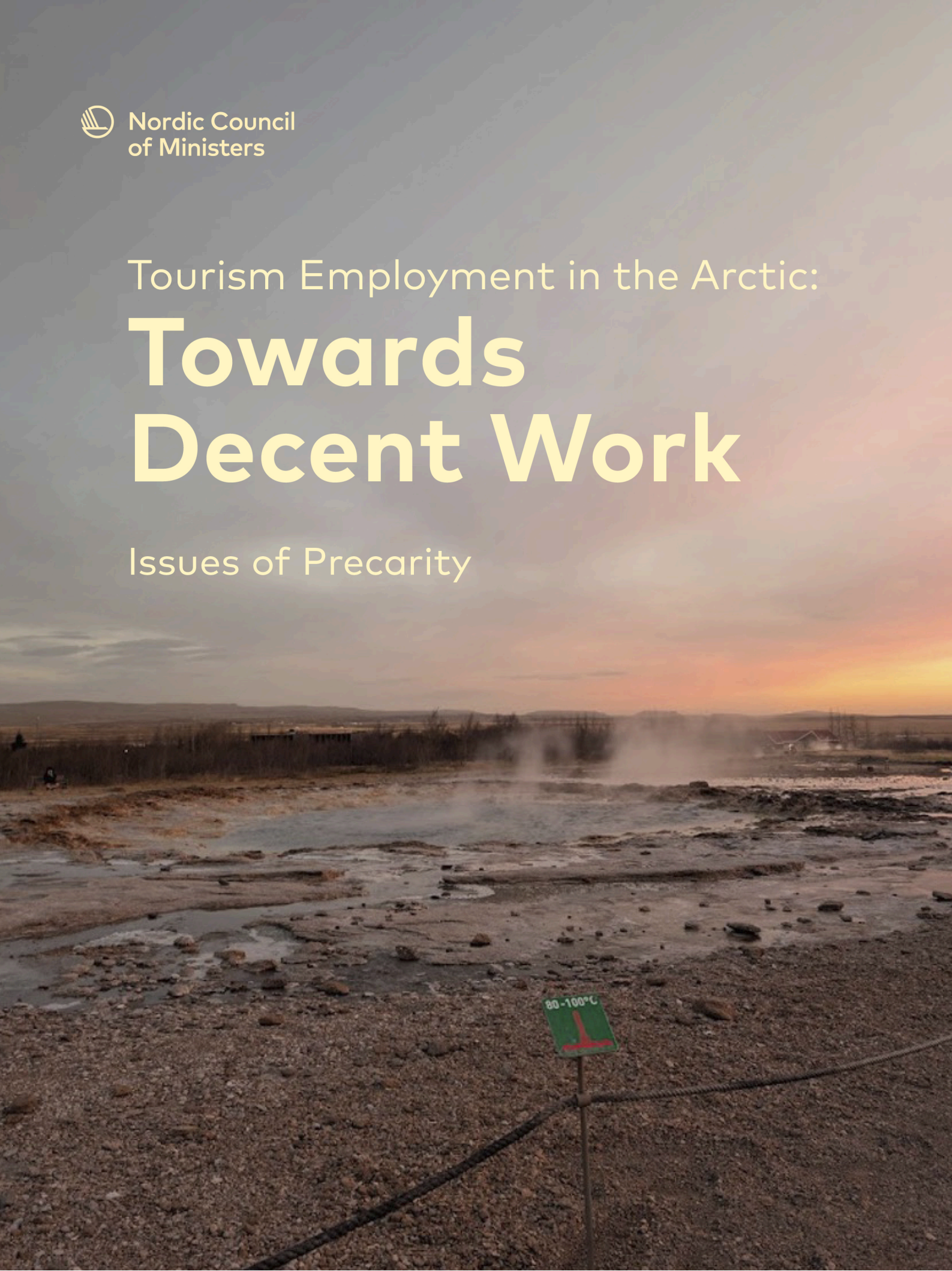
Nordic Council of Ministers

Tourism Employment in the Arctic:

Towards Decent Work

Issues of Precarity



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Dedication

On Thursday, November 20th, 2025 we lost our colleague Professor Dieter Müller of Umeå University. Dieter passed away suddenly and unexpectedly, and as editors, we have chosen to continue to recognize his place as an editor of this publication.

Dieter's contributions to Arctic tourism (and many other facets of tourism) have been recognized far and wide, and we will attempt to fulfil his legacy of being a kind, yet extremely rigorous researcher. He was a giant in our field, but a gentle giant; someone who was equally comfortable interacting with students and community members, as he was with government officials and royalty.

Photo: Mattias Pettersson

Preface

Tourism has often been promoted as pivotal for sustainable development by generating employment, fostering economic growth, and facilitating a shift towards less extractive or service based economic development in Arctic societies. However, it is not without significant challenges, particularly concerning decent work. While there has been growing interest in labour market research in recent times, there is still a lack of knowledge about how tourism employment is positioned in, and affects, local and regional labour markets.

The project *Tourism Employment in the Arctic: Towards Decent Work* is initiated by seven universities that together form a core group of the UArctic Thematic Network on Northern Tourism. Its objective is to explore and tackle challenges associated with tourism employment in the Arctic. The project is funded by the Nordic Council of Ministers' Nordic Arctic Programme and is organised to run for three years, 2025–2027.

Each year focuses on a specific topic: in 2025, the central theme was precarity; in 2026, it will be internationalisation; and in 2027, community will be the focal point. The aim is to gather knowledge of current challenges and potential solutions for each topic across the participating countries, identify specific research gaps and policy needs, and collaboratively work together with tourism stakeholders and graduate students towards bolstering decent work in tourism.

This report presents the findings from the first year of the project. It is based on a workshop and field course held in Iceland from October 20–25, 2025. A total of 42 participants took part, including 15 researchers, 16 master students, three representatives from the tourism industry and its support system, and eight PhD students who attended an adjacent PhD seminar (see Appendix A for a detailed list of participants).

During their time in Iceland, the group met with Icelandic industry representatives, labour union officials, and tourism entrepreneurs. In addition to participants from the seven partner institutions – Nipissing University (CA), UiT The Arctic University of Norway (NO), the University of Iceland, the University of Lapland (FI), the University of Oulu (FI), the University of Umeå (SE), and Vancouver Island University (CA) – researchers and specialists from Yukon University, the Whitehorse Chamber of Commerce, the Sámi Education Institute in Inari, and Region Västerbotten Turism, Sweden, also attended. Furthermore, collaborators from Aalborg University and Roskilde University contributed written insights on tourism employment dynamics in Greenland while not being able to attend in person.

This wide-ranging trans-Atlantic collaboration was made possible through additional support by Global Affairs Canada, UArctic and Nordplus mobility funding.

Summary

This report presents the findings of the first workshop and field course hosted by the project *Tourism Employment in the Arctic: Towards Decent Work* funded by the Nordic Council of Ministers' Arctic Co-operation Programme, 2025–2027. Its objective is to explore and tackle challenges associated with tourism employment in the Arctic. Each year focuses on a specific topic and in 2025, the central theme was precarity.

The report starts with introducing the concept of precarity and the general context of precarity in tourism employment in the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions. Precarity refers to flexible and insecure labour relations, which an increasing number of people are faced with. Tourism can arguably be described as a central site for precarious labour and a driver for precarity as it commonly offers flexible and temporary work. Tourism also recruits disproportionally high numbers of migrants, women and youth highlighting that precarity is intersectional and affects the most vulnerable groups in the labour market the most. At the same time, the fleeting nature of tourism employment and flexibility may be attractive to some.

Photo: Dylan Soo

Photo: Dylan Soo

The report then provides an overview of characteristics of tourism and labour market, tourism employment specifically and key challenges for each of the six Arctic countries and regions included in the project. The country reports position tourism employment within the broader context of national labour dynamics and bring forth relevant national research.

Comparing insights from across the Arctic highlights important geographical differences in the structural dynamics underpinning precarity in tourism and the manifestations thereof. Notwithstanding significant differences it can be argued that tourism in the North is characterized by rapid growth amid systemic precarity shaping decent work. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO) (2026), "Decent Work" involves opportunities for work that is "productive and delivers a fair income; security in the workplace and social protection for all; better prospects for personal development and social integration; freedom for people to express their concerns, organize and participate in the decisions that affect their lives; and equality of opportunity and treatment for all women and men". Tourism in the Arctic has proved to be an important tool for local and regional economic development, yet its labour foundation remains fragile. The sector is dependent on workers that are prone to precarity, namely migrants, youth and women. There is a need to recognise the current contradictions of economic growth and decent work that have spurred precarious labour. It is important to study further how tourism operates within diverse national and regional regulatory frameworks and socio-economic contexts to understand its role in increasing, sustaining or decreasing levels of precarity in tourism employment.

Based on the analysis the following recommendations for policy and research are proposed (more detailed in the concluding section of the report):

Policy

1. Shift from profit-first growth models to "triple bottom line" approaches prioritizing people, planet, and profit equally.
2. Promote stronger enforcement of labour rights and policies that ensure tourism remains a sustainable and attractive workplace in the future.
3. Strengthen vocational and higher education systems to value tourism work as a skilled profession for instance with new educational models to respond to the diversity of the workforce in tourism and the changing landscape of tourism operations due to, for instance, AI and robotisation.
4. Build a culture of respect around tourism jobs, ensuring that workers, especially seasonal and migrant, feel valued, safe, and connected to place. Focus on language training, inclusion and equity.

Research

1. **Labour force mapping:** Gather detailed statistics disaggregated by age, gender, ethnicity, and migration status to understand workforce diversity and trends, particularly for Indigenous and foreign workers.
2. **Tourism employment precarity:** Research must capture both sides; owners' challenges (financial risk, exhaustion, compliance) and employees' realities (low wages, seasonality, job mobility) and address the compounded challenges related to to gender, ethnicity, age and migration status.
3. **Merits and qualifications:** Gather more information on the merits and previous qualifications of migrant workers in tourism to better understand the educational profile of tourism workers and their processes of job mobility.
4. **Labour rights:** Evaluate and compare enforcement mechanisms and collaborative structures between unions, associations, and authorities to ensure tourism remains a fair and attractive workplace.
5. **Image of tourism as a career path:** Explore the public image of tourism careers and why formal education often fails to translate into employment.
6. **Role of communities:** Examine the role of work-place and local communities in integrating employees in the north and for youth to gain lifelong and transferable professionalism while working in tourism.
7. **Triple bottom line in practice:** Examine how tourism enterprises can adopt people–planet–profit frameworks, with case studies of employee ownership and community investment models.
8. **Authenticity and representation:** Explore the making of tourism narratives and place image as well as conflicts around cultural tourism.
9. **Safety and standards:** Address safety research gaps in adventure and Arctic conditions; develop training and certification models for guides and operators.

I. Introduction

Tourism, with its capacity to play a pivotal role in sustainable development by diversifying economies, generating employment and fostering economic growth, is not without significant challenges, particularly concerning the aspect of decent work (International Labour Office, 2017; Robinson, et.al., 2019; Walmsley, et.al., 2020). Despite being a major economic force, responsible for approximately 10% of the global GDP in 2024 (World Travel & Tourism Council, 2025), issues surrounding the tourism workforce and employment have historically been neglected in both tourism research and broader labour market policy and research (Ioannides et al., 2021; Walmsley et al., 2020). This gap is evident in the Nordic, and more general, Arctic countries, where despite continuous efforts by national and regional authorities to harness tourism for socioeconomic development and the recent surge in tourism across many Arctic and sub-arctic regions (Maher et al., 2022), limited research exists on how tourism employment is positioned in and affects local and regional labour markets. Tourism in the Arctic and sub-arctic region is characterised by strong seasonality, distance and weak infrastructure and limited labour pools (Rantala et al., 2019; Rantala et al., 2025). This is the case, not least in the more rural areas that lie further away from main entrance points like ports, international airports or major urban areas that are better situated to attract competent and skilled workforce, offering more varied job opportunities than the sparsely populated areas. Hence, tourism companies in those areas, often struggle to provide full time year-round jobs and rely on temporary workforce to considerable extent. This poses challenges for sustainable tourism development.

Through a geographical lens in a context of rural regions the *Tourism Employment in the Arctic: Towards Decent Work* project aims to shed light on three interrelated issues of tourism labour and employment in the Arctic region, namely: a) Precarity; b) Internationalisation; and c) Community. The overall aim is to gather knowledge of the current challenges and potential solutions for each of the topics across the participating countries, identifying specific research gaps and areas that need to be dealt with in research and policy and collaboratively work towards bolstering decent work in tourism together with tourism stakeholders and graduate students.

This report focuses on precarity in tourism employment. It is primarily based on the discussion and field experiences during a workshop and graduate field course held in Iceland from October 20–25, 2025. A list of participants and their role can be found in Appendix A. The workshop included presentations by labour union officials and tourism industry stakeholders, panel discussion among academics and specialists, and dialogue with tourism entrepreneurs. Moreover, we make use of data collected as a preparation for the workshop and field course. This includes reports on tourism employment dynamics in each partner country or region. After

the workshop and field course, masters students continued to work on their assignments and some of their work also informs sections of this report (see for instance Appendix B, their group posters).

Workshop as a method of learning and knowing together

The workshop brought together 42 participants – 15 researchers, 16 masters students, three representatives from the tourism industry and its support system, and eight PhD students for a week. In addition, approximately nine local representatives from Iceland – including hotel and farm entrepreneurs, tourism employees, union representatives and tourism administrators – participated in the workshop through panel discussions, on-site visits and presentations. See Appendix C for a detailed itinerary.

One of the main aims of the workshop was to create a space for slowing down together to discuss, to reflect and to learn jointly. The hope was that by slowing down to hear and to be heard, similarities and differences in precarity across the Arctic can be recognised. Slowing down can also enable questioning stereotypical images related to tourism employment and dive deeper into the ongoing issues in the selected destinations.

The workshop as a method for knowing together also enabled recognising the importance of the environment where tourism employment takes place. Engaging with the cold climate and experiencing the peripherality makes it very tangible to deal with questions such as:

How does tourism – a global mobility project – fit into the northern peripheries?

What happens when tourism demand is overwhelming?

Does tourism play a role in decision-making?

The following sections present key issues and learnings from the workshop in the context of wider scholarly discourse relevant for policy development. In section two we will start by introducing the concept of precarity and the general context of precarity in tourism employment. The third section provides an overview of tourism employment dynamics in different regions or countries under study. The fourth section zooms in on and discusses key issues relevant to understand precarity of tourism labour in the Arctic. The concluding section proposes recommendations for policy and research.

II. Tourism, employment and precarity

It is undeniable that tourism is a huge driver of job creation with around one in every ten jobs being generated by tourism globally, as estimated by the World Travel and Tourism Council (2025). Therefore, it is not surprising that tourism has been actively promoted as a tool for diversification of local and regional labour markets intended to tackle structural challenges such as outmigration and high unemployment. In many ways tourism development has been successful, as seen during recent decades how tourism has grown substantially in the Arctic (Rantala & Müller, 2024). This has also brought numerous challenges. According to Fletcher (2025) tourism is intrinsically linked to a global process of neo liberalisation, which has driven decentralisation, commodification and deregulation of markets, including labour markets. This broad process has led to the formation of "the precariat", which Standing (2012, p. 588), described as group "consisting of millions of people subject to flexible, insecure labour relations [...] a class in the making". As Kaul and Tuchman-Rosta (2024, p. 293) note, "the concept [of precarity] puts a name to structural inequalities that manifest themselves at global scales", and tourism is arguably both a central site for precarious labour and a driver for precarity.

Tourism is acknowledged to recruit disproportionally high numbers of migrants, women and youth, which highlights the fact that precarity is intersectional. The ways in which precarious labour relations affect individuals depends on gender, ethnicity, place of origin and age. For many, work in tourism is the door into the labour market and as such the tourism sector plays an important role in training people that are taking their first steps in the labour market, and socialising them to the broader cultural and social life of the countries they migrate to (Bakkevig Dagsland et al., 2020). This role remains understudied and undervalued both in policy and academic circles. The fleeting nature of tourism employment may be attractive to some, perhaps especially younger workers that are looking for short-term work and want to try out different kinds of jobs or to have an experience in a foreign or rural community.

The flexibility and transient character of tourism work however also sustains precarious working relations (Robinson et al., 2019) not least for the most vulnerable groups in the labour market. Tourism in rural areas in the Arctic is characterised by stark seasonality that further bolsters the need by the sector to rely on mobile labour force. The more volatile jobs are often staffed with non-local labourers, including migrant workers that often face precarious and exploitative working conditions (Robinsson et al., 2019). This may negatively affect the image of tourism as offering rewarding career paths to locals. Moreover, technological

change associated with the fourth industrial revolution will in the foreseeable future impact tourism employment and labour dynamics with diverse effects for different groups of people (International Labour Organization, 2022; World Economic Forum, 2018), potentially intensifying precarious working relations while simultaneously offering spaces of innovation and entrepreneurship for various actors, both individual and companies (Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2017; Furunes & Mkono, 2019; Júlíusdóttir & Halldórsdóttir, 2020).

Precarious work, the precariat and precarity of tourism work

Heikki Huilaja[1] & Outi Rantala[2]

Precarious work has been perhaps the most striking concept in illustrating the changes in the work and working life especially during the last three decades (Kalleberg & Vallas, 2018, p. 6). Following the well-known definition of Guy Standing (2011, 2014), the precariat can be defined as a group of people who live in "chronic insecurity, detached from old norms of labour and the working class" (2014, p. 1). This definition does not refer only to those living in or on the edge of the low socio-economic positions; falling to the precarity is a risk even for people with high levels of education and a rather permanent status in the labour markets. Indeed, the quick and dramatic development of the production technology, the changes in working contracts and conditions, and the widening demands concerning working skills are resulting in a new class or at least a class-in-the-making (Standing, 2011, p. 7).

The question of a new emerging class is not an aspect that has captured the main headings in the discussions about precarity. The focus has been in analysing and arguing the actual nature and depth of the changes in work and the suitability of precarity as a concept in describing the changes. The recent transitions in working life have been seen as a part of the long continuum of increased insecurity, uncertainty, and unpredictability (Kalleberg & Vallas, 2018). There has also been disagreement on how and by which criteria to measure the movement towards precarious work. Research applying the macro level data from the labour markets quite often denies a remarkable change e.g., in the number of part-time jobs and temporal employment. At the same time, precarity can be seen to cover more than just the transition in the types of employment. When precarity is approached in a wider context, attention is paid to the peoples' living conditions and societal positions, as well as to the possibilities to become a part of the society and to make independent choices concerning one's own future. This wider definition of precarity describes the situation in the tourism industry particularly well.

1. University of Lapland
2. University of Lapland

Photo: Gunnar Thór Jóhannesson

Although the underlying process of globalisation and neo liberalisation can be described as a general trend affecting most corners of the world, it is still important to explore precarious labour in tourism and its consequences and features in diverse geographical contexts. Central dynamics and potential solutions for more sustainable development may be place dependent. The next section provides a brief overview of key issues and challenges in tourism employment in the countries and regions participating in this project.

III. Country and regional reports

As preparation for the workshop and field course, senior participants reviewed the tourism employment situation in their home country or region and submitted a 3–5-page report that was then distributed among the workshop participants and students. These reports provided an overview of the key challenges and issues faced by domestic actors in the tourism labour market. They positioned tourism employment within the broader context of national labour dynamics and brought relevant national research into the discussion. The reports formed a substantial part of the compulsory reading material for students enrolled in the field course and served as crucial inputs for the workshop. After the workshops, the reports were reviewed and updated by authors and prepared in a slightly shorter versions, and in more consistent format to facilitate comparison.

Canada and its Norths

Suzanne de la Barre[3], Patrick T. Maher[4], Dylan Soo[5], & Natalya Brown[6]

Characteristics of tourism and labour market

According to the Tourism Industry Association of Canada (TIAC), tourism is 'big business' for Canada. As an economic 'powerhouse', tourism brings in over $31 billion in foreign spending, injects over $355 million a day into the Canadian economy, and provides income to almost 2 million households (TIAC, 2024). Indeed, as a catalyst sector for economic activity in Canada, the industry exceeded pre-pandemic levels of tourism revenue in 2024 from 2019 with increases from $105.0 billion to $129.7 billion.

Canada's north and its Arctic are promoted as having 'distinct characteristics' offering 'unique and unforgettable experiences' (Government of Canada, 2024a). Domestic and international visitors travel to Canada's territories, the Yukon, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut, as well as to northern regions of other provinces, in order to experience the Northern Lights (Aurora Borealis), view charismatic mega-fauna (wildlife such as caribou and polar bears), undertake adventure activities and engage with authentic cultural experiences featuring northern and 'frontier' lifestyles and encounters with Indigenous peoples. It is worth noting that provincial norths are often dismissed in the discussion of Canada's northern tourism, but destinations in the northern provinces experience similar stresses and often offer similar tourism experiences. The Government of Canada

3. Vancouver Island University
4. Nipissing University
5. Whitehorse Chamber of Commerce
6. Nipissing University

recognizes tourism growth in the (far) north as a way to foster economic advancement and diversification, and a means to support small- and medium-sized businesses (Statistics Canada, 2025b).

There has been a small but steady increase in international visitors to the north of Canada, primarily in the spring and summer. Winter visitors are growing, however, and on average stay longer (6.3 nights versus 2.8 days) (Statistics Canada, 2024b). This increase in winter tourism is especially significant in the north parts of Canada, for example in the Yukon (de la Barre, 2020).

Demand for skilled labour is expected to grow in northern Canada into 2045 (Conference Board of Canada, 2025). Moreover, the Canadian labour market has been and remains heavily influenced by immigration and population growth. More recently, there has been a slowdown in international immigration since the government lowered targets for new temporary and permanent residents, resulting in the slower population and labour force growth (Government of Canada, 2024b). Unlike its Nordic countries counterparts, only one-third of Canadian workers are covered by collective bargaining agreements, and the majority of those are employed by the public sector (Statistics Canada, 2024a). Instead, workers in Canada rely heavily on a constitutional and statutory model (statutes or legislation) that protects all workers in Canada with legal minimum protection and rights (e.g., minimum wage laws, employment insurance program, legislated workplace rules, rights defined under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms) (ref. 2023, Statistics Canada (2024a).

Tourism employment

In Canada, there were over 265,800 businesses in tourism industries in 2024, and these businesses supported one in ten workers in the Canadian workforce (Statistics Canada, 2024a). The Tourism Labour Market Initiative (TLMI) highlights specific trends and strategies for Northeastern Ontario (Tourism Northern Ontario, n.d.). As is the case elsewhere in Canada's norths, the workforce there is young, seasonal and generally in low-wage positions. Turnover is high, and foreign workers play a crucial role.

In recent years, and despite the evidence and general support for immigration support based primarily in a general agreement on both the demographic and economic necessity for it, the sustainability of the immigration system has been challenged. Among other things, the reimagination required to address Canada's immigration needs would have to address the balance between bringing in low skilled and skilled workers, the inability to match employers with a foreign labour supply, the erosion of public trust, and social justice and equality issues (e.g., protecting foreign workers, mitigating inequity brought about through high numbers of low skilled and low wage job ghettos filled by foreign workers) (Thunder Bay Chamber of Commerce, 2025).

Tourism businesses, and the hospitality and service sectors more generally, rely on the Temporary Foreign Worker Program to address their operational needs. A case example demonstrating the nature of this reliance is the Wickaninnish Inn in Tofino on the West coast of Vancouver Island (British Columbia). Tofino has a population of 2500, attracts over 600,000 visitors every year, and has over 700 active business licences. The owner of the inn explains that "the local labour pool simply isn't large enough to fill entry-level positions like stewards and room attendants, let alone specialized roles like sommeliers and pastry chefs." As a result, the Inn has relied on foreign workers to fill staff needs for the past 20 years. Generational changes help to explain the situation for tourism businesses in small places "fewer Canadians are willing to move for work and leave behind family, friends and their social networks than a generation ago". In addition, demographic motivations exist where young Canadians prefer to migrate to cities where work and lifestyle opportunities are more diverse (McDiarmid, 2025, n.p.n.). Still, it has been reported that up to 30 per cent of tourism jobs are filled by youth, in large part given the perception that tourism is not a viable and sustainable career option (Conference Board of Canada, 2025). The situation is equally compelling in Canada's northern and Arctic tourism destinations, and can be more complex given the unique nature of accessibility, heightened demographic challenges, and the longstanding housing crisis in the territories, which is even more pronounced outside the two larger urban areas of Whitehorse (Yukon) and Yellowknife (NWT).

Key challenges

Immigration dependency: Labour shortages are addressed through foreign workers, but immigration policy changes and public sentiment pose risks.

Education access: Limited tourism-specific training in northern regions restricts workforce development.

Career choices: Tourism is seen as a short-term employment option and a gateway into the labour market (and permanent residency status). (Conference Board of Canada, 2025).

Housing crisis: Tourism growth strains housing availability, leading to resident displacement and contentious community relations (CBC, 2024).

Labour mobility: Certification barriers and interprovincial licensing issues restrict workforce movement (C.D. Howe, 2025).

Transportation infrastructure: Northern transportation infrastructure is underfunded, affecting accessibility and winter tourism sustainability (Canadian Climate Change Institute, 2022). Northern geographies are defined by the absence of roads that connect northern places to one another, as well as roads that link them to the south.

Greenland

Carina Ren[7], Laust Høgedahl[8] & Gestur Hovgaard[9]

Characteristics of tourism and labour market

Within the past decade, tourism has increasingly become a strategic priority in Greenland (Petridou et al., 2019). The country's wish to grow and diversify its economy should be understood as closely linked to the strive for more economic sovereignty from the Danish Kingdom under which Greenland is currently self-governed. In the 2025–2035 sector plan for Greenland tourism (Naalakkersuisut, 2025), the first of its kind, it is stated as a goal that the tourism sector should contribute 40% of the national exports by 2035, far higher than the current 5–7%. Recent geopolitical attention has played a part in placing Greenland on the map, which is also expected to spill over into increasing interest from potential tourists.

The ambition to develop tourism is supported by investments in large scale infrastructure, first and foremost new international airports, but also harbours and roads (Ren et al. 2024). The first transatlantic airport opened in Nuuk in 2024 and those in Ilulissat and Qaqortoq are set to open in 2026. Conventional and expedition cruise operations are also growing steadily accounting for approximately one-third of all foreign visitors (Visit Greenland, 2023). Tourism in Greenland is increasingly developing mass tourism features with a high concentration of visitors during peak season arriving at a limited number of destinations and spending little money within the local economy (Visit Greenland, 2024).

This type of high-volume tourism is in direct contrast to other strategic goals of the Government and Visit Greenland, that aim to strengthen smaller tourist destinations and spread the economic value of tourism across Greenland (Ren & Hall, 2022; Visit Greenland 2024). To prevent leakage and secure more local value creation, the Greenlandic government has set in place a broad range of legislative measures in the very first Greenlandic Tourism Law. For instance, the law stipulates that within three years, a ⅔ Greenlandic ownership will be required to operate a tourism company in Greenland and that all operators should be certified to obtain a tourism operator license.

The Greenlandic labour market is unique in many ways. First, the labour force is relatively small at just under 33,000 people out of a population of approximately 56,000 people. In addition, Greenland geographically covers a very large area and the great distances, and the absence of roads and train connections make the Greenlandic labour market very fragmented (Andersen 2021). However, as many studies show, Greenlanders are highly flexible in terms of moving for job or education (Mobilitetsstyregruppen, 2010).

7. Aalborg University
8. Aalborg University
9. Roskilde University

In terms of labour market regulation and institutions, Greenland can largely be seen as part of the Nordic model of industrial relations but with some distinct and unique features. Wages and working conditions including those covering the tourist sector in Greenland are primarily negotiated voluntarily and independently from the political system by strong labour market (social) partners. The trade union density is around 50% (Høgedahl, 2021). However, the trade union density is much lower for migrant workers, many of whom work in the tourist sector.

Most workers with a university degree are represented by a Danish trade union or professional organisation such as DJØF (organising graduates within the fields of law, economics, political science etc.). Therefore, the labour market for high-skilled work is closely connected to Denmark. On the other hand, unskilled work is closely connected to Eastern European and especially Asian countries. The labour market partners conclude collective agreements that regulate wages and other working conditions in all sectors. Strikes and lockouts are only allowed when collective agreements are concluded or renegotiated. This industrial "peace obligation" is also known in the rest of the Nordic countries. However, Greenland has a national statutory minimum wage set by national law for large scale construction projects such as airports, which is not the case in other Nordic countries. Another important difference between the Nordic countries and Greenland is that no independent, private labour court exists in Greenland. Here, labour disputes are solved in the private court system or by private arbitration.

Tourism employment

For decades, Greenland has exhibited a structural dependence on foreign labour, historically dominated by skilled and professional workers – most notably from Denmark. In recent years, however, a shift in labour migration dynamics has become evident, due to labour shortages in construction and the increasing presence of unskilled foreign workers in the fishing industry and the service sector.

One reason for this is that tourism employment in Greenland has expanded significantly in recent years, from around 800 jobs in 2019 to approximately 1,800 jobs attributable to tourism by 2024. This represents an expansion of the labour force by 3.5 per cent, equal to 6.2 per cent of total employment in Greenland (Danmarks Nationalbank, 2023; Visit Greenland, 2024). Rising international arrivals – up from 75,320 in 2015 to over 96,000 in 2023 – have driven revenues from foreign tourism close to DKK 1.9 billion (Rambøll, 2024).

Between 2018 and 2023, around 1,000 working-age migrants moved to Greenland, expanding the labour force by 3.5 per cent (Danmarks Nationalbank, 2023). Filipino citizens constitute the second largest population group in Greenland after Danish citizens (570 Filipinos in 2022). This was an increase of 404 percent compared to 2012, when there were 113 Filipinos living in Greenland (Krog, 2022). By late 2024,

2,300 foreign citizens aged 17–64 resided in Greenland, representing 6.2 per cent of the working-age population, with the Philippines and Thailand as major source countries (Danmarks Nationalbank, 2025; Statistikbanken, 2024). In addition, many young Greenlanders remain outside the labour market, underscoring the urgent need to improve the education system (Preisler, 2019).

Acute tourism-related labour shortages are particularly evident in the larger towns of Nuuk and Ilulissat, where hotels, restaurants and cleaning services increasingly depend on foreign staff (Inatsisartut, 2023; Thorson, 2024) as well as on students, often from Denmark, working as guides or front desk personnel during high season. The introduction of a fast-track scheme for foreign labour in 2021 has not been without problems but constitutes a significant step forward. Nevertheless, employers continue to face high recruitment costs, exacerbated by a very difficult housing situation, particularly in urban areas.

Key challenges

Labour shortage: The tourism sector plan states an expected need for 1000 more employees before 2035 – almost double the current situation. Reflecting the current composition with the tourism and service sector, many of those will be coming from the Philippines and Thailand.

Administrative bottlenecks: Many companies state that recruiting workers from abroad is time consuming and not very flexible. Reliance on foreign labour raises regulatory and integration challenges that the administration struggles to manage.

Ownership and investments: According to the new tourism law, ⅔ Greenlandic ownership will be required of all tourism companies (hotels not included) by 2027. Some, including Greenland's Business Association, express concern that this will divert investments and make it difficult to maintain and establish operations in Greenland. This points to a socio-economic divide between 'large-scale' and 'small-scale' tourism, a cleavage that also may appear to align with distinct regional patterns.

Seasonality: Tourism in Greenland is strongly shaped by seasonality, with most arrivals concentrated in the short summer season. This limits stable employment, challenges investment in skills and infrastructure, and increases reliance on external labour. Seasonality remains a central barrier to sustainable growth, linking to broader concerns about resilience, labour markets, and the vulnerability of peripheral economies.

Iceland

Íris Hrund Halldórsdóttir[10] & Gunnar Thór Jóhannesson[11]

Characteristics of tourism and labour

Tourism in Iceland is a relatively recent but rapidly expanding sector that has become one of the key pillars of the Icelandic economy. Its importance is reflected not only in its contribution to GDP but also in its impact on the labour market and regional development, as demand is highly seasonal and unevenly distributed across the country.

From 2003 to 2019, the number of foreign visitors grew steadily with visitor numbers peaking at approximately 2.3 million in 2018. After a sharp decline during the COVID-19 pandemic, numbers rebounded to nearly 2.3 million in 2024 (Icelandic Tourist Board, n.d.). Tourism's economic importance has grown alongside this trend. In 2024, the sector accounted for 8.1% of Iceland's GDP (Statistics Iceland, 2025a). In recent years, this share has been among the highest in the OECD, underscoring tourism's ongoing significance in the Icelandic economy (OECD, 2024; 2022; 2020; 2018).

The labour market system in Iceland follows the Nordic model, characterised by very high trade union membership and extensive collective agreement coverage. In 2021, union membership was 92%, the highest rate among OECD countries, while collective agreements applied to around 90% of workers, including workers who were not formally members of trade union (Statistics Iceland, 2021; OECD, n.d.). This arrangement ensures that the wages and working conditions negotiated in collective agreements apply as minimum rights for all workers, regardless of membership status.

Nevertheless, challenges remain. Institutions and organisations have documented breaches of collective agreements in certain sectors, particularly tourism and construction. Reported issues in tourism include employment-related housing violations, irregular wage payments, and limited awareness of rights among foreign workers, in some cases resulting in workers having to vacate employer-provided accommodation without proper notice. These concerns have prompted calls for stronger enforcement and sanctions.

10. University of Iceland
11. University of Iceland

Tourism employment

Employment in the tourism sector has expanded rapidly alongside the growth in visitor numbers over the past two decades. In 2024, monthly employment in tourism averaged just over 31,600 people, with number rising to almost 35,000 during the summer peak. Tourism thus accounted for around 14% of total employment in Iceland (Statistic Iceland, 2025b). Between 2008 and 2024, average monthly employment in the tourism sector increased by 127%, compared with around 24% growth in total employment (Statistics Iceland, 2026b). The gender ratio is fairly even, though men have accounted for slightly larger share since 2018 (Statistics Iceland, 2026b). While comprehensive age data are limited, earlier figures show that young people play an important role in the industry: In 2016–2017, just over one-third of employees were aged 24 or younger (Halldórsdóttir, 2019). Tourism jobs are also marked by strong seasonality, with employment peaking in the summer months (Statistics Iceland, 2026b). Most employees work in food and beverage services, followed by accommodation (Halldórsdóttir, 2021; Statistics Iceland, 2025b)

A further characteristic of the sector is the high share of foreign workers. Their contribution has been essential to sustaining the industry's rapid expansion, reflecting both Iceland's small population base and the sector's strong labour demand. The number of immigrants employed in Icelandic tourism has risen sharply over the past two decades. In 2008, average monthly employment of immigrants in the sector was around 2,634, compared with about 14,197 in 2024 – an increase of more than fivefold. Their share of the tourism workforce increased from about 19% in 2008 to around 45% in 2024 (Statistics Iceland, 2026b).

Key challenges

Non-compliance with collective agreements: Despite legally binding minimum rights, cases of wage theft, miscalculated payments, broken rest and holiday regulations, and lack of payslips or contracts are reported. Migrant workers are especially vulnerable, as many receive only minimum wages and may fear losing their jobs and work permit if they claim their rights (Alþýðusamband Íslands, 2024; Júlíusdóttir & Halldórsdóttir, 2020).

Employer-provided housing: A significant share of tourism employees, particularly migrants, live in accommodation provided by their employer. This arrangement can create dependency and insecurity, with examples of over-crowding, substandard housing, high rents, and lack of separation between work and living conditions (Alþýðusamband Íslands, 2024; Kristín Helga Gísladóttir & Maya Staub, 2024; Júlíusdóttir & Halldórsdóttir, 2020).

Diversity in vulnerability: Migrant workers are not a homogenous group. Research show that Polish employees, the largest group of immigrants in Iceland, are often seen as well-organised and informed about their rights, while workers from Southern and Eastern Europe (e.g. Romania, Bulgaria) may be more isolated, lack support networks, and face greater risks of exploitation. Informal work arrangements, such as unpaid "volunteering" in horse-based tourism, further increase precariousness (Alþýðusamband Íslands, 2024; Kristín Helga Gísladóttir & Maya Staub, 2024; Júlíusdóttir & Halldórsdóttir, 2020).

Seasonality and job insecurity: Tourism in Iceland remains strongly seasonal, creating instability and limiting career prospects. Many jobs are temporary, linked only to the high season, which reduces job security, hinders skills development, and contributes to a negative image of tourism as a long-term career path (Alþýðusamband Íslands, 2024).

Norway

Bente Heimtun[12] & Per Kåre Jakobsen[13]

Characteristics of tourism and labour

Here the emphasis will mainly be on Northern Norway. In general, Northern Norway is experiencing a situation where the tourism industry is thriving with record growth, driven by increased tourism and international visitors. At the same time, this region struggles with weak population growth, an aging population, and fewer people of working age. This is putting pressure on municipalities in regards of employment, regardless of sector. Moreover, taking Alta as an example, the closure of international tourism Higher education programmes after the pandemic has added to the industry's struggle and concerns regarding access to relevant and educated tourism employees.

Until the 2000s, Northern Norway was primarily a summer destination (Borch et al., 2006), with the Lofoten Islands and North Cape relying heavily on seasonal migrant labour (Heimtun, 2011; Menon Economics, 2019). The emergence of northern lights tourism (Heimtun & Haug, 2022) extended the tourism season from September to April, reducing its seasonal nature, although spring and autumn remain quieter months with less demand for employment. This shift has increased the need for land-based tour providers and seasonal guides (Heimtun & Lovelock, 2017), but it has also led to challenges, such as the rise of a "black market" of international operators exploiting grey areas of guides' rights (Tromsø kommune & Spor Natur og Reiseliv AS, 2026), including irregular hours and low wages (Heimtun & Haug, 2022). Moreover, an increase in AirBnB rentals in Tromsø and the Lofoten Islands has made it difficult for seasonal workers to find affordable housing (Brembo et al., 2023; Berglihn, 2026).

Tourism employment

The Norwegian Official Report, Live and Experience: Destinations for a Sustainable Future (NOU 2023: 10), highlights challenges in accessing labour within Norway's tourism industry. The industry would like more flexible labour regulations to manage seasonal variations and work outside regular hours, enabling increased workloads during peak seasons and compensatory time off during low seasons without exceeding annual working hours, as highlighted in Nasjonalt eksportråd (2024). This proposal for a National Export Initiative for Tourism also emphasizes the need to simplify the recruitment of third-country tourism workers, given the growing competition for labour across Europe. It is suggested that the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration adopt models implemented in Denmark and Sweden to reduce lengthy processing times.

12. UiT, The Arctic University of Norway
13. UiT, The Arctic University of Norway

In 2024, some 10 000 people, in the age group 15–74, were employed in the hospitality industry, and in travel agencies and tour operators in Northern Norway, hereof were about 20 per cent engaged in temporary positions (Statistics Norway, 2025). Migrant workers are motivated by expectations of high wages in the region but have faced significant challenges, including language barriers, limited cultural integration, and a lack of long-term prospects (Chen & Wang, 2015). According to Thrane (2007), migrant workers face significantly higher unemployment risks compared to native Norwegians. Young, international seasonal workers have reported dissatisfaction with limited training, wage policies and substandard accommodation, which hindered service quality and consistency (Heimtun, 2011). Yaghoobi (2024) further highlighted the compounded challenges faced by a migrant female adventure guide in Northern Norway. As a younger guide, she encountered systemic barriers, including unequal access to leadership roles, economic instability due to seasonal employment, and exclusion from high-profile guiding opportunities, which were often reserved for male colleagues. Furthermore, Thrane (2008) highlights significant gender disparities in wages, work experience, and family responsibilities among Norwegian women in tourism. Gjerald et al. (2020) found that cultural in-groups among migrant hospitality workers often align with either frontline and backline roles, leading to workplace tensions and communication barriers. In the Oslo hotel industry, non-European migrants are overrepresented in low-prestige, backroom jobs, while Western migrants occupy more visible or managerial roles (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016).

Underthun and Jordhus-Lier (2018) argue that women in hospitality cleaning roles often face neglect from unions, with limited gender representation in leadership marginalizing their concerns. These women experience job insecurity, discrimination, and limited career mobility, particularly non-European workers categorized as "stuck workers".

Young domestic apprentices in hospitality face power imbalances, exclusion from decision-making, and verbal aggression from senior workers (Dagsland et al., 2015; Dagsland et al., 2020). They often lack structured training and supervision, leading to early turnover and dropout. Ericsson et al. (2020) reported that young seasonal workers at ski resorts, motivated by lifestyle factors, felt undervalued by management and sometimes overwhelmed by the party culture. Similar findings are reported by Underthun and Jordhus-Lier (2018) and Aasland and Tyldum (2016), who studied young migrant seasonal workers. These "working tourists" often accept poor working conditions and avoid unionization, prioritizing short-term flexibility over long-term employment rights (Underthun & Jordhus-Lier, 2018). Moreover, young immigrants, even those educated in Norway, face ethnic penalties in the hospitality labour market (Gamage, 2022). Employers often reject their applications based on names or appearances, forcing them into precarious jobs.

Key challenges

Structural and Demographic Challenges: Labour and housing shortages, weak population growth and limited access to relevant education.

Seasonality: Due to seasonal variations labour demand fluctuates. Much dependency on seasonal workforce. This point ties to limited training and career options that is identified as a crucial challenge. The group of "working tourists" is especially vulnerable.

Intersectional precarity: Migrant, young and female workers face compounded challenges, including gender-based wage gap, occupational segregation, ethnic clustering and stereotyping and power imbalances and limited supervision.

Arctic Sweden

Dieter K. Müller[14], Linda Lundmark[15] and O. Cenk Demiroğlu[16]

Characteristics of tourism and labour

Tourism has emerged as a significant activity across many parts of northern Sweden in the past decades. Although expectations for such development have existed for quite some time, the past 15 years have seen a notable increase in overnight tourism stays in the region – defined here primarily as Arctic Sweden, comprising Sweden's two northernmost counties: Norrbotten and Västerbotten.

Modernization and the establishment of the welfare state during the 20th century expanded tourism by making it accessible to broader segments of society (Bohlin et al., 2014). In northern Sweden specifically, the mountainous areas offering skiing and hiking were designated as regions of national interest for tourism and recreation (Müller et al., 2019). As the global neoliberal shift reduced direct state involvement, tourism development was increasingly promoted as a strategy to counteract the adverse effects of globalization on peripheral northern areas – such as deindustrialization, selective outmigration, and an aging population (Bohlin et al., 2016; Müller, 2013; Müller et al., 2019). This shift sparked a revitalization of tourism in the region.

The establishment of the Icehotel in Jukkasjärvi, near Kiruna, in 1989, marked a turning point and was soon followed by investments in a diverse range of tourism products, many of which emphasize the winter season (Müller, 2011). The number of commercial overnight stays in Norrbotten and Västerbotten rose from 3.7 million in 2012 to over 4.8 million in 2024 – a substantial increase, even by circumpolar standards (Varnajot, 2020). Roughly one-third of these tourists come from abroad, notably from Norway and Germany, with growing interest from more distant markets.

Tourism employment

Research on various aspects of tourism employment in the region has been relatively scarce. Most studies have focused on tourism labour markets and their local and regional embeddedness, with limited emphasis on workforce-centred research. In this context, tourism employment in Arctic Sweden has often been viewed through the lens of rural development, identifying tourism as a source of job opportunities and livelihood for young people and those not inclined to work in natural resource extraction or public service. Lundmark (2005) provided evidence of

14. Umeå University
15. Umeå University
16. Umeå University

a growing shift of the workforce into tourism. Additionally, seasonal in-migration for tourism employment has been observed – accounting for approximately 25% of the workforce – which limits local tax revenue from tourism-related employment (Lundmark, 2006). These patterns were highly uneven across the surveyed mountain region. In some cases, seasonal in-migration led to permanent jobs and residency in tourist destinations, highlighting tourism's role in sustaining a resident population even in remote areas (Müller, 2006).

However, tourism employment often proved to be a short-term solution. Precarious conditions caused by seasonality and low wages led many employees to leave the industry – not necessarily for more prestigious sectors, but rather for other low-paying service jobs that offered year-round income (Müller, 2022). Lundmark's study on the Swedish mountain range (2005) indicates that over 11% of the local workforce in Jokkmokk and Arjeplog was employed in tourism and even in Kiruna and Storuman, a recent study shows that more than more than 7.5% work in the sector (Yalki et al., 2025). Roughly one in five employees is a foreign citizen.

This connects to another prominent topic in Arctic Sweden tourism research: the internationalization of tourism employment, often examined from a migration perspective. Carson and colleagues (2018) explored the lifestyle motivations of immigrants who started tourism businesses in the northern periphery. While the northern winter and the development level of rural areas were migration drivers, motivations for entering the tourism industry varied and were sometimes temporary. This was also confirmed in a study of immigrant dog sledding entrepreneurs. However, it was shown that their ambitions for local development sometimes diverged from those of local authorities (Carson & Carson, 2018; Eimermann et al., 2019, 2023).

Labour market issues have also been examined from the perspective of knowledge provision. Åberg and Müller (2018) found that tourism workers in remote areas are often better educated than those in other local industries. In contrast, in urban areas, labour market competition leads educated tourism workers to leave the industry for sectors offering higher wages and better working conditions. At the same time, being local is often more advantageous than being educated when it comes to success in the tourism labour market (Åberg, 2014). Näppa and colleagues (2023) also found that employers rarely view their workforce as important co-creators of brand identity and company values.

A final topic addressed in relation to tourism employment concerns Sámi Indigenous tourism. In this context, it has been shown that working in tourism is a relatively common strategy to supplement low incomes from reindeer herding (Leu & Müller, 2016). However, economic necessity is only one of many motivations for engaging in tourism. Lifestyle choices and existing tourist demand also lead individuals to become tourism entrepreneurs (Leu, 2019). Tourism becomes part of

individual livelihood strategies and a way of earning a living based on ethnic traditions and related opportunities. Reindeer herders argue that tourism provides a sustainable way to continue reindeer herding and preserve cultural traditions (Leu et al., 2018). For some tourism workers, presenting accurate information about Sámi people and reindeer herding is a social, cultural, and even political endeavour (Leu et al., 2018).

Key challenges

Structural and Regional Challenges: Historically, Arctic Sweden has been viewed as a remote and underdeveloped periphery, facing significant challenges – particularly related to unemployment and outmigration (Müller et al., 2019). Tourism has often been discussed within this context, targeting young people and women, and positioned as a remedy for these issues. However, there is intensified competition for labour and the demand for labour in the tourism sector has created a strong need for in-migration.

Employment Conditions: Tourism jobs are often seasonal and low-paid, leading to high turnover as workers seek more stable year-round employment. Seasonal in-migration (about 25% of the workforce) reduces local tax revenue from tourism employment.

Migration and Internationalization: About 20% of tourism employees are foreign citizens, raising concerns about integration and retention. A transient, international workforce can weaken community ties and affect the quality of visitor experiences.

Finnish Lapland

Outi Rantala[17] & Heikki Huilaja[18]

Characteristics of tourism and labour

In Finnish Lapland tourism has been growing rapidly after the global Covid-19 pandemic. The accommodation capacity grew 68% from year 2000 to 2022 (Loikkanen et al., 2023). This growth is visible especially in Rovaniemi, the capital of Finnish Lapland. With 65,000 residents, Rovaniemi receives over one million air passengers and has around 1.7 million overnight tourist stays annually, underscoring the rapid growth and intensification of tourism in the region (Finavia, 2026; Visitory, 2026). Furthermore, the growth has been most rapid in the sphere of unregistered overnights: In December 2025, Rovaniemi had approximately 5,200 beds in registered accommodations such as hotels, an increase of 6% compared to December 2024. In unregistered accommodation, such as Airbnb, there were 14,100 beds in December 2025 – an increase of 31% compared to the previous December (Paloniemi, 2026).

The growth is visible also in tourism work: number of people employed in the tourism sector in Lapland grew by approximately 40 percent between 2013 and 2023 (Visit Finland, 2026). For the entire Finland, the growth rate was approximately 12 percent during the same period.

The growth of tourism has not been equally dispersed around the year. The winter season is the main season in most of Lapland, with the month of December being the most popular, both in terms of overnight stays and passenger traffic. The months from January to April form the second peak season after Christmas tourism (Maher et al., 2022). In the winter of 2025–2026, there were over 20 direct flights to Rovaniemi from European cities (Visit Rovaniemi, 2025). The direct flights take place mostly from late autumn to early spring, with only few companies flying to Lapland during summer months.

The tourism strategy for Finnish Lapland highlights year-round sustainability (Sievers, 2019), and in doing so prioritises tourism development that increases the amount of tourism during the snowless seasons. This means that e.g., regional funding is directed to develop the slow seasons. In 2018, tourism entrepreneurs from the Arctic Europe regarded May as the most problematic period for developing tourism and autumn season as the most potential one for the development of year-round tourism (Rantala et al., 2019).

17. University of Lapland
18. University of Lapland

Tourism Employment

Already in 2008, a research project "Tourism as Work" (funded by the Research Council of Finland) illustrated how tourism employment forms a fitting example of precarious work due to it being seasonal, freelance-based, low-paid, and low valued (Veijola et al., 2008). In that time, tourism was seen to bring employment to rural areas that are suffering from outmigration and to enable employment especially for those who otherwise would need to move elsewhere. For example, in 2007 in Western Finnish Lapland 42% of the tourism employees were under 30-year-old and 53% were women (Tunturi-Lapin työvoimatoimisto, 2007; Hakkarainen, 2009). Indeed, tourism enabled employment also for women in rural areas in northern Finland, where previously e.g., employment in forestry and seasonal jobs were preserved mainly for men. Tourism made it possible for women to stay and move to rural areas (Veijola et al., 2008).

Still today, seasonality is one of the main structural features in the tourism industry that forms circumstances for precarity of tourism work. Besides strategic development and funding, some practical tools have been developed to minimise the impacts of seasonality on tourism work. These include e.g. "total working time model", which enables replacing working hours done during the most hectic peak season over a longer time-period. Also, combining tourism work to reindeer husbandry, mining, car-testing, or agriculture is a common practice (Hakkarainen, 2017). It should be noted that the move towards year-round employment is not seen only in positive terms, since it challenges the possibilities to recover from the hectic season (Mällinen, 2023). Hence, year-round tourism in the context of Arctic Europe has been suggested to consist of approximately 9–10 months of profitable business, which would still leave space for a "recovery season" (Rantala et al., 2019).

Seasonality can also determine the type and number of investments made in places by government and municipalities – for example, in the form of housing (Rantala et al., 2019). Seasonality brings pressure to northern municipalities to develop solutions for housing, day-care services and schooling for the children of seasonal workers who are not residents of the municipality. Smaller municipalities have seen these services as a way to attract tourism employees to the area and to support local businesses. All in all, housing and other services of the municipalities do not currently meet the needs of seasonal workers in the north (Harju-Myllyaho et al., 2022), which illustrates well how precarisation is a process of actions made on a local, national and international level by e.g. politicians in the area.

According to the The Service Union United PAM the main challenges in tourism work in Finnish Lapland include challenges with well-being due to the hectic seasons and inappropriate behaviour in the workplaces; quick turnover of new companies, mistakes in payments, missing work shift plans, and challenges with companies to follow the collective agreements; and the vulnerability of foreign work

force in the tourism industry (Mällinen, 2023). A recent survey conducted by the Union among seasonal workers from the winter season 2025–2026 in Finnish Lapland showed that 27 percent of respondents had encountered treatment that met the criteria for occupational exploitation. Problems were particularly prevalent among foreign workers, of whom as many as 40 percent had encountered exploitation (Yle, 2026).

Furthermore, there are serious shortcomings in the safety, facilities, and e.g., possibilities for tourism employees to have breaks during the working shifts (e.g., Penttinen, 2018; Törmänen, 2024). Especially the foreign tourism employees are often not familiar with Finnish work life and with the collective agreements regarding tourism work. Furthermore, the Union in Finland provides guidance and help only to those tourism workers who are members of the Union, which weakens the position of foreign employees.

What also impacts the precarity of tourism work is that it is not always considered as a proper job with career development opportunities, but a temporary step and interphase before "real" work. Nevertheless, the image of the tourism field as an employer has improved in recent years (Harju-Myllyaho et al., 2022). At the same time, the attractiveness of tourism education in Finland has remained steady in higher education but has declined in vocational education (44% from 2014 to 2019, see Harju-Myllyaho et al., 2022, p. 66). Currently there are not enough students graduating from vocational education to fulfil the employment need in the tourism industry. In addition, formal education is seen as too long and there is need for shorter and place-specific education, such as understanding of Indigenous cultures and safety skills related to operating in northern environments, and education offered in English (e.g., Harju-Myllyaho et al., 2022).

In tourism work, and in the labour markets generally, especially migrants are in a vulnerable situation. Robert MacKenzie and Chris Forde (2009, p. 144) have described the massive obstacles that migrants will face when entering the labour markets in the new country. Tourism employment is often mobile and for migrants moving is especially challenging due to bureaucracy, difficulties in finding accommodation, and inadequacy of the salary to cover the expenses of moving and paying temporary accommodation (Harju-Myllyaho et al., 2022; Kestilä & Jutila, forthcoming). Personal connections, networks, and studies enable migrants to enter tourism work in Finnish Lapland, to connect with the local community and environment, and to proceed in their career (Kestilä & Jutila, forthcoming; Penttinen, 2018). Some seasonal tourism employees can be regarded as lifestyle migrants for whom working e.g., as a wilderness guide in the northern nature is a passion. In their case tourism employment is seen as a personal motivation, not as a career path. Often in their case having a degree, e.g., being a qualified guide, does not impact their salary or their position in the labour market (Penttinen, 2018).

Key challenges

Structural conditions: Strong peak seasons in the tourism industry have led to an increasing number of diverse employment and employees. There are stark seasonal differences in labour demand and seasonality also affects infrastructure investment necessary for inclusion and embeddedness such as housing and childcare services. The increasing popularity of the sharing economy, e.g. Airbnb, has further highlighted the scarcity of housing.

Intersectional precarity: Besides migrants, it is still typical for tourism work in Finland that women and young people are overrepresented, and that men work more often in supervision roles (Harju-Myllyaho et al., 2022; Kaihola, 2023). This, in turn, affects the salaries and the content of collective labour agreements on the field, which again affects the appreciation of the field (Kestilä & Jutila, forthcoming). In addition, it illustrates well how men and women do not perform hostessing (the feminine skills needed in tourism work, such as social, emotional and domestic skills, see Veijola & Jokinen, 2008) in similar terms and consequences.

Labour conditions: High turnover of tourism companies leads to instability. There are examples of non-compliance with collective agreements by some employers as well as workplace well-being issues, including inappropriate behaviour and lack of rest breaks. Furthermore, the increased number of unregistered or hidden companies has caused problems in controlling and managing the industry. These operators remain beyond the reach of authorities, trade union representatives, and even the other companies in the area.

Education and Career Development: Tourism work is not widely seen as a long-term career, but rather a temporary phase. Vocational tourism education is declining and there is an identified mismatch between formal education and labour market needs, especially for place-specific and safety-related skills. There is a need for shorter, targeted training, including Indigenous culture awareness and English-language instruction.

IV. Precarity in Arctic Tourism: Key Issues and Topics

Above, Huilaja and Rantala emphasize that precarity has emerged in response to broad transformations in work and working life, particularly those linked to the deregulation and decentralization of labour markets (see Fletcher, 2025). These developments include both structural changes and enduring structural features that shape the conditions under which precarity arises. The nature and manifestation of these factors vary across sectors and regions. Moreover, beyond precarious labour conditions themselves, certain groups are disproportionately affected – more vulnerable to, or more likely to experience, precarity. This group is referred to as the precariat (Standing, 2012). In what follows, we discuss both these strands in the context of tourism employment in the Arctic.

Tourism in the North is characterized by rapid growth amid systemic precarity that affects employment and livelihoods more broadly. It is important to think about tourism not as an isolated sector, but as an embedded part of a larger ecosystem, spanning many spheres of society, nature and culture. Across the Arctic and northern regions, tourism has been promoted by central governments as a tool to fight structural challenges and as we have seen above, with considerable success. It can be argued that tourism's growth trajectory has outpaced regional capacity, both in workforce readiness and infrastructure. The growth in tourism is also demand driven. The Arctic and the North is *cool*. This holds true both in literal sense, as cooler climate is increasingly attractive for people from southern latitudes that experience excessive heatwaves in their regions of residence, and in terms of image and brand. The latter is characterised by *Arctification* (Marjavaara et al., 2022; Müller, 2025), a process that purports an image of the Arctic nature as wilderness or as white, snowy, cold and reiterates stereotypical representations of local cultures. A quite basic, but an important point, is that both these processes induce precarity. Tourist's expectations may be hard to meet as the Arctic is also warming up and one example of concern from this milder climate is less snow.[19] Local residents may also not find an externally imposed image of the Arctic meaningful or agreeable, thus further weakening the possible grounding of tourism in local communities and creating controversy over what tourism should be and how it should be operated. Long-term residents generally support tourism for its service

19. Similar to the Nordic countries, over the past three decades snow and ice coverage in the Canadian north have decreased and permafrost temperatures have risen (Bush & Lemmen, 2019). However, the Canadian north is vast, and climate change has different impacts in different regions. Over the next 50 years (at least), Yukon's average annual precipitation, for instance, is expected to increase and become more variable (Yukon Government, 2026; Streicker, 2016).

and job creation benefits (see e.g. Bjarnadóttir et al., 2025) although there is growing antagonism for tourism due to, for instance, with the pace of change, the fear of cultural erosion, the loss of solitude and fiercer competition for housing.

Key issues identified as drivers of precarity in tourism employment in these northern regions are limited local labour pool, seasonal changes in demand, limited education and training offerings, housing shortages, dependency on youth and migrant labour and labour rights challenges.

Seasonality is a universal challenge across all the six countries and regions under study (see Rantala et al., 2019). The seasonality differs markedly across the study area. Greenland has a short summer season, while Finnish Lapland mainly relies on a distinctive winter season. Iceland, Northern Sweden and Northern Norway have more developed shoulder seasons. Canada's northern and Arctic tourism season is primarily summer with a growing winter tourism season. Nevertheless, the effects of seasonality are similar in making tourism employment precarious in that it offers many short term and/or insecure jobs. This is especially significant when it combines with a limited local labour pool.

The reasons for labour shortages vary but include outmigration from rural areas and aging population, tourism growing out of proportion with the domestic labour market, lack of interest and a lack of people available having the demanded competencies and skills. Tourism is also competing with other industries for local labour force, which are able to pay higher wages, examples being resource and construction sectors in the Canadian North. Müller (2013) argued that tourism is frequently viewed as a complementary industry. During periods of economic decline in natural resource extraction industries, tourism can serve as a temporary refuge in the labour market until more lucrative employment returns. Accordingly, his studies showed that declines in forestry and mining employment were often accompanied by increases in tourism employment, and vice versa. Dieter Müller, Linda Lundmark and Cenk Demiroğlu, authors of the section on Sweden in this report, state that there are indications that even successful tourism companies now struggle to recruit and retain qualified workers, despite the continued growth of tourism in the Arctic periphery.

This relates to another feature affecting tourism employment precarity, namely education and career development. It is apparent that it is a weak spot in the overall tourism system in the study area. There is limited and even declining opportunities for tourism related training and education as noted in Norway, Canada's north and Finnish Lapland. Often tourism is seen as a short-term employment option and a gateway into the labour market but not a sector that offers a viable long-term career.

“We can teach you everything on the job!”

Education and training emerged as a recurring theme during the workshop in Iceland, both in panel discussions and in conversations with tourism companies and stakeholders. Several companies noted that when recruiting new staff, the most important factors were a person’s attitude and skills such as problem-solving, communication, and collaboration. Formal education or training certificates were considered secondary. While these “soft skills” are undeniably valuable, this emphasis raises concerns about the role and position of formal education and training mechanisms in tourism employment, and the potential negative consequences for both the industry and its workers. “Hard skills” and competencies acquired at one company are not necessarily recognized by others, which may hinder career progression. However, it should be noted that there exist examples of widely recognised certificates e.g. for mountain guiding. This “we can teach you all” approach could limit companies’ capacity to adapt to change, foster innovation, and critically reflect on their working procedures and practices.

The fast-paced change of technology, associated with AI and the internet of things, is underway and is likely to affect tourism work in many ways as it drives automatisation. There is a dire need to gauge what kind of competencies employees need in near future and concurrently, how providers of education can respond. During the workshop concerns were voiced about the design of education and training on offer. More emphasis is needed on short-term courses, which are both classroom and workplace based, and which grasp the multitude of roles and tasks tourism operation involves.

Housing shortages, and more broadly weak infrastructure to sustain the rapid growth of tourism that many localities in the study area have experienced, hinders recruitment and in general has contributed to precarious employment in the sector. Tourism companies often compete with local residents for limited housing, and in many cases employers provide accommodation for their staff due to the constrained rental market. This is common in the more rural and sparsely populated regions, where the housing market is limited. While this arrangement addresses immediate needs, it can also create dependency and insecurity, with cases of high rent, overcrowding and substandard living conditions. Seasonality further undermines investment in infrastructure and housing. When workers face periods of unemployment or relocate during the low season, incentives to invest in housing, childcare, and other essential services that support integration into the local community are diminished.

If we now attend to the precariat, the people that are especially prone to be affected by precarious labour conditions, our analysis brings forth a well-known pattern. Migrants, women and youth are most vulnerable across the study area. These groups face intersectional precarity. Due to labour shortages, tourism in the Arctic region is dependent on migrant labour and tourism is therefore, highly sensitive towards any changes in immigration policies.

On recruitment

The dependency on migrant labour links tourism with ongoing social challenges such as youth outmigration, the integration of foreign workers and multicultural workforce relations, which complicate workforce sustainability. Labour shortage and difficulties with recruitment and retention of local workers are challenges across the study area. Bente Heimtun and Per Kåre Jakobsen, authors of the section on Norway in this report note that in 2019, one-third of employees in accommodation and food services were under 24, and nearly half had a foreign background (NHO Reiseliv, n.d.). This trend persisted post-pandemic (Mauren et al., 2024). A common recruitment strategy by companies in Iceland is to make use of personal networks of 'good' employees. Similarly, in Finnish Lapland emphasis has been in finding the "best person for the job". With a low territorial unemployment rate of 1.7% (2022) (compared with 5.4% for Canada general), finding workers for their tourism business was considered one of the top three challenges cited by 69% of Yukon's tourism businesses (TIAY, 2023). Competition with public, resource and construction sectors significantly impacts private sector employment recruitment. In recruitment, employers pay attention to job applicants' personalities and social skills instead of more easily measurable merits like education or work history. For workers without specific work experience or education, this can provide a smoother route to employment. On the other hand, suitability is quite an abstract and context-related thing to assess. Therefore, employers can establish their own criteria and standards for every single job selection. The power in recruitment processes lies strongly on the employers' side.

People moving to Arctic countries for work in tourism are diverse. People moving within Europe or the EEA area are in stronger position than those coming from outside the area, a so-called "third country", especially in getting permission to stay and work. In Canada and Greenland, Filipinos are the largest group, while in Iceland

and Norway the largest groups of migrant workers in tourism come from Eastern and Southern Europe. Occupational segregation based on ethnicity is widespread, as well as ethnic clustering and stereotyping. Hence, it is the ethnic background and/or the nationality, that determines the careers options and path for people, rather than the skills and competencies the person has. A study from Norway shows that many accept precarious working conditions as they perceive Norwegian wages and conditions as superior to those in their home countries and that discourages them from seeking better opportunities (Gamage, 2022). It is likely that the same applies to other countries under study. Gender based wage gaps, limited career mobility, language barriers and limited supervision are among the factors further inducing precarity for these groups.

Employers and owners also face precarity. This has partly to do with the organisational structure of tourism in the study area. The majority of tourism operators and companies in the area are small and micro sized. The large number of family run businesses and life-style entrepreneurs in tourism demonstrates the possibility of innovation and social mobility for people, which sometimes have limited education in the field or resources. Tourism has often been used as a supplementary occupation, especially in the rural areas but increasingly in urban centres as well with the growth of Airbnb and other platform based services. While small businesses can be robust and innovative they also are vulnerable (Falter, 2024). Many operate informally, lack HR or training resources, and face burnout among owners.

As noted above, ethnicity intersects with emergent precarity in tourism employment and that also applies to local Indigenous actors and communities. Indigenous communities have been an integral part of tourism in the study area apart from Iceland for a long time, which has often resulted in misuse and essentialisation of Indigenous culture and traditions (Ren et al., 2020). Tourism has also been promoted to Indigenous communities and there are plenty of examples of successful Indigenous tourism companies. Nevertheless, there are also cases of Indigenous communities that wish to advance tourism, which struggle to access capital, knowledge and training, causing a reliance on external parties and weakening their autonomy to control representation strategies and service offer. Indigenous entrepreneurs often find themselves in a vulnerable position against external companies.

Coming back to structural features, governance framework and regulations intended to support tourism development and protect workers' rights are diverse in the countries under study. While tourism has been endorsed by governments and is increasingly recognized as a "real" economic sector, nationwide and regional policies tend to remain reactive. There is a felt need in many destinations, for improved steering and management of tourism. Moreover, while women, youth, and migrants

dominate service and hospitality work, policy frameworks rarely address these issues. As an example, changes in immigration policy may severely affect the viability of tourism. During fieldwork and panel discussions stakeholders noted that governments and operators must, to a greater extent, anticipate labour shortages, not merely respond to them.

Labour unions, their role and position in different countries, was not surprisingly a recurrent theme in the study. Overall, there is a strong tradition of labour unions in the Nordic countries. The unions negotiate wage rates and work conditions with employer's associations and may also inspect if worker's rights are respected by individual companies. The union density is from around 50–90% but in some cases, like in Greenland, the density is considerably lower for migrant workers. A recent study from Finland found that migrant's attitudes towards membership in a labour union are impacted by the attitudes in their country of origin towards unions (Mällinen, 2023). In Canada, there is much less tradition and connection to labour unions and collective agreements within tourism.

Union density and tourism employment precarity

The so-called Ghent system for unemployment benefits can be found in all the Nordic countries (Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Iceland) except Norway. The Ghent system is based on a voluntary membership of an employment insurance fund that are subsidised by the state and controlled by the labour movement. Research shows clearly that the presence of a Ghent system has a strong positive impact on the trade union density (Clasen & Viebrock 2006; Van Rie et al 2011). The Nordic Ghent countries have some of the highest trade union densities in the world. However, Greenland, like Norway, operates a compulsory and solely tax-financed system. The lack of a Ghent system in Greenland like Norway explains the lower trade union density compared to the rest of the Nordics (Nergaard & Stokke 2007). Iceland has among the highest union density in the OECD countries (Statistics Iceland, 2021). Nevertheless, cases of wage theft, miscalculated payments, broken rest and holiday regulations, and lack of payslips or contracts are reported with migrant workers especially being vulnerable (Alþýðusamband Íslands, 2024). As described in the Canada section, basic unemployment benefits are provided through nation-wide constitutional and statutory protections and rights

V. Conclusions and Recommendations

Tourism in the Arctic has proved to be an important tool for local and regional economic development, yet its labour foundation remains fragile. Tourism is intrinsically dependent on workers that are prone to precarity, namely migrants, youth and women. There is a need to recognise the current contradictions of economic growth and decent work that have spurred precarious labour. It is important to study further how tourism operates within diverse national and regional regulatory frameworks and socio-economic contexts to understand its role in increasing, sustaining or decreasing levels of precarity in tourism employment. Strengthening the resilience and sustainable development of tourism requires better policy alignment between supply (local capacity) and demand (visitor pressure), firmly anchored in community values, cultural respect, and realistic expectations of tourism's role in northern economies. Achieving that aim demands bridging of research, community and Indigenous knowledge, and industry practice. The subsequent recommendations and suggestions for further research draw on these findings, outlining key themes for advancing a more resilient and sustainable Arctic tourism sector.

Policy related recommendations

1. Shift from profit-first growth models to "triple bottom line" approaches prioritizing people, planet, and profit equally. Support employee ownership and community investment models. Indigenous models of preparedness, self-sufficiency, and stewardship offer templates for resilience and sustainability. Identify and develop models, such as the "total working time model" (see country report on Finland), to extend seasonal employment into year-round opportunities.
2. Promote stronger enforcement of labour rights and policies that ensure tourism remains a sustainable and attractive workplace in the future. Collaborative efforts between social partners, labour unions and employee associations as well as national or regional authorities should be developed and promoted.
3. Strengthen vocational and higher education systems to value tourism work as a skilled profession. Education and training needs should be assessed, and new educational models developed to respond to the diversity of the workforce in tourism and the changing landscape of tourism operations due to for instance AI and robotisation. Shorter, stackable educational components should be developed as well as there is a need to secure the provision of higher education in the field of hospitality and tourism in the Arctic region. Workplace training,

and the training of trainers, is needed as well as the introduction of certifications that would make it easier to recognise transferrable skills.

4. Build a culture of respect around tourism jobs, ensuring that workers, especially seasonal and migrant, feel valued, safe, and connected to place. Focus on language training, inclusion and equity. Promote recognition that tourism requires specialized skills and thus challenging the notion that "anyone can do it."

Further research

Despite the noticeable efforts made in research on tourism in the Arctic area, some data remains sparse and fragmented. The scarcity of research on tourism labour and workforce issues was a key driver of this project. Data remains sparse and fragmented across regions. We have identified nine key topics/areas that should be prioritized for further research.

1. **Labour force mapping:** Gather detailed statistics disaggregated by age, gender, ethnicity, and migration status to understand workforce diversity and trends, particularly for Indigenous and foreign workers.
2. **Tourism employment precarity:** Research must capture both sides; owners' challenges (financial risk, exhaustion, compliance) and employees' realities (low wages, seasonality, job mobility) and address the compounded challenges related to gender, ethnicity and age.
3. **Merits and qualifications:** Gather more information on the merits and previous qualifications of migrant workers in tourism to better understand the educational profile of tourism workers and their processes of job mobility.
4. **Labour rights:** Evaluate and compare enforcement mechanisms and collaborative structures between unions, associations, and authorities to ensure tourism remains a fair and attractive workplace.
5. **Image of tourism as a career path:** Explore the public image of tourism careers and why formal education often fails to translate into employment.
6. **Role of communities:** Examine the role of work-place and local communities in integrating employees in north and for youth to gain lifelong and transferable professionalism while working in tourism.
7. **Triple bottom line in practice:** Examine how tourism enterprises can adopt people–planet–profit frameworks, with case studies of employee ownership and community investment models.
8. **Authenticity and representation:** Explore the making of tourism narratives and place image as well as conflicts around cultural tourism.
9. **Safety and standards:** Address safety research gaps in adventure and Arctic conditions; develop training and certification models for guides and operators.

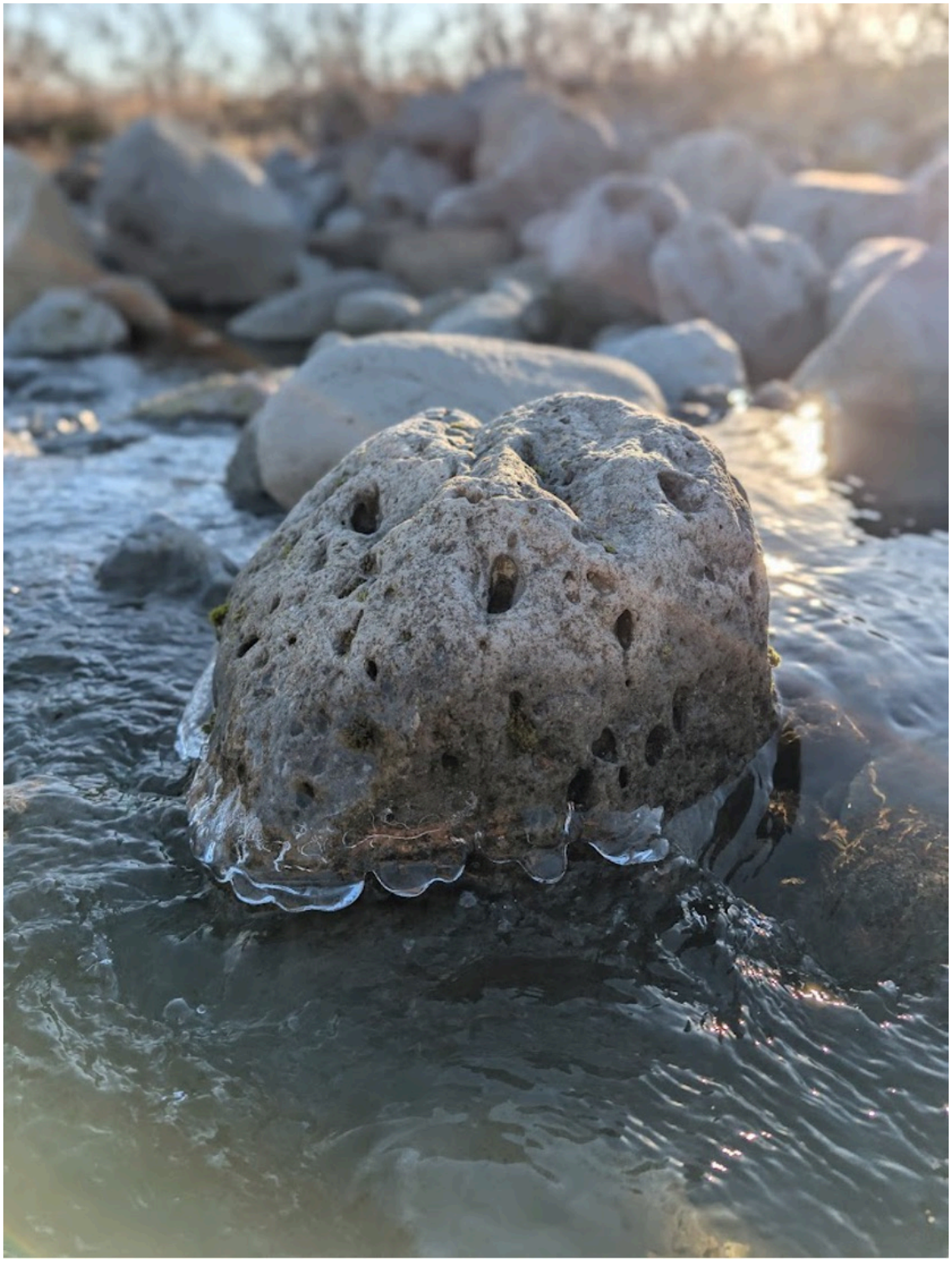

Photo: Dylan Soo

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Appendix A

List of participants

Name	Group	Institution
Kaelan Henders	Masters student	Vancouver Island University
Suzanne de la Barre	Academic	Vancouver Island University
Rodney Hulstein	Academic	Yukon University
Dylan Soo	Industry	Whitehorse Chamber of Commerce
Pat Maher	Academic	Nipissing University
Natalya Brown	Academic	Nipissing University
Jaime Schweyer	Masters student	Nipissing University
William MacKenzie	Masters student	Nipissing University
Aapo Lunden	PhD student	University of Oulu
Emma Tammelin	Masters student	University of Oulu
Maija Hakanen	Masters student	University of Oulu
Per Kåre Jakobsen	Academic	UIT, The Arctic University of Norway
Bente Heimtun	Academic	UIT, The Arctic University of Norway
Tiisu-Maria Näkkäläjärvi	Industry	The Sámi Education Institute in Inari.
Heikki Huilaja	Academic	University of Lapland
Outi Rantala	Academic	University of Lapland

Nina Hautamäki	Masters student	University of Lapland
Minna Nousiainen	PhD student	University of Lapland
Salla Jutila	PhD student	University of Lapland
Juulia Tikkanen	PhD student	University of Lapland
Sini Kestilä	PhD student	University of Lapland
Daijiro Yamagashi	Academic	University of Lapland
Dieter Müller	Academic	Umeå University
Amrei Aubrunner	PhD Student	Umeå University
Linda Lundmark	Academic	Umeå University
O. Cenk Demiroglu	Academic	Umeå University
Kajsa Åberg	Industry	Region Västerbotten Turism.
Katharina Volk	Masters student	Umeå University
Sára Várkonyi	Masters student	Umeå University
Íris Hrund Halldórsdóttir	Academic	University of Iceland
Gunnar Þór Jóhannesson	Academic	University of Iceland
Jóhann Ingi Árnason	Masters student	University of Iceland
Hamed Salimishahraki	Masters student	University of Iceland
Magnús Haukur Ásgeirsson	PhD Student	University of Iceland
Yiuxan Lu	PhD Student	University of Iceland
Magnfríður Júlíusdóttir	Academic	University of Iceland

List of organisations and actors visited during the workshop

Organisation	Individual	Job title	Webpage
Labor Union Báran	Halldóra S. Sveinsdóttir	Chairman	www.baran.is
	Ragnheiður Helga Skúladóttir	Project Manager	
Hotel Eldhestar and Eldhestar horse tours	Hróðmar Bjarnason	Managing Director	https://eldhestar.is
	Pavla Zeravíková	Hotel Manager	
Friðheimar (tourism, horticulture, horse farm, restaurant)	Janis Schwenke	Staff Manager	https://fridheimar.is
Efstidalur 2 (farm, hotel, restaurant)	Ísak Eyfjörð	Managing Director	https://efstidalur.is
The Icelandic Travel Industry Association	Jóhannes Þór Skúlason	Managing Director	https://saf.is/english
The Icelandic Confederation of Labour (ASÍ).	Kristjana Fenger	Workplace Inspection Project Manager	www.asi.is
Icelandic Tourism Cluster	Ásta Kristín Sigurjónsdóttir	Managing Director	https://www.islenskiferdaklasinn.is

Appendix B

Poster Assignment, presented by Masters Students on 24 October, 2025.

Precarity in Career Development

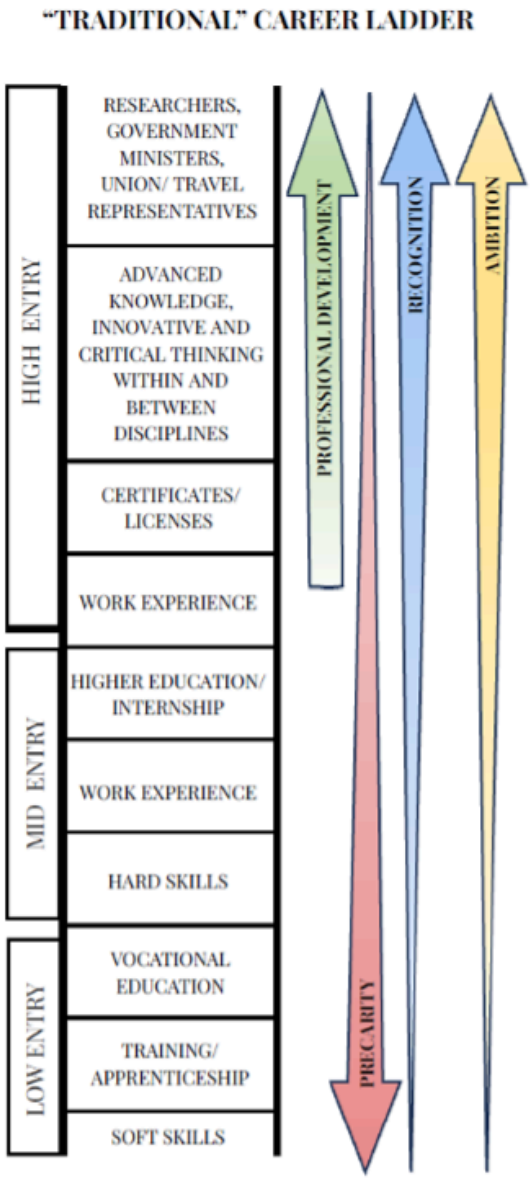
OVERSIMPLIFIED APPROACH
This career ladder represents an oversimplified version of tourism employment progression. It is important to note that entry points exist at each point in the ladder and that there is no traditional or common route followed.

SOFT/HARD SKILLS
Examples include: personality, teamwork, communication, motivation, empathy, customer service, adaptability; housekeeping, waiter, reservation systems, software skills, problem solving

PRECARITY
Low-entry positions typically rely on a seasonal international workforce, who are dependent on the position to sustain their livelihood. Precarity exists at high entry positions but is less severe due to the availability of other opportunities.

CAREER MOBILITY
A variety of factors - education, nationality, age, sex, language and culture - can hinder the various entry points and career progression on the ladder as well as within the tourism sector.

VULNERABILITY
A "no training needed" mentality may work in the short-term but ultimately leads to limited perspectives, growth, and innovation. This approach provides a fast response to growing labour demands but hinders sustainability.



UNIVERSITY OF OULU
MAIJA HAKANEN

NIPISSING UNIVERSITY
WILLIAM MACKENZIE

UMEÅ UNIVERSITY
KATHARINA VOLK

WORKING ENVIRONMENT PRECARITY IN ARCTIC TOURISM

EMMA TAMMELIN, UNIVERSITY OF OULU
NINA HAUTAMÄKI, UNIVERSITY OF LAPLAND
KAELAN HENDERS, VANCOUVER ISLAND UNIVERSITY
HAMED SALIMISHAHRAKI, UNIVERSITY OF ICELAND

*The **work environment** includes the combination of influences impacting employees at their workplace, encompassing both physical surroundings and psychosocial factors that impact their well-being, productivity and commitment to their workplace (Shay, 2019). **Precarity** refers to insecurity, instability, and unpredictability in the working environment, which can manifest in material, psychological, and social ways (Mantecón et al., 2025: 168; Robinson et al., 2019: 1009).*

FACTORS OF PRECARITY IN TOURISM WORK*

UNIVERSITY OF OULU · LAPIN YLIOPISTO UNIVERSITY OF LAPLAND · VANCOUVER ISLAND UNIVERSITY · UNIVERSITY OF ICELAND

IMPORTANCE

- *Boosts motivation and happiness at work*
- *Supports a sustainable and healthy workplace*
- *Improves service and guest experience*
- *Builds a positive and trusted company image*

(Urban Institute, 2019; Attipoe et al., 2025.)

**The cluster was mapped out based on the definition of working environment, by brainstorming on the topic, UArctic field trip experiences in Iceland in October 2025, and a scholarly article by Wang & Cheung 2024. The perspective of the individual employee experience was highlighted. The overall theme decided by the research group was "the feeling of safety," as this notion was intertwined with many factors within the cluster. We further divided the cluster into three subcategories of physical, cultural and social factors to provide more clarity and demonstrate the link between factors.*

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Photos: Unsplash; Hautamäki, N. (2025, October 22). Visit to Fríðheimar

Appendix C

Field course itinerary, 20–24 October 2025

Time	Activity	Location	Participants
Mon 20 Oct			
09:00–12:00	Welcome and introductory presentations on Icelandic tourism and the labour market – presentations from academics, Icelandic Tourism Cluster, labour union, and Icelandic Travel Industry Association	Grósku, Reykjavík	All
12:00–13:00	Lunch	Grósku, Reykjavík	All
13:00–17:30	Pick up rental cars, collect luggage, travel to Laugarvatn with a stop in Hveragerði if needed; visit to Efstidalur farm hotel, presentation from the owners, discussions and food tasting.	Hveragerði/ Efstidalur/ Laugarvatn	All
17:30–18:00	Arrival and check-in at Guesthouse Héraðsskólinn	Laugarvatn	All
19:00	Dinner	Laugarvatn	All
Evening	Housekeeping and hot tub/local swimming pool	Laugarvatn	All

Tue 21 Oct			
07:30–09:00	Breakfast	Laugarvatn	All
09:00–12:00	Panel discussions: tourism employment and precarity	Laugarvatn	All
12:00–13:00	Lunch	Laugarvatn	All
13:00–17:00	Session with PhD students	Laugarvatn	PhD
13:00–17:00	Mentoring session for MS students	Laugarvatn	MS
19:00	Dinner	Laugarvatn	All
Evening	UArctic Thematic Network in Northern Tourism: what, why and how	Laugarvatn	All
Wed 22 Oct			
07:30–09:00	Breakfast	Laugarvatn	All
09:00–17:00	Field excursion: visits to entrepreneurs and stakeholders, including Báran Union, Hotel Eldhestar and Friðheimar; Lunch at Hotel Eldhestar	South Iceland	All, optional for PhD students
09:00–17:00	Writing time and research discussions	Laugarvatn	PhD
18:30	Dinner	Laugarvatn	All
19:30	Swimming and hot tub/free time	Laugarvatn	All

Thu 23 Oct			
07:30–09:00	Breakfast and check-out	Laugarvatn	All
09:00–12:00	Discussion, synthesis and preparation of final presentations	Laugarvatn	MS
09:00–12:00	Writing time	Laugarvatn	PhD
12:00	Lunch	Laugarvatn	All
13:00–16:00	UArctic Thematic Network meeting: final report, next workshop and applications	Laugarvatn	Senior researchers
13:00–16:00	Synthesis and preparation of final presentations	Laugarvatn	MS
13:00–16:00	Writing time	Laugarvatn	PhD
16:00–18:00	Transfer to Reykjavík	Reykjavík	All
18:00 onwards	Free time	Reykjavík	—
Fri 24 Oct			
09:00–12:00	MS student final presentations and PhD final session	Gróska, Reykjavík	All
12:00–13:00	Lunch; return of rental cars before 13:00	Reykjavík	All
After lunch	Farewell and free time	Reykjavík	All

About this publication

Tourism Employment in the Arctic: Towards Decent Work

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