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Pleasure or Pain or Both? Exploring Working Holiday Experiences through the Lens of Transformative Learning Theory

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ABSTRACT

Research on tourist transformation and transformative experiences is in its infancy. How tourists are triggered in a transformative dynamic of positive and negative components is little understood. This study attempts to fill this gap by using transformative learning theory (TLT) to explore working holiday experiences, based on evidence from Hong Kong tourists. A working holiday is a unique informal learning context involving an extended stay at a destination, which offers both pleasures and challenges. Interviews with working holiday tourists reveal that pleasurable and painful experiences are included in their working holiday recollections. Working holiday tourists transform themselves informally through these experiences, attaining psychological, behavioural and convictional outcomes. Our results provide managerial insights for government agencies, host destinations and other stakeholders, showing how they can enhance working holiday tourists' experiences and enable transformative learning outcomes.

KEYWORDS

Working holiday; Working holiday tourists (WHTs); Transformative learning theory; Pleasure; Pain

1. INTRODUCTION

A working holiday is an increasingly popular form of travel amongst young adults around the world. Working holidays have been increasingly recognised as a way of promoting international understanding and cultural exchanges. In 2019, 60 countries and territories worldwide signed bilateral reciprocal working holiday agreements to encourage young people to seek self-development opportunities through valuable overseas experiences (wherecani.live.com, 2020).

Working holiday tourists (WHTs) usually consider travel to be their primary objective and work a secondary objective (Pizam et al., 2000; Uriely, 2001). They travel to another country as tourists for an extended holiday to seek pleasure and fun; at the same time, they perform labour-intensive, low-paid work to finance their trip (Ho et al., 2014; Meng & Han, 2018a). On a working holiday, they can engage deeply with the host destination through diverse working and tourism experiences, in contrast to traditional tourism, which features short stays and focuses on leisure activities (Pung & Del Chiappa, 2020). Thus, WHTs experience a variety of peak moments and incidents, cultural shocks and challenges in a transformative process (Rice, 2007, 2010). Working holidays are expected to result in personal growth. Although the growing literature on working holidays has focused on WHTs' improved skills (Tsaur & Huang, 2016), personal growth (Zhu et al., 2019) and concerns and risks (Nagai et al., 2020; Tsai & Collins, 2017), few studies have attempted an in-depth exploration of WHTs' transformative process.

A range of tourism and transformation theories have been used to explain tourist transformation (Pung et al., 2020a), such as theories of existential authenticity (Kirillova et al., 2017) and value changes (Christie & Mason, 2003). The existential authenticity theory has a limited focus on tourists' state of being, whereas the value changes theory only discusses changes in values. By

comparison, the transformative learning theory (TLT) (Mezirow, 2000; Taylor, 2007) is the most comprehensive theoretical framework for understanding tourist transformation (Pung et al., 2020a). It thoroughly explains the reasons and process of the transformation.

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However, TLT has several theoretical gaps that need to be addressed. First, TLT has mainly been 50 adopted in formal education settings (Taylor, 2007). Stone and Duffy (2015) revealed that most 51 travel and tourism research focuses on educational travel as a modality for achieving 52 transformative learning. Volunteer tourism is a popular context for applying TLT, as it usually 53 54 involves structured learning programmes (Coghlan & Gooch, 2011). Even though informal learning offers epistemological opportunities (Chen, 2012), it has not been fully recognised by TLT (Chen, 55 2012; Pung et al., 2020a; Taylor, 2007). Working holidays are an overlooked context within TLT 56 (Pung et al., 2020a). This may be because WHTs' learning is largely informal and self-directed, 57 without a structured pedagogy and pre-identified learning outcomes. Thus, our study aims to fill 58 59 this research gap, by focusing on informal learning without pre-determined outcomes. Second, 60 according to Mezirow's (2000) seminal TLT framework, transformative learning stems from a 61 'disorienting dilemma', a kind of personal crisis and challenge. Pung et al. (2020a), in their new framework, added 'peak episodes' to indicate the triggers or stimuli for transformation. Still, the 62 nature of these triggers and learning experiences has not been fully discussed. Although the 63 transformation and learning outcomes can be cognitive throughout the process or at the end, the 64 triggers can be emotional or result in emotional experiences (Kirillova et al., 2017). Taylor (2007), in 65 his review of TLT, stated that different kinds of emotions, positive or negative, can be generated 66 67 earlier in the learners' transformative process. Thus, in this study, we argue that pleasurable and painful experiences co-exist in a working holiday, as triggers of transformative learning (Soulard et 68 al., 2020). Third, Mezirow's (2000) 10-stage process of transformative learning was not completely 69 70 supported by empirical studies (Coghlan & Gooch, 2011). The transformation process may not 71 necessarily take place progressively in a fixed way. In our study, we clarify this by arguing that these 72 stages may be more appropriate to represent elements of WHTs' transformation; moreover, the 73 learning and self-reflection of WHTs may be scattered (Pung et al., 2020a), taking place simultaneously during the working holiday or at a later stage after they return home and 74 'reintegrate into society' (Taylor, 2007). Fourth, the transformative learning outcomes have not 75 been fully revealed by TLT. Although some conceptual frameworks have been developed (Clark, 76 1991) to shed light on this area, they lack empirical proof. A simple summary of 'self-actualisation' 77 (Coghlan & Gooch, 2011) or 'self-assurance' (Soulard et al., 2020) is hardly enough. Meanwhile, 78 79 how transformative learning outcomes can be generated from the experiences remains little 80 understood (Soulard et al., 2020).

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Based on these theoretical contributions, this study draws attention to working holiday schemes (WHSs) and provides managerial insights that will be of interest to policymakers and potential WHTs. The objectives of this study are as follows:

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- 1) Explore the pleasurable and painful experiential dimensions of the working holiday experience.
- 2) Identify the transformative learning outcomes attained by WHTs.
- 3) Explore the subtle relationship between working holiday experiences and tourist transformation.

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2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Working holidays and working holiday tourists (WHTs)

The working holiday phenomenon originated in 19th-century Europe, when young working-class men travelled to find jobs or learn a particular trade. Working holiday tourism is a special form of tourism combining work and holiday travel (Jarvis & Peel, 2013). A range of work, leisure and tourism activities may be embedded in a WHT's journey. WHTs can be regarded as long-term budget-conscious working tourists, who seek job opportunities at different places to subsidise their prolonged trip. Other than work, travel offers young people opportunities for sightseeing and adventure (Adler, 1985, as cited in Loker-Murphy & Pearce, 1995). They may travel as backpackers and meet up with other backpackers on their travels (Clarke, 2004). Thus, WHTs travel for hedonistic and self-development purposes. They have many opportunities to seek pleasure and happiness or encounter pains and disappointment on their working holidays.

Several studies in the past decade have identified the attributes of working holidays and what WHTs are seeking. For instance, Meng and Han (2018b) explored the generic attributes of working holidays, which include 'immersion of the destination', 'economy of the trip', 'experience of working' and 'self-fulfilment'. Tsaur and Huang (2016) systematically identified 11 factors affecting WHTs' acquisition of knowledge, skills and abilities: 'organising and planning capability', 'emotional management', 'self-confidence and independence', 'physical capability', 'social communication', 'learning from friends', 'understanding local environment', 'cross-cultural adaptability', 'geospatial recognition', 'employability' and 'speaking up for labour rights'. Some studies instead emphasise the challenges and issues of working holidays. Nagai et al. (2020) found that English language proficiency and cultural adaptation are significant factors in WHTs' travel risks. Tsai and Collins (2017) highlighted 'social expectations', 'social infrastructures' and 'temporal limits' as other concerns. Although it provides a generic understanding of working holidays and WHTs, the literature does not systematically explore how WHTs obtain enjoyment, learning and achievement through their dynamic experiences. Working holiday source markets and host destinations might benefit from this information for planning and promotion.

2.2 Tourist transformation and transformative learning theory

Today, many tourists seek self-development and transformative experiences, and host destinations provide more opportunities for tourist transformation (DeCrop et al., 2018; Kirillova et al., 2017; Pung & Del Chiappa, 2020; Pung et al., 2020a, 2020b; Soulard et al., 2020). The experience economy theory (Pine & Gilmore, 2014) implies that the ultimate stage of the experience economy focuses on consumer transformation. Kirillova et al. (2017) highlighted its important implication that transformative travel fits this final stage perfectly because it involves tourists' changing and improving through travel. Such transformative tourists are expected to be more capable of handling challenges and uncertainties when they return home (Soulard et al., 2020). Pung et al. (2020b) noted that both male and female travellers attach importance to their identities during tourism experiences, but the former are more concerned about adaptation and a sense of community whereas the latter care more about bodily feelings and self-consciousness. DeCrop et al. (2018) discussed tourist transformation using a sharing economy approach, in which transformative tourists make their choices during travel in the form of collaborative consumption.

Tourists generate an enhanced relationship and a sense of belonging through closer host–guest and guest–guest interactions at the host destinations.

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Multiple theories have been used to explain tourist transformation. Existential authenticity theory was proposed by Wang (1999), who argued that tourists could escape their daily lives through liminal spaces. In line with this thinking, tourists in these liminal spaces can develop new experiences and process personal transformation (Kirillova et al., 2017). According to the theory of value changes, tourism may expose tourists to a new world and thus challenges their existing value systems. Tourists ultimately experience changes in their values (Christie & Mason, 2003). TLT has been more widely used to conceptualise tourist transformation (Pung et al., 2020a). It has been well documented and researched for more than 30 years. Taylor (2007) noted that an extensive body of transformative learning studies has investigated adult learning (Jones, 2015). Transformative learning, as its name suggests, involves deep learning against taken-for-granted assumptions and informative learning (Dirkx, 1997; Mezirow, 2000). Kegan (2000, as cited in Jones, 2015, p. 270) proposed that 'informational learning deepens the resources available to an existing frame of reference ... and transformational learning involves not only changes in what we know but also how we know – the ability to move beyond concrete thinking into abstract reasoning, where one is situated within a pre-existing frame of mind and the other actually reconstructs the frame itself'.

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Mezirow (2000) identified 10 stages of the transformative learning process leading to a transformed state. They are 'disorienting dilemma', 'self-examination', 'assessment and alienation', 'sharing', 'exploring', 'building competence', 'plan for action', 'acquiring knowledge', 'trying new roles' and 'reintegration'. Among these, 'disorienting dilemma' is fundamentally important as the first step and is usually produced naturally or by invisible individual/social factors (i.e. values, beliefs) (Chang et al., 2012). Such dilemmas are personal crises or life difficulties (Mezirow, 2000). The dilemma may result in the subjects' discomfort or even painful experiences (Taylor, 2007). As outcomes of the transformative learning process, people's 'habits of mind' (ethical, philosophical, psychological, aesthetic) and 'frames of reference' (Mezirow, 2000) may be modified through selfreflection in different circumstances. Despite the popularity of Mezirow's work, others have proposed their own interpretations of transformative learning (Nino et al., 2011). For instance, Dirkx (1997) discussed transformative learning from a depth psychology perspective and emphasised the relationship between one's outer and inner world and lives. He highlighted the importance of engaging one's emotions in transformative learning (Dirkx, 2006). Clark (1991) presented three dimensions of transformative learning outcomes: psychological (understanding of one's self), convictional (revising belief systems) and behavioural (changing one's lifestyle). Affective learning is also highlighted, as cognitive changes derive from and co-exist with emotional and affective changes.

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A growing body of literature connects tourism to transformative learning (Coghlan & Gooch, 2011; Stone & Duffy, 2015). For instance, transformative learning could be applicable to higher education in tourism (Cavender, Swanson, & Wright, 2020; Thomas, 2012). Stone and Duffy (2015) found that transformative learning is present in study tours, work placements, service learning, volunteer tourism and other forms of tourism. Coghlan and Gooch (2011) reflected close connections between most stages of the transformative learning process and volunteer tourism activities. They noted that Mezirow's (2000) 10 stages may not necessarily take place sequentially in a fixed way but manifest more as elements rather than stages in volunteer tourism transformation. They

further argued that volunteer tourism participants 'learn and change as a result of their experiences' (Coghlan & Gooch, 2011, p. 714). Unfortunately, they merely concluded that self-actualisation is the outcome of transformative learning without providing a more detailed empirical account.

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TLT is applicable to the working holiday phenomena and WHTs. First, working holiday tourism provides a suitable context and place (i.e. host destination and workplace) that enable transformative learning (Coghlan & Gooch, 2011). Choy (2009) affirmed that workplace features usually support transformative learning. Moreover, in the working holiday context, WHTs are immersed in a new cultural and social environment but for a longer period when compared with traditional tourists. Pung and Del Chiappa (2020) argued that in traditional tourism, a transformative process is usually inhibited by short stays, repeated leisure activities, familiar travel companions and lack of access to residents' lifestyles. By comparison, working holidays do not have these inhibitors; rather, they facilitate WHTs' transformative learning at the host destinations through longer stays, diverse tourism/leisure activities and new people and lifestyles. TLT studies (Müller, et al., 2020) have proved the cultural shocks as triggers of transformative learning, but this may take longer effects in working holidays. In fact, many WHTs try various new roles (e.g. longterm tourist, worker at a new job, planner, problem solver, socialiser, etc.), which may be interpreted as 'first-time' life experiences at the host destinations. They consciously or subconsciously engage in an acculturation and learning process through a longer-term interaction with the destination. However, working holidays differ greatly from volunteer tourism due to their unique nature. WHTs work at host destinations to subsidise their travel expenses, whereas volunteer tourists work to fulfil their altruistic motivations with pre-determined learning outcomes (Lo & Lee, 2011). Although WHTs may not consistently undertake self-examination and reflection, they continually review their experiences and may even engage in critical thinking and interpretation when they return and reintegrate into their home society (Taylor, 2007). They become increasingly aware of their changes over time. In conclusion, WHTs' transformative learning is informal and usually self-directed. This line of thinking for understanding informal transformative learning has been implied in previous research, particularly in the contexts of independent travel, ecotourism and wellness tourism (Pung et al., 2020a; Sen, 2020). Unfortunately, informal transformative learning has not been highlighted as a means to enrich our understanding of tourist transformation.

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2.3 Transformative learning originating from pleasurable and painful tourism experiences

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221 Recently, Pung et al. (2020a) developed a theoretical framework of tourist transformation supported by TLT. In the framework, transformative experience is initiated by stimuli (liminality, 222 223 culture shock and challenges) in the form of 'peak episodes and disorienting dilemmas' (p. 7). They further emphasised that tourists may be aware of the striking episode but their self-reflection will 224 be 'separate' (p. 7) from the later transformation of their attitudes and behaviour. The 225 transformation may take place when tourists return from the destination to their daily lives. 226 227 Although Pung et al. (2020a, p. 8) acknowledged that peak episodes may strike tourists in the form of moments of 'transcendence and connectedness', they did not fully decipher the emotional 228 229 nature of such episodes. Conceptually, peak episodes are unique life incidents (Lawton & La Porte, 2013) or extraordinary moments in tourism (Arnould & Price, 1993). They may not be necessarily 230 231 painful or result in personal crises, as 'disorienting dilemma' might imply, but can be pleasurable 232 and have a transformative function (Soulard et al., 2020). In this regard, Soulard et al. (2020) made some important empirical findings. They developed and tested a measure of transformative tourism experiences based on four factors: 'local residents and culture', 'self-assurance', 'disorienting dilemma' and 'joy'. Their study shed light on how to integrate the positive and negative components of experiences and tourist transformation outcomes. Unfortunately, these factors cannot happen simultaneously. According to Ho et al. (2014), they must occur in a cause-and-effect manner. In a similar vein, tourist experiences filled with positively and negatively valenced components may generate transformative learning outcomes.

In fact, the experiential approach indicates that many tourism phenomena integrate pleasure and meaning-seeking activities, behaviours and outcomes (Lengieza et al., 2019). In their contribution to the psychological and marketing literature, Alba and Williams (2013) highlighted the importance of consumers' hedonic consumption and pleasure-seeking behaviours. In this process, consumers are expected to secure 'heightened involvement, perceived freedom, fantasy fulfilment and escapism' (Babin et al., 1994, p. 646). According to Pine and Gilmore's (1999) experience economy framework, tourists' experiences reflect their perception of entertainment, education, escapism and aesthetics and are subject to different degrees of participation and involvement (Hosany & Witham, 2010). At the same time, tourists may have painful experiences, such as culture shock (McKercher & Chow, 2001). Failure to match their environment will create anxiety. In the literature, some factors have been found to contribute to pain during travelling, such as encounters with unusual situations (Müller et al., 2020), injustice (Frazer & Waitt, 2016) and poverty and suffering (Gius, 2017). Previous scholarly attempts have recorded the coexistence of pleasure and pain in some forms of tourism, such as volunteer tourism (Frazer & Waitt, 2016; Gius, 2017). However, such studies have been limited and do not account for various tourism phenomena.

Our study proposes that working holiday experiences involve pleasure and pain that contribute to transformative learning as individuals deeply engage with various activities over a long period of time, leading to a transformed state. The critical incidents and observations, both pleasurable and painful, have already been shown to have effects on the continuum of learning, particularly in an intercultural context (McAllister et al., 2006). Transformative learning can be a lifelong process (Lawton & La Porte, 2013). In the working holiday context, meaningful and unique (e.g. first-time) life occurrences and experiences, regardless of pleasure or pain, can be easily recollected (Jansari & Parkin, 1996) and have a strong influence on an individual. Thus, our study fills the gap in the framework of Pung et al. (2020a) by exploring 'disorienting dilemmas' and 'peak episodes' in connections to both pleasurable and painful experiences. It also addresses the limitations of the study of Soulard et al. (2020) by showing how working holiday experiences generate transformative learning outcomes.

3. RESEARCH PARADIGM

Given the research objective of exploring WHTs' experiences and transformative learning process and outcomes, a constructivist ontology was considered appropriate for investigating the nature of reality, an interpretative epistemology helped the researchers to make sense of the meanings expressed by the WHTs, and an inductive qualitative methodology was the selected research paradigm for this study. Personal experiences and learning outcomes are complex and subjective in nature (Patton, 2015). Individual in-depth semi-structured interviews were adopted for data collection, to elicit WHTs' pleasurable and painful experiences and transformative learning

outcomes. These experiences are affective in nature and comprise the most important peak episodes that trigger tourist transformation (Pung et al., 2020). Neutral or unmemorable experiences (Tung & Ritchie, 2011) were not counted because of their lack of importance in this process. The interviewees were also asked to explain the benefits of working holidays and their personal changes. The underlying reasons for their interpretations of the experiences and perceived learning outcomes were explored in depth.

Hong Kong WHTs were selected as the study population. Hong Kong launched its WHS in 2001, in partnership with the governments of Australia, Austria, Canada, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Sweden, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom (Labour Department, The Government of the HKSAR, 2020). As of 2019, 11,750 reciprocal exchanges have allowed young people, between the age of 18 and 30, from Hong Kong and participating countries to engage in cultural and educational exchange through the WHS (immd.gov, 2018). Purposeful and snowball sampling techniques were used to identify participants for the interviews. Facebook pages on working holidays for Hong Kong residents (e.g. (https://www.facebook.com/groups/138611156832/) were reviewed, and invitations were sent to participants who posted their experiences on those pages. The target participants must have completed their working holidays within the past three years and have returned to Hong Kong. A three-year time frame was suggested by two experienced WHTs, who considered it as a valid period for WHTs to have clear enough memories for an in-depth interview. They were invited to recommend other qualified participants of their acquaintance. At the end of the interviews, supermarket cash coupons were given to the participants as a token of appreciation. Interviews were conducted by the researchers and trained research assistants.

Twenty-three face-to-face interviews were conducted and analysed. The sample size was not predetermined; the interview process was continued until redundancy of data occurred (Jennings, 2010). Each interview lasted between 45 and 90 minutes. Table 1 summarises the interviewees' profiles. The interviewees completed their working holidays in Australia, Austria, France, Germany, Ireland, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Sweden and the UK. Fifteen interviewees were female, and eight were male. Most were 26 years old or above (91.31%). Most had bachelor degrees (69.57%). During their trip, they mainly worked in the service sector, such as restaurants, hotels and supermarkets, or in sales; a few worked as office workers.

The interviews were voice-recorded and transcribed. The data coding process was modelled on Glaser and Strauss (1967), and thematic analysis was undertaken. Open coding was conducted followed by axial coding to identify the relationship between the open codes. The transcripts were read multiple times to produce information units for subsequent analysis. In the process of data coding, the themes were categorised and grouped into higher-level themes to represent the structure of working holiday experience, with the support of Nvivo software. Keywords were also 'compared across all interviews to reveal trends, patterns, alignments and contradictions amongst the different interviewees' responses' (Suntikul, 2018, p. 2108). The deductive process was based on the literature on transformative learning and tourism experiences. Two researchers simultaneously performed data analysis. The second coder checked the work of the first coder and marked down passages for further amendment or discussion. Their coding, analysis and interpretation results were compared and consolidated to ensure credibility (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). For greater reflexiveness, selected interviewees were asked to provide comments on the draft data analysis results.

327 328 Informant triangulation and multilevel triangulation were also adopted to ensure the 329 trustworthiness of the data set (Decrop, 2004). Informants with diverse backgrounds in terms of 330 their working holiday (destination, job completion, duration) and demographic information (age, gender) were approached. Interview results were also compared with relevant secondary sources 331 (e.g. www.whver.net) and the official website of the Hong Kong WHS 332 (https://www.whs.gov.hk/en/), which contains experience sharing and activity highlights by Hong 333 Kong WHTs. We judged whether the themes derived from this study were also evidenced by their 334 sharing and if any of the major themes identified could be attributable to their sharing. Although 335 these websites and shared information also contain other information such as working holiday 336 applications and visa issues, we avoided any comparison, as they did not fit our focal research 337 338 topic.

Informant						
No.	Gender	Age	Destination	Workplace/Job	Completion*	Duration#
1	М	≥31	Germany	Restaurant	> 2 years ago	≥ 13 months
2	F	≥31	United Kingdom	Restaurant, Hotel	> 2 years ago	≥ 13 months
3	F	26 - 30	United Kingdom	UNIQLO (sales),	> 2 years ago	7 - 12 months
				Exhibition (helper)		
4	М	26 - 30	Korea	Airbnb (office, clerk)	1 – 2 years ago	≥ 13 months
5	F	≥31	Japan, Australia	Hotel (concierge)	> 2 years ago	7 - 12 months
6	F	26 - 30	Germany	Restaurant	1 – 2 years ago	7 - 12 months
7	М	18 - 25	Sweden	Restaurant	< 12 months	1 - 6 months
8	F	≥31	Australia	Farm	> 2 years ago	7 - 12 months
9	М	26 - 30	United Kingdom	Clerk, sales	> 2 years ago	≥ 13 months
10	М	18 - 25	Japan	Café (cashier), Private	< 12 months	≥ 13 months
				Business, Tourism		
				office		
11	F	26 - 30	France	B&B, Babysitter, Camp	1 – 2 years ago	7 - 12 months
				site reception, Grape		
				farming, Home care		
12	F	26 - 30	Ireland	Supermarket,	> 2 years ago	7 - 12 months
				Restaurant (waitress)		
13	F	≥31	Germany	Freelance, Consultant	> 2 years ago	7 - 12 months
14	М	26 - 30	Germany	Catering	1 – 2 years ago	7 - 12 months
15	F	26 - 30	France	Restaurant	> 2 years ago	7 - 12 months
16	F	≥31	Australia	Farm (picker)	> 2 years ago	≥ 13 months
17	F	26 - 30	Ireland	Supermarket, Home	1 – 2 years ago	7 - 12 months
				care		
18	F	≥31	Australia	Busker, Housekeeper	> 2 years ago	1 - 6 months
19	F	≥31	Australia	Restaurant, Factory	> 2 years ago	1 - 6 months
20	F	≥31	Australia	Beautician, Farmer,	> 2 years ago	≥ 13 months
				Sales, Catering		
21	М	≥31	Australia	Office work, Farm,	> 2 years ago	≥ 13 months
				Construction site		
22	М	26 - 30	New Zealand	Office work	< 12 months	≥ 13 months
23	F	26 - 30	Austria	Sales, Waitress	< 12 months	7 - 12 months

^{*} Completion: Date of completion of the working holiday; # Duration: Duration of working holiday experience

4. FINDINGS

4.1 Working holiday experience: Pleasure

A working holiday, as a form of tourism, generates pleasure and a sense of escape. The pleasures of working holidays were found to include *social experience*, *decompression and relaxation*, *escapism* and *aesthetic experience*.

4.1.1 Social experience

The most frequently cited type of pleasurable experience in the interviews is *social experiences*. The WHTs felt happy being with friends and colleagues and making new friends on their travels. Their social experiences were a major part of their leisure activities and time during their working holidays. A representative quote is the following:

'The most pleasing thing to do was to go skiing with all my colleagues. Our job depends on the weather. If the weather is not good, then we will have no customers, and we may have to leave early or even choose to take the day off ... because it only takes approximately 30 minutes from Queenstown to the snow mountain, we would go skiing together.... We chat, learn skiing, drink and listen to music – quite a lot of fun.' (Informant 22)

4.1.2 Decompression and relaxation

Another important theme was *decompression and relaxation*. Living a simple life in a different cultural environment was appreciated. For instance, one interviewee stated, 'One could feel decompressed and relaxed by simply taking a stroll in a park. It is easy to feel satisfied and fulfilled. The Swedish's lifestyle is not that stressful. Swedes are not as materialistic as Hong Kong people ... you can easily see people smiling genuinely to you on the streets' (Informant 7).

4.1.3 Escapism and aesthetic experience

Similar to other tourists, WHTs felt that escapism was intertwined with their appreciation of the aesthetic beauties of the destination. The interviewees provided various examples of this; for instance:

'I did not feel very free in Hong Kong, particularly concerning my relationship with my family, but during my working holiday in Germany, I felt relieved; I did not have to face these problems.' (Informant 13)

More than half of the interviewees referred to the *flexibility and convenience of their travelling and tourism activities* during working holidays to explain the escapism perception. They recalled their travels during working holidays compared with regular travel in Hong Kong. For example,

'...when I felt like travelling during my working holiday, I just searched for the information, booked the trip, and left. ... It was easy. Time was not an issue.... I was able to take short trips, taking time to observe local people and experience the local culture.' (Informant 8)

Working holidays were found to provide sufficient opportunities for travellers to appreciate the aesthetic qualities of the destination, such as the unique scenery, e.g.:

'The happiest moments were at Santorini, a magnificent island. Montserrat was another place, with beautiful monasteries on the mountain top ... Although it was a very exhausting three-hour walk to reach the monasteries, the views were stunning.' (Informant 6)

4.2 Working holiday experience: Pain

Despite the pleasurable aspects of working holiday experiences, some experiences were perceived as negative or painful. The major themes generated from the interviews were *work stress*, *homesickness* and *discrimination*.

4.2.1 Work stress

Concerning work stress, some reported the hardships and challenges they encountered. Long working hours with a low pay, disrespect from customers and employers, bad job-seeking experiences and other environmental factors contributed to this factor. For instance:

'I was under a lot of stress from work and settling down in a new environment. The sushi restaurant where I worked was always busy during lunchtime. I felt stressed out when my boss was yelling at me and picking on my mistakes.... When I was looking for jobs, I stopped at virtually every shop on the street to ask if a job was available. I was refused most of the time. I felt really useless.' (Informant 7)

The unique working environment, which required interacting with foreign consumers in an unfamiliar language, was frequently cited:

'One challenge was language. It is not my native language, and I did not speak fluently when I arrived there. Sometimes I asked the guests to repeat their orders, and they were annoyed.' (Informant 14)

4.2.2 Homesickness

 Homesickness was another painful experience mentioned by the WHTs. WHTs longed for their homes when working overseas for a long time. For instance, 'this was my first time being by myself on my birthday. My mum sent me some of my childhood photos. I felt homesick particularly when I encountered challenging situations. ... and I had an accident whilst travelling... I never told [my family] as I didn't want them to worry. I was sad ... but I managed to deal with the situation myself' (Informant 7).

4.2.3 Discrimination

One surprising painful experience related to discrimination, particularly from people with a similar cultural background. 'When I talked to those people [from the Chinese mainland], we sometimes argued, as they felt that we Hongkongers perceived ourselves as superior to them...but I never did.

I never felt I was discriminated against by foreigners but by those from the same country' (Informant 6). A similar view was also expressed by another informant: '...especially for fellows from the same place, either Hong Kong or mainland China, we did not trust each other... I could feel the discrimination from others' (Informant 21). Some painful experiences were also recorded that involved unfriendly people at host destinations and discrimination.

4.3 Transformative learning outcomes as a result of 'self-examining/assessing' through working holiday experiences

Informal transformative learning processes and outcomes resulted from the pleasure and pains that WHTs experienced. The three perspective outcomes (psychological, behavioural and convictional) of transformative learning (Clark, 1991) were well evidenced in the interviews. When the WHTs reflected on their transformations, they also recalled the pains and pleasures of their working holiday experiences.

4.3.1 Psychological outcomes

Self-awareness was important for the WHTs. To an extent, *self-awareness* encapsulates all of the transformative learning outcomes. Representative quotes are included below, in which WHTs reflect on important moments in both work and leisure/travel contexts.

'I could think more about my past, present and future. I learned more and knew more about my strengths and capabilities... I recall some difficult times there, but I realised that eventually I could deal with it.' (Informant 1, connecting to pains)

'I picked up other sports in Sweden, for instance, ice sports; Swedes are very famous for playing ice sports, as you know...when I was there, I tried many of them ... I also feel a sense of accomplishment, despite my lack of professionalism in these sports.' (Informant 7, connecting to pleasures)

Many informants highlighted their improved *self-confidence* and *courage*. They had to be independent on their travels, handling everything by themselves. For instance:

'I became more courageous in many ways. I was particularly afraid of doing job interviews. The more I did them, the better I was. I became more confident each time.' (Informant 17, connecting to pains)

4.3.2 Behavioural outcomes

 The behavioural changes during working holidays involved the acquisition of knowledge and skills. The interviews revealed some basic skills that WHTs acquired: *language, cooking* and *other self-care abilities*. These are important basic skills throughout an individual's lifetime, although they may not be linked to specific pains vs. pleasures. A majority of the informants emphasised their improved *language skills*. Language proficiency grows more quickly in a suitable learning environment. One informant emphasised,

'I was forced to speak English when I was abroad. My English has made a great improvement. But now in Hong Kong, I don't need to use English very often, so maybe now my English has regressed.' (Informant 18)

Moreover, many informants considered *cooking* an important part of their working holiday lives, and many made significant improvements or developed this basic skill during the trip. Some were highly motivated to learn to cook local cuisine. One stated,

'One of my goals [for the working holiday] was to try French food and learn to cook French cuisine. I did it. When I visited my French friends' home, they taught me different French cuisines, such as cream of mushroom soup and foie gras ... I really tried making many French dishes.' (Informant 15)

Other self-care abilities were also sporadically reported, such as packing skills and taking care of household chores, which the respondents all considered important for their future lives. They either picked up those skills from scratch or developed existing skills during the trip.

The WHTs also showcased changes in other aspects of their behaviour. They tended to be *more organised, adaptable* and *problem-solving-oriented,* and *treated others differently (through appreciation, respect, support and sharing)*. These were the results of living in a culturally dissimilar place for a much longer period than traditional travel, and involved both positive and negative experiences.

Some informants emphasised the importance of *planning* during their working holiday, to ensure its success. For example, one informant stated: 'I really think more before acting, as you have to rely on yourself during this one-year period... Before I acted like a blunderbuss, but now, I may not look for a job simply for my own interest. I may think and plan more about saving some of my disposable income for my family' (Informant 17, connecting to pains and pleasure).

Problem solving and adaptability is another major theme. The challenges encountered during a working holiday inevitably foster a solution-oriented mindset and problem-solving skills. One subject remarked:

'In fact, I didn't like the job I was working there...The working holiday helped me learn how to solve problems and adapt to changes. One major benefit for me has been knowing how to survive in different environments.' (Informant 16, connecting to pains)

The last major theme in this category is the *social relationships* derived from working holiday experiences, which incorporate the pleasure and pain dimensions. The WHTs tended to *appreciate*, *respect*, *support* and even *share* with others:

'sometimes my colleagues were so rude ...they discriminated against others from out of town...gradually, I learned to appreciate others. In Hong Kong, I was not very vocal with my appreciation of others ... but this is common abroad. Now, I feel more comfortable in expressing my appreciation of others.' (Informant 23, connecting to pleasure and pains)

'If I saw other travellers who needed help, then I was happy to offer help. This is because I also received assistance from others on my trip. Now, if I see a traveller looking puzzled on the street in Hong Kong, I may approach them to ask if I can help...' (Informant 20, connecting to pleasure)

Lastly, the informants were eager to share their working holiday experience with others, particularly the pleasurable or painful experiences. Working holiday experiences were treasured as memorable moments in their lifelong learning. Some of them told us they shared their working holiday stories via different channels during the trip and after they returned home.

4.3.3 Convictional outcomes

Concerning the convictional factor of transformative learning (change of belief system), work—life balance, cultural sensitivity and changed view of money were major features of their new belief systems. One important theme related to a greater belief in work—life balance. The informants compared their life at the working holiday destination and in Hong Kong. The experiences they recalled and shared were not necessarily related to pain and work challenges. Their intercultural observations (including both pleasurable and painful experiences) also strongly affected their belief adjustment. For example:

'The greatest learning is about work—life balance. Hong Kong people spend a lot of time working, but foreigners pay a lot of attention to their holiday time. They definitely won't work during a holiday, even with double pay. When I returned to Hong Kong, this became the greatest change in my value system...I engaged more in leisure activities to seek more balance in my life.' (Informant 20)

Another main theme was *cultural sensitivity*. One interviewee emphasised, 'when I was there, I learned how foreigners express their views and make judgments, which is different from Hong Kong people. I realised different cultures have different values and ways of life. I have broadened my horizon and became more respectful of diverse cultures' (Informant 21).

Lastly, informants also perceived a change in their *views on money*. However, notably, they also compared their new views with their previous views of money in Hong Kong. 'Before the working holiday, I might teach students to earn more money, but actually, there is no end to craving money. The more money you make, the more you want to make. I think an average job is quite fine for me now, and I don't have an urge to find a job with higher pay' (Informant 18).

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study used the lens of TLT to explore and interpret working holiday experiences. Pleasure and pain informed the memories of WHTs' working holiday experiences (Objective 1). The informants reflected on their transformative learning outcomes (Objective 2). The subtle way in which pleasures and pains interrelate to enable transformative learning was also explored (Objective 3).

5.1 Pleasurable and painful working holiday experience and transformative learning outcomes

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This study found that social experience, decompression and relaxation, escapism and aesthetic experience explain the pleasurable experiences of working holidays. The heightened involvement and emotions (Babin et al., 1994) experienced by the WHTs created extraordinary, memorable peak moments (Mody et al., 2017). Social experience has already been discussed at length in tourism studies (Ho et al., 2014; Tsaur & Huang, 2016). It is even more important in the sharing economy (Decrop et al., 2018). Decompression and relaxation are central to the experience economy (Xu & Chan, 2010). Like Ho et al. (2014), this study also found that escapism is an important experiential consequence of working holidays. Furthermore, the pains encountered on a working holiday create a learning context due to a 'disorienting dilemma' (Mezirow, 2000; Taylor, 2007). Painful working holiday experiences were further decomposed into work stress, homesickness and discrimination. Concerning work stress, previous studies (Nagai et al., 2018; Nagai et al., 2020) have pinpointed that poor language proficiency is a significant barrier. Homesickness used to be a common phenomenon among migrants (Matt, 2007). For WHTs', it is a disorienting dilemma because it creates personal crises and challenges, particularly when the traveller lives in a different context for a long period of time (Scopelliti & Tiberio, 2010). Last, discrimination usually coexists with culture shock in tourism settings (Pung et al., 2020a).

This study identified the transformative learning outcomes derived from working holiday experiences. The psychological (self-awareness, self-confidence and courage), behavioural (basic skills, planning, problem solving and adaptability, relationships with others) and convictional (work-life balance, cultural sensitivity, changed views on money) learning outcomes successfully extended Ho et al. (2014) and Tsaur and Huang (2016) in the working holiday literature. The interviews can be considered as a part of WHTs' extended 'self-assessments' or 'self-examinations' (Mezirow, 2000). Among the learning outcomes, the literature has indicated that the psychological aspect of the transformative process focuses on self-understanding (Clark, 1991; Peltz & Clemons, 2019). Zhu et al. (2019) noted personal changes among WHTs regarding increased independence and bravery. The behavioural changes (Clark, 1991; Peltz & Clemons, 2019) through the working holidays were found to foster the acquisition of knowledge and skills (Mezirow, 2000). Newman (2012) stated that people's transformations originate in the acquisition of new skills and knowledge. The WHTs successfully acquired relevant knowledge and skills and built up their competence (Mezirow, 2000). These findings confirm the working holiday studies of Ho et al. (2014) and Tsaur and Huang (2016) to a certain extent. The convictional outcomes are also diversified. For example, work-life balance reflects how WHTs have rebuilt the relationship between their inner and outer worlds (Dirkx, 1997). Cultural sensitivity is an important outcome of experiential learning in tourism (Pennings et al., 2020), and this study also revealed its importance in the working holiday context. The WHTs' views on money also changed after working holidays due to their new belief systems (Ho et al., 2014).

5.2 Conceptualising tourist transformation in working holiday tourism

This study developed a conceptual framework for tourist transformation in working holiday tourism. Figure 1 records pleasurable and painful working holiday experiences, transformative learning outcomes, and their subtle interrelationships. The three factors of pleasure and three factors of pain were considered as paired opposites. Pleasure and pain occur at different times in different working holiday contexts (leisure activities vs. work). For example, work stress can be

reduced or eliminated by travelling between destinations. WHTs may feel they have escaped to a different world sometimes and may occasionally be nostalgic or homesick. Their social experiences with different people can be positive or negative. Different WHTs interpreted their working holiday experiences in different ways, possibly due to their personalities, family backgrounds and other experiences. Some were more positive or optimistic when reporting their experiences, whereas others showcased negative perceptions when recounting certain episodes or encounters from their working holiday.

As Figure 1 shows, the pleasure and pain components of WHTs' experiences were connected to their self-reflection through informal transformative learning. For instance, the WHTs gained in self-awareness, self-confidence and courage through work and life challenges and participation in leisure activities and adventures. They gained new skills, and found their behaviour was altered by their painful and pleasurable experiences. They gained problem-solving skills and adaptability owing to the problems and situations they encountered. Alternatively, their social skills improved because of the social and tourism activities they took part in with others. Overall, their convictional conditions were transformed when the positive and negative episodes of their working holiday lives were integrated. A new cultural environment interweaving cultural novelty and shocks facilitated cultural sensitivity and changes in their value systems. The pursuit of work—life balance became the life goal of many WHTs after experiencing pleasurable activities and painful challenges in working holiday contexts.



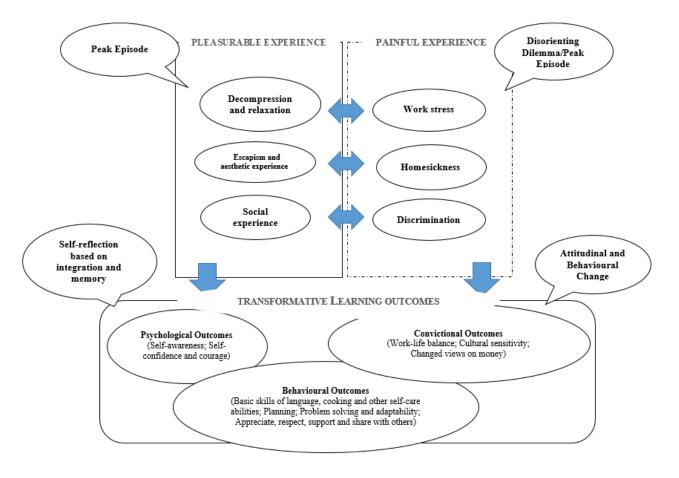


Figure 1

Tourist transformation in working holiday tourism

5.3 Theoretical implications

First, although TLT originated in the education field (Taylor, 2007), it has been applied in other fields, including tourism (Pritchard et al., 2011; Stone & Duffy, 2015). Unfortunately, few hospitality and tourism studies have adopted a systematic transformative learning perspective to study the working holiday phenomenon. Our study extended the understanding of tourist transformation in an unusual tourism context, which involves longer stays at the host destination and deeper involvement with the place and local people. These features usually inhibit tourist transformation in traditional tourism (Pung & Del Chiappa, 2020). Volunteer tourism is a popular focus in the tourism context from the perspective of TLT (Coghlan & Gooch, 2011; Knollenberg et al., 2014). However, our study has contributed to the literature, as WHTs may not have an altruistic motivation similar to volunteer tourists (Lo & Lee, 2011) and they are not formally involved in an organised learning context. The WHTs in our study conducted their 'self-reflection' in an informal and self-directed manner. They tended to engage continuously in self-reflection even after returning from the host destination. In general, 'self-reflection' is a process of reviewing external objects and people that are influential in one's cognitive system (Pintrich et al., 2000). Pung et al. (2020a) implied that self-reflection is an important feature of tourist transformation.

Second, our study extended the TLT by identifying the transformative triggers for emotional experiences of various types. These should not be restricted to 'disorienting dilemmas' (Mezirow, 2000). Our study largely concurred with Pung et al. (2020a) on these transformation stimuli (peak episodes, disorienting dilemmas), but we have more explicitly argued that WHTs' 'self-assessments' originate from both pleasurable and painful experiences. This finding parallels Taylor (2007), who found that both positive and negative experiences triggered the transformative learning process. Moreover, in line with this thinking, we consolidated the experiential approach to understanding tourism phenomena. The findings of this study are linked to representative theories of the experience economy (Pine & Gilmore, 1999), hedonic consumption (Alba & Williams, 2013) and the sharing economy (DeCrop et al., 2018), as they facilitate WHTs' transformative process.

Third, this study paralleled the findings of Coghlan and Gooch (2012) that the 10 elements of Mezirow (2000) may not necessarily occur stepwise. However, the elements are reflected in our analysis of working holiday tourism. A 'disorienting dilemma' was uncovered, particularly in working environments (Choy, 2009) and being geographically and psychologically distant from home. Through experiential 'exploration' and 'trying new roles' at host destinations, they 'acquired new knowledge' and 'built up competence' (Mezirow, 2000), which were perceived as beneficial for their whole life. After returning and 'integrating' back into home society (Mezirow, 2000), they continued their 'self-examining/assessing' and 'shared' their working holiday experiences. Their experiences triggered them to think and behave differently during and after their working holiday. Further, this study contributes to the literature by considering the cross-cultural interface. Many interviewees compared their past and present lives and beliefs in Hong Kong. Hong Kong was reported to feature congested living conditions, fast-paced work and materialism. Based on their observations of the cultures of host destinations and people's behaviour, the WHTs modified their beliefs and behaviours. For example, some expressed the importance of personal life/leisure and work after returning to Hong Kong.

Fourth, this study enriched the TLT literature by connecting transformative learning outcomes to working holiday experiences. It addressed the limitations of Soulard et al. (2020) in uncovering this relationship, and made a full exploration of psychological, behavioural and convictional learning outcomes (Clark, 1991). Thus, the details of WHTs' self-actualisation (Coghlan & Gooch, 2011) and self-assurance (Soulard et al., 2020) have been unveiled. These provide insights to the stakeholders involved in working holiday tourism and WHSs.

5.4 Managerial implications

This study provides significant insights for governments, WHTs, destination marketing organisations and other stakeholders, such as employers at the host destinations and the future employers of the WHTs after they return. Governments should reconsider the importance of WHSs and develop them sustainably. They should use the transformative learning outcomes attained by WHTs as a way to evaluate the effectiveness of WHSs in nurturing young talents who can contribute to society in the future. The knowledge and skills acquired are important and useful for the WHTs, and the psychological, behavioural and convictional changes may contribute to their personal growth and generate long-term positive effects on society. Adaptiveness and resilience are important transformative learning outcomes, which may help individuals and society to overcome the challenges that arise from the global pandemic, economic downturns, unemployment, social unrest and political instability (yahoo.com, 2020).

The transformative learning process of self-reflection on the differences between their home place and the host destination may go beyond the trip and continue when the WHTs return home. For example, beliefs in *work—life balance*, *views on money* and *cultural sensitivity* may become new frames of reference for WHTs upon their return. Different stakeholders can facilitate the reintegration of WHTs into society upon returning home. Government agencies can learn from the WHTs' experience and seek their feedback to improve WHSs and other talent development programmes.

This study's findings will help service providers at the host destinations to satisfy the needs of WHTs. For example, enforcement of employment rules and regulations may ease the pain of holiday working. By better understanding the needs of WHTs and developing responsive strategies, host destinations can improve their reputation and be competitive in sustaining their tourism business for this segment. The pleasurable experiences from working holidays may provide valuable insights to host destination marketers. For instance, because *social experience* is regarded as a considerable part of the pleasure, tourism destinations can emphasise fun interactions between tourists and host communities in their marketing communications.

5.5 Limitations and future study

This study focused on qualitative rather than quantitative data. Future research could seek additional evidence using survey data. For example, the relative importance of the WHTs' transformative learning outcomes is a topic worth exploring. This study also focused only on Hong Kong youths, rather than a full-scale study of WHTs with different cultural backgrounds. The theoretical and managerial implications might be different with a broader sample. Future crosscultural studies are suggested. Another limitation was sampling bias, as a majority of participants worked in the service industry; the sample failed to include sufficient participants with working

- experience in the agricultural industry, for example. The transformative outcomes might be
- 747 different among other types of workers. A more in-depth study is expected in the future. Last,
- 748 future researchers could further explore the transformative dynamic in WHTs of different genders
- 749 (Pung et al., 2020b). The gender difference and the subsequent way of experiencing a tourism
- working context would merit attention.

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