Additionally, Miss G's employer further associated her husband's cultural background with her understanding of Western culture. These two cases reflect that the class assimilation caused by marriage does not simply happen to economic capital, but also takes place in cultural capital.

Living in a social system dominated by patriarchal power, Miss G tried to show individual capability with her job. Differently from Miss A1, hiding herself behind her husband's financial achievement, Miss G chose to present her self-identity in social stratification and rejected being assimilated by her husband. However, the reason that Miss G's employer hired her was still her husband. Instead of being concerned with Miss G's individual capability, her employer paid attention to her husband's ethnicity and cultural background and finally hired her with a higher salary because of this. That is to say, even though the patriarchal dividend can lead these Taiwanese women to be recognized as successful returning working holidaymakers, their subjectivity and individual capability are seldom put first by employers in the Taiwanese labour market.

7.2.2 The West and the free market: starting a business with Western things

If marriage is one possible route to becoming a successful holidaymaker, other returning Taiwanese may choose to start a business by combining their working holiday experience in Australia with their own resources in Taiwan. Mr K's career choice after returning to Taiwan is a typical case of this. Feeling exploited at work in Taiwan, Mr K chose to quit and went on a working holiday in Australia. During his travels, he looked for a business opportunity which could help him start a small business in Taiwan. After returning to Taiwan, Mr K chose to start a coffeehouse with his brother. Because of his successful business, Mr K was invited by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Taiwan to give prospective Taiwanese working holidaymakers a talk during an orientation. For

Mr K, this invitation represents the fact that he has been recognized as a successful working holidaymaker in Taiwanese society. The following extract is Mr K's description during the interview of his motivation for starting a coffee shop in Taiwan.

> Mr K: When my mom knew that I had decided to go to Australia, she contacted my auntie who runs a coffee shop in Melbourne. In Australia, I worked on a farm during weekdays and with my auntie at the weekend. I learned a lot of things about running a coffeehouse and making coffee and cake in her shop. After returning to Taiwan, I tried to explore the market demand, which can not only help me make profit, but is also related to my experience in Australia. Finally, I noticed that coffee may be a good business opportunity for me. Although a cup of coffee in Starbucks in Taiwan is more expensive than a meal, people still buy it. Most Taiwanese believe that Western things are the best. Some rich people in Taiwan even regard coffee as a taste. However, after experiencing a working holiday in Australia, I feel that most coffeehouses in Taiwan are not traditional at all. In comparison with the coffee in Australia, the coffee in Taiwan is too bitter and astringent. So, I applied for start-up loans for young entrepreneurs and got 800,000 NTD [20,000 GBP] and invited my brother to start a coffeehouse with me. He is an interior designer. So, he is responsible for storefront renovation. I am responsible for making coffee and cake, which I learned in Australia. We hope to run a coffeehouse with traditional Western tastes. Nowadays, we have already been running our coffee shop for three years. I have paid off the loan and have solidified my customer base. My business has successfully satisfied the market demand in Taiwan.

As we know, Starbucks is an American global coffee company and coffeehouse chain. When Mr K mentioned the coffee industry in Taiwan, he instantly took Starbucks as an example. This demonstrates that this American global coffeehouse chain is popular in Taiwan. Furthermore, Su et al. (2007) argue

that 'Western culture adoration was an important dimension in coffee consumption for Taiwanese customers' (p. 185). That is, coffee is regarded as a product from Western culture by Taiwanese people. Therefore, Mr K described coffee as a 'Western drink' in this extract. As noted in section 7.1, Western countries' symbolic power leads Taiwanese people to believe that 'Western things are the best' and increases the market demand for Western products in Taiwanese society. The demand for coffee in Taiwan is an obvious example reflecting this phenomenon. Taiwanese people are willing to try products from Western culture. Hence, coffee has become a popular drink in the Taiwanese consumption market and culture.

As declared by Mr K, coffee is a Western cultural product. When discussing English language skills in Chapter Five, I mentioned that there are three forms of cultural capital in Bourdieu's account. These are: embodied cultural capital, objective cultural capital, and institutionalized cultural capital. Among these three forms of cultural capital, objective cultural capital means that 'the cultural goods can be appropriated both materially – which presupposes economic capital – and symbolically – which presupposes cultural capital' (Bourdieu, [1997] 2003, p. 50). Consumption of coffee can be an instance of objective cultural capital. To have a cup of coffee, people can buy it with money (economic capital). Alternatively, they can make a cup of coffee if they have the knowledge and skills to do so (and the money to buy the coffee beans). Thus, coffee also implies some sort of cultural knowledge to make and appreciate it.

Moreover, Mr K's understanding of coffee consumers reveals that coffee is not simply a product for the middle class in Taiwan. They also regarded coffee as a taste. As argued by Bourdieu (1984), 'tastes (i.e., manifested preferences) are the practical affirmation of an inevitable difference' (p. 56). That is to say, taste is an invisible boundary which agents use to make a distinction between the social group they are in and other groups within their social system. For Bourdieu, this boundary is presented by people's social practices and is mostly used to distinguish different social classes. In the above extract, we can notice that Mr K described coffee as the difference which can be used to discern the middle class in Taiwanese society. This point

of view is a typical case in which social practice is interpreted as a taste to recognize people's socioeconomic status. The price is one of the main factors in developing a taste. However, the reason why coffee becomes distinctive among the middle class in Taiwan is Taiwanese people's tendency to follow Western fashions and to perceive coffee as tasteful. Being able to appreciate coffee becomes part of people's embodied cultural capital, which contributes to the establishment of a lifestyle hierarchy.

As maintained by Bourdieu (2013), 'the sum of these socially pertinent distributions sketches the system of lifestyles engendered by taste and apprehended by it as signs of good or bad taste' (p. 298). When people live in an unequal social system, things in everyday life will be classified as good or bad, lowly or noble by the dominant class. Having learned skills from his auntie's coffee shop in Australia, Mr K believed that his coffeehouse is closer to Western tradition than other coffeehouses in Taiwan, providing it with some additional symbolic value. In contrast, those coffeehouses which are not traditional enough for Mr K are described as 'too bitter and astringent' and are criticized as having bad taste. Thanks to the prestige associated with Western-like coffee, Mr K's cultural products (coffee and cake) successfully satisfy the market demand in Taiwan's coffee market. This achievement enabled Mr K to pay off his loan and to solidify his customer base. He was also recognized as a successful returning Taiwanese working holidaymaker by members of the dominant class, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in Taiwanese society.

The definition of success in Mr K's case demonstrates the influence of neoliberalism on social principles in Taiwan. The free market is the most crucial concept from a neoliberal perspective. Indeed, 'free markets will not let valuable factors of production (including labour) go to waste. Instead, prices will adjust to ensure that demand is forthcoming and all factors are employed' (Palley, 2005, p. 20). This means that the free market, from a neoliberal perspective, is the most balanced and neutral system to judge the value of each thing and individual. Thus, this system has been extended to the world by globalization. In this market-oriented culture, everything can be commodified, including human labour. As such, Hall (2013) argues that 'the market has become the model of social relations, exchange value the only

value' (p. 9). This implies that nowadays the market is not only an area or an arena for agents to engage in commercial activity, it also becomes a principle that agents use to build up interpersonal relationships and to evaluate self-worth from commercial perspectives.

In light of this, Mr K's experience in Australia has arguably been commodified. He decided to run a coffeehouse in Taiwan based on his working holiday experience in Australia. This decision means that Mr K evaluated his working holiday experience in Australia as a product and tried to sell it. His customers appreciated his products and have become regulars. Hence, he felt confident in his individual capacity due to the positive market response. This self-confidence demonstrates how the free market has led Mr K to think in terms of commercial perspectives.

In addition, Mr K's family resources are also an essential element for his success in the Taiwanese coffee market. In his view, his aunt and brother did him a big favour when he started to run his coffeehouse. Although Mr K's parents did not have enough financial resources to support his coffeehouse, his mother helped hum to learn coffee skills from his aunt in Australia. This experience became valuable cultural knowledge which he could use to acquire start-up loans for young entrepreneurs in Taiwan. Mr K's brother, an interior designer, also assisted him in designing a storefront. Hence, we can see that Mr K's relatives actually played a crucial role in his business. His success in the Taiwanese coffee market cannot be attributed merely to his working holiday experience in Australia. Rather, his family resources helped him to take advantage of his journey in Australia.

The relationship between Mr K, his aunt, and his brother is in line with Overbeek's (2002) argument about how capital works in a neoliberal system. He criticizes the idea that 'This globalization project is about the freedom of capital to maximize its accumulation potential' (p. 75). This means that the prevalence of neoliberalism in today's global system provides agents with more opportunities to gain as much benefit as they can from the free market by utilizing their own resources. In this context, social networks, such as kinship, and not only financial means, appear to be an essential resource for

thriving in the free market.

7.3 The Commodification of the Self in the Taiwanese Labour Market

In comparison with Mr K's success story, Miss F does not have useful social connections or financial resources in Taiwan to make her experience in Australia more valuable. Therefore, she had to look for opportunities in the labour market. She obtained a job at a travel agency because she had been a tour guide in Australia. To friends and family members, Miss F successfully applied her experience in Australia to her career. Hence, she believes herself to be considered as a successful returning working holidaymaker. Nevertheless, Miss F has some doubts about her alleged success. The following extract is Miss F's view about the identity which she gained in her social life.

> Miss F: Honestly, I don't know whether my parents and friends are right or not. Yes, my employer hired me because I was a tour guide for the Great Barrier Reef Tour. My working holiday experience in Australia did help me to get my current job. However, the quality of my life never changes. After returning to Taiwan, I still need to work overtime. My monthly income nowadays is only 1,000 NTD more than before. The working holiday really provided me with more choices when I looked for jobs after returning to Taiwan. Unfortunately, the quality of those choices is no better than the job I had before engaging in the working holiday. After all, my father is not Lian Zhan[13]. My mother is not Xue-Hong Wang[14]. It is impossible for me to be somebody simply because I have engaged in a working holiday in Australia. So, I will not say I am a successful returning working holidaymaker, but the working holiday has really given me more job choices since I returned to Taiwan.

This extract indicates that Miss F's work experience in Australia helped her to get hired after returning to Taiwan. Her job search process in Taiwan can be interpreted as 'a process of deepening commodification' (Overbeek, 2002, p. 85). That is to say, commodification is not merely used to assess the price of

---

[13] Lian Zhan is an influential politician in Taiwan.
[14] Xue-Hong Wang is one of the founders of HTC, one of the most famous electronics companies in Taiwan.

material things, but is also applied to assessing the value of human labour. During this commodification process, Miss F competed with other applicants in the Taiwanese labour market to demonstrate her value. In the end, her employer regarded her working holiday experience in Australia as valuable. Miss F has commodified her experience in Australia: she has used it as a source of social value in the Taiwanese free market.

Nevertheless, Miss F complained that her experience in Australia is only helpful for her to move from job to job with a similar level of wages and working conditions. Hence, this lateral progression cannot be used to achieve upward mobility in social stratification. In Mr K's case, his aunt and brother helped him a lot when he started his business. This kinship could be regarded as valuable social capital which Mr K inherited from his family. In contrast, Miss F was not as lucky. Her family was incapable of providing her with any resources to make her working holiday experience more valuable. Therefore, what she could do was be chosen by the dominant class in the Taiwanese labour market. The difference between Mr K and Miss F reveals that each individual has opportunities to compete in the free market. Unfortunately, not all of them are able to stand on the same starting line because of unequal family resources. This discrepancy is always ignored when success is defined from neoliberal perspectives.

To sum up, the influence of Western symbolic power on the principles of social value in the Taiwanese free market is helpful for these returning Taiwanese working holidaymakers to commodify their experience in Australia. Their working holiday experience is used by these young Taiwanese to compete with others in the Taiwanese labour market. In addition, the value of their Western experience is also related to their social capital. Comparing Mr K's success in his business and Miss F's current job, it appears that the neoliberal system in Taiwan allows people to maximize their profits using different forms of capital. However, it may also reduce people's opportunities when they lack resources, whether social, economic or cultural. In the next section, I will move on to focus on those returning working holidaymakers who are considered not to be successful in the Taiwanese labour market. I attempt to look at how they perceive themselves when their working holiday

experience in Australia cannot be used advantageously in Taiwan.

7.4 Product Elimination and the Inverted Symbolic Power of the West

As presented in the discussion above, commodification is the process that causes working holidaymakers to be defined as either a success or a failure in Taiwanese society. Taking advantage of the role of Western symbolic power in Taiwanese social principles, the interviewees mentioned above secured a good position in the Taiwanese free market. Nevertheless, not all of these returning young Taiwanese are able to be 'winners' in this market competition. Their working holiday experience may actually be a source of rejection.

Mr T's job search process after returning to Taiwan can be considered an example of this. To feel more cosmopolitan, Mr T tried to interact with people from Western culture and to get to know them during his working holiday in Australia. After returning to Taiwan, Mr T thought that he could get a good job in the Taiwanese labour market, given his 'cosmopolitan' experience abroad, but things did not go as expected. When Mr T mentioned his working holiday experience during job interviews, it did not play in his favour. The following extract is Mr. T's experience of job interviews after returning to Taiwan.

Mr T: Most Taiwanese employers do not have a global perspective. In Australia, I lived with Bai Ren and became friends with them. My experience in Australia is close to those cosmopolitans. However, those interviewers in Taiwan cannot discern this difference. When I had an interview for a product promotion specialist job, the interviewer looked at me with undisguised contempt. He was critical that my English is not as good as expected although I lived with Bai-Ren during my working holiday in Australia. Furthermore, the interviewer criticized: 'You just went to Australia to wash dishes and package fruit. Why do you think you have developed a good global perspective? Where does your confidence come from? You're just wasting your life.' I tried to debate with him. Unfortunately, the interviewer was only

concerned with how much profit I can bring to his company. I feel that Taiwanese employers only care about money instead of global perspectives.

The reason why Mr T recognized himself as a cosmopolitan can be traced back to the race and ethnicity of his social circle when he lived in Australia. He perceives himself as more cosmopolitan given his efforts to interact with locals and Westerners. A desire for Western cosmopolitanism has indeed been shown to be the main motivation for most Asian independent travellers (Bui et al., 2013; Kawashima, 2010). They regard a working holiday as 'the opportunity to accumulate cultural capital, such as knowledge of the language and culture of the West' (Bui et al., 2013, p. 137). This means that cosmopolitanism for Asian independent travellers is an idea which focuses on cultural exploration, especially of Western culture. Therefore, when Mr T emphasized his global perspectives during the job interview, his purpose was to demonstrate the extent to which he understands and adheres, at least to some extent, to Western culture.

Nevertheless, this strategy was obviously not in line with how the Taiwanese labour market works. Examining Mr T's achievements during his working holiday in Australia, the job interviewer is not impressed by his English language ability, his social circle in Australia, or his work experience. For this interviewer, Mr T's ability to make a profit is the first thing which he should be concerned about. This point of view arguably reflects the ideology of the neoliberal system. While discussing the principles of neoliberalism, Gill (1995) argues that it 'entails cultural, ideological and mythic forms understood broadly as an ideology or myth of capitalist progress' (399). That is to say, capitalism is admired as the model for society in the context of neoliberalism. Meanwhile, private capital accumulation and making a profit are also endowed with positive meaning. This social neoliberal ideology inspires agents to classify things as useful or useless in commercial terms (what is profitable and what is not). Also, this logic is used by them to judge people's efforts as successes or failures. We see here that cultural capital (a western lifestyle), although endowed with symbolic value, is not always easily transformed into economic capital. In this case, Mr T's working holiday in Australia is criticized

as a waste of time by the job interviewer in Taiwan. Mr T's experience is not perceived as competitive on the job market.

After being rejected by several job interviewers, Mr T was hired as a salesman for English courses in an English language school. The wages and working conditions for this job are worse than the job he had before leaving to go to Australia. Furthermore, the reason why he was hired was his previous work experience in Taiwan. His working holiday experience in Australia did not play any role. Even so, Mr T still regarded his current job offer as 'an opportunity to apply my global perspectives.' Also, he started to refuse to work overtime after returning to Taiwan. The following extract is Mr T's view of his new job and his principles in the workplace:

Mr T: I was a salesman in Taiwan before engaging in a working holiday in Australia. At that time, I devoted myself entirely to my job. I was willing to work overtime. I could earn 40,000–50,000 NTD [about 1,000–1,250 GBP] bonuses per month on average. However, after experiencing a Western lifestyle in Australia, I have been influenced by those Bai Ren. I find that money should not be the only goal in my life. So, when I got the job offer from an English language school, I decided to accept it. I am a salesman again after returning to Taiwan. It seems that my working holiday did not help me change anything. However, my responsibility is to promote English language courses. Although the wage for this job is much lower than the job which I had before, it provides me with more opportunities to interact with those Bai-Ren who teach English in Taiwan. For me, this is an opportunity to apply my global perspective.

Interviewer: That sounds good to you. Do you have a heavy workload at work?

Mr T: Yes, but I refuse to work overtime. Those White Australians never work overtime, either. They believe that work is simply a part of life, not life itself. I think this Western concept is good. So, I learned it from these Bai-Ren. In comparison with my colleagues, I am quite different from them. My thinking is close to Bai-Ren

because of my working holiday experience.

This extract reflects Mr T's emphasis on a Western lifestyle. He further declared that this lifestyle has affected his principles of life. In addition to money, Mr T was also looking for a job where he could express his cosmopolitanism. Therefore, he was happy to be a salesman for English courses in an English language school even though the wage and working conditions for this job were worse than in his previous job. Despite the fact that his working holiday experience could not help Mr T to progress in the Taiwanese labour market, the way that he values Western culture and lifestyles has influenced how he perceives himself and the kind of professional positions that are right for him.

In comparison with other returning Taiwanese who are deemed to be successful working holidaymakers, Mr T could not benefit directly from the resources he acquired through his experience abroad or any symbolic prestige that could be associated with it; yet, his experience still considerably affected his sense of self and his perception of what a good job would be for him. As discussed in the previous section, the symbolic values that the West holds in Taiwanese society helped Mr K and Miss F to create an advantage within market competition. Unfortunately, these positive effects did not occur in Mr T's career development. Nevertheless, this symbolic value further disciplined his job choices. To satisfy Taiwanese people's expectations of returning working holidaymakers, Mr T refused to choose jobs where he could not express his cosmopolitanism. Although his real situation in the labour market is far from successful, Mr T's aspiration to be a successful returnee continuously limited his opportunities to try other jobs. In other words, the influence of Western symbolic power on Mr T's lifestyle in Taiwan has been inverted. It becomes a limitation on his career choices instead of an expectation.

The idea of inverted symbolic power was further investigated by Burke (2017) when he studied underemployed middle-class graduates in the UK. As Burke (2017) maintains, 'The norms and values of a society, which appear to be beneficial to the hegemony, can actually be violent towards them' (p. 402).

In other words, the symbolic power of the middle class, in Burke's view, can be considered as a limitation for those middle-class graduates who are underemployed in UK. This power leads these young people to choose jobs such as waiter/waitress in elite restaurants or salesman/saleslady in high-end cosmetics shops. For these middle-class graduates, these jobs can help them to be in contact with middle-class people. Hence, these young people can continuously persuade themselves that they are still living in a middle-class environment, even though they have actually moved far away from this group.

A similar situation can also be perceived in Mr T's case. As noted in the above extract, his current job is not related to the cosmopolitan experience he pursued in Australia. Nevertheless, Mr T still explains his choice of his current job as being a good fit given the more cosmopolitan outlook he acquired in Australia. To apply his global perspectives, Mr T persuaded himself to perform a job in which the wages and working conditions are worse than in his previous job. Also, he admired White Australians as examples, and regarded their lifestyle as the reason for him to reject working overtime. For Mr T, the purpose of these behaviours is to validate that 'that's not for the likes of me' (Burke, 2017, p. 403). That is to say, Mr T was incapable of realizing the value of his working holiday experience in the Taiwanese labour market by commodification. However, Western symbolic power still coerced him into demonstrating that he was different from those colleagues who had never experienced a working holiday. Mr T attempted to emphasize that he was near to the dominant impression of successful returning working holidaymakers even though he had actually been rejected in the labour market. During the process of demonstrating his uniqueness, Mr T has ignored other possibilities for his future career. He only focused on the dream that was created by inverted Western symbolic power.

7.5 Conclusion

The power relations between Western countries and Taiwan in today's global order leads the West to be seen as a source of symbolic capital in Taiwanese society, whether this is through Western work experience or a Western lifestyle. To formulate themselves as successful returnees in these circumstances, Taiwanese working holidaymakers use their experience in

Australia to cater to the market demand for the West within the Taiwanese labour market. This phenomenon does not simply reflect the symbolic value that the West holds in the Taiwanese free market, but also forces these Taiwanese to commodify their working holiday experience in order to create an advantage within Taiwanese market competition.

According to the interview data gathered during this research, there are three types of returning Taiwanese working holidaymakers, who try to shape their self-identities positively in different ways. The first type integrates their experience in Australia with their resources in the Taiwanese labour market. Working within a labour market dominated by patriarchal power, a portion of female returnees may choose to marry Westerners during their travels in Australia and then bring their husbands back to Taiwan. In Taiwan, the symbolic power of the West is so influential that their husbands are able to create an advantage in the labour market due to their ethnicity and embodied cultural capital. Within marriage, these Taiwanese women can then share this patriarchal dividend with their husbands to achieve upward social mobility in the Taiwanese system despite gender inequality. In addition to these female returnees, other Taiwanese working holidaymakers may start a business by combining their cultural experiences in Australia with social connections in Taiwan. They try to sell Western cultural goods, such as coffee, to cater to the market demand in Taiwan. Within these strategies, both of these groups make efforts to be recognized as successful returning working holidaymakers.

The second type is to become the chosen one in market competition. Due to a lack of useful resources in Taiwan, this type of returnee is only able to grab employers' attention with their Western experience in Australia. Due to getting hired because of this experience, these Taiwanese young people would also be recognized as successful returnees by the people around them. However, the work opportunities they gain are only helpful for them to move from job to job with similar levels of wages and working conditions. Differently from the first type of returnees, these Taiwanese young people have difficulty in achieving upward social mobility in Taiwan through their working holiday experience. This problem reveals that the neoliberal system in Taiwan is actually a socio-economic system for economic elites. Even though this

system emphasizes individual ability, it is actually not friendly to those people who lack family inheritance.

The last type emphasizes their cosmopolitan identity. Some returning young Taiwanese may be eliminated from the market competition in Taiwan because their working holiday experiences are judged to be unprofitable. Therefore, these returnees would emphasize how they are close to the Western culture in Australia. They plan to emphasize their cosmopolitan identity by associating their achievements with the West in order to cover their failure on the Taiwanese labour market. However, when this symbolic power cannot become an advantage for these Taiwanese young people, its influence on their future career may become inverted. They may choose a job which is near to the dominant impression of successful working holidaymakers, but is actually far from being so. Within these types of jobs, they try to persuade themselves that they are still in an environment for successful working holidaymakers. In other words, their expectations of future careers, which are shaped by Western symbolic power, may become a limitation preventing them from trying other possibilities for future careers. The dream, which is created by the inverted Western symbolic power, becomes a limitation for these failed returnees, instead of an expectation.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Success Is Malleable for Taiwanese Working Holidaymakers

My empirical findings outline that success is malleable. Taiwanese holidaymakers forge it depending on the various situations they have encountered both in Taiwan and Australia. They ceaselessly examine their working-holiday experience with reflexivity and knowledgeability and negotiate with the principles of different cultures in order to formulate their identities positively. Within the identities that they shape, these Taiwanese are eager to present how successful they are, how successful they want to be, and why they are succeeding. Analysing the interview data gathered during this research using thematic analysis, I have discovered that these Taiwanese's identity formation process can be analysed in terms of four aspects: the prejudices they were subject to in Taiwan, their work experience in Australia, their leisure time during their working holiday, and their achievements after returning to Taiwan.

As discussed in Chapter Four, the prejudice against Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Taiwanese society can be traced back to young people's difficulties in the labour market and Taiwanese people's expectations of cosmopolitans. A working holiday, in the Taiwanese cultural context, is not simply a strategy for budget travel. It is further interpreted as a legal way for Taiwanese young people to acquire temporary, low-skilled jobs in Australia. From the perspective of the dominant group in the Taiwanese labour market, these Taiwanese young people are incapable of getting a well-paid job in a highly competitive market. To ease their financial pressure, they have to do low-skilled jobs in developed Western countries like Australia. Hence, those Taiwanese young people who travel to Australia for a working holiday are judged as 'losers' in the Taiwanese labour market.

Moreover, Taiwanese people's understanding of cosmopolitanism is actually shaped by the middle-class ideology in Taiwanese society. This ideology leads people to associate Taiwanese cosmopolitans with successful Taiwanese entrepreneurs and overseas Taiwanese international students in Western countries. As such, the vested interest group in the Taiwanese labour

market further associates Taiwanese working holidaymakers in Australia to Southeast Asian migrant workers in Taiwan, depending on their jobs and social positions. They believe that both Taiwanese working holidaymakers and Southeast Asian migrant workers are not only the lower class, in Australia and Taiwan respectively, but also belong to the group of outsiders in these countries. In Taiwan, people label Southeast Asian migrant workers as 'Wai-Lao' in Mandarin Chinese. Therefore, Taiwanese working holidaymakers are taunted as 'Tai-Lao' by people in Taiwanese society.

Stigmatized with the Tai-Lao identity, most Taiwanese working holidaymakers try to reject it in order to formulate their identities positively. They may choose to rethink, relabel, or redefine the Tai-Lao identity. To refute this negative stereotype, some of these Taiwanese young people rethink the definition of success in Taiwanese society. They claim that private wealth should not be the only way to assess individual competence. For the upper class in Taiwan, this social principle allows them to buy individual ability with money instead of validating individual ability with it. Other Taiwanese working holidaymakers may describe the social boundary between Tai-Lao and themselves. These Taiwanese young people try to avoid the Tai-Lao identity by emphasizing their financial achievements in Taiwan or in Australia. Meanwhile, they also label their peers who have less income with this negative identity. That is to say, while refuting the Tai-Lao identity for themselves, this group of people actually reproduce the prejudice at the same time.

Differently from these Taiwanese young people, other Taiwanese working holidaymakers regard Western culture as the leading culture in the global order. As such, this group of Taiwanese young people show a great passion for the West during their travels in Australia. They claim that the term 'Tai-Lao' should be used to criticize their peers who travel to Australia for economic purposes, live within the Chinese community, and have no interest in Western culture. This interpretation leads Taiwanese working holidaymakers to divide themselves into two subgroups, and causes the group conflict between them. One lives in the Chinese communities and travels to Australia for economic purposes; the other has a strong interest in exploring Western culture and making Western friends.

This group conflict can be further perceived when Taiwanese working holidaymakers formulate identities through their work experience in Australia. As discussed in Chapter Five, English-language skills constitute crucial embodied cultural capital which determines these Taiwanese young people's wages and working conditions in Australia. Because they have difficulty in negotiating with employers in Australia, those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who are unable to speak fluent English can easily find themselves hired on illegal employment contracts. In comparison, their peers who have good English-language skills have more opportunities to achieve better wages and legal employment contracts in the Australian labour market. This means that Western culture actually plays a dominant role in the development of cosmopolitanism in Australia.

Living in circumstances dominated by Western culture, those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who have better English ability prefer working with White colleagues instead of people from Chinese or Taiwanese culture. In their understanding, working in a Western workplace not only helps them develop a good global disposition, but also formulates their identity as cosmopolitans. Hence, these Taiwanese working holidaymakers despise their peers who work in the Chinese community. They label these young people as Tai-Lao because they simply hope to get an easy job within the Chinese ethnic network in Australia and bring money back to Taiwan. This means that there are two subgroups among Taiwanese working holidaymakers depending on the ethnic group they work with. One works in the White workplace; the other works in the Chinese community. The former group puts themselves in a higher position than the latter.

In addition to their workplace, these Taiwanese young people's leisure time in Australia also reflects how their eagerness to form a cosmopolitan identity or focus on financial achievement affects their identity formation process. As noted in Chapter Six, an uncertain lifestyle and fewer social expectations lead Taiwanese working holidaymakers to regard Australia as a frontstage on which they can present themselves according to their own will. Even though it seems that these Taiwanese young people are able to choose

the identity they prefer in Australia, the options they have are actually constrained by the social expectations of Taiwanese society. Therefore, they always formulate themselves as either cosmopolitans or financial winners during their working holiday in Australia.

Formulating their cosmopolitan identity in relation to Western perspectives, some Taiwanese working holidaymakers are inclined to imitate Western independent travellers when they pursue this identity. These Taiwanese young people attempt to emphasize their relationship with the Western ethnic group and their interest in improving their English-language skills in order to perform as cosmopolitans. In contrast, due to the influence of the neoliberal ideology in Taiwan, other Taiwanese working holidaymakers may regard successful Taiwanese entrepreneurs as examples when they choose to formulate themselves as financial winners. These Taiwanese young people prefer to show great interest in economic issues in front of their peers. They perceive leisure activities, such as potluck dinner parties, as opportunities to discuss economic conditions with people from different countries.

Regardless of whether they perform as cosmopolitans or financial winners in Australia, these Taiwanese young people have to be evaluated in the light of market demand after returning to Taiwan. To shape themselves as successful returnees, they have to use or present their working-holiday experience as an advantage in the Taiwanese labour market. As demonstrated in Chapter Seven, these Taiwanese young people mostly used three strategies to demonstrate the value of their working-holiday experience after returning to Taiwan. The first strategy is to use their own resources to capitalize on their experience in Australia. These resources do not simply mean economic capital, but also include symbolic capital and social capital. Based on the interview data from this research, six out of 17 female interviewees chose to marry Westerners during their working holiday and bring them back to Taiwan after their travels in Australia. Noticing the Western superiority and gender inequality in Taiwanese society, these female returnees try to achieve upward social mobility by making the most of their husbands' ethnic advantages in Taiwan's patriarchal system. Additionally, other returnees may combine the cultural goods they bring back from Australia with their social connections,

such as kinship in Taiwan, to start a small business. They dream of being recognized as successful returnees by being the winners in Taiwan's market competition.

The second strategy is to commodify the self in the Taiwanese labour market. These returnees successfully make their Western experience and labour valuable in order to satisfy the market demand in the Taiwanese labour market. Therefore, this group of Taiwanese young people are able to get jobs in Taiwan with their working-holiday experience in Australia. In Taiwan, they are always admired as successful returnees by the people around them. However, due to the lack of helpful resources in Taiwan, working-holiday experience can only help these returnees to achieve lateral progression within the social stratification instead of achieving upward social mobility. That is to say, although they are qualified to identify themselves as successful returnees, their achievements in market competition are not as great as expected.

In comparison with the above returning working holidaymakers, those returnees who choose the third strategy are rather unfortunate. Their working-holiday experiences are assessed as worthless by the dominant group in the Taiwanese labour market. They are unable to become successful returnees with their achievements through market competition. To keep their identity positive, these Taiwanese working holidaymakers strongly emphasize how they became close to the Western ethnic group during their time in Australia. Within these experiences, they attempt to cover their failure in the Taiwanese labour market by stressing their cosmopolitan identity in Australia. For them, the symbolic value that the West holds in Taiwan is a limitation rather than an advantage. It prevents this group of Taiwanese young people from trying other possibilities for their future careers.

Analysing the refutation of prejudice, internal conflicts, and achievements in market competition, I conceptualize the notion of success in this thesis and argue that working holiday is actually a journey for Taiwanese young people to make sense of self. On the one hand, they try to become a successful person in Australia by their will. On the other hand, they need to negotiate with neoliberal ideology, social stratifications, and socio-cultural

expectations of being a successful young person in Taiwanese society. Hence, success, for these Taiwanese young people, is malleable and shifting. The idea of malleable success is, I argue, essential to interpret these young people's identity formation in neoliberal Taiwan.

8.2 The Theoretical Contribution of this Research

Based on the results from each empirical chapter, here I will sketch a theoretical framework to elucidate the identity formation process of Taiwanese working holidaymakers. As presented in *Figure 1*, **The Tai-Lao Identity,** which is the prejudice against Taiwanese working holidaymakers, actually originates from the development of **Neoliberalism** and **Cosmopolitanism** in Taiwanese society. Understanding working holidays in terms of the competition in the labour market, Taiwanese people associate the low-skilled jobs in which most Taiwanese working holidaymakers engage in Australia with jobs for 'losers' in the Taiwanese labour market. Meanwhile, the public image of Taiwanese cosmopolitans in Taiwanese society is mainly created by the middle class. Hence, doing low-skilled jobs in Australia obviously contradicts what Taiwanese people imagine as being suitable jobs for Taiwanese cosmopolitans.

As maintained by Lawler (2014), 'Identity itself is a social and collective process' (p. 2). This means that identity is actually the result of negotiation between the self and social principles. To refute the negative stereotype against them in Taiwan, these Taiwanese young people develop their own arguments using **Reflexivity and Knowledgeability** (Giddens, 1984). They do not merely negotiate with the neoliberal social principles in Taiwan, but also ceaselessly examine their **Experience in Australia,** such as searching for jobs and work experience. This is the initial process by which Taiwanese working holidaymakers formulate their **Identities**. Within these identities, they attempt to demonstrate their achievements during their travels in Australia in order to validate their claim that a working holiday is travel for a dream instead of travel for a 'Tai-Lao'. This intention further reflects that **Success** for Taiwanese working holidaymakers is **Malleable**. They not simply dream to become the person they want to be, but also need to negotiate with neoliberal ideology, social stratifications, and socio-cultural expectations of being a successful young person in Taiwanese society.

```
              ┌──────────────┐              ┌────────────────┐
              │ Neoliberalism│              │ Cosmopolitanism│
              └──────────────┘              └────────────────┘
                       ╲                      ╱
                        ╲                    ╱
                       ┌──────────────────────┐
                       │  The Tai-Lao Identity │
                       └──────────────────────┘
                              │    ▲
                              ▼    │
┌──────────────────────┐  ┌────────────────────────────┐
│ Experience in Australia│──▶│ Reflexivity and Knowledgeability│
└──────────────────────┘  └────────────────────────────┘
                                      │
                                      ▼
                       ┌────────────────────────────┐
                       │ Identities (Malleable Success)│
                       └────────────────────────────┘
┌────────────────────┐            │
│ Sense of Belonging  │───────────▶
└────────────────────┘
```

Figure 1 *Figure 1* The theoretical framework of this thesis.
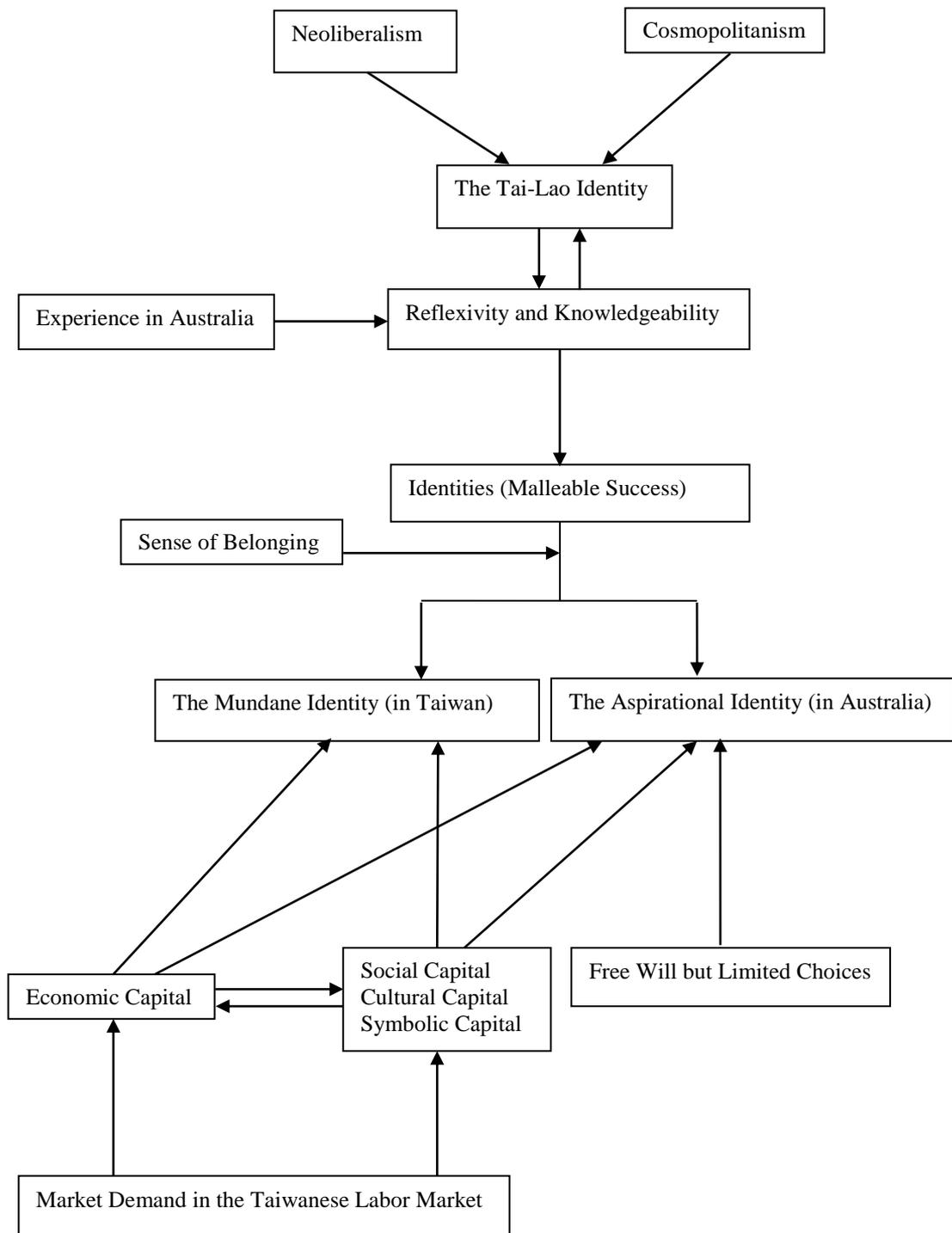
Examining the identities they develop, it appears that there are two main types of identity, depending on these Taiwanese young people's **Sense of Belonging** to the country where they are temporarily living. While engaging in their working holiday in Australia, most of these Taiwanese young people regard themselves as passengers there. They pay less attention to

social expectations in Australian society than they do at home and believe that the identity they develop in Australia is based on **Free Will**. As such, the identities they develop in Australia are 'pure, untainted by the social' (Lawler, 2014, p. 123). Applying Goffman's (1961) analysis of social roles, I argue that their identities in Australia can be defined as **The Aspirational Identity.** This is an identity which people can perform of their own free will with few social constraints. Nevertheless, the identity choices they have are still **limited** by their own capital and the social principles of Taiwanese society. Therefore, Taiwanese working holidaymakers choose to perform as either cosmopolitans or financial winners during their travels in Australia.

In comparison, because they regard Taiwan as their native land, Taiwanese working holidaymakers pay much more attention to social expectations within Taiwanese society. Therefore, the identities they formulate in Taiwan are highly restricted by society. That is to say, their identities are 'tainted by the social' (Lawler, 2014, p. 123). Thus, I maintain that this type of identity can be interpreted as **The Mundane Identity.** To integrate into the social structure within which they are living, the mundane identity that these Taiwanese young people formulate is strongly influenced by social principles. As such, they feel that the identities they perform are far from their free will.

In order to formulate their profane identity positively after returning to Taiwan, Taiwanese working holidaymakers need to show that their work and life experience in Australia can be an advantage for the Taiwanese labour market out. Living within this neoliberal environment, they are forced to commodify their working-holiday experience and participate in Taiwan's market competition by presenting individual value. Under these rules, the **Market Demand in the Taiwanese Labour Market** becomes a crucial criterion by which to assess whether or not these Taiwanese young people are qualified to be recognized as successful returnees to Taiwanese society. Because of this commodification process, **Economic Capital** becomes the most efficient way to measure individual ability. People in Taiwan have become accustomed to quantifying their ability through private wealth. The more private wealth you own, the greater value you have.

Most returning Taiwanese working holidaymakers put effort into converting different forms of capital into economic capital. Due to the leading role of Western countries in the global order, the West becomes a source of symbolic power in Taiwanese society. Thus, the **Cultural Capital** that these returnees accumulate during their travels in Australia not only broadens their knowledge about the West, but it is also considered to be the **Symbolic Capital** which these Taiwanese young people are able to take advantage of in Taiwan. However, although the symbolic value held by the West is prevalent in Taiwanese society, the value of an individual returnee's cultural capital still needs to be assessed through market competition. Therefore, these returning Taiwanese young people may integrate their working-holiday experience with their resources in Taiwan, such as **Social Capital,** in order to make their labour more valuable in the Taiwanese labour market. By means of cultural capital, symbolic capital, and social capital, those Taiwanese young people who have ever travelled to Australia for a working holiday attempt to formulate themselves as successful returnees based on the neoliberal principles of Taiwanese society.

8.3 The Significance of this Research

Past research on this social group has mainly focused on the holidaymakers' motivation for engaging in this activity in Australia (Ho et al., 2014) and their understanding of it (Tsai & Collins, 2017). Researchers have largely ignored how these young Taiwanese negotiate with social principles in Taiwan with their working holiday experience in order to formulate identities. Despite the fact that the identity issue has been noticed in the literature on East Asian working holidaymakers, this issue is actually discussed within the Western cultural context (Bui et al., 2013; Fujita, 2004). None of these researchers examine how the working holiday is interpreted in the context of East Asian culture. To fill the above research gaps, this research critically explores how the development of neoliberalism and cosmopolitanism in Taiwanese society has affected the identity formation of Taiwanese working holidaymakers. As such, I make four research contributions, as follows.

8.3.1 Rethinking the neoliberal prejudice against young people in the Taiwanese society

As argued by Tyler (2013), due to the current rise of neoliberal ideology, 'public anxieties and hostilities are channeled towards those groups within the population who are imagined to be a parasitical drain upon scarce resources' (p. 211). Hence, the dominant groups within the neoliberal system believe that they deserve to be winners in market competition due to their greater individual competence. Thus, it is difficult for them to sympathize with vulnerable groups in this system. What is worse, the dominant groups may even stigmatize vulnerable groups as lazy or incompetent workers. Because they encounter difficulties in the labour market or take a low-paying job, these Taiwanese young people are labelled as 'losers,' or 'the strawberry generation' by the dominant group in Taiwan's market competition (see Chapter Two). It means that, in neoliberal Taiwan, this kind of prejudice affects young people in Taiwanese society, especially those young people from the lower class.

As discussed previously, the Tai-Lao identity can be interpreted as an extension of the loser identity. This prejudice against Taiwanese working holidaymakers is actually related to the symbolic force created by neoliberal ideology in Taiwanese society. In this thesis, I do not merely explain the symbolic power behind this prejudice, but I also examine how these stigmatized Taiwanese young people respond to it. Based on the analysis in Chapter Four, although Taiwanese working holidaymakers make efforts to refute the Tai-Lao identity, the symbolic values of neoliberal ideology in Taiwan still affect their arguments. Hence, instead of debating whether Taiwanese working holidaymakers are Tai-Lao or not, these Taiwanese young people pay much more attention to reproducing this negative identity. They may choose to relabel those peers whose working holiday experience is different from their own as 'Tai-Lao.' This means that it is difficult for the stigmatized groups to stay away from this kind of neoliberal prejudice. In their refutation, this social group may reproduce or even redefine the prejudice against them and this leads to its continued existence.

8.3.2 Analysing cosmopolitanism from a micro-perspective

While discussing the development of cosmopolitanism nowadays, researchers are inclined to examine this concept from a macro-perspective. Their analysis of this concept mainly focuses on the following three questions. The first is how this idea affects the power relations between different social groups within a social structure (Hage, [1998] 2000). The second is how people identify themselves based on the global order established through cosmopolitanism (Bui et al., 2013; Snee, 2014). The third is how cosmopolitanism is interpreted in different fields, such as politics, mobility, and culture (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002; Hannerz, 1990). The above three issues reflect the fact that current research on cosmopolitanism mainly focuses on the influence of social structures and the global order on individuals. The relationship between cosmopolitanism and people's interpretations of their work and life experience has not been fully explored in the current literature.

Noticing this research gap, I chose to analyse the influence of cosmopolitanism on the identity formation of Taiwanese working holidaymakers from a micro-perspective. From their reflections on work and life experience in Australia, I have discovered that the rise of cosmopolitanism leads these Taiwanese young people to formulate different identities. These identities do not simply cause the group conflicts between them and establish an identity hierarchy. Most of these Taiwanese working holidaymakers classify the job categories available in Australia into jobs for Westerners and jobs for Chinese people. Meanwhile, they also categorise leisure activities in Australia as the lifestyle for Western independent travellers or the lifestyle for people from Chinese culture. For these Taiwanese young people, although the purpose of cosmopolitanism is to advocate cultural diversity, Western culture is actually the most valuable culture in the current global order.

8.3.3 Challenging current research results about Asian independent travellers

Current research on Asian backpackers or working holidaymakers concludes that their travel strategy is more conservative than that of Westerners (Maoz, 2007; Nagai et al., 2018). These Asian young people prefer travelling in groups and living with people from similar cultures. They avoid

local food, and refuse to interact with travellers from other cultures. Exploring the reasons behind these choices, Maoz (2007) states that 'they receive privileges not open to Western tourists and hence travel differently from other westerners' (p. 125). That is to say, Asian young people's preferences during their travels are closely related to their sociocultural identity.

Nevertheless, I argue that the sociocultural identity formulated by the culture in their home country is not the only identity which these Asian young people can choose during their travels. According to the interview data from this research, most Taiwanese working holidaymakers are inclined to perform as either cosmopolitans or financial winners, depending on their own expectations. Formulating themselves into different identities, it is predictable that not all Taiwanese working holidaymakers would choose conservative travel strategies. In order to pursue a more cosmopolitan identity, some of these Taiwanese working holidaymakers even regard Western independent travellers as examples. They do not simply intimate these White people's lifestyle, but also dream of becoming one of them. This identity formation process obviously contradicts current research results about Asian working holidaymakers' leisure-time behaviour in Australia.

8.3.4 Reassessing the value of working-holiday experience in the labour market

For East Asian young people, a working holiday is not merely a strategy for budget travel. It is further regarded as an activity which can help them improve their competitiveness in the labour market after returning to their home countries (Kawashima, 2010; Tsai & Collins, 2017; Yoon, 2014). Therefore, while studying returning East Asian working holidaymakers, current researchers mainly investigate whether their travel experience is helpful to their job search process. Kawashima (2010) argues that, unfortunately, working holidays may lead Japanese returnees to feel that their career development is much slower than that of their peers. Tsai and Collins (2017) even state that working-holiday experience is judged as 'a gap in the CV' (p. 135) in Taiwanese society. Obviously, both of these studies take a pessimistic view of the value of working-holiday experience in the East Asian labour market.

In this thesis, I argue that this pessimistic point of view actually oversimplifies the ways in which we can assess the value of working-holiday experience. Considering their experience in Australia as cultural capital, it is difficult for returning Taiwanese working holidaymakers to create an advantage in the Taiwanese labour market. However, their work and life experience in Australia is not merely regarded as cultural capital in the Taiwanese cultural context. When these Taiwanese returnees commodify their experiences in Australia with the symbolic value that the West and patriarchy hold in Taiwanese society, their working-holiday experience actually becomes symbolic capital for them (see Chapter Seven). Meanwhile, these returnees may further combine their cultural knowledge, such as coffee-making skills, with their social capital in Taiwan in order to create a small business. These strategies help these returnees to make their experience in Australia more valuable in the Taiwanese labour market.

8.4 Research Limitations and Future Research Themes

Even though this thesis has filled the research gaps presented above, some issues related to Taiwanese working holidaymakers have not been fully explored. As such, I need to discuss the limitations of this research and future research themes.

8.4.1 Participant observation

As noted in Chapter Three, I have never had a working-holiday experience in my life. Therefore, while interacting with my interviewees, it was sometimes difficult for me to gain empathy through personal experience. This problem also led some of my interviewees to treat me as an outsider. Furthermore, due to the lack of working-holiday experience, my initial research focus was mainly directed towards how the mass media in Taiwan describe those Taiwanese young people who travel to Australia for working holidays. This starting point was really helpful for me to examine the identity formulation of these Taiwanese young people within the Taiwanese cultural context. However, it also restricted me from exploring other potential research questions that may be reflected during working holidays.

Noticing the limitations of this research, I recommend that future researchers could try participant observation if they are interested in Taiwanese working holidaymakers' leisure activities in Australia. As Kawulich (2005) explains, participant observation is a data-collection method that brings richly detailed descriptions for researchers. These details can 'improve the quality of data collection and interpretation and facilitates the development of new research questions or hypotheses' (p. 6). This means that participant observation can help researchers to become insiders and inspire them to discover hidden issues with subjectivity. In this thesis, I chose semi-structured interviews to collect data. Through the interviewees' responses, I learned that Taiwanese working holidaymakers may perform their preferred identities through their choice of accommodation, church attendance, language expression, and potluck dinner parties (see Chapter Six). However, if future researchers choose participant observation, their subjectivity and reflexivity will help them to discover more life experiences which are potentially related to the identity formation of Taiwanese working holidaymakers. They may also notice other identities that these Taiwanese young people pursue during their working holidays, in addition to cosmopolitans and financial winners.

8.4.2 Gender issues in working holiday

In Chapter Seven, I have explained that the symbolic values that the West and patriarchy hold in Taiwanese society lead some female working holidaymakers to marry Westerners during their working holiday. Their purpose is to achieve upward social mobility within the Taiwanese patriarchal system through the patriarchal dividend they gain when they bring their Western husband back to Taiwan. This result reflects the fact that the role of gender issues in the identity formation of Taiwanese working holidaymakers is worthy of discussion. However, in this thesis, the way in which I interpret these Taiwanese young people's identity is mainly based on the development of neoliberalism and cosmopolitanism in Taiwanese society. When discussing gender issues, I was only concerned with how marriage and the patriarchal dividend improve female returnees' competitiveness in the Taiwanese labour market. Hence, I suggest that other gender issues, such as gender expectations and gender performativity, are good research directions for

future research on Taiwanese working holidaymakers.

As argued by Butler (1999), sex is 'no longer [understood] as a bodily given on which the construct of gender is artificially imposed, but as a cultural norm which governs the materialization of bodies' (p. 3). That is to say, gender differences do not simply mean biological differences. They also include different social expectations for men and women. These different expectations further constrain people's behaviour in everyday life. For instance, in Taiwanese society, women are required to pay more attention to family than men (Lu, 2011). In contrast, men have to pursue career achievements in the workplace to present masculinity. These social principles force men and women to play different roles in the Taiwanese family and workplace. A similar experience may also happen to returning Taiwanese working holidaymakers. Future researchers can try to investigate the different social expectations for male and female returnees in Taiwan, and how they negotiate these expectations in order to reintegrate into Taiwanese society.

8.4.3 Becoming permanent residents or starting further travel

According to my interviewees' responses, returning to Taiwan is not the only choice for Taiwanese working holidaymakers when their travels come to an end. Some of my interviewees' peers had chosen to take short-term career training programmes in Australia after their working holiday. Their purpose was to try to get permanent residence in Australia. Additionally, other interviewees' peers may decide to embark upon further travel in other countries. One of the focuses of this research is to investigate the identity formation of Taiwanese working holidaymakers within the Taiwanese cultural context. As such, my research target is those Taiwanese working holidaymakers who choose to return to Taiwan. Therefore, the two groups of Taiwanese young people mentioned here are not included in this thesis.

When future researchers plan to examine Taiwanese working holidaymakers' life plans after travelling to Australia, the above two groups could be a good research target to fill the gaps in current research. Within the literature about lifestyle migration, future researchers can explore why these Taiwanese young people decide to immigrate into Australia after their working

holiday. Meanwhile, the influence of these different choices on the development of these Taiwanese young people's identity is also worth discussing in future research.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Information Sheet for Research Participants (English Version)

Hello, my name is Pin Yao Chiu, a PhD student at University of York in the UK. My PhD supervisors are Dr. Xiao-dong Lin and Dr. Laurie Hanquinet. I am doing a research about Taiwanese working holiday makers in Australia. The purpose of this research is to explore how Taiwanese young people make sense of self during their working holiday in Australia, how they formulate themselves as successful working holidaymakers, and how they reflect on people's assessment of them in Taiwanese society. I plan to interview with several young Taiwanese who have been working holiday makers in Australia. The length of the interview will be about 1 to 1.5 hours. In order to do research easily, I will ask for interviewees' permission and record what we have talked in this interview. I guarantee that each interviewee will be anonymous. Information, provided by interviewees, will be only applied for academic purpose. If interviewees regret to be interviewed in the process or after the interview, I, Pin-Yao Chiu, will delete all the data related to this interview without any copy.

Interviewees much have the experience of being working holiday makers in Australia more than 8 months. If the volunteers have finished their journey and have come back Taiwan, they will be considered as interviewees first. Each interviewee can decide talk by Skype or face-to-face interview. If you prefer face-to-face interview, any place in Taiwan will be fine for me. The date of this interview will be around August and September. I will email you to agree the exact date. My interview questions will include the following five aspects. Interviewees can reject any questions which they do not want to answer during the interview.

1. Interviewee's family background, education, and income in Taiwan.
2. Interviewee's attitude towards the media in Taiwan while discussing the public image of Taiwanese working holiday makers
3. Interviewee's motivation and achievement in the travel.
4. Interviewee's future plan
5. Any issue related to working holiday experience in Australia.

If you decide to be the interviewee, please email to pc838@york.ac.uk or leave a message to my Facebook account (Pinyao Chiu). Thanks for your participation.

Appendix 2

Information Sheet for Research Participants (Mandarin Chinese Version)

研究參與者說明

　　　　您好，小弟名為邱品堯，是英國約克大學社會系的博士生，目前正在進行關於前往澳洲的台灣籍打工度假者研究，我的指導老師是林曉東博士和 Dr. Laurie Hanquinet，主要的研究方向是探討台灣的年輕人如何透過前往澳洲打工度假更深刻的了解自己，如何塑造自己為成功的打工度假者，以及這群台灣年輕人對於台灣社會中針對他們的評價所產生的反思，本次訪談採用半結構式訪談的方式，晤談時間大約一至一個半小時，所有的晤談內容將會完全用在學術研究，不會被拿來作其他用途，為了方便後續的研究工作，所有的訪談將會錄音，為確保受訪者的隱私，所有的晤談內容將會被匿名處理，如果受訪者在訪談途中反悔或是訪談後不願讓內容被使用，經告知後本人邱品堯將會立即將資料銷毀不做任何備份。

　　　　受訪者必須在澳洲從事打工渡假活動超過八個月以上， 已回台工作者尤佳，訪談的方式可以是面談或 Skype，面談的地點可以在台灣各地，預計是從今年的八九月左右開始約談，我將會進一步發 mail 給您討論確切的時間，訪談的問題會涉及到以下五個部分，當受訪者面對不想回答的問題時，可以選擇拒絕回答。

1. 家庭背景、學歷、以及在台收入詢問
2. 受訪者對媒體表述台灣籍打工度假者的看法
3. 受訪者的旅行動機以及旅行中的收獲
4. 受訪者未來的職涯規劃
5. 任何和澳洲打工度假相關的議題

有意願者煩請 email 至 pc838@york.ac.uk 或 facebook 私訊帳號 Pinyao Chiu, 感謝您的參與。

Appendix 3
Informed Consent Form (English Version)

'Taiwanese working holiday makers in Australia' research project
Supervisors: Dr. Xiaodong Lin (xiaodong.lin@york.ac.uk) & Dr. Laurie Hanquinet (laurie.hanquinet@york.ac.uk)
PhD student: Mr. Pin-Yao Chiu (pc838@york.ac.uk)

This form is for you to state whether or not you agree to take part in the study. Please read and answer every question. If there is anything you do not understand, or if you want more information, please ask the researcher.

Have you read and understood the information leaflet about the study?	Yes ❒ No ❒
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions about the study?	Yes ❒ No ❒
Do you understand that the information you provide will be held in confidence by the research team?	Yes ❒ No ❒
Do you understand that you are also free to refuse to answer any question?	Yes ❒ No ❒
Do you understand that the information you provide may be used in future research?	Yes ❒ No ❒
Do you agree to take part in the study?	Yes ❒ No ❒
If yes, do you agree to your interviews being recorded?	Yes ❒ No ❒

(You may take part in the study without agreeing to this).

Your name (in BLOCK letters):

_____

Your signature:

_____

Interviewer's name:

_____

Date:

_____

_

Appendix 4
Informed Consent Form (Mandarin Chinese Version)

知情同意書

台灣籍澳洲打工度假客研究計畫

指導教授: 林曉東 博士 (xiaodong.lin@york.ac.uk)

　　　　　　Dr. Laurie Hanquinet (laurie.hanquinet@york.ac.uk)

博士生: 邱品堯 先生　(pc838@york.ac.uk)

此同意書旨在讓您聲明是否同意以受訪者的身分參與本研究，請詳讀並回復以下每項問題，如有任何不了解的方，或是你想了解更多的資訊，請立即詢問研究者邱品堯。

你是否閱讀並理解了研究參與者說明?　　　　　　　　　　　　是 ❒　否 ❒

你是否有機會對這項研究提出問題?　　　　　　　　　　　　　是 ❒　否 ❒

你是否了解研究者會對你所提供的所有訊息完全保密?　　　　　是 ❒　否 ❒

你是否了解你有權利可以拒絕回答任何問題?　　　　　　　　　是 ❒　否 ❒

你是否了解你提供的信息可能會被用於研究者以後的相關學　是 ❒　否 ❒
術發表但你的相關信息將會完全保密?

你是否同意參與這項研究?　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Yes ❒ No ❒

如果同意，你是否同意你的採訪將被錄音?　　　　　　　　　　Yes ❒ No ❒
(你可以選擇不被錄音但參加這項研究)

姓名:

_____

簽名:

_____

研究者姓名:

_____

日期:

_____

姓名:

Appendix 5

Interview Outline (English Version)

Section One: Personal Background

1. Gender

2. Age

3. The city you grew up

4. The highest level of educational attainment

5. Major or expertise

6. Exact date for your working holiday in Australia (from____to___)

7. What was your job in Taiwan before working holiday?

8. What is your position?

9. Before traveling to Australia, how much is your salary per month in Taiwan?

10. What is your father's highest level of educational attainment?

11. What is your father's latest job?

12. What is your father's position?

13. How much is your father's salary per month?

14. Did your father have the same income when you were under 18 years old?

15. In your view, what is your family socioeconomic status in Taiwan?

16. What is your mother's highest level of educational attainment?

17. What is your father's latest job?
18. To what extent do your parents require your academic achievement?

19. To what extent do your parents care about your future career and income?

Section Two: Life Satisfaction before working holiday

1. When the lowest score is 1 and the highest score is 7, to what extent are you satisfied with your salary in Taiwan before traveling to Australia?

2. Why do you evaluate your salary with this score?

3. When the lowest score is 1 and the highest score is 7, to what extent are you satisfied with your life in Taiwan?

4. Can you describe why you are satisfied (or dissatisfied) with your life in Taiwan?

5. In comparison to your peers, how do you think your performance in the following aspects? (the lowest score is 1 and the highest score is 7)

   Education____   Income_____   Private Wealth_____   Quality of Life_____

6. Why do you assess yourself with the above score?

Section Three: Reflection on Prejudice

1. In your understanding, how are Taiwanese working holidaymakers criticized by the mass media in Taiwan?
2. What is your view about the slaughter from Tsing-Hua?
3. Can you share your interpretation of 'Tai-Lao?'
4. Does 'Tai-Lao' really exist between Taiwanese working holidaymakers?

Section Four: Work and Life Experience in Australia

1. Can you share with me anything about your life in Australia?
2. What is the most impressive leisure activity for you in Australia?
3. Can you tell me something about your job search process in Australia?
4. What is the most impressive work experience for you in Australia?
5. How do you make friends in Australia? How do you interact with these friends?
6. During working holiday, did you meet anything that is worth to be discussed?
7. Can you share some stories about your social circle in Australia including your relationships?

Section Five: Returning to Taiwan

1. What have you learned (or got) during this travel?
2. What is your next step after working holiday?
3. What kind of working holidaymakers can be recognized as success?
4. How do you feel about your working holiday experience in Australia?

Appendix 6

Interview Outline (Mandarin Chinese Version)

第一部分: 個人背景

1. 受訪者的性別

2. 受訪者的年齡

3. 從小長大的縣市

4. 最高學歷

5. 請問您的學歷專長屬於哪個方面?

6. 去澳洲的時間起迄?

7. 請問您去澳洲打工渡假之前的主要工作為何?

8. 擔任何種職務/職等?

9. 請問您去澳洲打工渡假之前的工作,每個月平均薪資大概多少?

10. 請問您父親的最高學歷?

11. 請問您父親目前的就業狀況?

12. 請問您父親目前或是上一份的工作擔任何種職務/職等?

13. 請問您父親目前或是上一份的工作收入平均大約每個月多少元?

14. 請問您父親在您未滿 18 之前是否從事著相似收入的工作?

15. 請問您認為您的家庭在台灣屬於社會中的哪個階級?

16. 請問您的母親最高學歷為何?

17. 請問您母親目前或是上一份的工作收入平均大約每個月多少元?

18. 家人在您求學間,對您課業上的要求程度為何?

19. 家人對您的職涯規劃和收入多寡的關心程度為何?

第二部分: 打工度假前的生活滿意度

1. 如果 1 分代表最低,7 分代表最高,請問你對於自己去澳洲之前的薪資滿意度為何?

2. 請問您為何會用這個分數來評價自己的薪資滿意度?

3. 1 分代表最低,7 分代表最高請問您對於在台灣的生活滿意度為何?

4. 可否請您簡述一下在台灣的生活經驗哪裡讓你滿意或不滿意?

5. 和同儕比起來 以下的各方面您會給自己幾分? (1 分代表最低, 7 分代表最高)

教育:_____分　收入_____分　財產_____分　生活品質_____分

6. 可否解釋一下為何用以上的分數來評價自己?

第三部分: 偏見反思

5. 你認為現今的台灣媒體是如何評論台灣籍澳洲的打工渡假者?

6. 您看完清大屠夫那篇文章報導後，有甚麼樣的想法?

7. 可否分享一下您對於台勞這個名詞的解讀?

8. 您認為打工度假者中真的符合台勞的人嗎?

第四部分: 澳洲經驗

1. 可否和我分享一下你在澳洲的生活大概是怎麼度過的?

2. 你在澳洲印象最深刻的休閒活動是甚麼?

3. 請你和我分享一下在當地找工作的經驗?

4. 你在澳洲印象最深刻的工作的經驗為何?

5. 請問你是如何在澳洲認識朋友的? 可否和我分享你和你的朋友們的互動?

6. 在打工度假期間, 你有沒有遇到甚麼事或是經驗，你認為是需要被拿出來討論的?

7. 可否分享您在澳洲的朋友圈包括感情生活

第五部分:返台

1. 在這趟旅行中, 你覺得你獲得了甚麼? 或是學到了甚麼?

2. 可否和我分享你返台後的人生規劃?

3. 您認為怎樣的人可以被稱作成功的打工度假者?

4. 您對於自己這趟旅程有甚麼心得?

Appendix 7

Sketches of Participants

1. Mr. A, 28, Taipei

Because of Mr. A's busy schedule, I have difficulty in having a face-to-face interview with Mr. A. Fortunately, he was still willing to chat with me in Skype. Mr. A grew up in Taipei. After getting a Master's degree, Mr. A chose to be a Marcom staff in a technology company in his hometown. Although Mr. A was satisfied with his salary, his job duties are so stressful that he hoped to escape from it for a while. Hence, Mr. A decided to take working holiday in Australia for one year to get relaxed. When returning to Taiwan, he published a travelogue to share his experience with other Taiwanese young people who prepared to become working holidaymakers in Australia.

2. Miss A1, 29, Kaohsiung

Miss A1 was a homemaker and was born and raised in Kaohsiung. I traveled to Kaohsiung and met her in Starbucks on a Sunday afternoon. Before taking working holiday in Australia, Miss A1 was an insurance sales agent in Taipei. Growing up in a lower-middle class family, she put effort to reach upward social mobility. However, after working for five years, Miss A1 felt that it is impossible for her to achieve this goal because of the gender inequality in Taiwan's workplace. Therefore, she decided to travel to Australia to look for better opportunities. During working holiday, Miss A1 married a White Australian, who was a construction worker. When the deadline for her Working Holiday Visa approached, Miss A1 returned to Kaohsiung with her husband and started a new life. When we met in Kaohsiung, she was a homemaker and prepared to have a baby.

3. Miss A2, 24, Tainan

When I tried to make appointment with Miss A2, she was busy looking for a job. As such, we decided to chat in Skype on a Saturday morning. Before traveling to Australia, Miss A2 never left her hometown Tainan during her lifetime. She was passionate about experiencing different cultures to broaden horizon. Nevertheless, coming from a lower-middle class family, Miss A2 did not have extra financial resources to do it until she knew working holiday. Thus, she decided to quit her job and became a working holidaymaker in Australia for two years. Since Miss A2

returned to Taiwan, she has been unemployed for three months and was trying to look for a job.

4. Miss A3, 22, Taichung

Before working holiday, Miss A3 was a university student in Taiwan. When accepting interview, Miss A3 was still taking working holiday in Australia. As such, we could only have a chat in Skype. Miss A3's father is a Taiwanese entrepreneur who had a business enterprise in Vietnam. Regarding English langue as a crucial ability in international business, Miss A3's parents had provided more education resources to train Miss A3's English language skills since Miss A3 was a primary school student. This childhood experience aroused her interest in Western culture. Hence, after getting a bachelor's degree, Miss A3 decided to take working holiday in Australia to explore Western culture. However, her father actually disagreed with this decision at first. Although Miss A3 successfully persuaded her father at last, her father still believed that taking working holiday in Australia is the choice for 'losers' in the Taiwanese labour market.

5. Mr. B1, 26, Chiayi

Mr. B1 grew up in Chiayi. After working holiday, Mr. B1 returned to his hometown and became an editor in a small size enterprise in. I met him in McDonald's during the evening after he finished his work. Due to the political relationship between Taiwan and the USA, Mr. B1 was passionate about Western culture. However, Mr. B1 was a worker in Taiwan's service industry before taking working holiday. Meanwhile, growing up in a working-class family, Mr. B1 knew that he did not have extra financial resources to explore western culture aboard. Fortunately, one of his friends told him something about working holiday and encouraged him to experience it in Australia. Although Mr. B1's experience in Australia did not help him achieve upward mobility after returning home, he believed that this experience actually helped him develop a good global perspective. Hence, Mr. B1 declared that working holiday in Australia is the most memorable experience in his lifetime.

6. Mr. B2, 23, Taoyuan

I gained Mr. B2's permission to participate in this research in an orientation for Taiwanese working holidaymakers organized by The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in

Taiwan. Being one of the speakers on that day, Mr. B2 was quite busy on that day. Hence, we made an appointment on another day and had a chat in Skype. After doing an internship in a technology company, Mr. B2 hoped to have a gap year and decided to take working holiday in Australia. Unfortunately, he was exploited by migrant employers in Australia. As such, Mr. B2 joined a labour union named National Union of Workers (NUW) and successfully got the national minimum wage from his employer through NUW. After working holiday, Mr. B2 hoped to help more Taiwanese working holidaymakers and chose to become the representative of NUW in Taiwan.

7. Mr. C1, 28, Tainan

Similar to Mr. B2, Mr. K, and Miss W, Mr. C1 was also one of the speakers in the same orientation. After the orientation, I made an appointment and had an interview with him in Skype. Before working holiday, Mr. C1 was a stage staff and felt dissatisfied with this job. As such, he chose to leave to Australia in order to escape from the stress at work. During working holiday, Mr. C1 noticed that South Korean working holidaymakers had a guideline published by their peers. Therefore, he decided to publish one for those Taiwanese young people who prepared to become working holidaymakers in Australia. Finally, Mr. C1 became an amateur writer after returning to Taiwan.

8. Mr. C2, 25, Taipei

Mr. C2 was an engineer in a technology company after returning to Taiwan. I met him in a coffee shop during the evening after he finished his work. Before traveling to Australia, Mr. C2 was a sales assistant in another technology company. Since he was a child, Mr. C2 had traveled with his family once a year to celebrate Chinese New Year. This annual family activity aroused his interest in travel and tourism. Therefore, although Mr. C2 was satisfied with his life in Taiwan, he still chose to spend one year on working holiday in Australia for cultural exploration. For Mr. C2, working holiday is a strategy of backpacking travel instead of a preparation of career development.

9. Mr. D, 27, Pingtung

Mr. D grew up in Pingtung which is a rural area in Taiwan. After having working

holiday in Australia, Mr. D chose to go back to hometown and became a postman. Due to the geographical distance between Taipei and Pingtung, I have difficulty in having a face-to-face interview with him. To tolerate my difficulty, Mr. D promised me to have a Skype interview with him. Before traveling to Australia, he was a worker in a solar panel manufacturing factory. Feeling tired of his job in Taiwan, Mr. D decided to leave Taiwan for a while. He attempted to broaden his horizons and to develop a global perspective during his working holiday in Australia.

10. Miss F, 25, Miaoli

Because of busy schedule, Miss F had great difficulties in having a face-to-face interview with me. Fortunately, she finally promised me to have a Skype interview during the evening after she finished his work. Miss F was born in Miaoli. After getting a Bachelor's degree, she moved to Taipei and worked in a small-sized enterprise for four years. Her position was clerical administrator. When competing with colleagues in the workplace, Miss F felt very frustrated and under pressure. Therefore, she decided to travel to Australia and took two gap years. After two years of travelling, Miss F returned to Taipei and became a saleswoman in a medium-sized enterprise. Although her experience in Australia was not helpful for her career development, she was still satisfied with it. For Miss F, the working holiday was an opportunity to get relaxed.

11. Miss G, 23, Taichung

Miss G was born and raised in Taichung. After two years of travelling, she returned to her hometown and became a saleswoman in a trading company. I traveled to Taichung and had a face-to-face interview with her on a Saturday afternoon. Before traveling to Australia, Miss G was a university student. Getting the Bachelors of Art degree in English literature, she is quite confident in her English ability. Therefore, she decided to travel to Australia to keep her English language skills sharp. During working holiday, Miss G fell in love with a white Australian and married him. Her husband was a temporary chef in a small restaurant. Refusing to endure irregular income and employment, Miss G decided to bring her husband back to Taiwan in order to look for better job vacancies.

12. Mr. H, 25, Yilan

After two years of travelling, Mr. H returned to Taipei and became a street vendor in Shilin night market. Because of his busy and irregular work schedule, I finally had an interview with him in Skype. Mr. H grew up in Yilan which is a rural area in Taiwan. After getting a Bachelor's degree in Taichung, Mr. H moved to Taipei and became a warehouse clerk for two years. However, he was dissatisfied with his salary and daily routine in Taipei. Therefore, Mr. H chose to take working holiday in Australia and brought a sum of money back to Taiwan. Within this money and his father's investment, he successfully started a small business in Shilin night market which is one of the most popular tourism night markets in Taiwan.

13. Miss H, 27, Taipei

Miss H was born and raised in Taipei. After reading her article in *Crossing*, I decided to invite her to be one of my research participants. Fortunately, I had an interview with her in Skype because of her preference. When getting a Bachelor's degree, she was hired by a small-sized enterprise in her hometown and became a clerical administrator. After working for three years, she felt tired of her job and decided to leave Taiwan for a while. Furthermore, growing up in an upper-middle class family, Miss H was able to speak fluent English because of having more educational resources. Nevertheless, she had never left Taipei since she was a child. These life experiences motivated Miss H to travel to Australia for working holiday. In Australia, she fell in love with a white Australian and married him. Her husband was a causal worker in a parcel delivery company and had irregular income and employment. As such, Miss H brought her husband back to Taiwan to look for better job vacancies. After returning to Taiwan, his husband was a permanent lecturer in an English language school and got handsome salary. Hence, Miss H chose to be a homemaker and published articles about her experience in Australia on online magazine in Taiwan when she had free time.

14. Miss I, 26, Yunlin

When accepting an interview, Miss I was still in Australia. As such, I had a chat with her in Skype. Growing up in Yunlin, a rural area in Taiwan, Miss I was quite interested in environmental protection issues. After getting a bachelor's degree related to environmental protection, she became an ecotourism tour guide in one

of the national parks in Taiwan. However, Miss I felt that her knowledge about environmental protection was limited. Moreover, coming from a lower-middle class family, she did not enough financial resources to study a master degree. Therefore, she decided to travel to Australia for working holiday. During two years of travel, Miss I participated in many environmental protection activities organized by non-governmental organizations in Australia. She planned to learn more practical knowledge about environmental protection with these experiences.

15. Mr. K, 27, Chiayi

Mr. K was a coffeehouse owner in his hometown Chiayi. Similar to Mr. B2, Mr. C1, and Miss W, Mr. K was also invited to give prospective Taiwanese working holidaymakers a talk during an orientation organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Taiwan. Knowing Mr. K in that orientation, I invited him to participate in this research. Fortunately, he was willing to have a Skype interview with me. He was a team leader in a fine-dining restaurant for four years before engaging in his working holiday in Australia. After working there for three years, Mr. K decided to have a working holiday in Australia in order to look for better work opportunities. After returning to Taiwan, Mr K decided to start a small business with the coffee making skills he learned in Australia. Hence, he came back to Chiayi and started a coffeehouse with his brother.

16. Miss L, 26, Changhua

I had a face-to-face interview with Miss L in a coffee shop during the evening after she finished his work. She was born and raised in Changhua which is a rural area in Taiwan. After getting a Bachelor's degree in Kaohsiung, Miss L moved to Taipei and worked in a small-sized enterprise for two years. The reason that Miss L chose to take working holiday is her university classmates. They invited Miss L to join them and traveled to Australia for working holiday. Hence, she decided to take one gap year and traveled with them. During working holiday, Miss L worked on a farm with these classmates and had a very good time in Australia. After returning to Taiwan, she worked in the same company, did the same job, and continued her routine lifestyle.

17. Miss M1, 26, Tainan

After two years of traveling in Australia, Miss M1 came to Taipei and became a clerical administrator in a trading company. I had a face-to-face interview with her in McDonald's on a Sunday afternoon. Miss M1 grew up in Tainan and never left her hometown before traveling to Australia. When getting a bachelor's degree, she started to work in a technology company for two years. Feeling overwhelmed at work, Miss M1 decided to escape from it and took two gap years. At a dinner party during her working holiday, Miss M1 fell in love with a white Australian and married him. Her husband was a part time waiter in Australia. Refusing to endure low income and irregular employment, Miss M1 brought her husband back to Taiwan in order to look for better job vacancies. Fortunately, both Miss M1 and her husband were hired by a trading company in Taipei. The employer not only provided them permanent job contract, but also paid them with a handsome salary.

18. Miss M2, 25, Taoyuan

Miss M2 was still in Australia when she accepted my interview. Therefore, I had a chat with her in Skype. Her father is a senior manager in a transportation company. He regarded English as an important skill for Miss M2's career development. Therefore, Miss M2 had been encouraged to learn English since she was a first-year primary school student. This life experience aroused her interest in Western culture. After working in a small-sized company for one year, Miss M2 decided to take working holiday in Australia to explore western culture. Within good English ability, Miss M2 could get several legal employment contracts during her travel. In her understanding, working holiday is an opportunity to develop a good global perspective.

19. Mr. N, 26, Taichung

I had a face-to-face interview with Mr. N on a Sunday afternoon in Taichung. After getting a bachelor's degree in Taipei, Mr. N returned to Taichung and worked in a medical device manufacturer for two years. His position was a research assistant. However, getting tired of this job, Mr N decided to take two gap years and chose to become a working holidaymaker in Australia. Furthermore, growing up in an upper-middle class family, Mr. N refuted to be judged as 'a mammy's boy' by people around them. Therefore, he travelled to Australia for economic purposes and finally brought a sum of money back to Taiwan within hard work. Although Mr.

N had been unemployed since he returned to Taiwan, he invested Taiwan's stock market with the money he earned from Australia and successfully made profit.

20. Miss N, 27, Nantou

Miss N's hometown, Nantou, is a rural area in Taiwan. She has been a part-time Chinese teacher in her hometown Nantou since she returned to Taiwan. Because of the geographical distance between Taipei and Nantou, Miss N allowed me to interview with her in Skype. Growing up in a working-class family, Miss N hoped to improve her family finances through her individual ability. Therefore, after getting a Bachelor's degree in Taipei, Miss N stayed there and worked in a small-sized enterprise for three years. However, her salary could only cover her personal expenses. Therefore, Miss N decided to travel to Australia to look for better opportunities.

21. Miss P, 26, Kaohsiung

After two years of traveling in Australia, Miss P returned to her hometown Kaohsiung and chose to be a part time English teacher in an English language school. I traveled to Kaohsiung and met her in a coffeehouse on a Saturday afternoon. Growing up in a lower-middle class family, Miss P dreamed to get a well-paid job in order to help her family achieve upward social mobility after getting a Master's degree. However, things did not go as planned. All of these employers in Taiwan were only willing to hire her with national minimum wage. Therefore, she decided to leave to Australia with Working Holiday visa to look for better opportunities. Unfortunately, her poor English language proficiency led her to have difficulty in getting hired in Australia. Hence, Miss P finally got a job with the Chinese ethnic network but felt exploited because of a Chinese contractor.

22. Mr. R, 29, Taipei

When accepting interview, Mr. R was still traveling in Australia. As such, I could only have a chat with Mr. R in Skype. Mr. R was passionate about music. Before working holiday, he was a guitar player and performed in bars with his band. His father is a Taiwanese entrepreneur who owns a business in Thailand. Therefore, although it was difficult for Mr. R to make both ends meet only with his appearance fee, he did not have financial stress because of his family socioeconomic status.

This situation further led Mr. R to be labeled as 'a mammy's boy' by people around him. Refusing to be labelled as such, Mr R decided to travel to Australia for a working holiday in order to accumulate funds for his own entrepreneurship. Within working holiday, he not only dreamed to be financially independent, but also hoped to be recognized as a financial winner between his peers.

23. Mr. S, 29, Keelung

Mr. S has been a clerical administrator in Taipei since he returned to Taiwan. I met him in McDonald's during the evening after he got off work. He was born in Keelung which is a crucial harbour county in Taiwan. When getting a Bachelor's degree in Taipei, Mr. S stayed in this big city and worked in a fine-dining restaurant for five years. Before traveling to Australia, he has become a team leader. Nevertheless, Mr. S was quite dissatisfied with his salary and working conditions. Hence, he chose to become a working holidaymaker in Australia for better opportunities. During his travel in Australia, he worked really hard in order to bring a sum of money back to Taiwan. Finally, Mr. S achieved this goal and successfully eased his financial stress in Taiwan. Although his salary does not increase significantly after returning to Taiwan, Mr. S started to invest in the stock market within his earnings in Australia.

24. Miss S, 28, Taipei

Miss S was born in Taipei and never left her hometown until traveled to Australia for working holiday. When accepting interview, she was still traveling in Australia. Before starting her working holiday in Australia, she had been a sales lady in a Taiwanese branch office of a U.S company. Therefore, Miss S was quite confident in her English ability. Also, after getting a bachelor's degree, Miss S has worked for four years. She hoped to escape from the daily stress and tiredness for a while. Therefore, she decided to take working holiday in Australia to explore western culture and get relaxed for one year.

25. Mr. T, 25, Yilan

Since Mr. T returned to Taiwan, he has been a salesman for English courses in an English language school. I met him in a coffeehouse on a Saturday morning. Mr. T was born in Yilan which is a rural area in Taiwan. After getting a bachelor degree in

his hometown, he moved to Taipei and became a salesman in a technology company. Because of the political relations between the USA and Taiwan, Mr. T was interested in Western culture. Meanwhile, he also felt tired of his job and planned to have one gap year. Therefore, Mr. T decided to take working holiday in Australia.

26. Miss T, 24, Taitung

Miss T has been a clerical administrator in a hospital since she returned to Taiwan and worked in Taipei. I had a face-to-face interview with Miss T in a coffeehouse during the evening after she got off work. Growing up in Taitung which is a rural area in Taiwan, Miss T declared that she could only realize Western culture from internet. Furthermore, her family could not provide her enough resources to study abroad in developed Western countries, such as the USA, UK, or Australia. Therefore, she was envious of her friends who were able to study abroad in these countries. After getting a bachelor degree in Taipei, Miss T worked for three years and successfully accumulated a sum of money to take working holiday in Australia. Even though her experience in Australia did not help her to achieve upward social mobility after returning to the Taiwanese labour market, she still believed that working holiday really helped her develop a good global perspective.

27. Miss U, 24, Changhua

Since Miss U returned to Taiwan, she has been a part time English teacher in one of the junior high schools in Taipei. Having a busy schedule, Miss U had difficulty in having a face-to-face interview with me. As such, we decided to have a chat in Skype. Although Miss U was born and raised in Changhua which is a rural area, she moved to Kaohsiung when studying an undergraduate degree. After getting the degree, Miss U chose to stay in Kaohsiung and became a part time primary school teacher. Nevertheless, Miss U's father was a cardiologist. Growing up in an upper-middle, Miss U was unsatisfied with her salary. She even felt that she was despised by her family members because of her income. Therefore, Miss U decided to travel to Australia for better opportunities. For her, working holiday is a journey to become a successful person in Taiwanese society. After returning to Taiwan, she married one of her university classmates. Therefore, she moved to Taipei and became a part time teacher in junior high school.

28. Miss W, 24, Taipei

Miss W was also the research participant whom I recruited from the orientation organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affair in Taiwan. Like Mr. B2, Mr. C1, and Mr. K, Miss W was also invited to be the speaker and was quite busy on that occasion. As such, I could only have a chat with her in Skype at a later date. Since she got a bachelor's degree in Tainan, Miss W had come back to her hometown Taipei and chose to be a saleslady in a high-end cosmetics shop. Because of the influence of the mass media in Taiwan, Miss W was quite interested in Western culture during her schooldays. After working for two years in Taiwan, she accumulated a sum of money and decided to travel to Australia for a working holiday. During her travel, Miss W put effort in cultural exploration and learned coffee making skills in a local coffeehouse. After returning to Taiwan, she applied a Startup Loan and started her own coffeehouse in Taipei.

29. Mr. Y, 26, Miaoli

Mr. Y was born and raised in Miaoli which is a rural area in Taiwan. After two years of travelling in Australia, Mr. Y returned to his hometown and chose to be a computer maintainer. This was his previous job before he travelled to Australia. Except working holiday, Mr. Y has did this job since he got a bachelor's degree in Tainan. Because of the geographical distance between Taipei and Miaoli, Mr. Y tolerated my inconvenience and chose to have a Skype interview with me instead of face-to-face interview. Coming for a working-class family, Mr. Y applied student loans when he studied the undergraduate degree. To repay it as soon as possible, he chose to become a working holidaymaker in Australia. Fortunately, he finally did it and relieved his financial worries in Taiwan with his earnings in Australia.

30. Miss Y, 28, Pingtung

Since Miss Y returned to Taiwan, she has been a chef in one of the 5-star hotels in Taipei. I had a face-to-face interview with her during the evening after she got off work. Miss Y grew up in Pingtung which is a rural area in Taiwan. When studying the undergraduate degree, her expertise is commercial cookery and patisserie and was quite interested in western-style pastry. She dreamed that one day she could travel to Western countries and learn more knowledge about it. However,

coming from a lower-middle class family, Miss Y could not have enough financial resources to achieve this goal. Therefore, after getting a bachelor's degree in Taichung, she moved to Kaohsiung and taught cookery courses in a high school for four years. When accumulating enough money, Miss Y travelled to Australia for working holiday. In Australia, she worked in a local restaurant and finally became a chef there. After returning to Taiwan, she was hired by a 5-star hotel and was also a chef there.

31. Mr. Z, 25, Taichung

Mr. Z was still taking working holiday in Australia when he accepted my interview. We could only have a chat in Skype. After getting a Bachelor's degree in Taipei, Mr. Z stayed there and became a software engineer before embarking upon his working holiday. Although this job brought him handsome salary, Mr. Z felt quite stressful in the workplace. As such, he left Taiwan for a while and planned to give himself an opportunity to experience different cultures. This was why he decided to travel to Australia for a working holiday. Due to the limited financial resources in his family, this is the first time for Mr. Z to travel aboard. Therefore, he quite cherished his time in Australia and regarded working holiday as an opportunity to develop a global perspective.

Glossary of Key Terms and Phrases

Bai-Ren 白人 It is a Chinese term which can be literally translated as 'white people' or Caucasians. In Taiwan, it generally means people from Western culture.

Gui-Dao 鬼島 It is a Chinese term which means 'the ghost island.' This term is used to criticize that employees in Taiwan have to endure a busy and routine life. Meanwhile, they also need to face heavy financial to survive under Taiwan's market competition.

Tai-Lao 台勞 It is a Chinese term which means low-skilled Taiwanese migrant workers in developed countries.

Wai-Lao 外勞 It is a Chinese term which is used by Taiwanese people to call Southeast Asian migrant workers in Taiwan.

References

Andrew, E. E. (2009) 'Christian missions and colonial empires reconsidered: A black evangelist in West Africa 1766-1816.' *Providence College, History Department Faculty Publications.* 51 (4), 663-691. Available from: https://digitalcommons.providence.edu/history_fac/3/?utm_source=digitalcommons.providence.edu%2Fhistory_fac%2F3&utm_medium=PDF&utm_campaign=PDFCoverPages
[Accessed: 14th January 2019].

Allon, F., Anderson, K. & Bushell, R. (2008) 'Mutant mobilities: backpacker tourism in global Sydney.' *Mobilities.* 3 (1), 73-94.

Ajakaiye, D. O. and Adeyeye, V. A. (2001). 'Concepts, measurement and causes of poverty.' *CBN Economic & Financial Review*. 39(4), 1-34.

Abbas, A. (1997) *Hong Kong: culture and the politics of disappearance.* Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Adler, J. (1985) 'Youth on the road: Reflections on the history of tramping.' *Annals of Tourism Research.* 12, 335-354.

Anderson, B. ([1983] 2006) '*Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.*' London, Verso.

Anderson, V., Prentice, R. & Watanabe, K. (2000) 'Journey for experiences: Japanese independent travelers in Scotland.' *Journal of Travel & Tourism.* 9(1), 129-151.

Acker, J. (1973) 'A case of intellectual sexism.' *American Journal of Sociology.* 78 (4), 936-945.

Baas, M. (2017) 'The neoliberal masculine logic: skilled migration, international students, and the Indian "other" in Australia.' In Stahl, G., Nelson, J. D. & Wallace, D. O. (Eds.) *Masculinity and aspiration in an era of neoliberal education*. London:

Routledge, 184-202.

Basaran, T. & Olsson, C. (2017) 'Becoming international: on symbolic capital, conversion and privilege.' *Millennium*: *Journal of International Studies*. 00 (0), 1-23.

Bryman, A. ([2004] 2016) *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bracken G. (2015) *Asian cities: colonial to global.* Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

Burke, C. (2015) 'Graduate blues: considering the effects of inverted symbolic violence on underemployed Middle class graduates.' *Sociology*. 51 (2), 393-409.

Berger, R. (2015) 'Now I see it, now I don't: researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research.' *Qualitative Research*. 15(2), 219-234.

Brennan, C. (2014) 'Backpacker or working holiday makers? Working tourists in Australia.' *Qualitative Sociology Review*. 10 (3), 94-114.

Bui, H. T., Wilkins, H. C. & Lee, Y. S. (2013) 'The 'imagined West' of young independent travellers from Asia.' *Annals of Leisure Research,* 16 (2), 130-148.

Bullingham, L. & Vasconcelos, A. C. (2013) 'The presentation of self in the online world: Goffman and the study of online identities.' *Journal of Information Science*. 39(1), 101–112.

Bourdieu, P. (2013) 'Symbolic capital and social classes.' *Journal of Classical Sociology*. 13 (2), 292-302.

Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L. (2001) 'New liberal speak: Notes on the new planetary vulgate.' *Radical Philosophy*. 105, 2-5.

Bourdieu, P. ([1997] 2003). 'The forms of capital.' In Halsey, A. H., Lauder, H., Brown, P. & Wells, A. S. (Eds.) *Education*: *culture*, *economy*, *society*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 46-59.

Butler, J. (1999) *Gender trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity. New York, Routledge.*

Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992) *An invitation to reflexivity sociology.* Cambridge, Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1991) *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction*: *a social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

Back, L. (2007) *The art of listening*. Oxford, Berg.

Benson, M. & O'Reilly, K. (2009) *Lifestyle migration*: *expectations*, *aspirations and experiences*. Farnham, Ashgate.

Bottero, W. (2005) *Stratification: social division and inequality*. New York, Routledge.

Bauman, Z. (2004) *Liquid modernity*. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Bauman, Z. & Vecchi, B. (2000) *Identity*: *conversation with Benedetto Vecchi* Cambridge, Polity Press.

Beck, U. (2002). 'The cosmopolitan society and its enemies.' *Theory*, *Culture*, & *Society*. 19(1), 17-44.

Banerjee, B. S & Linstead, S. (2001) 'Globalization, multiculturalism and other fictions: colonialism for the new millennium.' *Organization*. 8 (4), 683-722.

Branaman, A. (1997) 'Goffman's social theory.' In Lemert, C. & Branaman, A. (eds) (1997) *The Goffman reader*. Malden, MA, Blackwell, pp. xiv-lxxxii.

Blumer, H. (1969) *Social interactionism: perspectives and method.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall.

Cheng, C. P. and Lin, T. H. (2017) 'The limitations of embeddedness: an analysis of the transnational field of capital accumulation about Taiwanese enterprises in China.' In Li, T, R. & Lin, T. H. (eds.) *Unfinished miracle: Taiwan's economy and society in transition*. Taipei: *Institution of Sociology*, *Academia Sinica*.

Clarke, V. and Braun, V. (2017) 'Thematic analysis,' *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 12(3), 297-298.

Clair, M., Daniel, C. & Lamont, M. (2016) 'Destigmatization and health: cultural constructions and the long-term of stigma.' *Social Science and Medicine*. 165, 223-232.

Chang, Y. C. & Lin, T. H. (2015) 'How does the expansion of higher education reproduce class inequality? The case of Taiwan.' *Taiwan Journal of Sociology of Education*. 15 (2), 85-129.

Cohen, E. & Cohen, S. A. (2012) 'Current sociological theories and issues in tourism.' *Annals of Tourism Research*. 39 (4), 2177–2202.

Chen, R. S. (2012) '*Traveling to Australia for more than working holiday*' (出走澳洲，不只是打工度假). Taipei: Elegantbooks Co. Ltd.

Cohen, S.A. (2011). 'Lifestyle travellers: backpacking as a way of life.' *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(4), 1535-1555.

Casey M. (2010). 'Low cost air travel: welcome aboard?' *Tourist Studies*, 10(2), 175-191.

Clough, P. and Nutbrown, C. ([2002] 2007) *A student's guide to methodology*. London: SAGE Pubications.

Clarke, N. (2004) 'Free independent travellers? British working holiday makers in Australia.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. 29 (4), 499-509.

Connell, R. W. (1997) 'Gender politics for men.' *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 17(1), 62-77.

Crompton, R. ([1995] 2003) 'Women's employment and the middle class.' In Butler, T. & Savage, M. (eds) *Social change and the middle classes*. London, Routledge, pp. 58-76.

Collins, R. (1988) 'Theoretical continuities in Goffman's work.' In Drew, P & Wootton, A. (eds) *Erving Goffman: exploring the interaction other*. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 41-64.

Cohen, E. (1972) 'Toward a sociology of international tourism.' *Social Research*. 39, 164-182.

Daily View. (2017) *Top 10 countries for working holiday*. (打工度假國度前十名來了) [Online] Available from: https://dailyview.tw/Daily/2017/1/28?page=1 [Accessed: 1 February 2019].

Department of Immigration and Border Protection, the Australian Government. (2017) *Working Holiday Maker Visa Programme Report*. December 31.

Department of Immigration and Citizenship, the Australian Government. (2012) Working Holiday Maker Visa Programme Report. December 31.

Deakin, H. and Wakefield, K. (2014) 'Skype interviewing: reflections of two PhD researchers.' *Qualitative Research*, 14(5), 603-616.

Dixon, J. and Levine, M. (2012) 'Introduction.' In Dixon, J. and Levine, M. (eds). *Beyond prejudice*: *extending the social psychology of conflict, inequality, and social change*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Delanty, G. (2006) 'The cosmopolitan imagination: critical cosmopolitanism and social theory.' *The British Journal of Sociology.* 57 (1), 25-47.

DiMaggio, P. (1982). 'Cultural capital and school success: the impact of status culture participation on the grades of U.S. high school students.' *American Sociological Review.* 47 (2), 189-201.

Erel, U. (2010) 'Migrating cultural capital: Bourdieu in migration studies.' *Sociology.* 44 (4), 642-660.

Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (1995). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fujita, Y. (2004) 'Young Japanese cultural migrants and the construction of their imagined West.' *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture.* 1 (1), 23-37.

Finch, J. (1987) 'The vignette technique in survey research,' *Sociology*, 21, pp.105-114

Ganti, T. (2014) Neoliberalism. *The Annual Review of Anthropology*. 43, 89-104.

Gill, S. (1995). 'Globalisation, market civilisation, and disciplinary neoliberalism.' *Millennium*: *Journal of International Studies.* 24 (3), 399-423.

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and self-identity: self and society in the late modern age.* Oxford, Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1984) *The constitution of society: outline of the theory of structuration.* Cambridge, Polity Press.

Goffman, E. (1963) *Stigma*: *notes on the management of spoiled identity*. London, Penguin Books.

Goffman, E. (1961) 'The self and social roles.' In Lemert, C. & Branaman, A. (eds) (1997) *The Goffman reader*. Malden, MA, Blackwell, pp. 35-43.

Goffman, E. ([1959] 1990) *The presentation of self in everyday life.* London, Penguin Books.

Haepp, T. & Hsin, P. L. (2016) 'Is Taiwan's workforce underpaid? Evidence from marginal product of labor estimates at the company level.' *Journal of Social Sciences and Philosophy*. 28 (2), 299-331.

Hunt, G. A., Durham, W. H. & Menke, C. M. (2015) 'Social capital in development: bonds, bridges, and links in Osa and Golfito, Costa Rica.' *Human Organization*. 74 (3), 217-229.

Hsu, P. H, Xie, B. H, and Chen, L. Z. (2015) 'The changes of the number of higher education institutions in Taiwan during recent 25 years.' (25 年來台灣大專校院校數變動趨勢) *Evaluation Bimonthly*, [Online] November. Available from: http://epaper.heeact.edu.tw/archive/2015/11/01/6442.aspx
[Accessed: 1 February 2019]

Huang, Y. L and Gao, Y. Z. (2015) *An overworked island*. (過勞之島) Taipei: Walkers Cultural Enterprise Ltd.

Ho, C. I., Lin, P. Y. & Huang, S. C. (2014) 'Exploring Taiwanese working holiday-makers' motivations: an analysis of means-end hierarchies.' *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research*. 38 (4), 463-486.

Hall, S. & O'Shea (2013) 'Common-sense neoliberalism.' *Soundings*. 55, 8-24.

Hall, S., Massey, D. & Rustin, M. (2013) 'After neoliberalism: analysing the present' *Soundings*. 53, 8-22.

Hall, S. (2011) 'The neo-liberal revolution.' *Cultural Studies.* 25 (6), 705-728.

Harvey, D. (2007) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York, Oxford University Press.

Hanson, J. & Bell, M. (2007) 'Harvest trails in Australia: patterns of seasonal migration in the fruit and vegetable industry.' *Journal of Rural Studies.* (23), 101-117.

Hsieh, M. Y. (2003) 'A study of the relationship between parental socioeconomic backgrounds and students' academic achievements.' *Bulletin of Educational Research.* 49 (2), 255-287.

Hage, G. ([1998] 2000) *White nation: fantasies of white supremacy in a multicultural society.* London, Pluto Press.

Hannerz, U. (1990) 'Cosmopolitans and locals in world culture.' *Theory, Culture & Society.* 7, 237-251.

Ivana, G. L. (2017) 'Fake it till you make it: imagined social capital.' *The Sociological Review*. 65(1), 52-66.

Jarvis, J. & Peel, V. (2013) 'Tourists for hire: International working holidaymakers in a work based destination in regional Australia.' *Tourism Management*. 37, 114-124.

Jian, X. J. (2012) 'Anti-poverty campaign: reversing the crisis of the collapsed generation.' *Taiwan Human Rights Journal*. 1(3), 171-180.

Jayne, M., Gibson, C., Waitt, G. & Valentine, G. (2012) 'Drunken mobilities: backpackers, alcohol, doing place.' *Tourism Studies*. 12 (3), 211-231.

Kawashima, K. (2010) 'Japanese working holiday makers in Australia and their relationship to the Japanese labour market: before and after.' *Asian Studies Review*. 34, 267-286.

Korpela, M. (2010) 'A postcolonial imagination? Westerners searching for authenticity in India.' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studie*. 36 (8), 1299-1315.

Kawulich, B. B. (2005) 'Participant observation as a data collection method.' *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*. 6(2), 1-28.

Li, Y. J. (2018a) 'Against the odds? – a study of educational attainment and labour market position of the second-generation ethnic minority members in the UK.' *Ethnicities*. 0(0), 1-25.

Li, Y. J. (2018b) 'Integration journey: the social mobility trajectory of ethnic minority groups in Britain.' *Social Inclusion*. 6(3), 1-12.

Liu, T. A. (2017) 'The failure Taiwan's economic: what happened after 1990?' (台灣經濟大敗局: 1990 後到底發生甚麼事?) *Crossing*. [Online] 16 May. Available from: https://crossing.cw.com.tw/blogTopic.action?id=732&nid=8010
[Accessed: 1 February 2019]

Li, Y. T. (2017) 'Constituting co-ethnic exploitation: the economic and cultural meanings of cash-in-hand jobs for ethnic Chinese migrants in Australia.' *Critical Sociology*. 43(6), 919–932.

Li, Y. T. (2016) 'Playing at the ethnic boundary: strategic boundary making/unmaking among ethnic Chinese groups in Australia.' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39 (4), 671-689.

Lin, T. H. (2015a) 'Introduction: overworked economic and the collapsed generation－Taiwanese young people's death by overwork.' (導讀: 血汗經濟崩世代－直面台灣青年過勞死的真相) In Huang, Y. L and Gao, Y. Z. *An overworked island*. (過勞之島) Taipei: Walkers Cultural Enterprise Ltd.

Lin, T. H. (2015b) 'Chapter one: the rise of academic capitalism.' In Dai, B. F., Lin, T. H., Wu, Y. W., Chen, S. R., Lin, K. H., Hui, C. Z. (eds). *The coming collapse of Taiwan's higher education: crises of marketlization, bureaucratization and sub-replacement fertility*. Taipei, Socio Publishing.

Lin, T. H. (2015c) 'Causes and consequences of increasing class inequality in Taiwan.' *Taiwan Economic Forecasts and Policies.* 45 (2), 45-68.

Lin, T. H., Hong, J. S., Li, J. H., Wang, Z. Q., Zhang. F. Y. (2011) *The collapsed generation: crises of consortia, povertization, and sub-replacement fertility.* (崩世代: 財團化貧窮化兩少子女化的危機) Taipei, Taiwan Labour Front.

Leu, C. H., Chen, K. M., and Chen, H. H. (2016) 'Subjective poverty: profiles and Determinants.' *Journal of Social Sciences and Philosophy.* 28(3), 1-36.

Lawler, S. (2014) *Identity: sociological perspectives.* Cambridge, Polity Press.

Lewis and Vivi (2014) *Working holiday in Australia: giving yourself a year with courage.* (澳洲打工度假，送給自己勇氣的一年) Taipei: TAIYA Publishing Co. Ltd.

Lin, Z. Y. (2012) 'In addition to making one million NTD in Australia, don't forget learning English' (澳洲打工賺百萬，別忘了賺語言能力回來) *China Times*. [Online] August 21. Available from:
http://www.businessweekly.com.tw/KBlogArticle.aspx?ID=1930&pnumber=2
[Accessed: 1 February 2019]

Lu, M. Z. (2011) 'The influence of gender stereotypes on interview and promotion in the workplace.' (面試與遴選主管的職場性別刻板印象) *Journal of Gender Equality Education*. 53, 18-22.

Larsen, S., ØGAARD, T. & Brun, W. (2011) 'Backpackers and mainstreamers realities and myths.' *Annals of Tourism Research.* 38 (2), 690-707.

Lan, P. C. (2009) 'Cultures of carework, careworks across cultures.' *Review of Social Sciences*. 3 (2), 1-28.

Leonard, M. (2004) 'Bonding and bridging social capital: reflections from Belfast.' *Sociology*. 38 (5), 927-944.

Lamont, M. and Molnar, V. (2002) 'The study of boundaries in the social science.' *Annual Review of Sociology*. (28), 167-195.

Link, B. G. and Phelan, J. C. (2001) 'Conceptualizing stigma.' *Annual Review of Sociology*. 27, 363-385.

Loker-Murphy, L. & Pearce, P. L. (1995) 'Young budget travelers: backpackers in Australia.' *Annals of Tourism Research*. 22(4), 819-843.

Lamont, M. and Lareau, A. (1988) 'Cultural capital: allusions, gaps and glissandos in recent theoretical developments.' *Sociological Theory*. 6(2), 153-168.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan) (2016) 'the working holiday agreement between Republic of China and France.' (中華民國與法國度假打工計畫即日起實施) [Online] 8 August. Available from:
https://www.mofa.gov.tw/idia/News_Content_idia_1.aspx?n=B383123AEADAEE52&sms=9E57026FB421F554&s=60BB2F81B708D792
[Accessed] 1 February 2019

Ministry of Education, Republic of China (Taiwan) (2009) 'The policy of graduate trainee program.' (培養優質人力促進就業計劃方案之大專畢業生至企業職場實習方案實施要點) [Online] 11 May. Available from:
http://edu.law.moe.gov.tw/LawContent.aspx?id=FL048988
[Accessed] 1 February 2019

Maoz, D. (2007) 'Backpackers' motivations: the role of culture and nationality.'

Annals of Tourism Research. 34 (1), 122-140.

Muzaini, H. (2006) 'Backpacking Southeast Asia: strategies of looking local.' *Annals of Tourism Research.* 33 (1), 144-161.

Mai, G. T. (2006) '*Working holiday in Australia.*' (澳洲，打工度假) Taipei: Far Reaching Publishing Co. Ltd.

Murphy, L. (2001) 'Exploring social interactions of backpackers.' *Annals of Tourism Research.* 28 (1), 50-67.

Mills, C. W. ([1995] 2000) '*The sociological imagination.*' Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Manning, P. (1992) '*Erving Goffman and modern sociology.*' Cambridge, Polity Press.

Massey, D. (June, 1991) 'A global sense of place.' *Marxism Today.*

Memmi, A. ([1974] 2003) '*The colonizer and the colonized.*' London, Earthscan Publications Ltd.

Nagai, H., Benckendorff, P., and Tkaczynski, A. (2018) 'Differentiating Asian working holiday makers from traditional backpackers on the basis of accommodation preferences.' *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management.* 35, 66-74.

Nagatomo, J. (2015) '*Migration as transnational leisure: the Japanese lifestyle migrant in Australia.*' Netherlands, BRILL.

O'Regan, M. (2016) 'A backpacker habitus: the body and dress, embodiment and the self.' *Annals of Leisure Research.* 19 (3), 329-346.

Oliver, C. & O'Reilly, K. (2010) 'A Bourdieusian analysis of class and migration: habitus and the individualizing process.' *Sociology*. 44(1), 49-66.

O'Reilly, K. (2009) 'Chapter 7: the children of the hunters: self-realization projects and class reproduction.' In Benson, M. and O'Reilly, K. (eds) *Lifestyle migration: expectations, aspirations, and experiences.* Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Overbeek, H. (2002) 'Neoliberalism and the regulation of global labor mobility.' *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 581 (1), 74-90.

Ong, A. (1999) *Flexible citizenship: the cultural logics of transnationality*. Durham, Duke University Press.

Paris, C. M., Musa, G., and Thirumoorthi, T. (2015) 'A comparison between Asian and Australasia backpackers: using cultural consensus analysis.' *Current Issues in Tourism*. 18 (2), 175-195.

Palley, T. I. (2005) 'From Keynesianism to Neoliberalism: shifting paradigms in economics.' In Saad-Filho, A. & Johnson, D. (eds) London, Pluto Press, pp. 20-29.

Parker, R. and Aggleton, P. (2003). 'HIV and AIDS-related stigma and discrimination: a conceptual framework and implications for action.' *Social Science & Medicine*, 57, 13–24.

Pahl, R. E. (1995) *After success: Fin-De-Siecle anxiety and identity.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Paper, R. H. (1964) 'A type of occupation mobility.' *Social Problems*. 11 (4), 336-344.

Quinn, J. (2010). *Learning communities and imagined social capital.* New York: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Ryan, L. and Lőrinc, M. (2018) 'Perceptions, prejudices and possibilities: young people narrating apprenticeship experiences.' *British Journal of Sociology of Education.* Available from:
https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01425692.2017.1417821
[Accessed: 14 January 2019]

Reilly, A. (2015) 'Low-cost labour or cultural exchange? Reforming the Working Holiday Visa programme.' *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*. 26 (3), 474-489.

Ritzer, G. & Goodman, J. (2003) *Sociological Theory*. New York, McGraw-Hill.

Ryan, C. & Mohsin, A. (2001) 'Backpackers.' *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*. 10 (1), 69-92,

Roscigno, V. J. &Ainsworth-Darnell, J. W. (1999) 'Race, cultural capital, and educational resources: persistent inequalities and achievement returns.' *Sociology of Education*. 72 (3), 158-178.

Snee, H. (2014). *A cosmopolitan journey*? *Difference, distinction, and Identity work in gap year travel*. Surrey, Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Son, Y. L. (2013) 'Exploitation in mobilizing: The analysis of foreign worker issues in Taiwan.' *Taiwan Human Rights Journal*. 2(2), 113-128.

Shen, W. Y. (2013) 'One week in Australia is the same as one month in Taiwan' (澳洲打工一周，台灣要一個月). *China Times*. [Online] September 21. Available from:
http://www.chinatimes.com/newspapers/20130921000665-260114
[Accessed: 1 February, 2019]

Svendsen, G. T., and Svendsen, G. L. H. (2009) 'The troika of sociology, political science and economics.' In Svendsen, G. T. & Svendsen, G. L. H. (eds) *Handbook of social capital: the troika of sociology, political science and economics*.

Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, pp. 1-13.

Su, A. Y., Chiou, W. B., and Chang, M. H. (2006) 'The impact of western culture adoration on the coffee consumption of Taiwan: a case study of Starbucks.' *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 11 (2) 177-187.

Tsai, L. L. and Collins, F. L. (2017) 'Youth and mobility in working holidays: imagined freedoms and lived constraints in lives of Taiwanese working holiday makers in New Zealand.' *New Zealand Geographer*. 73, 129-140.

Tyler, I. and Slater, T. (2018) 'Rethinking the sociology of stigma.' *The Sociological Review Monographs*. 66(4), 721-743.

Tyler, I. (2015) 'Classificatory struggles: class, culture, and inequality in neoliberal times.' *The Sociological Review*. 63, 493-511.

Tan, Y. & Lester, L. H. (2012) 'Labour market and economic impacts of international working holiday temporary migrants to Australia.' *Population, Space and Place*. 18, 359-383.

Tai, C. L., Chen, L. C., Chang, C. M. & Hong, J. Y. (2012) 'The impact of individual characteristics, personality traits, perceived risk on young people's intention to participate in overseas working holiday.' *Social and Behavioral Science*. 57, 388-395.

Teo, P. & Leong, S. (2006) 'A postcolonial analysis of backpacking.' *Annals of Tourism Research*. 33(1), 109-131.

Turner, J. C. (1982) 'Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group.' In Tajfel, H. (eds.) *Social identity and intergroup relations*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 15-41.

Uriely, N., Yonay, Y. & Simchai, D. (2002) 'Backpacking experiences: A type and form analysis.' *Annals of Tourism Research*. 29 (2), 520-538.

Uriely, N. (2001) 'Travelling workers and working tourists: variations across the interaction between work and tourism.' *International Journal of Tourism Research*. 3, 1-8.

Vertovec, S. and Cohen, R. (2002) 'Chapter one: introduction: conceiving cosmopolitanism.' In Vertovec, S. and Cohen, R. (eds). *Conceiving cosmopolitanism: theory, context and practice.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, J., Fisher, D. & Moore, K. (2010) 'The OE goes 'home': cultural aspects of a working holiday experience.' *Tourist Studies.* 9 (1), 3-21.

Walsh, N. & Tucker, H. (2009) 'Tourism things: the traveling performance of the backpack.' *Tourist Studies.* 9 (3), 223-239.

Wilson, T. (2008) 'A leap into the future: the Australia-Japan working holiday agreement and immigration policy.' *Japanese Studies*, 28 (3), 365-381.

Weininger, E. B. & Lamont, A. (2003) 'Cultural capital in educational research: A critical assessment.' *Theory and Society*, 32, 567-606.

Ye, Y. B. (2016) 'Welcome to National Taiwan University and work in China?' (來來來，來台大，去去去，去中國?) *Apple Daily*. [Online] 12th January. Available from: https://tw.appledaily.com/new/realtime/20160112/773056/
[Accessed: 1 February 2019]

Yoon, K. (2014) 'Transnational youth mobility in the neoliberal economy of experience.' *Journal of Youth Studies.* 17(8), 1014-1028.

Yang, S. H. (2012). '*Why does a young person, who graduated from National Tsing-Hua University, need to be a slaughter in Australia?*' (清大畢業生為何淪為澳洲屠夫). *Business Today*. [Online] 12th September. Available from: https://magazine.chinatimes.com/businesstoday/20120912004190-300214
[Accessed: 14th January 2019]

Yu, M. H. (2011). 'Patriarchal dividend.' (父權紅利) *Journal of Gender Equality Education*. 53, 84-87.

Yosso, T. J. (2005) 'Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth.' *Race Ethnicity and Education*. 8 (1), 69-91.

Zhang, H. C. (2013). 'Don't force young people to bear all responsibilities' (別把責任都推給年輕人) *Apple Daily*. [Online] 11th June. Available from:
https://tw.appledaily.com/headline/daily/20130611/35076809/applesearch/%E5%88%A5%E6%8A%8A%E8%B2%AC%E4%BB%BB%E9%83%BD%E6%8E%A8%E7%B5%A6%E5%B9%B4%E8%BC%95%E4%BA%BA%EF%BC%88%E5%BC%B5%E6%85%A7%E6%85%88%EF%BC%89
[Accessed: 1 February 2019].

Zarate, M. A. (2009) 'Racism in the 21th century.' In Nelson, T. D. (eds) *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination*. New York, Psychology Press, pp. 387-407.