

More than Just “Volunteers”? Working Tourists as a Labour Source in Finnish Lapland

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Abstract

Research in the realm of work often deals with the situations of employment or workplace conditions for employees, as well as the mechanisms and strategies by which traditional employment relationships have changed. However, such research has not addressed those whose function would be equivalent to a paid employee yet take up a “grey” area in the workplace – volunteers. This article examines the advertisements of 12 hosts in Finnish Lapland, from the work exchange website www.workaway.info, scrutinizing work exchange barter offers offered to international volunteers in comparison to aspects found in adverts for typical paid employment. The article demonstrates how some tourism services in Finnish Lapland potentially recruit unpaid volunteer working tourists as a seasonal labour source, circumventing the need to hire paid tourism workers, and potentially placing volunteer tourists in situations akin to precarious employment.

KEYWORDS: Lapland, precarious work, volunteer tourism, working tourists.

Introduction

Finnish Lapland is a major tourism destination, sold as Finland’s magical land of ice and snow, northern lights and Santa’s reindeer, that attracts just around one million tourists each year (YLE 2016). The region is home to many hotels, ski resorts, wilderness safari companies, and other tourism-related services that require flexible, seasonal workers and, in addition to locals, many tourism industry enterprises often employ persons who originate from countries abroad or Southern Finland. Tourism workers in Lapland are by no means an understudied population. Studies have covered effects of tourism planning on local Lapland populations (Hakkarainen & Tuulentie

2008), gender as work in the tourism industry (Veijola 2009), customer service in small tourism businesses (Raudaskoski 2010), the practices of guides in producing the forest as an environment that suits the tourism industry (Rantala 2010), the complexity of safety in wilderness guiding (Rantala & Valkonen 2011), and recruitment of safari guides in commercial nature tourism (Valkonen, Huilaja & Koikkalainen 2013). While these studies look at various facets of tourism work and its complex interactions with the experiences of the tourism consumer or demands of working in a volatile industry, inquiry has not been made into the occurrence of workers who are also tourism consumers, or “working tourists.” Labour aligned

to this label may insinuate paid employment, as is the situation for tourism workers, yet not all working tourists seek paid remuneration; some perform work activities voluntarily and are more commonly seen as “volunteer tourists” due to a lack of formal, legal work obligation.

Volunteer tourism is viewed as a tourist endeavour that is combined with volunteer activities and, as a sector, combines environmental, cultural and humanitarian issues with a goal to benefit not only the participating tourists but also the volunteer hosts (Tomazos 2010). It is also occasionally aligned with alleviating extreme poverty, repairing certain environments, or engaging in research about society or the environment principally, albeit not entirely, in the Global South (Butcher & Smith 2010, 27; Wearing 2001, 1; see also Vrasti 2012). Prior research on volunteer tourism often focuses on the motivations or experiences of volunteers (Broad 2003; Brown 2005; Ellis 2003; McGeehee & Andereck 2008; McGeehee & Norman 2002; Mustonen 2007), or the values of volunteers themselves (Campbell & Smith 2006; Halpenny & Caissie 2003; Smith 2002) yet does not frequently examine the phenomena from a labour perspective despite their observed importance as a labour source for some localities and non-profits (Handy & Brudney 2007).

In this article, online advert listings posted by service providers in Finnish Lapland on the website www.workaway.info are examined with regard to the recruitment of volunteer working tourists who seemingly fill a functional role of tourism worker within these for-profit companies. The research contrasts from prior studies by looking at tourism work from the crossroads of volunteers as a labour source and precarious forms of employment. As opposed to volunteer tourists working with non-profit, charitable interests or entities in developing countries, the observed is an occurrence of volunteer tourists performing work with for-profit businesses in a region hugely popular for interna-

tional tourists that resides in a developed country known for its values of equality and workers' rights. And although the occurrence of volunteer tourists replacing employees has been observed before (Guttentag 2009), the extent to which they are comparable to precarious employees has not. As to be seen, curious questions are raised from the use of this form of volunteer labour, demonstrating need for further scrutiny of the practice.

Theoretical Framework

Tourism Work and Precarious Work

Tourism, including the hospitality industry (Baum 2012; Dow et al. 2009; Mayhew & Quinlan 2001; McKay, Paraksevopoulou & Keles 2012; Sargeant & Frazer 2009; Wilson 2004), is often identified amongst those sectors vulnerable to situations of precarious work for workers. In academic understandings, “precarious” work refers to non-standard or atypical employment situations, also introduced to academia by some as “new” forms of work (Kravaritou-Manitakis 1988) that are unsecure, where workers are involved in vulnerable situations whether in work conditions, salary, longevity, or treatment (see Campbell, Whitehouse & Baxter. 2009; Dow et al. 2009; Fudge & Owens 2006; Mayhew & Quinlan 2001; Standing 2010). Or as Kalleberg writes, precarious work refers to “...employment that is uncertain, unpredictable, and risky from the point of view of the worker” (2009, 2). In generalizing, situations of precarious work can occur more often when there is a surplus of labour, where workers are pushed to accept work at any cost conditions or compromise of values (Kalleberg 2009, 2–3; McKay, Paraksevopoulou & Keles 2009, 10). When determining if an employment situation is precarious in nature, there are usually four dimensions to consider:

1. The degree of belief that work will continue
2. Identifying who controls the labour process and the presence or absence of professional standards or trade union

3. The degree of legal recognized standards and protection the work situation and environment involves
 4. Level of pay.
- (Dow et al. 2009, 3; Fudge & Owens 2006, 11.)

In previous studies of precarious work, the most of-ten mentioned persons or groups, some of whom are very prevalent within the tourism industry, in-clude migrant workers, young workers, minority ethnic workers, female workers, agency workers, older workers, students, apprentices, interneers, and immigrants (Bhalla & McCormick 2009; D'Amours 2009; Elcioglu 2010; Fudge & Owens, 2006; Jonsson & Nyberg 2010; Kretsos 2010; Mayhew & Quinlan 2001; McKay, Paraksevopoulou & Keles 2012; Porthé et al. 2009; Sheen 2010; Standing 2010; Wilson 2004).

In their study of precarious work and social rights in the EU, McKay and others identified certain EU countries in which the tourism industry was seen as rampant with precarious work situations; such

countries included Bulgaria, France, Greece, and Spain (McKay, Paraksevopoulou & Keles 2012). Notably, Finland was not part of this study. Exist-ing research on tourism workers in Lapland has also covered issues of precariousness in work (see Helve 2008–2012; Veijola 2009), yet these studies fo-cus on tourism workers, mainly Finnish ones, and the challenging intricacies of working within the travel sector. In contrast, this article examines par-ticularly workers who are also tourism consumers.

Working Tourists

The phrase “working tourist” was first coined by Uriely and Reichel as, “...tourists who engage in situations that combine work with tourism” (2000, 268). This is a broad grouping as it endeavours to include all types of travellers who find themselves in scenarios where work, paid or unpaid, and travel are intertwined. Going further, Uriely brought forth the four categories below to differentiate in motivations and characteristics of those who both travel and work (Figure 1).

TYPES OF TRAVELLERS				
	Working-tourists		Travelling workers	
DIMENSIONS OF COMPARISON	Working-holiday tourists	Non-institutionalized working tourists	Migrant tourism workers	Travelling professional workers
WORK AND TOURISTIC MOTIVATIONS	Work is grasped as a recreational activity that is part of the tourist experience.	Work in order to finance a prolonged travel.	Travel in order to “make a living” and “have fun” at the same time.	Travel in order to exercise work. Engage in tourist related activities as a by-product of the excursion.
WORK CHARACTERISTICS	Unskilled but usually recreational manual labour. Extraordinary work. Unpaid work.	Unskilled and usually unpleasant manual labour. Occasional work. Low-paid and non-prestigious work.	Skilled or semi-skilled work in tourism economy. Repetitive seasonal employment. Unsecured and low-paid employment.	Professional, official role, or business related work. Repetitive, career related work. Prestigious and well-paid work.
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE	Middle-class young adults.	Middle-class young adults.	Lower middle-class, or working class single and unattached adults. Periodically unemployed in their home societies.	Middle, or upper-middle class adults.

FIGURE 1. Types of “travelling workers” and “working tourists” (Uriely 2001).

A fundamental difference between the two categories is that in the first, “working tourists”, travel or tourism is the predominating motivator within the functional activity of work, whereas in the “traveling workers” group, sustenance of a career or lifestyle is the prevailing motivation for employment mobility. This can infer that working tourists would be more likely to spend a single period with one employer that serves to meet the temporary tourist experience or short-term fiscal needs for further travel. Studies of working tourists in Australia have discussed the precarious work situations of working holiday makers (Brennan 2014a, 2014b, 2014c), their effects on the Australian labour market (Harding & Webster 2002; Tan et al. 2009), their effects on regional tourism economies (Jarvis & Peel 2009; 2010), and their effects on the Japanese labour market (Kawashima 2010). Elsewhere, studies have been done on identity formation of working tourists in Canada (Duncan 2007), the experiences of New Zealand working holiday makers abroad (Wilson, Fisher & Moore 2009), and the motivations of Taiwanese working holiday makes abroad (Ho, Lin & Huang 2014). Uriely’s category also includes “unpaid” work, and thus includes those tourists who work as volunteers.

Volunteer Tourism

A volunteer tourist is generally thought of as a person who travels to a particular destination to undertake voluntary work without paid remuneration while simultaneously experiencing orthodox elements of travel, and is motivated to do so by personal beliefs, interests, or causes (Wearing 2001). It is also often seen as a form of tourism in which tourists pay to participate in, and provide their own time and labour to, humanitarian or conservation related projects (Mostafanezhad, 2014).

Volunteer tourism as an occurrence can be initiated by individuals in direct contact with those offering volunteer opportunities, or coordinated

by for-profit or non-profit entities that serve as facilitators, bringing volunteers and hosts together. Many studies have been done on volunteer tourists/tourism, most often examining the motivations of participants (Broad 2003; Brown 2005; Ellis 2003; McGeehee & Andereck 2008; McGeehee & Norman 2002; Mustonen 2007). Volunteer tourists have also been divided into categories of volunteer-minded and vacation-minded practitioners (Brown 2005; Mustonen 2007; Wearing 2001). Studies have also discussed the benefits of volunteer tourism for both tourist and host communities (Broad 2003; Brown & Morrison 2003; Clifton & Benson 2006; Ellis 2003; Gunderson 2005; McGehee & Santos 2005; Uriely, Reichel & Ron 2003; Wearing 2001; 2002; Wearing, Deville & Lyons 2008), as well as the negative impacts of the practice (Guttentag 2009). In general, most volunteer tourism research tends to be concentrated on the various dynamics between western volunteer tourists, the poverty stricken or undeveloped places where they volunteer, and the travel agencies that facilitate further this form of travel. However, as some volunteer tourists engage in activities that would otherwise be completed by employees or some other source of paid labour (Guttentag 2009), their occurrence fits likewise into contemporary discussions within work and labour research.

In this article, advertisements intended to recruit working tourists, in the form of volunteers, are scrutinized in the context of how they are akin to hiring regular employees in a palpably precarious work environment.

Methodology and Data

To examine the recruitment of volunteer working tourists in Finnish Lapland, methods aligned with *netnography* were used to collect data from online mediums, which were later analysed using thematic analysis.

Netnography is an approach similar to ethnography yet examines virtual communities and their characteristics. It is most often used in online market research, searching for examples of customer opinions, needs, and selections, which can be used as marketing feedback (Kozinets 2002, 2). In netnography, field work sites can be varied, since an online community can manifest in one or many sites, thus the geographical location of research is a website, or a bulletin board or a forum, and the users of these platforms form the online community studied (Baym 2000; Correll 1995; Kozinets 2002; Kulavuz-Onal & Vasquez 2013). The benefits of information obtained via netnography include the fact that data already tends to be presented publicly and in an open and forthright manner, and sources need not be directly confronted by the researcher (Kay & Laberge 2002, 29). Further, it is unobtrusive, and due to the nature of the internet, observation can be done clandestinely. This is conducive to sensitive research subjects such as work, a topic where employers may be less than open if enacting in questionable practices.

In this research, the descriptions of bartered work exchange offers from hosts in Finnish Lapland on the website *www.workaway.info* were observed and scrutinized against adverts for paid tourism employment in Lapland. Workaway.info is a website:

...set up to promote fair exchange between budget travellers, language learners or culture seekers who can stay with families, individuals or organizations that are looking for help with a range of varied and interesting activities (workaway.info 2016).

Their philosophy is that:

A few hours honest help per day in exchange for food and accommodation and an opportunity to

learn about the local lifestyle and community, with friendly hosts in varying situations and surroundings (ibid 2016).

Essentially:

Workaway.info holds a database of families, individuals or organizations in an extensive range of different countries who have registered with us and are looking for volunteer help in a huge range of different fields. From painting to planting, building to babysitting and shopping to shearing, Workaway.info aims to introduce working travellers and language learners to like minded hosts, without having to pay expensive agency fees. (workaway.info.)

Those seeking to participate through workaway.info as a volunteer need to pay a fee in order to contact hosts, and this is how the website sustains an income. However, hosts offering volunteer/work exchange places do not have to pay to be listed. Host profiles are publicly viewable on the internet, sans contact details, and reviews from their past volunteers are viewable on their public listings as well¹.

The data obtained from workaway.info listings was analysed using thematic analysis, which is used "...to refer to patterns in the data that reveal something of interest regarding the research topic at hand" (King & Horrocks 2010, 149). From the data, themes were identified within the host advert descriptions, for example certain words used numerous times to represent or explain particular situations, criteria, and tasks aligned with work exchange on offer and the distinct volunteers sought. Determining what constitutes a "theme" involves, "...the researcher making choices about what to include, what to discard, and how to interpret..."

1 It is not necessary to register with the website to view host general listings.

content (King & Horrocks 2010, 149). Ultimately, “Themes are recurrent and distinctive features... characterizing particular perceptions and/or experiences, which the researcher sees as relevant...” (ibid., 150). The criteria for these themes were based on common employment characteristics reviewed from job advertisements for paid tourism workers in Finnish Lapland on www.mol.fi, the public employment and business services portal by the Finnish Ministry of Employment and the Economy². What follows are overview charts (Figures 2 and 3, see p. 384 and 386)³ of some of the details available from the tourism employment adverts and the volunteer host listings, including their type of business, their location, type of work requested, exchange offered or work duration, prerequisites given, and the remuneration/salary offered or benefits listed for volunteers.

Analysis

Analysis of the workaway.info host listings led to observation of various themes that were characteristic of the adverts for paid tourism positions in Lapland.

Type of Work

Within the listings on workaway.info, hosts can give a short, general categorical type of the work involved when taking a placement with them, as well as a more detailed explanation of tasks in the allotted descriptive text. Some general categories

in these listings include *General Maintenance*, *Animal Care*, and *Building*, amongst others. Nearly all the hosts describe at least one of their general work types as *Helping With Tourists*. Further, these same hosts are all commercial operators in the tourism industry, from Husky Farm/Safari operators to accommodation providers; the hosts not “working with tourists” were reindeer farms. This is a discernible theme directly related to the umbrella, functional task of all of the tourism employment adverts; work involves interacting with tourists, or “guests” who are likewise tourists. In addition, two hosts specifically describe that the work done, amongst other tasks, involves “guide” work, as in guiding tours for tourists:

Helping hands are needed for daily stable work, guide work and customer service.

– Host #2

Moreover, although volunteers, descriptions given by hosts in half of the listings include work tasks of the volunteers as “services” provided for “guests”, “customers”, or “tourists”. This excerpt not only demonstrates interaction with tourists, as noted in the first theme, but also that volunteers are expected to be accountable to guests in having to respect their needs, albeit their volunteer barter agreement is with the service provider:

We expect our volunteers to be highly motivated in the work with dogs and with guests, being reliable and careful and always act with respect to the needs of our dogs, guests and the surrounding nature. It is required to have a driving license, not only for transfers between the camp and the lodge or for shopping but also for driving the quads and snow mobiles.

– Host # 9

One that would be considered an employee, as demonstrated in the job adverts, typically takes on such tasks as providing a service or guiding tours

2 This is a popular website for job advertisements in Finland, administered by a government entity.

3 Text in *italics* is verbatim from adverts or listings. Regular text is summations. Employment adverts were reviewed/collected from 2014 to 2016. Volunteer host listings were reviewed during 2016. At the time of the review, only 12 Lapland listings on workaway.info existed, hence 12 was chosen as the number of job adverts to review to give a common quantity for review. The adverts were from employers that operate in the same line of work as the service providers that recruit volunteers.

on the behalf of a company to a paying customer. As the volunteer tourist replaces a paid employee (see Guttentag 2009), it is unclear where liability would be placed if an accident occurred in the workplace particularly if a service provided to consumers involved wilderness guiding by a volunteer without any first-aid certification or formal training.

Guide work within tourism in Lapland is complex work (Rantala & Valkonen 2011), and requires a certain level of knowledge and expertise, particularly when operating in extreme conditions such as those in Arctic winter. Such knowledge also includes first-aid, reflected in the adverts of safari companies that require applicants to have first-aid certification. This prerequisite was not required from any host, although other prerequisites indeed were.

Prerequisites

Half the hosts list explicit prerequisite criteria that volunteers must fulfil in order to stay with them. While it's natural that a host may want to know a bit about the persons coming to volunteer before they arrive, some prerequisites are clearly comparable to those listed in the observed job adverts⁴. For example, three hosts require the submission of a CV or past work experience with an application, two hosts seek volunteers with certain language skills to help in communicating with paying customers, and two hosts require volunteers to have a driver's license to operate vehicles used in their services for customers. Further, at least one host requires a trial period of three days, while one other host requires the submission of two references by volunteers. To note, trial periods have been observed in other research on working tourists (see Brennan

2014a). But beyond employment-like prerequisites, the language used in some listings also diverges from the notion that volunteers should be there to focus on environmental, cultural and humanitarian issues (Tomazos, 2010):

Once you have been provisionally accepted, we will send you additional information to prepare you for your visit and require that you also send a detailed CV, complete with two references: character and work. Please note that we are not a charity...We are not a holiday destination for volunteers.

- Host #8

This "not a charity...not a holiday destination" clarification challenges a view that volunteers are working tourists, let alone volunteer tourists, despite the fact this host also offers, "...to teach you (volunteers) about...the culture, lifestyles and traditions of Lapland and the wonders of the Arctic wilderness" (Host #8). For this host, volunteers should be there primarily to work yet the incentive to apply is the acquisition of knowledge akin to a tourist experience. Such contradiction presents a questionable screening process for recruiting persons to work who are not legally employees, yet should not be tourists either. Nevertheless, whether a volunteer or tourist, some Workaway applicants are meant to provide a service during their Lapland stays as previously discussed.

Duration

While the general idea of the work exchange is a set amount of work in return for accommodation and food, a third of the hosts explicitly require a certain element of "flexibility"; whether stating directly it is expected of volunteers or that variations occur due to time of year or needs of animals or customers. One host writes:

Hours will vary according to the requirements of our dogs and guests, and during quieter times we

⁴ Nearly all job adverts specifically requested submission of a CV/application, although such step is implicit when applying for employment. Almost all listed a language requirement as well.

FIGURE 2. Overview of 12 Lapland tourism employment adverts on mol.fi

ADVERT	BUSINESS	LOCATION	TYPE OF WORK
1	Entertainment/ Restaurant	Rovaniemi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Salespersons, Elves, Waiter/waitresses, Chefs, Baristas</i> • Providing service to tourists
2	Accommodation/ Tour booking	Inari	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Customer service</i> • <i>Tour/accommodation bookings</i> • <i>Providing service to tourists</i>
3	Safari company	Rovaniemi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Wilderness guide</i> • <i>Snowmobile safari guiding, ice fishing, cross country skiing, driving</i> • <i>Guiding tourists on tours/activities</i>
4	Husky Farm/Safaris	Inari	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Caring for dogs' welfare, operating safaris, and all other tasks involved in husky safaris</i> • <i>Daily work is part physically heavy</i> • <i>Providing safaris/services to tourists</i>
5	Safari company	Kemi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Safari guide</i> • <i>Providing safaris for tourists</i>
6	Safari company	Rovaniemi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Safari guide, cultural guide, and snowmobile guide</i> • <i>Providing safaris for tourists</i>
7	Safari company	Kemi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Tour guides</i> • <i>Customer service, guiding</i> • <i>Providing safaris for tourists</i>
8	Safari company	Rovaniemi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Providing safaris for tourists</i>
9	Tour company	Rovaniemi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Tour guide/tour driver</i> • <i>Driving tourists on tours</i>
10	Resort	Inari Municipality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Front Desk Receptionist</i> • <i>Customer service, attending to guests</i>
11	Resort/restaurant	Inari Municipality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Waiter/waitress</i> • <i>Providing service to guests</i>
12	Resort/restaurant	Inari Municipality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Restaurant staff</i> • <i>Servicing guests in restaurant and at bar, and welcoming guests</i>

DURATION	PREREQUISITE	BENEFITS (PAID REMUNERATION)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christmas season • Understands the nature of seasonal tourism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ambiguous (having certain skills is in applicants favour) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not mentioned
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 to 6 months 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes (English language) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • According to collective agreement for service workers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 to 6 months • Work on call • Full-time or part-time 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ambiguous (Experience required but not clear about what is mandatory) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • According to collective agreement for service workers • Accommodation can be arranged for workers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christmas season • Must be willing to work weekends and holidays when required 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes (English language, driving license, first aid certification) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Salary negotiable
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Winter season • 3 to 6 months • Evening work, weekend work, and full time work available 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes (English language and driving license) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • According to collective agreement for service workers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Winter season • 3 to 6 months • Evening work, weekend work, and full time work available 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes (English language and driving license) • Nature guides and snowmobile guides need snow and experience and survival skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By agreement
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Winter season • 3 to 6 months 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes (English language, first aid certification) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not clear
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Winter season • 3 to 6 months 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes (English language and driving license) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By agreement
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Winter season • 4 months • minimum 120 hours per month 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes (Chinese/English language and driving license) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Salary can be discussed
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Winter season • 3 to 6 months 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes (English and Finnish language) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • According to collective agreement for service workers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Winter season • 3 to 6 months 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None listed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By agreement • Accommodation can be arranged for workers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Winter season • 3 to 6 months 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes (Alcohol pass, 2 years hotel experience, hygiene pass, and English language) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • According to collective agreement for service workers

FIGURE 3. Overview of workaway.info hosts in Finnish, Lapland

HOST	BUSINESS	LOCATION	TYPE OF WORK
1	Hostel	Inari Municipality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Cooking / shopping</i> • <i>Help in the house</i> • <i>Helping with Tourists</i>
2	Husky farm and safaris	Ivalo / Saariselka area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Building</i> • <i>Farming</i> • <i>Help in the house</i> • <i>Animal care</i> • <i>Helping with Tourists</i>
3	Holiday resort	Ivalo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Gardening</i> • <i>General Maintenance</i> • <i>Helping with Tourists</i>
4	Not explicit / Involves tourist customers	Karigasniemi area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Gardening</i> • <i>Building</i> • <i>Cooking / shopping</i> • <i>General Maintenance</i> • <i>Help in the house</i> • <i>Helping with Tourists</i>
5	Reindeer farm	Inari	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Gardening</i> • <i>Building</i> • <i>Farming</i> • <i>Animal care</i> • <i>Other</i>
6	Roadside souvenir and food stop	Inari area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Helping with Tourists</i>
7	Reindeer farm	Kaasmukka	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Animal care</i>
8	Husky safaris and accommodation	Rovaniemi Area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Gardening</i> • <i>Building</i> • <i>General Maintenance</i> • <i>Animal care</i> • <i>Helping with Tourists</i> • <i>Language practise</i> • <i>Other</i>
9	Husky safaris and accommodation	Pallas-Yllästunturi National Park	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Gardening</i> • <i>Building</i> • <i>Cooking / shopping</i> • <i>General Maintenance</i> • <i>Farming</i> • <i>Help in the house</i> • <i>Animal care</i> • <i>Helping with Tourists</i> • <i>Other</i>
10	Husky farm and safaris	Levi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>General Maintenance</i> • <i>Animal care</i> • <i>Helping with Tourists</i> • <i>Other</i>
11	Husky safaris and accommodation	Ivalo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Building</i> • <i>Cooking / shopping</i> • <i>General Maintenance</i> • <i>Help in the house</i> • <i>Animal care</i> • <i>Helping with Tourists</i>
12	Husky safaris	Muonio area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Animal care</i> • <i>Helping with Tourists</i>

DURATION	PREREQUISITE	BENEFITS (TOURISM CONSUMPTION)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accommodation in exchange for <i>5 hours per day</i> of work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Access to northern lights and locals</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accommodation in exchange for <i>Maximum 5 hours a day, 5 days a week</i> <i>Minimum 2 months stay</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yes (Driving license) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to nature, animals, northern lights
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accommodation in exchange for <i>Maximum 4-5 hours a day, 5 days a week</i> of work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to outdoor recreational activities, can borrow equipment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accommodation in exchange for <i>Maximum 4-5 hours a day, 5 days a week</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ambiguous 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to outdoor recreational activities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accommodation in exchange for <i>Maximum 5 hours a day, 5 days a week</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ambiguous 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to outdoor recreational activities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accommodation in exchange for <i>Maximum 4-5 hours a day, 5 days a week</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yes (English language) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to outdoor recreational activities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accommodation in exchange for <i>No hours per day/week listed</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to outdoor recreational activities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accommodation and food in exchange for <i>On avg. 5 hrs/day, 5 days/week (except end of Nov, Dec, end of Feb, and March, when the hours will be more on some days)</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yes (cv and two references) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to outdoor recreational activities and locals
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accommodation and food in exchange for <i>5h a day, 5 days a week</i> <i>Regular working hours depends on the special needs of the dogs and the guests.</i> <i>We try to arrange an average working time of 5 hours a day and two free days a week</i> <i>The volunteer work should be minimum 1 month, maximum 3 month</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yes (English language, drivers license, and cv / application) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Access to outdoor recreational activities, including those services offered by the host (safaris)</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accommodation in exchange for <i>Maximum 4-5 hours, 5 days a week</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yes (<i>Expect volunteers to be flexible, help in all types work necessary</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to northern lights, outdoor recreational activities and safaris, learn about sled dogs, and <i>meet guests from around the world</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accommodation and food in exchange for <i>max 25 hours per week</i> <i>Prefer stay of at least three months</i> <i>Minimum stay is 1 month</i> <i>Trial period</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yes (cv, trial period, no vegans/vegetarians, and photo) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Access to outdoor recreational activities,</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accommodation in exchange for <i>No hours per day/week listed</i> <i>Prefer volunteers who can stay long time</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> None listed

usually keep to an average of five hours per day. However, additional hours are necessary when we have guests, and some days can be very long. On those days, you will need to participate in a variety of jobs in a wider range of work.

- Host #8

Another host describes how working hours are not fixed despite listing elsewhere in the listing that work was for 5 hours per day, 5 days per week. They state:

Please recognize that the work on a husky farm can be hard some times, especially in winter when the temperature is low (-30° or less). The dogs have to be fed everyday, also the cleaning has to be done irrelevant how the weather is. So, also the working hours are not fix and can vary in duration and time of the day

-Host #9

Flexibility was also seen as a desired trait among several of the job adverts:

We are now looking for new handy and flexible guides with professional attitude

-- Advert #8

“Flexibility”, or “flex-work” or “flex-time”, is sometimes mentioned in discussion of precarious work situations, and thus if volunteers were actual employees, their work environment might be seen as precarious as well. Although tourism industry employees in Finland would be required to have prior notification and agreement regarding their hours for work (PAM 2014, section 3), volunteers do not. Looking at the specific quote from Host #8 above, the flexible requirements demonstrate that the needs of paying tourist customers, or guests, determine the working hours for some volunteers.

Benefits

As volunteers are not entitled to wages, the hosts offer other incentives as for why volunteers would

want to work Lapland in the first place. All but one of the hosts describes the various natural wonders and outdoor activities that are available to volunteers should they choose to apply to work with them. As one host writes, you will have the “Opportunity to see the northern lights” (Host#2). While this opportunity arises from simple geographic proximity, it cannot be guaranteed that auroras will ever be visible as they are an uncontrolled natural phenomenon; it is a play on touristic aspirations. As such it reflects the tourism consumer role of the volunteers; they are volunteer tourists. Yet as the other themes reveal, they are also required to have the same characteristics as employees sought by other similar service providers.

Ironically, the tourist interests on offer to volunteers are parallel to the service which they are to provide for guests. Six of the hosts are husky farm/safari operators. Volunteers working with these sled dogs have the chance to go beyond the experience one would gain from simply booking a husky safari as a paying tourist customer, while their functional role directly supports the selling of husky services to other tourists whose holiday interests are inevitably similar to their own. In these work exchange scenarios, since food, accommodation, and an ability to enjoy the surrounding nature of Lapland, due to flexible work hours mentioned before, are at the discretion of the host, the host is ultimately similar to that of an employer who controls all aspects of the labour process (see Fudge & Owens 2006). While these working tourists are volunteers, it would be hard to deny that they are performing labour comparable to an employee at similar companies, and hence their position could be similar to the precariousness of paid working tourists found in other research (Brennan 2014a; 2014b), albeit they are volunteer tourists.

Conclusion

Analysis demonstrated that commonalities observed among paid employment adverts were also

seen within the adverts for volunteers for comparable service providers in Finnish Lapland. The descriptions of work tasks and prerequisites for participation for the volunteers they recruit are quite comparable to those that would be otherwise aligned with recruiting paid employees; submitting a CV for review, working with paying customers, guiding tours - these are typical undertakings of tourism workers. However, the differentiation between the two, an employee versus a volunteer, is grounded by the fact that the former must be paid and treated to certain standards afforded to them by law, and the latter has no rights for remuneration; volunteers in the context of this research are offered food and accommodation and access to the natural wonders prevalent in Finnish Lapland, or the opportunity to work with unique animals. These rewards appeal to the touristic motivations and consumption of working tourists (see Uriely 2001). Yet going further, some work descriptions examined hint at conditions that could be described as precarious if actually undertaken by paid tourism employees; working extra hours in adverse conditions with accommodation tied to the employer are both aspects of precarious work for employed working tourists in Australia (Brennan 2014a). Likewise, the work situations for volunteers who work with some of these hosts could easily fit conditions for precarious work (see Fudge & Owens 2006), save for the fact that they are not regarded as "employees" legally despite their apparent functional role within a company.

While the analysis has been done as a review of listings only of host providers, it is pertinent to mention that 9 of the 12 hosts have participant reviews, or proof, that volunteers have stayed/ worked with them. In the majority of these reviews, which there are over 50 in total, the volunteers rate their experience as *good* or *excellent*, echoing the notion about the personal benefits of volunteer tourism in other studies (Brown 2005;

Wearing 2001; 2002; Wearing, Deville & Lyons 2008). However, a handful were rated as *neutral* or *negative*; not all work experiences are positive. Whether or not such unpaid work experiences could be seen as personally satisfying to the participants who embark on volunteer tourism and function as working tourists, the ability to use volunteer workers enables service providers to circumvent workplace standards and fiscal responsibilities normally aligned with employing paid workers. While a reliance on volunteers has been observed in other localities with non-profits (Handy & Brudney 2007), ultimately, use of and reliance on volunteer labour in for-profit settings is an occurrence that raises interesting questions for further discussion regarding tourism work, workers' rights, and the responsibility and liability of for-profit service providers in Lapland. If tourism workers can be replaced by volunteers who require no wage or rights, what does the future hold for such workers or the tourism industry in general?

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