

World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farms (WWOOF)

Expectations of Hosts and Volunteers

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As part of this exchange I hereby share the results of this project to WWOOF Independents, as well as to WWOOF hosts and their volunteers.

If you are an ethnographer/researcher, you must analyze carefully what you may have to offer the organization and work toward a psychological contract in which the organization benefits in some way or, in effect, becomes a client. This way of thinking requires you to recognize from the outset that your presence will be an intervention in the organization and that the goal should be how to make that intervention useful to the organization.

- Edgar H. Schein 2004. *Organizational Culture and Leadership*. San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass: 184.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	v
Chapter 1. Introduction.....	1
I. Research question and motivation for this study	1
A. The research question	1
B. My motivation for doing this study	1
II. The emergence of organic farming	2
A. Organic farming as a modern movement	2
1. Crisis in agriculture and agricultural sciences	3
2. Emergence of biologically oriented agricultural science	4
3. The Life and Food Reform Movements.....	4
4. The growing Western awareness of farming cultures of the	
Far East.....	5
B. Organic farming as an ancient practice	5
III. The emergence of farm volunteering.....	8
A. Local volunteers as farm workers.....	9
B. International volunteers as farm workers	10
C. Farm volunteers in organic farming	11
IV. WWOOFing: Working together as hosts and volunteers in organic	
farming.....	12
A. WWOOFing as tourism	14
1. Farm tourism	14
2. WWOOFing as voluntourism.....	15
B. WWOOFing as volunteer labor	17
C. WWOOF organization: its structure and system.....	17
D. WWOOF hosts: their obligations, values and motivations	18

E.	WWOOF volunteers: their obligations and motivations	19
F.	Unmet expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers	20
G.	Exploring expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers.....	22
Chapter 2.	Theoretical Framework.....	25
I.	Studies on expectations of volunteers	25
II.	Theories on expectations of volunteers	27
III.	PCT and expectations of volunteers.....	31
IV.	PCT and the expectations of both managers and volunteers	35
V.	PCT and expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers.....	38
Chapter 3.	Methods.....	41
I.	Sample.....	41
II.	Data Collection	42
III.	Method of Analysis	43
<i>First level of analysis</i>	<i>44</i>	
<i>Second level of analysis</i>	<i>44</i>	
IV.	Ethical considerations.....	45
Chapter 4.	Findings.....	47
I.	Introduction of participants.....	47
A.	Profile of hosts	47
B.	Profile of volunteers.....	48
II.	Discussion of results.....	48
A.	Motivation to start and formation of the psychological contract.....	49
1.	Contrast of motivations	50
a.	Pre-existing resources of hosts	50
b.	Pre-existing travel goals of volunteers	50
2.	Similarity of motivations	53
a.	Past influences	53
b.	Environmental values and goals	55
c.	Positive emotions	56

3.	Complementarity of motivations	58
a.	Pressing needs of hosts and volunteers	58
b.	Motivation to help and to work	59
c.	Teaching and learning	60
d.	Social reasons	61
e.	Cultural exchange	62
B.	The contents of the psychological contract of hosts and volunteers	63
1.	Motivation in relation to expectations	66
a.	Motivation is distinct from expectation.....	67
b.	Motivation as part of expectations.....	67
2.	Expectations within the transactional aspect of the psychological contract	68
a.	Work	69
b.	Food	72
c.	Accommodation.....	73
d.	Learning.....	74
3.	Expectations and obligations within the relational aspect of the psychological contract	75
a.	Social life	76
b.	Cultural exchange	79
4.	Communication as expectation	81
a.	Communication <i>prior</i> to arrival of volunteers.....	83
b.	Communication <i>upon</i> arrival of volunteers.....	85
c.	Communication when volunteers leave.....	85
5.	Expectations concerning WWOOF organizations	88
a.	WWOOF expected as organic farming	89
b.	WWOOF expected to be free of charge	90
c.	WWOOF expected to provide feedback.....	92

C. Motivation to continue and the fulfillment of the psychological contract.....	93
1. Motivation to continue and met expectations	93
a. Motivation to continue hosting.....	96
b. Motivation to continue volunteering	96
2. Breach of the psychological contract	99
3. Violation of the psychological contract.....	103
Chapter 5. Conclusion	107
I. Summary.....	107
II. Limits of the research	108
III. Future research	109
Appendix.....	111
Letter of informed consent.....	111
Interview guide.....	112
Communication of expectations Sample 1: Warning Email.....	113
Communication of expectations Sample 2: WWOOFer Guide	114
Bibliography	129

Chapter 1. Introduction

I. Research question and motivation for this study

A. The research question

My aim in this study is to explore the expectations of hosts and volunteers of the movement called World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farming or WWOOF. WWOOF is a farm volunteering and hosting system based on exchange. Its role is to connect people who want to volunteer on organic farms with people who are seeking volunteer help. Volunteers work for free and in return, hosts provide food, lodging and learning opportunities about organic farming.

B. My motivation for doing this study

Although I have not yet experienced wwoofing first hand, I have always desired to volunteer in a WWOOF farm. I even attempted to bring my family with me on a trip one summer to an organic farm as volunteer-tourist. I identified several WWOOF farms on the Internet and started to seriously plan our trip. I also decided to do my graduate research on the topic of wwoofing while actually wwoofing. Unfortunately, that trip did not materialize due to unavoidable circumstances. Although I was a bit frustrated to miss that trip, I am still very interested in organic farming. I really hope that someday I will be able to volunteer in an organic farm if not start one myself. So I asked myself, "If I cannot go wwoofing now why not study wwoofing through wwoofers?" This idea motivated me to look for a method that will enable me to learn about the experiences of WWOOF hosts and volunteers even if I cannot go to a WWOOF farm directly. In the course of my search for a research method, I discovered that I could do online interviewing. I asked myself, "I have been trying to contact WWOOF hosts through email so why not interview them through email?" My continued interest in organic farming combined with my frustration in not being able to go wwoofing led me to do online interview

research with WWOOF hosts and volunteers. I invited WWOOF hosts and volunteers to participate in my email interviews because I wanted to know what their expectations were in hosting and volunteering in this worldwide movement called WWOOF.

I learned a lot about organic farming and volunteering in organic farms in the course of my literature review on what organic farming is and about how it started. I found out that while organic farming emerged out of the need to deal with risks and problems introduced by modern industrial agriculture towards ecological, healthy and sustainable farming practices, volunteering in organic farming emerged out of the need to deal with the huge costs of engaging in organic agriculture. I also realized that the social dynamics between volunteers and hosts in organic farms that participate in the WWOOF movement involve certain complexities so I embarked on this qualitative study to try to understand and reveal what the interaction involves.

II. The emergence of organic farming

While domestication of plants and animals are initially widely considered to be necessary and positive (Woodhouse 2000: 11), modern industrialized agriculture in general brought negative effects that were detrimental to human and animal health, the environment, and rural development. These negative effects motivated the introduction of organic farming—an innovation mainly promoted by the farmers themselves (Šrútek & Urban 2008). To get some general idea of the development of this innovation, I will briefly revisit how organic farming emerged in modern times then back to the ancient days.

A. Organic farming as a modern movement

The term 'organic farming' was first used by Walter Northbourne in his book "Look to the Land" that was published in 1940 (Olson 1992). As a

movement, its origins was traced back as far as 1903 (Conford 2001). ‘Organic farming’—as a modern concept—is a blend of ideas that arose in the German-speaking and English-speaking worlds. It is a concept that actually began at the end of 19th century (Vogt 2007). With the increasing awareness of an ecological crisis in the realm of agriculture, society and politics, organic farming became really popular starting from the 1970s (Ibid.).

The context for the initial growth of popularity of organic farming, especially during the first decades of the 20th century can be understood by taking into account four ongoing developments during that period (Ibid., Vogt 2000):

1. Crisis in agriculture and agricultural sciences

Between the two World Wars, agriculture and agricultural sciences confronted soil-related and ecological crises. Such problems are actually paradoxical in the sense that while mineral fertilizers, pesticides and machinery were introduced to solve the issues with soil fertility, pests and food production efficiency, these same modern innovations introduced new environmental problems which includes decreasing farm yield, declining of seed quality, increasing of plants diseases and pests and consequently, diminishing of food quality. Some consumers were troubled by “food that did not stay fresh, tasteless vegetables and fruits, and residues from pesticides based on toxic elements such as arsenic, mercury or copper” (Ibid., p. 11). Life in the countryside was severely disturbed and its repercussions reverberated in other sectors of the society. Vogt (Ibid.) enumerated several factors that led to the crisis in agriculture. First was the dramatic change in the social and economic situation in the countryside involving the use of machines in agriculture, food sector industrialization, migration and importation of agricultural products. Second was the imbalance that arose between the countryside and urban areas which affected national food self-sufficiency in a negative way.

Third, many small and medium-sized farms had to close because of the severe financial problems caused by farm products prices being pushed down by importation and farmers sinking into debt due to their purchase of machines, fertilizers and pesticides. Lastly, rural traditions and lifestyle declined.

2. Emergence of biologically oriented agricultural science

As soil biologists began to study the soil from a biological perspective, this development led to the emergence of a new discipline known as agricultural bacteriology. This field of study deals with bacteria in soil, manure and milk. The new biological concept of soil takes into consideration the ecology of soil organisms and places soil fertility at its center. This together, with other developments, is crucial to the emergence of the idea that farming must involve maintaining ‘ecological’ balance—an idea central to the concept of being ‘organic’ or ‘ecological’.

3. The Life and Food Reform Movements

Another important development is the Life Reform Movement (*Lebensreform Bewegung*)—which refers to various movements that emerged in Germany and Switzerland at the end of the 19th century (Kirchmann, et al. 2008; Weibel 2002). Well known figures associated with the movement include Sebastian Kneipp, Maximilian Oskar Bircher-Benner, and Rudolf Steiner, to name a few. The movement consists of a growing disagreement with the increasing industrialization, urbanization and mechanization (Vogt 2000). While the advocates of this mainly urban reform movement only spoke about living in the countryside, some fulfilled their ideals by abandoning the city life and working as organic farmers (promoting an ‘ecological’ and balanced way of cultivating the soil as gardeners) while practicing a healthy vegetarian diet and farming without animals. Aside from vegetarian nutrition, they promoted a “natural way of living” with natural medicine and “back-to-the-country” movement. Natural agriculture included composting and green manuring.

4. The growing Western awareness of farming cultures of the Far East

Still, another crucial development is when people in the Western world became more and more aware of the farming practices in the Far East, especially those that provide examples of highly developed sustainable traditions including composting and recycling of municipal organic waste. In the 1950s and 1960s, a few local projects tried to recycle organic waste from domestic and industrial sources, and sewage treatment plants to turn them into fertilizer. However, the use of sewage sludge is currently not allowed in organic farming but only because the sewage we now have is adulterated by heavy metal and other toxic substances.

B. Organic farming as an ancient practice

The shift of agriculture to industrialized farming and monoculture with its accompanying problems led the pioneers of organic farming to develop alternatives that will bring back the fertility of the soil (Geier 2007: 176). The evolution of organic farming is not just modern but can be trailed from the ancient past.

A new set of facts suddenly fell into place: the running out of varieties, a marked phenomenon of modern agriculture, to answer which new varieties of the important crops have constantly to be bred – hence the modern plant breeding station – could without hesitation be attributed to the continued impoverishment of modern soils owing to the prolonged negligence of the Western farmer to feed his fields with humus. By contrast the maintenance of century old varieties in the East, so old that in India they bear Sanskrit names, was proof of the unimpaired capacity of plant to breed in those countries where the humus was abundantly supplied. (Howard & Berry 2007: 10-11)

The organic approach to farming, while modern and scientific, is “very ancient as well” (Lockeretz 2007: 31). The idea that agriculture should be in accordance with nature (or ‘natural’ and ‘ecological’) can be traced from the ancient practices which are still being practiced in India,

China and the Andes (Geier 2007: 176). Sir Albert Howard, known as the founder of organic farming in the West (Fukuoka, et al. 1985) investigated these old 'ancient' practices. Born in England and studied there, Howard moved to India to direct agricultural research where he developed his concept of soil health (Heckman 2006). His initial exposure to ancient practice of agriculture can be gleaned from his own words in his book *An Agricultural Testament*:

...to observe what happened when insect and fungous diseases were left alone and allowed to develop unchecked, and where indirect methods only, such as improved cultivation and more efficient varieties, were employed to prevent attack. This point of view derived considerable impetus from a preliminary study of Indian agriculture. The crops grown by the cultivators in the neighbourhood of Pusa were remarkably free from pests of all kinds; such things as insecticides and fungicides found no place in this ancient system of agriculture. (Howard 1943)

In dealing with microorganisms that causes plant and animal diseases, the correct method according to Howard is not to kill them but to see what can be learned from them or make them supportive of agricultural practice (Heckman 2006).

Together with his other research published in *The Utilization of Agricultural Waste*, Howard argued that all waste with all its nutrients must return to the soil which forms the continuous chain of health moving from the soil to plant to animal and to man (Barton 2001: 173). In China, the ancient practice of making humus involves a system of using farm wastes (Howard & Berry 2007: 7). The Chinese have seen the importance of the urine of animals and other animal waste in the preparation of compost (Howard 1943).

The ancient practices of farming that have influenced the development of organic farming can still be seen as in the terraced cultivation of the Himalayas, of the mountainous areas of China and

Japan, and of the irrigated rice fields so common in the hills of South India, Ceylon, and the Malayan Archipelago (Howard 1943).

The ancient past can serve to remind and inform the present state of agriculture to avoid the mistake of harming the health of the soil, plant, animal, and all that thrives and depends on them.

The agriculture of ancient Rome failed because it was unable to maintain the soil in a fertile condition. The farmers of the West are repeating the mistakes made by Imperial Rome...The Roman Empire lasted for eleven centuries...Can mankind regulate its affairs so that its chief possession—the fertility of the soil—is preserved? On the answer to this question the future of civilization depends. (Howard 1943: 40)

From these developments, both recent and ancient, we see how the idea and practice of organic farming emerged. The factors that are associated with the emergence of organic farming that I briefly presented only provides an overview for situating the context of volunteering and hosting in WWOOF organic farms. There may be other details that cannot be covered in this brief introduction, including the debate about the pros and cons of organic farming. Surely, there are voices critical of organic farming. One common criticism takes issue of the ‘natural’ ideal of organic farming in that natural food can be dangerous to people, for example, the use of manure as fertilizer as well as poisonous substances within natural plants (Verhoog, et al. 2003). Another criticism consider organic farming as “a system preferred by romantics” who stick to antiquated approach to agriculture and fail to see that the world has changed and that organic farming cannot produce sufficient and affordable food for everyone (Dabbert, et al. 2004: 7). It is important to attend to such criticisms if we are to develop a balanced view of organic farming (Ibid., p. xvi) but since discussing such criticisms will take more space than what this brief introduction would allow and since my purpose in this opening chapter is to give a brief and general background to the WWOOF

movement and organic farming in order to understand the context of expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers, I have set aside the details of the very interesting debate between proponents and critics of organic farming. For details of that debate, I refer readers to the work of agricultural and resource economist Stephan Dabbert and his colleagues (see *ibid.*) who have devoted considerable attention to the organic farming debate in their book. Having said this, we now turn to factors that brought about volunteering in organic farming that is central to the movement that has become known as World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farming or WWOOF and the practice of wwoofing. The overview of the emergence of organic farming I presented and the overview of farm volunteering I will present in the next section provide useful background for my exploration of expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers, which is my main research question for this study.

III. The emergence of farm volunteering

While people can be attracted to the ideals of ecological balance and healthy agricultural practices, labor costs can be a huge hindrance in the adoption of organic farming (Scialabba 1998). Research shows that wage costs in organic farming are much higher than in conventional farming (Virchow & Von Braun 2001: 310). In high wage countries including Britain, Switzerland, Germany and Denmark, wage costs range from at least 50% to 2.5 times higher compared to conventional farms (Lampkin & Padel 1994: 212-213). Studies on low wage countries show that organic production entails more investment for labor (UNDP 1992). For instance in Indonesia, labor costs for cabbage is two times higher and for carrots is four times higher than on conventional farms. The labor inputs for the production of organic coffee in Mexico were 47% higher than in conventional systems. Both countries rely on their own limited family

labor and for small farm owners, hired labor can be difficult (UNDP 1992).

Because of this, farm volunteering can be an important benefit in providing much needed labor in the initial conversion into organic farming, particularly during the transition period when it is being challenged by limited income and low levels of productivity.

A. Local volunteers as farm workers

Volunteering in farms is quite popular and widely practiced in Japan (Imamura, et al. 2008). This farm volunteer system is pictured as people residing in urban areas going to rural regions to assist agricultural work. In a lot of cases, volunteers who are willing to help are being chosen by intermediary coordinating organizations to match with farmers who are in need of physical labor (Imamura, et al. 2008: 601). While volunteers wishing to work in the farm are increasing, the farming population has been decreasing. In comparison to the farming population, the number of farm volunteers is relatively much smaller. Sustaining the living conditions of farmers through farming activities became harder leading many people to move from rural to urban regions. One of the biggest challenges is aging farmers and the lack of new generation that will continue the practice and to cultivate the land. The recent appreciation of agriculture by city dwellers has been led by the fascination with the peaceful existence surrounded by rural environment perceived as ‘good’, farming for food, and experiencing its rich nature. Because urban residents who own their houses in the cities and also work there find the settlement in the countryside difficult, the demand by city dwellers for a transitory stay in rural areas is intensifying. According to the above study (Imamura, et al. 2008), farm volunteer system may meet the much needed labor in the countryside and the demand for farming experience in urban areas.

Vegetable farmers tend to benefit from having regular volunteers. Based on a questionnaire investigation on the farm volunteer system in

Japan (Watanabe & Yagi 2006), there is high rate of the practical uses and positive effects from the farm volunteer system. One of the results of having regular farm volunteers is the reduction of the working hours of vegetable farmers. But it also became clear from Watanabe and Yagi's study that the steady provision of farm volunteers is becoming more difficult. They conclude that the local government needs to be involved in order to increase the number of farmhouses using the farm volunteer system and to maintain the supply of farm volunteers. They recommend that local governments should provide the citizens ways of experiencing farming by offering training courses in agriculture and community farms, and by recruiting farm volunteers in collaboration with farmers. They add that an informative and user-friendly environment should be furnished for both farmers and farm volunteers.

B. International volunteers as farm workers

Some international volunteers are willing to work on farms like those provided by Israeli *Kibbutz* (Pizam, et al. 2000)—a collective community in Israel that is based on agriculture. From a period of three to six months, groups of young international tourists work as volunteers at Israeli collective farms *Kibbutzim* (the Hebrew plural term for *Kibbutz*). Each year, about 15,000 volunteers arrive to work as volunteer tourists including a work permit for six months. This institutionalized national program was started in 1967 mostly for Jewish volunteers who wished to realize their cultural identity. Presently, most of the volunteers are not Jewish and are seeking touristic experience that is affordable and different. As volunteers, they participate in untrained and physical labor in farming and other services that serve the needs of their *Kibbutz*. The unpaid work is reciprocated with accommodation, free food, cleaning services, cultural experiences and a pocket money of fifty to a hundred dollars every month. Majority of these tourists get close and become intimate with many of the members of the *Kibbutz*. Pizam et al.'s study describes the working

tourists as authentic volunteers since they were working for non-monetary reasons. The relationship then between hosts and guests becomes an expression rather than instrumental in nature (Pizam, et al. 2000).

C. Farm volunteers in organic farming

Similar to the Israeli Kibbutz volunteer system described above, people from American cities and suburbs who want to experience farming are being linked with farm opportunities by different organizations (Katz 2006: 91). One of these is OrganicVolunteers.org (Katz 2006: 41) which is now known as GrowFood.org that provides among them short-term volunteer arrangements (GrowFood 2012). It is a non-profit organization founded in 2001 by Ethan, Sarita and Grayson Schaffer. It is composed of a network of thousands of farms in the USA and beyond whose mission is to train a new generation of sustainable farmers and reconnecting people with farms.

In at least nineteen states in the US, the state and regional organizations making up the National Farm Transition Network have come up with programs linking would-be-farmers with farmers who are willing to provide land, farmers who want to retire and have no successors (Katz 2006: 91).

The ATTRA website announces educational opportunities in Canada and the United States and volunteers who want learn organic farming need to make their own arrangements with the host farmer (Francis 2009: 292). Since 1989, free listings of on-the-job learning opportunities are being published to link farmers and potential interns and apprentices (ATTRA 2011).

Finally, another way of acquiring labor for organic farms is through an international program known as WWOOF which stands for Willing Workers on Organic Farms (Blay-Palmer 2005). Volunteers who are also called WWOOFers share free labor in exchange for food and accommodation (Francis 2009). They are responsible for making

arrangements with their potential farm hosts. One of the major reasons for becoming a WWOOF host is to acquire additional voluntary help during peak farming seasons (McIntosh & Campbell 2001: 120). For instance, an organic farm in Mossagården, Sweden hire about 50-60 volunteers every summer because the the organic way of growing vegetables is more labor-intensive than the conventional industrial process (A. Hsieh & Petrasova 2009). The willingness of WWOOF volunteers to share their labor provides support for local organic agriculture particularly during the its initial stages when it is arduous due to lack of income and low levels of production during the transition period (Moscardo 2008: 8).

IV.WWOOFing: Working together as hosts and volunteers in organic farming

WWOOF started in the United Kingdom in 1971 (Maycock 2008). It was intended to arrange possibilities for individuals living in London to work on organic farms during weekends and receive room and board in exchange for this labor. The acronym originally stood for ‘Working Weekends on Organic Farms’.

Sue Coppard, the founder of WWOOF grew up in East Croydon and Hove but her visits to a farm in Sussex developed in her a deep appreciation of the countryside (Conford 2008). While working in London as a secretary at the Royal College of Art in the early 70’s, she found herself longing to do some part-time farm work. Together with other volunteers, they tried a trial weekend to work with farm managers which proved to be successful. Coppard’s idea began to spread and she found herself arranging with farmers who needed help from volunteers and those farmers who were willing to teach organic farming to those potential volunteers who wished to learn about organic farming or just to have a break from city life.

WWOOF responded to the need of urban professionals to be connected to agricultural areas and organic farming (Maycock 2008). Initially, volunteers would spend a weekend laboring on an organic farm while the farm host provides room and board. Due to increasing interest to this movement, longer periods of time were spent on farms until the acronym stood for 'Willing Workers on Organic Farms.'

Presently, WWOOF is an international network of organizations that promote organic farming and sustainable lifestyles by connecting volunteers who are willing to work and live together with hosts in exchange for food, lodging and learning opportunities (WWOOF 2011). It contributes toward the expansion of the organic movement through inviting more volunteers and hosts to establish personal contact between the two parties and experience organic farming and alternative lifestyles together (McIntosh & Campbell 2009). This facilitates the hosts' recruitment of volunteers they need and the volunteers' access to the destinations they intend to visit.

WWOOF is still known in many places as 'Willing Workers on Organic Farms' (Katz 2006: 91) but since 2000 the international organization changed it into 'World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farming' to prevent the confusion with the use of the word 'work' (McIntosh & Campbell 2009). WWOOF volunteers are not migrant workers but some WWOOF groups still use the old meaning of the acronym. In most cases, the movement is usually called WWOOFing.

Currently, WWOOF spans a global network consisting of 50 countries that are national WWOOF organizations while the rest are designated as WWOOF independents that can be found in 59 countries (WWOOF 2011).

According to the organization's website (WWOOF 2011), the aims of the movement are:

- To give firsthand experience of organic or other ecologically-sound growing methods
- To provide experience of life in the countryside
- To help the organic movement which is labor intensive and does not rely on artificial fertilizers, herbicides or pesticides
- To give people a chance to meet, talk, learn and exchange views with others in the organic movement
- To provide opportunities to learn about life in the host country by living, and working together

A. WWOOFing as tourism

1. Farm tourism

Tourist stay in farms in rural areas has been ideologically identified with romanticism and social tourism (Nilsson 2002). Farm visitors search for authenticity and local food items in farm shops, which can potentially enhance their experience by connecting them to the locality with its culture and heritage as perceived by these farm visitors (Sims 2009). Farm tourism, also called agritourism or rural tourism, provides struggling small-scale farms economic benefits in terms of entrepreneurship (Cloesen 2007) and diversification (Sharpley & Vass 2006). Tourism can be a mechanism for farm survival (Knowd 2006). This form of tourism has grown from being a supplementary sector to becoming a separate sector itself, especially in New Zealand, Canada, and certain European countries (Busby & Rendle 2000). Tourism activities on organic farms in South Korea have caused the emergence of what is now known as 'eco-organic farm tourism' (Choo & Jamal 2009).

WWOOF hosts farms are distinguished from traditional commercial farm stay accommodations (McIntosh & Campbell 2001). WWOOF volunteers also consider their experience as different compared to traditional commercial farm stays (McIntosh & Bonnemann 2006).

However, some WWOOF host farms do offer commercial agritourism services such as tours, accommodations, etc. to paying guests (Ord & Amer 2010).

2. WWOOFing as voluntourism

As stated in a previous study on WWOOF volunteering by a Tourism graduate student Cynthia Ord and her thesis supervisor Joan Amer (2010), volunteering in WWOOF farms is a unique tourism activity that creates a symbiotic relationship with environmental projects, such as organic farming. However, classifying WWOOFing as tourism is met with hostility in some instances because of the non-commercial nature of the exchange (i.e. non-monetary transaction between hosts and volunteers) involved (Ord & Amer 2010: 5). Ord & Amer (2010) cites a country WWOOF organization, which said that they 'would not like to be associated with tourism'. She also mentions the reluctance of the WWOOF volunteer demographic group to 'identify itself as [sic] tourism' (Ord & Amer 2010: 5). Ord and Amer, however, adopted the UN World Tourism Organization definition of tourism as "the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business, and other purposes" (Ord & Amer 2010; UNWTO 1994, 2001). They tried to show that WWOOF volunteers are 'volunteer tourists' by showing (1) how closely WWOOF volunteers fit into the definition of tourism by examining their length of stay and place of origin (see Table 3 in (Ord & Amer 2010: 11) and (2) host attitudes toward WWOOF as a form of alternative tourism (89.9% of hosts surveyed say so, see (Ord & Amer 2010: 5). Since WWOOF volunteers stay less than a year in the farms they visit and because these farms are located outside the volunteers' usual environment, they may be considered 'tourists'. The kind of tourism WWOOF volunteers engage in, however, is distinct from that of commercial tourists (who pay money for

their stay in the places they visit) since the former do volunteer work in exchange for food and accommodation. This distinction is implied in the reluctance by some local WWOOF organizations and volunteers to be identified with tourism per se, as mentioned above. WWOOF volunteers are thus considered volunteer tourists or ‘voluntourists’ for short.

According to ecotourism expert Stephen Wearing, voluntourists are “persons seeking a tourist experience that is mutually beneficial that will contribute not only to their personal development, but also positively and directly to the social, natural, and economic context in which they are involved” (Wearing 2004: 217). Initial research on volunteer tourism focused on this kind of tourist as a traveler type and a segment of the tourism market (Coghlan 2006; Wearing 2001). Other research (Chen & Chen 2011; McIntosh & Bonnemann 2006) identified personal and interpersonal motivations for volunteering. Personally, volunteer tourists express an interest in travel, desire personal growth, and seek authentic experience, while interpersonally; they show a desire to meet new people, to interact with locals and cultures, and to help. It has been suggested that volunteer tourism experience continues to influence the tourist even after their visits (Lepp 2008). Volunteer tourism also provide tourists with the social networks and a consciousness-raising experience, thus influencing their participation in social movements (McGehee & Santos 2005).

Voluntourists seem to provide positive contributions to the local communities they visit but some are skeptical about it. Alison McIntosh and Anne Zahra’s study of a voluntourism project among the indigenous Maori tribe of New Zealand confirm positive contributions (McIntosh & Zahra 2007). Other studies on attitudes of residents in host communities reveal both positive and negative perceptions, especially resistance to the faith-based aspect of voluntourism among residents (McGehee & Andereck 2009). Some studies doubt the motivations and service that volunteer tourists provide because voluntourists are likely more interested

in fulfilling objectives related to the “self” than to others (Sims 2009).

Although voluntourism can have negative impacts on the host community, as identified in one study (Guttentag 2009), the same study suggests ways to manage projects to avoid these impacts (Guttentag 2009) especially if benefits are set as active goals of projects (Raymond & Hall 2008). In the case of WWOOFing, its mutually voluntary and non-commercial nature seem to allow it to avoid the common pitfalls associated with other forms of voluntourism (Ord & Amer 2010).

B. WWOOFing as volunteer labor

WWOOFing is not only voluntourism but also volunteer labor. As an exchange of farm work for food and accommodation between WWOOF hosts and volunteers, WWOOFing includes an important work and compensation dimension. Hosts benefit from the labor that volunteers provide. Although volunteer work in WWOOFing is not compensated with money payments, it uses an alternative system of payment through food and accommodations that hosts provide (Mosedale 2011). In addition, volunteers also gain experience and knowledge of organic growing methods and different lifestyles as well as maximize their travel budget (Mosedale 2009). Gianna Moscardo’s study considers WWOOFing as market synergy between tourism and development if voluntourists are seen as more than just customers, for they provide human resources for regional development and allow access to low-cost labor that benefit regions where organic agriculture is considered as part of development (Moscardo 2008).

C. WWOOF organization: its structure and system

WWOOF is a loose network of national organizations connecting hosts and volunteers together and the details of its working are available online (WWOOF 2011). It is structured on a national level. Though there are

many WWOOF organizations around the globe, there is no central list of organizations. Since there is no international WWOOF membership, prospective hosts must contact the WWOOF organization that takes care of the hosts in their country. Potential volunteers, on the other hand, need to pay the membership fee and contact the WWOOF organization in-charge with hosts they want work with.

WWOOF is a system based on exchange. Volunteers work for free and in return, hosts provide food, lodging and learning opportunities about organic farming. Its role is to connect people who want to volunteer on organic farms with people for are seeking volunteer help.

WWOOF Independent publishes its online newsletter, *WWIndy News* since 2003 where experiences of WWOOF hosts and volunteers can be read. Newsletters from other WWOOF organizations can be accessed through WWOOF International website (WWOOF International 2012).

D. WWOOF hosts: their obligations, values and motivations

As stated on their website, WWOOF hosts are those who “grow organically, are in conversion, or use ecologically sound methods on their land”. They should “provide hands-on experience of organic growing and other learning opportunities where possible and provide clean dry accommodation and adequate food for their volunteers.

WWOOF hosts possess strong environmental values and reported pro-environmental practices (McIntosh & Campbell 2001). The majority of them hold that nature can be easily disturbed and human being must exist in harmony with nature. Most of them conserve energy, recycle and compost organic material. They patronize local products and choose whole foods over processed foods. A lot them insulate their homes, avoid chemical input in farming and harvest their own fruits and vegetable.

For the majority of hosts, one of the primary reasons for becoming a WWOOF host is to access additional help from volunteers during the

peak farming seasons (McIntosh & Campbell 2001: 119). Other reasons are social in nature such as meeting people from other countries, for cultural exchange and for some hosts, to share knowledge about organic farming. Some hosts expressed that their reason for joining WWOOF is for the welfare of their children, saying for instance 'We could not afford to take our children to the world, so we could bring the world to them. We felt this would keep the children open-minded to other nationalities and they could learn ideas and attitudes of people coming from other countries'. Very few hosts stated financial reasons as important in joining WWOOF.

When a WWOOF host decides to accept a volunteer to work in his farm in exchange for hospitality, the local farmer provides an opportunity for the volunteer to partake of the learning experience in the absence of monetary compensation while the farm volunteer shares his physical and social energies.

E. WWOOF volunteers: their obligations and motivations

Volunteers planning to stay on a WWOOF farm must first become a member of the WWOOF organization by paying a small membership fee and then personally arranging their stay at a WWOOF farm by contacting the host they wish to visit (McIntosh & Bonnemann 2006: 84) Volunteers become members of WWOOF by signing up and paying the membership fee online. The age requirement is 18 years old and above. Children can wwoof for free only when they are accompanied by their parent or guardian but this can only be possible with the consent of the WWOOF host. It is the obligation of the volunteer to arrange their own travel and insurance and hosts cannot assist them with their visa applications.

WWOOFers make the direct arrangements with the hosts they have chosen based on the lists of hosts and their contact information that can be

viewed after the payment of membership fee that will expire at the end of 12 months.

When volunteers arrive at the farm, they are expected to become fully engaged in the daily activities of their hosts and to gain hands-on experience of organic farming methods (Strange & Strange 2001). The nature of the work and leisure activities plus the number of hours of work vary according to the expectations of the hosts, what kind of help was needed on each farm, the abilities and willingness of the volunteers, the seasons and weather conditions (McIntosh & Bonnemann 2006). Daily tasks included planting, weeding, harvesting or feeding animals, building work, household chores and child minding.

Based on a study of volunteers in New Zealand, almost half of the volunteered interviewed shared a primary interest in learning about organic farming during their stay in the farm and it was the prominent aspect of the experience gained by almost all volunteers (McIntosh & Bonnemann 2006: 92).

When asked about their motives for becoming volunteers, many volunteers articulated the necessity for ‘a break away from normal life’, the ‘wish to explore the world’ and the ‘search for something different’ (McIntosh & Bonnemann 2006: 90)

Since the WWOOF movement centers on the practice of organic farming, the reasons articulated by the volunteers for joining WWOOF may affect the nature of the experience they gain as they do not coincide with the reasons and values of their hosts.

F. Unmet expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers

There is evidence based on opinion of WWOOF hosts that the hosting experience does not bring about all the benefits they are expecting (McIntosh & Campbell 2001). Some of the comments given were:

‘help is rather inefficient and inexperienced ... one out of every two people sleep all day’; ‘very few WWOOFers are interested in organic

farming. They mostly want a free bed for the night or to cuddle lambs'; 'we joined because we needed the help, but expected far more "organically-orientated" people and an exchange of organic/bio-dynamic information. But this has been limited and very disappointing' (McIntosh & Campbell 2001: 120)

A few volunteers on the other hand complained about the expected working hours which made them feel they have been taken advantage of and this feeling was also shared by hosts who were interviewed (McIntosh & Bonnemann 2006). The hosts said that:

'We are a bit concerned that people are using WWOOFers as slave labour, like commercial places that advertise for WWOOFers. It does not seem right to us'; 'If they only want to come for a few days, they don't really want to work or learn something, they just want to use the WWOOF system as a cheap way for holidaying'. (McIntosh & Bonnemann 2006: 91)

Brian Bender, a WWOOF volunteer wrote a book entitled *Farming Around the Country* (2010), recalls his experience working with a host whose working hours were not clearly defined:

My first week on the farm, I put in over 50 hours. And the daily siesta he promised? It never materialized. Our lives were nonstop planting, watering, and weeding. ... I didn't consider myself lazy.. I worked 50-hour weeks as a teacher without giving it a second thought... I felt like an unpaid migrant laborer. And the fact that work expectations were never clearly defined made me nervous. The only reference to work hours ... was a line that read, "not crazy hours or anything." I guess "crazy hours" meant planting by flashlight. (Bender 2010: 4)

In order to minimize the potential problems that may arise between hosts and volunteers, McIntosh and Campbell (McIntosh & Campbell 2001) propose to match the motivations and values of hosts to their volunteers.

G. Exploring expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers

The relationship between WWOOF hosts and volunteers is based on exchange and its success is based on their mutual cooperation (McIntosh & Campbell 2009: 268). Hosts must provide hospitality and share their knowledge about organic farming while volunteers should show their willingness to share with the farm work with their hosts.

My aim in this study is to explore the expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers – its meanings, contents and scope. Published research on WWOOF so far has covered values and motivations of hosts and volunteers in New Zealand. I hope to further study and understand the relationship between WWOOF hosts and volunteers and explore in what ways the quality of the relationship could be enhanced. I hope to do this by discovering and applying the implications of what WWOOF hosts and volunteers actually say about their expectations.

There are only a few published studies on the topic of WWOOF hosts and volunteers and basically none on their expectations. Thus, my aim is to gain empirical knowledge about the expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers.

What are the expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers? This is the main question that I will try to answer in my study. In addressing this research problem, the following related questions will be considered:

- What are ‘expectations’?
- Are there different kinds of expectations? If there are, what are they?
- What are the similarities and differences between these expectations?
- Why do expectations of hosts and volunteers matter?

Previous studies on WWOOF recognize the need to understand expectations of hosts and volunteers. Comprehending the difference of

expectations between hosts and volunteers is considered important in order to lessen the problems in their working relations (McIntosh & Campbell 2001: 583, 571). Based on a study of WWOOF farm stay experience in New Zealand, it was mentioned that the expectations of hosts affect the kind and amount of work that volunteers must do, which includes the length and quality of volunteers' leisure time (McIntosh & Bonnemann 2006: 90). The arrangement of relationship between hosts and volunteers is based on exchange of goods (e.g. food, accommodation and learning opportunities from hosts; labor from volunteers). In view of such exchange, the role of expectations and how expectations are communicated between these parties are deemed critical to the success of their relationship (McIntosh & Campbell 2009: 268). Although the importance of expectations is mentioned in these previous studies, none have yet directly investigated the expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I review key studies that have used different theoretical frameworks in understanding expectations as applied to other contexts of volunteering. Reviewing previous studies on expectations is useful in looking for a theoretical framework that could be used to understand expectations specific to WWOOF hosts and volunteers, especially the kind of expectations created in working relationships where volunteers are also tourists.

I. Studies on expectations of volunteers

Various academic articles have mentioned and discussed expectations of volunteers. These articles do not define expectations and no theoretical framework to guide the discussion and yet some of these discussions highlight the role of expectation in the possible outcome of the volunteering experience. Neil Boyer, a teacher and lawyer, retells his experience as a Peace Corps volunteer in Ethiopia and how most of his expectations during the twenty-two months of service were not met (Boyer 1966). He described the experience as “a collision of different values and different expectations, of values that are never transferable, of expectations that are never fully realized” (Boyer 1966: 56). The incongruence between the expectations of the volunteer and that of the people he met in the host country illustrate that people cannot be stereotyped – “not all men are the same, nor need they be” (Boyer 1966: 60).

Social work researcher Fiona Chevrier and her colleagues mention having the volunteer’s expectations match the job position to be filled as one of the factors related to volunteer satisfaction in hospice volunteer visitors (Chevrier, et al. 1994). The results of their study have implications

for volunteer recruiting, selection and administration. They conclude that satisfaction of volunteers must be considered because it may save costs in active recruitment and extensive training of individuals.

Expectations of volunteers were also studied within the field of volunteer tourism. Stephen Wearing defines volunteer tourists as those who “volunteer in an organised way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment” (Wearing 2001: 1).

Tourism and recreation management experts Li-Ju Chen and Joseph Chen identified the motivations of international volunteer tourists who joined the “Chinese Village Traditions” of the Earthwatch Institute (Chen & Chen 2011). Along with these motivations, expectations were included in the study but the relationship between the two was not explained. The results showed that most of the expectations were related to the expedition as “learning Chinese traditions, seeing how old and new mix, being able to contribute, and experiencing the culture... getting feedback and contributing to the project...” (Chen & Chen 2011: 439).

Economist Paul Downward and his colleague investigated the initial expectations of sport volunteers prior to an event in England. This was done since knowing expectations are important in the effective recruitment, management and mobilization of such volunteers (Downward & Ralston 2005). The expectations were understood as the same with motivations of volunteers for joining the event. Motivations in turn reflect reasons for volunteering. The findings identify community belonging and development as a key motivating factor in sports event volunteering while other factors concern the personal, sporting and employment prospects of the volunteers (Downward & Ralston 2005: 25).

The above studies highlight the role of expectations in the possible outcome of the volunteering experience, such as the match between

expectations and satisfaction and expectations being motivations for volunteering. Knowledge of these relations can help those working with volunteers to manage volunteer activities in ways that are responsive to expectations. In the the next section, I will discuss various theories that have been used to study expectations of volunteers and consider how these may be relevant to understanding expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers.

II. Theories on expectations of volunteers

One of the theories that have been used in the study of volunteers is related to the roles volunteers have to perform within an organization. How these roles are being constructed was investigated by sociologist Carol Wharton in her study of volunteers who worked with teenage mothers (Wharton 1991). These volunteers were expected to be friends with the teenage mothers they worked with. The *role-making process* is the theoretical basis for the analysis in Wharton's study. Roles are defined as

...a combination of the expectations that people associate with established positions, individual interpretations of these expectations, the interactions of the participants, and the setting's organizational, cultural, historical, and power imperatives... (Wharton 1991: 80)

The volunteers faced hindrances to the performance of their roles and these were identified as the following: “role strain because of the individuals' other commitments, disjunctions between role expectations and the way the role developed that led to disillusionment with the program and/or the role, structural obstacles such as class, race, and age, and resistance from the teenagers” (Wharton 1991: 96). I think *role-making process theory* may be relevant to understanding how WWOOF volunteers' expectations about their roles develop but it may be limited if

used in understanding how the expectations of hosts about their roles are formed.

Social work researcher Allen Rubin and his colleague Irene Thorelli studied social service volunteers and the length of their participation. Rubin and Thorelli's study revealed that if the entry of social service volunteers is motivated more by the volunteers' expectations and needs of self-directed benefits, their participation is shorter (Rubin & Thorelli 1984). Expectations of egoistic benefits in their study are one of the underlying factors in motivating volunteers. *Social exchange theory* (SET) is used to explain why expectations of egoistic benefits lead to shorter participation. The kind of service provided by social service volunteers in this context is responded by a "low level of perceived reciprocity, gratitude, and improvement by the recipient" (Rubin & Thorelli 1984: 225). SET explains that in an interaction maintained over time, the benefits must exceed or at least equal to its costs. When applied to volunteerism, the costs are what the volunteer gives and the egoistic benefits are what the volunteers receive. In this case, the recipients cannot commensurate the expected benefits of the volunteers. Related to this, attribution theory states that "recipients may interpret their seeking and receiving aid as a negative reflection of their own capacities especially when the help exceeds the helper's normal role requirements – as in this case of service volunteers" (Rubin & Thorelli 1984: 225). Hence, the rewards expected by the volunteers cannot be provided by the recipients as explained by attribution theory. I think SET may be relevant to the expectations of WWOOF volunteers in relation to their hosts (as recipients of their volunteer service) and vice versa but in a very limited way (say, if volunteers have limited capacity to provide) since volunteers and hosts are not seeking and receiving aid in the same manner as recipients in Rubin & Thorelli's study.

Recreation and tourism management expert Kathleen Andereck and her colleagues explored how potential volunteer tourists experience expectations and preferences within the context of volunteer tourism by using *expectancy theory* (Andereck, et al. 2012). Expectancy theory states that “a travel experience that meets or exceeds tourists’ expectations will be remembered positively” (Andereck, et al. 2012: 130). The findings of Andereck et al.’s study show that the most important expectation of study participants is the provision of trip-related information. Expectations are defined as “preconceived or preexperience perceptions of a product’s performance or attributes” (Ibid.). I think *expectancy theory* may be relevant to understanding how expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers are related to information provided by each party prior to their engagement (i.e. hosting or volunteering) but this focus on prior information may be too narrow considering that there are other factors that influence expectations.

Social work researcher Walter Rehberg explored the motivations of international volunteers in Switzerland using the *modernization theory* (Rehberg 2005). Expectation is included within the forms of volunteering in Rehber’s study. *Modernization theory* assumes “a change from traditional or collective forms to modern or reflective forms of volunteering” (Rehberg 2005: 109). Traditional volunteering is linked to certain social scenarios such as religious or political communities that are long-term, membership based commitment, and involvement of individuals is motivated by altruism. Modern forms of volunteering are “more project oriented, and volunteers have specific expectations as to form, time, and content of their involvement” (Rehberg 2005: 10). These modern volunteers tend to choose what they want to do and expect some personal rewards from volunteering. Motivations in Rehberg’s study were related side by side with expectations. His study observed that volunteers were frequently motivated by altruism and this is combined with gaining

an advantage for themselves such as inner satisfaction and personal enrichment. Other expectations observed in Rehberg's were concerned with personal development through international volunteering such as gaining self-confidence as well as professional development. I think *modernization theory* may have something to say about how the expectations of WWOOF volunteers change but it seems limited when it comes to understanding change in expectations of WWOOF hosts.

There are a couple of theories used in discussing expectations in the context of working relationships within organizational settings. Information systems and communications theory expert Stefanie Leimeister calls one theory *expectation confirmation theory* (ECT) because this theory deals with mutual expectations in relations based on exchange (Leimeister 2010: 26-27). ECT is not yet used in the study of volunteers' expectations but it could provide a framework to studying aspects of volunteering related to expectations. ECT is usually applied to the area of marketing and consumer behavior and consists of applying four main concepts: expectations, perceived performance, disconfirmation, and satisfaction.

Disconfirmation – either positive or negative – stems from the interaction of expectations with performance and is regarded as a mediating variable in between expectations, performance, and satisfaction. Outperforming expectations cause positive disconfirmation, lower performing expectation lead to negative disconfirmation (Leimeister 2010: 27).

Based on this explanation of ECT, expectations are defined as “ the anticipated or estimated behavior and precede the perceived outcome or performance of a relationship” (Leimeister 2010: 27). This definition may shed light in understanding of expectations of volunteers as well as other parties involved in the volunteering experience. The expectations of the parties will greatly determine the conduct of their relationship and the perceived satisfaction of parties involved. However, since ECT is designed

as a framework for understanding consumer behavior and its applications to marketing and managing relations in organizational settings, there may be assumptions of monetary based exchanges that may not apply to volunteering relations. Thus, we need to look for other theories that may be more useful for understanding expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers.

Another theory that could be useful is *psychological contract theory* (PCT). The various ways PCT has been used in the studying volunteer expectations will be discussed in the next sections.

III. PCT and expectations of volunteers

Psychological contract theory (PCT) is one way to explain behavior at work. Organizational psychologists Neil Conway and Rob Briner state that PCT simply refers to the exchange relationship between employee and employer (Conway & Briner 2005: 1). On this exchange, each party will provide something in return to what the other party can provide. Another organizational psychologist Denise Rousseau refers to a popular definition of a psychological contract as “an individual’s beliefs regarding reciprocal obligations” (Rousseau 1990: 390). Rousseau clarifies further that these perceived obligations are different from the more general concept of expectations since the contract is based on promises and reciprocity. Organizational theorist Karl E. Weick noted however that the “notion of a psychological contract implies that the individual has a variety of expectations of the organization and that the organization has a variety of expectations of him” (Weick 1979: 18). Furthermore, Conway and Briner points to the fact that earlier definitions of the psychological contract emphasized expectations and what really constitute the contract has been the major area of disagreement (Conway & Briner 2009: 81).

Recently, the psychological contract has been used in the study of volunteers. PCT helps to comprehend volunteer behavior and thereby

recognize its importance in volunteer organizations. Museum volunteering studies expert Kristen Holmes and tourism management specialist Karen Smith have shown that volunteers who are not paid have a psychological contract that is distinct from paid employees but the nature of this psychological contract has not been fully investigated (Holmes & Smith 2009: 123). Public administration and policy expert Becky Starnes in her study of psychological contract has noted that when there are perceived breaches in these contracts, volunteers change their behavior such as by decreasing the number of their working hours (Starnes 2007: 31).

While definitions of the psychological contract vary and the place of expectations in this theory are still debatable, the proceeding studies will show how expectations were investigated among volunteers using the psychological contract or PCT as a theoretical framework.

The first study that connects psychological contract with volunteers was that of organizational behavior expert Steven Farmer and colleague Donald Fedor investigated the role of expectations of volunteers in non-profit organizations (Farmer & Fedor 1999). The psychological contract is referred to as a tool that helps voluntary-agency administrators in understanding and managing the contributions of volunteers in their organizations (Farmer & Fedor 1999: 349). Recognizing that PCT is based on the expectations of paid workers of what the organizations will furnish for them, volunteers also have these expectations which suggest that the processes of psychological contracting operate in volunteers. Farmer and Fedor's study focused on how the initial expectations of the volunteers about the job were met. Volunteers who reported that their expectations were met participated more in the organization. Those volunteers who reported high levels of support from the organizations participated more while those who perceived little support and have unmet expectations showed the least participation (Farmer & Fedor 1999: 359). Met expectations have no effect on withdrawal intentions but when

volunteers felt valued and appreciated, these intentions were lower (Farmer & Fedor 1999: 360).

Organizational psychologist Matthew Liao-Troth has pointed out that specifying the psychological contract as expectations in the research instrument by Farmer and Fedor (1999) was incorrect (Liao-Troth 2001: 426) since the constructs of psychological contract and expectations are not one and the same. The psychological contract that is composed of obligations is different from expectations which are general beliefs that employees have about what they will experience in their job and the organization (Robinson 1996: 575). In his study, Liao-Troth instead treated expectations related to work as only one of the aspects related to job attitudes of volunteers and paid employees working in the same location and performing the same jobs (Liao-Troth 2001). He concluded that the psychological contracts for both groups are the same except those that concern benefits (Liao-Troth 2001: 436).

Most of the research on the psychological contract is concerned with the exchange in the form economic and socio-emotional contributions and rewards. Organizational behavior experts Jeffrey Thompson and J. Stuart Bunderson used the term ideological expectations in their theoretical study of the psychological contract (Thompson & Bunderson 2003: 571,538). Thompson and Bunderson noted that ideological expectations can be applied to both (paid) employees as well as (unpaid) volunteers. Thompson and Bunderson suggested that the study of psychological contracts can be enriched by accommodating ideology as the third form of “currency.”

... psychological contract violations need not originate solely from perceptions of direct personal mistreatment by an organization, as implied in most psychological contract research, but also from a perception that the organization has abandoned an espoused principle or cause.

When the psychological contract is infused with ideology, *personal* violations can result from *global* actions that may not directly impact observable aspects of an employee's role or tasks.

In the study by organizational behavior experts Elizabeth Wolfe Morrison and Sandra Robinson, they define psychological contract as expectations regarding reciprocal obligations that constitute an exchange relationship between the employee and the organization (Morrison & Robinson 1997: 228). They say that when obligations of the organization are not fulfilled, a breach of contract occurs in the perception of the employees.

Perceived breach refers to the cognition that one's organization has failed to meet one or more obligations within one's psychological contract in a manner commensurate with one's contributions...perceived breach represents a cognitive assessment of contract fulfillment that is based on an employee's perception of what each party has promised and provided to the other (Morrison & Robinson 1997: 230).

In her study, Becky Starnes investigated if volunteers who perceive a breach of the psychological contract would lessen their contribution to the organization (Starnes 2007). The findings of Starnes show that those volunteers who perceived breaches of the contract lessen the number of their working hours, they perceived a higher quality of their work and there were no changes in their expressed initial intentions to stay with the organization (Starnes 2007: 39). She further suggested that to avoid the adverse effects of perceived breaches of the volunteers' psychological contract, managers can try to provide space for receiving feedback and making corresponding amendments before volunteers experience bad feelings and behavior. She said that they need to be informed of what these psychological contracts are, regularly evaluate them and intent to make necessary changes to support them. When breaches do occur, the

managers must accept these and explain honestly hoping to keep volunteers from withdrawing their contributions.

The aforementioned studies show how expectations were incorporated into PCT as well as how expectations were treated within the empirical and theoretical studies. Those studies also show that PCT is relevant in understanding the expectations of volunteers in relation to managing their participation in organizations. In the next section, I will review empirical studies comparing the expectations of both manager and the volunteers themselves to find out how PCT could be used to understand expectations of WWOOF hosts (who may be similar in some ways to managers) as well as WWOOF volunteers.

IV.PCT and the expectations of both managers and volunteers

Sport management expert Tracy Taylor and her colleagues explored expectations and obligations of community sport club (CSC) administrators and their volunteers in Australia using PCT (Taylor, et al. 2006: 123). Their study found out that CSC administrators have different expectations from their volunteers (Taylor, et al. 2006: 140-145). They found out that administrators are aware of their obligation to provide job descriptions, orientations and mentoring where responsibilities and expectations were being made known (Taylor, et al. 2006: 136). They observed that it took some time for some of the administrators to comprehend that volunteers' expectations vary from the paid employees. On the other hand, Taylor et al.'s study also revealed that the volunteers expressed more about their expectations concerning open communication and good management by the administrators. They expect the administrators to confer with them regarding their status and activities. The increased amount of work was a significant issue for the volunteers but few steps were taken to address this issue. In this exchange between

the volunteers and the organization, the social and emotional dimensions of the contract were proved to be the most important. Moreover, the CSC administrators apparently were not aware if they were able to fulfill or not fulfill the expectations of the volunteers. The study by Taylor, et al. showed that when expectations and obligations are not clear from different parties, breach of the psychological contract and its negative effects are likely to occur. Their study provides a very relevant example of how PCT could be used to understand the different expectations of volunteers compared to expectations of hosts (like the CSC administrators).

Sports management expert Geoff Nichols and his colleague conducted an empirical study that concentrates on expectations of sports event managers and sport event volunteers in the UK (Nichols & Ojala 2009). The expectations of both groups were compared side by side within the framework of the psychological contract and the contract between them was viewed as a social relationship (Nichols & Ojala 2009: 377). The event managers recognize the contributions of volunteers that include enthusiasm, good relations and empathy with the public, and they serve as a cheaper labor force. But the main concern for event managers is ensuring the reliability of volunteers. The volunteers expect “flexibility of engagement, the quality of personal relationships, recognition for their contribution, and a clear communication of what they are expected to do” (Nichols & Ojala 2009: 369). How PCT is used by Nichols and Ojala in their study to understand how expectations of volunteers and sports events managers are directed at each other seems relevant to understanding how the expectations of WWOOF volunteers and hosts are directed at each other as well.

PCT was also used within the field of volunteer tourism. Research volunteer tourism (RVT) is a sector under volunteer tourism that is composed of organizations that coordinate scientists who are willing to pay and be engaged in sustainable development projects in different parts

of the world. The pay covers for the accommodation, travel needs and at times, food as part of the inclusive arrangements. Deborah Blackman, an expert in human resource management and development as well as management of change and organisational behaviour, and her colleague Angela Benson, a voluntourism expert, attempted to use PCT in the management of research volunteers (Blackman & Benson 2010). Among the objectives of their research is to determine the original expectations and actual experiences of the research volunteers from Indonesia, Malaysia and Madagascar and clarifying the expectations of three UK based management owners from their volunteers (Blackman & Benson 2010: 227). They found that the communication of expectations from both organizations and volunteers was challenging. Organizations claim that the requirements for the trip were made clear and were made known to the volunteers before the trip. But the volunteers viewed the communication as needing more improvement. The expectations of volunteers were also linked to the issue of payment – whether the experience was equal to the value for money – which led to mixed responses. The volunteers also need to feel that what they are doing is useful. Many volunteers have expectations after leaving the program. They wished to know the results of the contributions they have made to the research project. But apparently, many of the organizations have not met the main expectation that volunteers need to be continually informed and made to feel as part of the research findings. The way Blackman and Benson used PCT to understand expectations of research volunteers seems relevant to understanding the role of communication and information in fulfilling expectations of WWOOF volunteers.

Christine Stirling, a nurse and rural health expert, and her colleagues applied the psychological contract to the relationship between volunteers and volunteer coordinators/administrators of non-profit organizations in the study they conducted in Tasmania,

Australia (Stirling, et al. 2011). They explored how volunteer expectations matched with the volunteer management practices. The management practices of keeping records of their volunteers and not shouldering the volunteers out of pocket expenses lead to lower volunteer recruitment and retention. The sufficient number of volunteers is positively connected to the relational support given to volunteers, which is, having a newsletter for the volunteers. This relational management practice provides public recognition of the achievements and the contributions of volunteers. Hence, Stirling et al.'s study suggests that the relational expectations of volunteers are an important aspect of the psychological contract that may help in improving management practices that lead to sustaining the needed number of volunteers. Such finding seems relevant in understanding WWOOF volunteer expectations in relation to the prospect of sustaining their participation in wwoofing.

V. PCT and expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers

Considering how PCT is used to study expectations of volunteers and managers in the above studies we briefly reviewed, we see how PCT can be a relevant theoretical framework in trying to understand expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers. This is especially true in relation to the working relationships of WWOOF hosts and volunteers (Blackman & Benson 2010; Taylor, et al. 2006); the reciprocal obligations between them (Nichols & Ojala 2009), and the international WWOOF network; and the idea that breach of contract may lead to less hours of work and early withdrawal (Stirling, et al. 2011). This understanding is what the present study aims to explore. The use of PCT as a theoretical framework is particularly interesting since PCT has been used to uncover perceptions regarding expectations within working relationships. These expectations are understood in PCT as reciprocal obligations between individuals, and

between individuals and organizations, and that breach of mutual expectations as psychological contract leads to negative effects such as shorter participation and early withdrawal from working relationships.

After reviewing several prospective theories and comparing them, PCT seems to be the most relevant theory in understanding expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers, especially since expectations are mutual between them. Mutual expectations are psychological contracts that when breached leads to shorter participation and early withdrawal from the working relationship.

Chapter 3. Methods

While the previous published studies on WWOOF have explored motivations and experiences of hosts and volunteers in New Zealand (McIntosh & Bonnemann 2006; McIntosh & Campbell 2001), my current study focuses on exploring expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers participating in various countries using online semi-structured interview method.

I. Sample

Through purposive sampling, particularly criterion sampling (Given 2008: 697-698), I selected and included only WWOOF hosts and volunteers who have experienced wwoofing. Moreover, I used this sampling method to sample hosts that show 'maximum variation' (Mann & Stewart 2000: 78) since the hosts are from Europe, North and South America, Africa, Asia and Oceania.

According to Miles and Huberman, finding volunteers to interview is quite challenging (Miles & Huberman 1984: 119). Since the sampling method I used is more focused, finding respondents, who are qualified for the interview and are willing at the same time to take part in the study, limited the number of volunteer interviewees.

For this current study, I requested only hosts and volunteers who speak English to participate. Access to hosts as respondents was made possible because I applied for a membership in WWOOF Independents. This membership was crucial to the study because it provided me with access to the e-mail addresses of all the WWOOF hosts. Other hosts and volunteers requested to participate in this study were given invitations through Facebook where the WWOOF network and other interviewees have their own accounts. I also published the invitation through the

WWOOF Independent newsletter, however only two hosts and one volunteer responded to this. Other volunteers were contacted through their blogs about wwoofing. One volunteer was referred by a host. All in all 47 individuals participated in this study.

Considering the limited sample size, this exploratory study I conducted serves as an initial attempt to discover and identify the range of expectations that WWOOF hosts and volunteers have and its implications on establishing and maintaining the exchange relationship between the two parties.

II. Data Collection

Using online semi-structured interview, I asked WWOOF hosts and volunteers to respond through e-mail to express in writing what they expect from their volunteers and vice-versa. Most interviews were done through e-mail. One host opted for Skype video chat and some volunteers chose to be interviewed on Facebook.

The interview guide is composed mostly of open-ended questions. A letter of informed consent was sent to each informant and was acknowledged before the start of the interview. Then interview questions were sent to those who agreed to be interviewed online.

The method of online interviewing is a qualitative research tool that is conducted in an asynchronous (non-real time) manner (James & Busher 2009). The essential feature of this method according to James and Busher is the development of the relationship between the researcher and the respondents who consented to participate (James & Busher 2009). The online site is an avenue where the meeting and sharing of meanings between the researcher and the participants from remote places with variegated cultural circumstances is made possible (Bowker & Tuffin 2004: 229).

The actual time to finish an online interview ranged from 2 hours to 3 months for the longest e-mail interview, except for the one conducted on Skype video chat which lasted for 30 minutes. The span of time spent for the interview was dependent on the availability of the respondents. Some of them forgot and follow-up messages were sent to them to inquire about their availability to continue the interview. Other hosts were busy with farm work. Some hosts and volunteers have limited access to the Internet because they need to travel to the city to be able to respond by e-mail. The rest of the volunteers who were currently wwoofing have limited time and access to the Internet.

Aside from the need to overcome geographical barriers (Meho 2006: 1293), time restraints and financial constraints made online interviewing the most feasible method for this research project. The chosen method made the research process easier for the interviewees to express themselves since they reply to questions according to their willingness and availability. I considered this appropriate because it allowed maintenance of confidentiality. Social desirability bias was lessened by not conducting the interviews face-to-face. Care was given to ensure that information provided by respondents and presented in the findings will not be traced back to them (Wiles, et al. 2008: 418) unless consent is given to the researcher. This measure protected their identity and enhanced confidentiality.

III. Method of Analysis

Two levels of analysis were applied on the results of the online interviews. The first level identified and categorized the expectations using qualitative content analysis. The second level of analysis applied PCT to the expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers that have been categorized based on the data.

First level of analysis

Qualitative content analysis is “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through systematic classification of coding and identifying themes and patterns” (H.-F. Hsieh & Shannon 2005: 1277). Three different approaches were described by Hsieh & Shannon (H.-F. Hsieh & Shannon 2005). The conventional approach to qualitative content analysis is chosen for this study because it is usually used in a study design which aims to describe a phenomenon (H.-F. Hsieh & Shannon 2005: 1279). This study discovers, identifies and distinguishes the expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers. The conventional approach is applicable when there is limited research literature or theory on the phenomenon (H.-F. Hsieh & Shannon 2005: 1279). Since research on WWOOF is very limited and the use of theory on this topic is non-existent, conventional content analysis proved to be a fruitful method.

The categories and the names of the categories are based on the text as result of immersing oneself in the data to gain clarity and understanding of the topic (Kondracki, et al. 2002). Individual themes are taken as units of analysis that might be expressed in a text such as a word, a phrase, a sentence or a paragraph (Zhang & Wildemuth 2009). An individual theme becomes the coding unit that is assigned to a text that represents it. To increase the credibility of the research findings, quotations from text data are shown as the identified categories (Graneheim & Lundman 2004: 109).

Second level of analysis

The results of the first level content analysis were fed into a second level of analysis where expectations are used as proxies to model an explanation of hosting and volunteering behavior in terms of PCT. Such explanation model is not generalized as valid explanation of all hosting and volunteering behavior associated with WWOOF, rather, it is merely posed

as a possible hypothesis for further, and perhaps quantitative investigation. The second level of analysis merely suggests a possible explanation based on perceptions and accounts of hosts and volunteers and will not be used to generalize the suggested theoretical explanation.

The second level of analysis attempted to describe expectations after comparing these with PCT distinctions.

IV. Ethical considerations

Initially, I sent invitation to participate in the form of a short message to all participants asking for permission to send more information about the research project. I did this to avoid sending long and unwanted messages. Upon receiving favorable response, I sent the letter of informed consent together with the request for demographic data. When these data were received, these imply the decision of the host or volunteer to take part in the online interview. I thanked both participants and those who expressed that they are not participating for their replies. Moreover, anonymity of responses and confidentiality were explicitly stated in the letter of informed consent.

The letter of informed consent contains the purpose of the study (Elgesem 2002: 198), how the research results will be published and the opportunity to ask for clarification or the need for more information. Two WWOOF hosts requested more information about the identity of the researcher and other inquiries regarding the research project.

Since the participation of interviewees was voluntary, I informed them that they are free not to answer any question or questions if they so choose. They also had the option to stop the interview at any time and without giving any reason.

I also recognize as researcher that undertaking this research goes beyond fulfilling personal and academic benefits. "Research is intended to be of reciprocal or mutual benefits to researchers, participants and society,

not just a one-way arrangement” (James & Busher 2009: 63). I made the interviewees aware that while this project had no direct benefit for them the information obtained from this study will hopefully inform efforts to enhance the relationship between WWOOF hosts and volunteers.

Chapter 4. Findings

This chapter covers demographic characteristics of the research participants and the results of interviews are grouped into different categories using content analysis. The analysis that will be presented below reflects the range and variety of responses to questions related to expectations. Extracted quotations from the interviews are enclosed within quotations marks and the longer ones are contained as indented paragraphs. Typographical errors are maintained to avoid altering these quotations and to ensure their accuracy. The words ‘volunteers’ and ‘woofers’ were used interchangeably and it is the same with ‘volunteering’ and ‘woofing.’

I. Introduction of participants

A. Profile of hosts

A total of twenty-seven (27) hosts were interviewed online. These hosts are members of the WWOOF Independents organization and are from Africa (Kenya and South Africa), Asia (Malaysia and Thailand), Europe (Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Serbia, and Slovenia), North America (Antigua and Barbuda, British Virgin Islands, Nicaragua and Tonga), South America (Peru, Venezuela), and Oceania (Tahiti and Tonga). The rest of the hosts are members of national WWOOF organizations from Borneo (1), India (1), New Zealand (1), and the USA (1).

Ages ranged from 27 to 63, although most are between 30 and 59 years. The number of male hosts is almost the same with the number of female hosts. Most of them have finished tertiary (bachelors) and postgraduate studies. Aside from farming and hosting volunteers, most hosts are employed in other jobs. Their hosting experience ranged from one month

to 45 years although most of them were hosting for more than four years already.

The demographic profile of hosts in this study is similar to previous findings of hosts in New Zealand (McIntosh & Campbell 2001).

B. Profile of volunteers

Twenty (20) volunteers were interviewed. These volunteers worked for their hosts in their own countries and abroad. Half of them originated from the United States of America (6) and the United Kingdom (4). Two each from Australia (2) and France (2) while one each from Czech Republic, India, Japan, South Korea, Singapore, and Spain.

Ages ranged from 19 to 52, whereas more than half are between 20 to 30 years old. There were more female volunteers (11) than males (9). Most of them have finished tertiary education while some completed master's degrees. Others have graduated from secondary school. Two volunteers were currently studying. Most of them were holding jobs while three were either on leave or unemployed. Experiences with volunteering for WWOOF lasted from 3 weeks to more than a year. Only one volunteered for less than a week. Most were international volunteers from various countries such as Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Costa Rica, Ireland, Japan, Italy, Morocco, New Zealand, Romania, Scotland, Spain, Sweden, Tonga, and Wales. Four have volunteered for hosts in their own countries such as Australia, Japan, and the USA (2).

The demographics of volunteers in this study were similar to the profile of WWOOF applicants studied in New Zealand (McIntosh & Bonnemann 2006).

II. Discussion of results

Findings of the study cover motivation to start hosting and volunteering and its relation to the formation of the psychological contract, expectations between hosts and volunteers, communication as expectation, expectations

concerning the WWOOF organization, and motivation to continue in relation to the fulfillment of the psychological contract.

A. Motivation to start and formation of the psychological contract

In the process of exploring the contents of the psychological contract of hosts and volunteers, **motivation is discovered as playing an important role in the formation of expectations.** Aside from this role, some motivations mentioned in this section correspond to expectations which form the contents of the psychological contract such as social reasons and cultural exchange that will be discussed in the next section. Psychological contract theory states that motivations are “expressed as expectations of a particular kind, varying according to what a person, realistically or unrealistically, believes is possible or likely for him (Levinson, et al. 1962: 27).

Hosts were asked how they decided to accept volunteers. The same question was asked to volunteers regarding their decision to work for their hosts. This question aims to explore what their motivations were and how they arrived at the decision to host and volunteer respectively.

Both hosts and volunteers have decided to participate as a response to “forces that originate both within as well as beyond” themselves (Pender 1998: 11). Motivation therefore is also described as “a psychological process resulting from the interaction between the individual and the environment” (Latham & Pinder 2005).

Hosts and volunteers were driven not only by one motivation. The motivation to start hosting were varied while the motivation to start volunteering does not depend on any specific category of motivations, but rather by a mixture of motives (Cnaan & Goldberg-Glen 1991: 281). Motivations of hosts and volunteers deviate because of their distinct roles as hosts and volunteers. This contrast may seem apparent because some of their motivations also displayed traits of similarity and complementarity.

1. Contrast of motivations

Contrast of motivation is observed owing to the defined roles of hosts and volunteers. Since volunteers in this study are international and domestic travelers providing work for their hosts who are members of their immediate communities, the definition provided in the tourism literature may be applied here. In the study of host-guest relationships in tourism literature, binary opposition was traditionally ascribed to the definition of hosts and guests (Sherlock 2001). Tourists as guests “are seen as engaging in consumption practices and hosts as engaging in productive practices” (Sherlock 2001: 273).

In relation to motivations, pre-existing resources enable the host to receive volunteers and provide food and accommodation. Volunteers as travelers use their resources to pursue pre-existing travel goals. These motivations were not shared by hosts.

a. Pre-existing resources of hosts

Hosting requires resources which would prepare them to accommodate volunteers. Some hosts explicitly cited the resources that they currently have which enabled them to provide for the needs of the volunteers. These are “physical means to host volunteers” (H24) such as land for farming that includes “extra living space, lots of extra food on the farm” (H5) and costs for transporting volunteers. As one host said, “We know there will be a cost to it and we are lucky to be able to afford it. But the average ...farmer could never afford them” (H14).

b. Pre-existing travel goals of volunteers

Travel goals as motivations of volunteers in this section are considered pre-existing in relation to prior arrival to their destination. It is assumed that if these goals for travelling are not part of their motivations, the relationship of exchange will not take place in the first place. Holiday and

vacation, and place-specific reasons are included because they are related to travelling goals. It should be noted as travelers, they also use up resources such as money and time and if these are not available, they cannot afford to volunteer (Netting 2007). Moreover, travel may be considered as instrumental in order for volunteers to reach their goals.

Travelling goals Travel as one of the main goals of volunteers both means as going overseas or exploring domestically in their own countries. There were four volunteers who visited different places in their home countries.

Travel was also construed as “to embark on a spiritual and personal journey” (V17). For the rest, it was a different travel experience because it was viewed as “a great break from travelling around, staying in one place for a little longer....” (V10).

Holiday and vacation Volunteering is a means of spending holiday and vacation time such as summer to “live simply and harmoniously between the busy and stressful school months” (V18). If values reflect what one prefers or avoids, some volunteers find it wwoofing as “more interesting than staying in hostels in big cities and party all the time with non-[XXX] people (or whatever people from the country you're in)” (V15). Some prefer to stay longer in one place and “wanted to avoid staying in backpackers lodges with other tourists” (V7).

Place-specific reasons Why a certain geographical location is preferred was mentioned by some volunteers. In a study on participation of volunteers geographer Betsy J. Donald identified place-specific reasons as one of the common motivators in volunteering in environmental stewardship groups (Donald 1997).

A volunteer has chosen northern countries specifying its various attributes, “Also, I knew I was going to love the countryside (all this

green), the architecture (all these old bended buildings), the atmosphere...” (V15). City life was contrasted with the beauty offered by the countryside in other countries:

We are from Singapore, grew up here. A concrete, 100% city. Singaporeans grew up in air conditioning boxes and because it's very very hot and humid all year round (we have no distinct seasons, being right on the equator), we try to avoid being outdoors most of the time. There are mosquitoes, bugs, sweaty people, hot oppressive sun. It's really not our fault. But whenever we went overseas either for holiday or to work/study - to Australia or to Europe, we saw how beautiful the countryside was. Not just beautiful, but infinitely fulfilling. We were able to sit on the grass and just ponder how lovely the day was! Never happens in Singapore. (V19)

Volunteers wanted to work for farm hosts with organic production “not using any chemical herbicides, pesticides or fertilizers” (V15). A volunteer remarked that the “location of the actual farm was important. Was it just come backyard in a village. Or did it have beautiful and inspiring views” (V19).

Contrast of motivations as supported by definition based on binary opposition mentioned earlier may not fully describe the other characteristics of these motivations. WWOOF volunteers were not merely concerned with consumption but also participate in productive practices of their hosts. This could be the explanation why one host referred to her wwoofers as volunteer tourists when she said, “with people from all over the world coming to our island to wwoof, they are volunteer tourists and this is what I can do for the tourism on our island” (H13). For this host, there is not inconsistency between being volunteers and tourists at the same time. If tourists were perceived to be genuinely volunteering, there will be no misunderstanding of motivations. But examining the WWOOF experience within tourism is not acceptable to some WWOOF organizations and some volunteers were hesitant to be identified as tourists (Ord & Amer 2010).

2. Similarity of motivations

Motivations to start hosting and volunteering show similarity in areas of how past influences led them both to WWOOF, they both share environmental values and goals, and both cited positive emotions as motivations.

a. Past influences

Both hosts and volunteers got acquainted with WWOOF through past influences that included personal volunteering and hosting experiences and through social ties.

Personal volunteering and hosting experiences For some hosts, they have worked for WWOOF as volunteers before. These past wwoofing experiences have led them to be hosts. Others have past experiences as hosts for couchsurfers and later decided to host for WWOOF.

Couchsurfing (CS) is another form of hospitality exchange network where guests initially meet their hosts online and meet offline afterwards (Tan 2010). These hosts view WWOOF as an “amazing platform to share knowledge and skills on natural and organic farming Technics” (H23).

Some hosts hosted backpackers before accepting WWOOF volunteers. Backpackers are travelers who were known to prefer more affordable accommodation (Loker-Murphy & Pearce 1995). One host who accommodated backpackers before said:

When we property in Malaysia, we tested our ability to host with the help of a backpacker place in Kota Kinabalu. The owner often had people that were stock in Sabah without anything to do or had very limited budget (tourist activities and accommodations are expensive in Sabah) .. So we expense was positive so we expended our means to contact helpers (including WWOOF). (H4)

Some volunteers had prior volunteering experiences that contributed to their decision to be wwoofers. Like some hosts, other volunteers had likewise hosted couchsurfers and for them, “Wwoofing seemed to be a natural continuation of the same philosophy” (V1).

Social ties The hosting experiences of other people such as friends spurred two hosts to take volunteers in their farms as helpers. Others have tried hosting because they have been encouraged by success of other neighboring WWOOF hosts.

Social ties predicts the volunteering behavior of individuals and this interpersonal relationships motivates them to further their participation (Sokolowski 1996). Volunteers got acquainted with WWOOF through their friends who have told them about their experiences with wwoofing. These friends have suggested and recommended volunteering for WWOOF and finally convinced them to take part in it. This is also referred to as social-adjustive motive when volunteers decide to participate when told by other people such as friends (Okun & Eisenberg 1992). A volunteer said:

I don't have enough knowledge to open my organic garden as a farmer. So I consulted with my friend that I wanted to learn about organic farming and the Western vegetables in foreign countries. He is a British, and taught me that Wwoofing is the way to do it. (V3)

WWOOF volunteering is promoted further through social ties as it is being shared with others with the same needs and interests such as meditation:

i was fortunate to meet one fellow meditator from Germany , who introduced me to Wwoof . I am always grateful to him for that matter. This is how i was introduced to wwoof. And now i am introducing this to my friends who are looking such places... (V12)

b. Environmental values and goals

Past research on volunteer motivation shows that people volunteer to demonstrate or express their deeply held beliefs (Wymer & Starnes 1999: 31). A value refers to “an enduring belief that a particular mode of conduct or that a particular end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or end-states of existence” (Rokeach 1968: 550). Hosts and volunteers share environmental values that reflect the farming career and sustainable lifestyles they were pursuing.

Career in sustainability Organic farming as a career was a personal goal for a volunteer-turned-host. He bought a land to practice what he has learned from his former WWOOF hosts converting his past volunteer experience into a career in farming.

Volunteering for WWOOF gives opportunities to learn and improve oneself as part of future career plans. One volunteer was planning to be an organic farmer and the other was pursuing a related career in sustainable agriculture. As one volunteer said:

I decided to wwoof, because I have been interested in pursuing a career in sustainable agriculture. I viewed wwoofing as an easy way to get first hand experience on farms that are doing work relevant to my career plans. (V2)

Sustainable lifestyle For some hosts, hosting volunteers gave them the opportunity to seek a more relaxing and healthier lifestyle. Others needed support for their goals toward self-sustainability and development such as permaculture projects. Organic farming for one host is an expression of his chosen lifestyle:

Organic farming is more than an agricultural pursuit. It is a rewarding way of living against the status quo. Volunteer labor systems are essential for the sustainability of zero/minimum

profit food supply systems. It is a small and fundamental part of the global nature conscious counter culture that has emerged in resistance to the corporate, chemical, capitalist crisis that is our times. Wwoofing is a strong and direct way of connecting people to each other and the land. It is a small part of the invisible revolution. (H1)

Self-sustainability became a long-term goal for a couple who decided for an alternative life and volunteered for WWOOF – “On a bigger level, we dreamed of having a self sustainable life, where we could grow our own food and work on the land.” (V19)

c. Positive emotions

Emotions contribute in shaping and defining what individuals consider as their most important goals and values (Charland 1998). Hosts have shared pleasant feelings brought about by past experiences and other emotions such as interest, curiosity and inspiration.

Pleasant feelings Past volunteering and hosting experiences brought about positive feelings that fueled the desire to try hosting. These experiences were described as “very pleasant” (H4), “it is beneficial both ways” (H10), and “have not been disappointed” (H15). Hosts felt that they were “very happy” (H12) with their volunteers.

Inspiration Inspiration in this case is triggered by the motivating influence of a friend, a stimulus from the external environment (Thrash & Elliot 2003). A host expressed this inspiration:

I’d heard about wwoof long ago, but it was a friend who began as wwoof host who inspired me to do the same. We had taken part in other projects for voluntary workers to come to our farm, so it wasn’t such a big step for us. (H9)

Interest and curiosity Interest is a “curious emotion” that motivates a person to explore new things, visit new places and try new experiences (Silvia 2008: 57). Some hosts were motivated by interest in wwoofing and this was being nourished through reading about WWOOF. For example, one host said:

We have always been interested in wwoofing, and we used to regularly read the Grassroots book from Australia, that always mentioned them. When the farm came into my hands I thought why not have wwoofers here.... (H13)

Volunteers were also driven by interest with “eating naturally” (V17), sustainable agriculture such as natural and organic farming. Even before volunteering, a wwoofer’s lingering interest in food systems led her to volunteer for WWOOF:

Before WWOOFing I studied environmental studies with a concentration in sustainable food systems in Seattle, Washington. I interned with an NGO that is helping to relocalize the food system in Seattle by bringing producers and consumers closer together. I worked at an organic, fair trade, chocolate factory for 3 years. I frequent my farmers markets and visit farms in my area. I have always been interested in food and farming and I took off on this round the world trip to learn first hand how the foods I eat are produced. Foods like cacao and chocolate, grapes and wine, milk and cheese, coffee, vegetables etc... (V16)

Happiness, fulfillment and satisfaction Volunteering for some was a quest for happiness, fulfillment and satisfaction in the lives as shared by the following volunteers:

So in our late twenties, after working in the corporate world for 7 years, we decided that money was not making us happy and fulfilling us. We could afford to buy the next latest iphone, and the next pretty handbag but we felt empty inside. So we, as a married couple, with no kids no mortgage, decided to leave our jobs and go wwoofing. (V19)

I was teaching high school science at the time and didn't feel a great deal of satisfaction. I wanted to explore my home country

and get connected with the source of my food. Wwoofing met these desires perfectly. (V13)

Feeling of pride Volunteers arrive with readiness to receive work responsibilities from their hosts with the motivation to experience the feeling of pride in accomplishment. One volunteer said:

I expected them to give us responsibilities, not just a little job and then another one. I liked it when we had a big project to do, and when I left the house feeling proud of what we had done (like a solar cooker, a wall of brick, a garden, lot of canned food... (V8)

3. Complementarity of motivations

a. Pressing needs of hosts and volunteers

Pressing needs as motivation for both hosts and volunteers become opportunities for mutual exchange of resources such as food and accommodation and farm labor respectively. Both groups expressed financial motivation and pursuing their various respective goals led them to enter into this relationship of exchange. The nature of this financial motivation differs however as the findings below will show. Financial constraint of hosts compliments with the financial consideration of the volunteers

Physical help For many hosts, the motivation to accept volunteers is driven by the physical help much needed in the farm. Volunteers give valuable labor on the farm and the nature of reliance of hosts upon them may vary (Ord & Amer 2010). Volunteers provide valuable labor not only for organic farming and gardening but also to other sustainable projects such as permaculture and building of an ecovillage. Permaculture is shorter way of referring to permanent agriculture or permanent culture that aims to create human habitation and food production closer to natural design (Diver 1998). The ecovillage on the other hand is a community

settlement trying to live meaningful and satisfying lives with its emphasis on ecology (Kasper 2008).

Financial constraints Organic farming necessitates costs that farmers need to face which includes solving existing financial problems and saving costs (Padel 2001). The labor that volunteers provide alleviates the financial limitations confronting farmers as expressed by one host:

The activities of organic sustainability are not financially viable for a small production (no sales), due to too-low food prices, increasing the number of hands available for a normally nominal added financial cost is worthwhile in order to develop the site.
(H24)

Physical needs For volunteers who wanted to pursue their various goals, WWOOF hosts offered what they physically needed. A student who wanted to spend her summer vacation “would need to spend very little since room, board, and transportation were provided for the most part” (V18).

Financial considerations Working for WWOOF allowed some volunteers to pursue travelling with limited budget. One volunteer said:

I decided to work as a volunteer because I was in New Zealand for traveling ...and I wanted to visit other country. My amount of money was restricted so I decided for WWOOF. Work as a volunteer was the best solution for me. (V6)

b. Motivation to help and to work

Pressing needs of hosts and volunteers show complementarity. In addition to this, motivation of volunteers to help and work physically contributes to the fulfillment of the need of farms hosts for farm labor.

Helping others Some volunteers wanted to be of service to the fulfillment of other people’s dreams. One volunteer said, “it gave me the chance to

help other people actualise their dreams by providing work for them” (V9).

Working out physically Volunteer wanted to spend their time doing “something outside and physical” (V18) during school break and while others were looking forward to mix travelling while enjoying “being outdoors and working hard” (V5).

The compatibility of motivations was also observed in the study of desires of farm tourism hosts and guests in farm stay experience (Ingram 2011). Guests in farm stay wanted to experience what the hosts can offer them and friendships have been forged between them. Their hosts on the other hand adjusted to their needs and provided an enjoyable holiday for them.

c. Teaching and learning

Hosts who have started as volunteers decided to practice what they learned and in return teach volunteers through working with them. One host views performance of his role as an “amazing platform to share knowledge and skills on natural and organic farming Technics” (H23). Teaching for others means demonstrating alternative modes of existence:

to introduce people to alternative ways of living ----- from spirituality, to home building, to living "off the power-grid", to introducing them to deep green ecology. (H6)

Learning as a motivation is mutually shared between hosts and volunteers. The former were also motivated by the desire to learn from volunteers new methods of improving farm operations. Hosts were willing to collect ideas and exchange views and experiences about farming in other countries.

Volunteers wanted to learn from “experienced farmers” (V9) and gain first hand experience of local and large-scale food production (V16), sustainable farming and practices such as low impact living, and house building with recycled materials.

d. Social reasons

Hosts wanted to meet new people from different places around the globe (H12). They longed for companionship especially to hosts who felt living in “very isolated part of the world” (H12) and for some who were living alone. Being together with volunteers were perceived by hosts as being with people of the same mind and anticipate to interact with them (H26) - exchanging views and experiences about farming, brainstorming ideas, sharing experiences and motivating one another. Moreover, young volunteers bring “fresh wind” which hosts found beneficial to them and their children (H17).

Interacting with people from far away countries provide a chance for some hosts to build an international network and establish an international outlook (H20). For some hosts, it is a way of gathering ideas and friends. For example, one host said:

...we like the idea of our project to include experiences from people from all around the world. So we thought hosting Wwoofers would be a great way to start collecting ideas, experiences and friends or interactions with likeminded people. (H14)

Togetherness with people adds meaning to the experience of community (Webber, et al. 1991). Hosts intended to build their communities through working with volunteers. A host said:

We decided from the begining of our living group Life project that it is almost that we would definately be a WWOOF host, in a way you could say we had WWOOFers in mind when we began our project...in my opinion from my experience that without

doing things together with other people, there is a gap in the magic of life and community. (H16)

Like hosts, volunteers also were drawn to needs for friendship and living in the family. A volunteer “found the idea of living in the family really nice” (V15) and she found a host’s family who made her feel a part of their family. She valued this “more than learning about organic stuff” (V15). She adds:

The ...place I stayed (in the south of Sweden) was amazing; it was a little family (parents and a little three years old boy) with goats, cats, geese, hens... and a very beautiful farm. They welcomed me as a daughter - I was supposed to stay for two weeks, and I stayed for two months and a half, spending Christmas and New Year's Eve with them. I think I can say that we are great friends now - especially with the woman with whom I was spending all day every week day. (V15)

e. Cultural exchange

Hosts were curious about the culture of their volunteers. This motivation makes social interaction foster cultural exchange. One host values cultural exchange because she wanted her children to be “open minded” (H19).

One host intended to offer the kind of hospitality that caters to social and cultural interaction:

I decided to become a WWOOF host to provide house Based/ Accommodation to the wwwoofers to enhance social integration and cultural immersion-NOT provided at the big Tourist Hotels and Lodges which are also too expensive. This also make them to be treated to typical Africa Hospitality which we do hope provides them with an exciting movements and experience in life. (H18)

Volunteers wanted to meet “new people” (V4, V20, V19) in a “new country” (V15). This motivation was the most appealing for some of them. For them, discovering a new country meant yearning for a more authentic introduction to the country and its people (V7). This desire was also

explained as knowing and interacting with culture and habits of the locals and getting engaged with farm and country life.

Motivations to start hosting identified in the present study are similar to the previous research on motivations of WWOOF hosts in New Zealand (McIntosh & Campbell 2001) which include voluntary help, social reasons, cultural exchange, teaching, benefit for their children and financial motives. Other categories of hosts' motivations that were found identified in this study are past influences, preparatory resources, environmental values and goals, learning from volunteers and positive emotions. How the hosts came to know WWOOF through past influences such as friends and their environmental values were mentioned in the study (McIntosh & Campbell 2001) but were not identified as motivations.

Some of the motivations to start volunteering were also found in the study of WWOOF volunteers in New Zealand such as environmental interests and values, novelty of rural environment, meeting local people, cultural exchange, learning and the need for activity (Nimmo 2001). Other motivations to start volunteering classified in this study are pressing needs (physical needs and financial considerations, learning, pre-existing travel goals (holiday and vacation and place-specific reasons), and helping others. The need for food and accommodation was not identified as motivation but discussed as an influence in extending the length of time that volunteers can spend for travelling (Nimmo 2001).

Based on these results, motivations between hosts and volunteers may be matched to achieve compatibility (McIntosh & Campbell 2001).

B. The contents of the psychological contract of hosts and volunteers

Findings reveal expectations that hosts and volunteers have regarding the transactional and relational aspects of their relationship. These expectations make up the contents of their psychological contract. As

defined, the “psychological contract is a series of mutual expectations of which the parties to the relationship may not themselves be even dimly aware but which nonetheless govern their relationship to each other” (Levinson, et al. 1962: 21). Expectations included the kind of motivation they expect from each other. Other theorists of the psychological contract do not include expectations but only the “perceived mutual obligations that characterize the employee’s relationship with his/her employer (Robinson & Rousseau 1994: 246). Aside from motivation, the findings in this exploratory study however, show that the psychological contract of hosts and volunteers contain obligations in their expectations. All the respondents were inquired about what they consider as their own expectations and what they perceive as their own and the other party’s obligations. There are expectations not considered as obligations. Obligations were prerequisites for the exchange relationship to take place. Other remaining expectations in this section deals with communication as expectation and expectations concerning the WWOOF organization.

The transactional and relational aspects of the psychological contract

The psychological contract of hosts and volunteers is both transactional and relational. The application of psychological contract theory to volunteers have shown that since they do not receive monetary payment for their work, their expectation for financial compensation and the obligation of the organization to provide wages is not significant (Kim, et al. 2009). According to Taylor et al.’s study on community sport club volunteers, their transactional contract was not significant because they depend more on their relational contract with their managers (Taylor, et al. 2006). The transactional aspect of the psychological contract such as “material inducements” can be viewed as not relevant to volunteers (Chelladurai 2006: 308). This may hold true in organizations that do not

require their managers to provide food and accommodation for volunteers who are expected to work and live with them.

I think Taylor et al.'s view on transactional contract mentioned above may not be the case for WWOOF volunteers. In response to the need to capture the distinction between transactional and relational contract (Coyle-Shapiro & Parzefall 2008) I tried to describe the exchange relationship between hosts and volunteers. My view is that the transactional contract for volunteers is what they expect from their hosts in return for work namely, food and accommodation. Food and accommodation as compensation in-kind (Mosedale 2011) is highly valued by volunteers based on the responses they have shared to me in the course of my correspondence with them which I will present later in this section. According to the hosting guide of WWOOF Independents, most of the complaints were concerning these provision of food and accommodation (WWOOF Independents 2012c). Moreover, for other volunteers, the transactional contract also includes learning opportunities for them. For hosts, the transactional contract is equivalent to the time, effort and expenses they have incurred to provide for volunteers' physical needs.

The host-volunteer relations are situated within the property of hosts. Since volunteers are domestic and international travelers who were both expected to stay and work for the hosts, they needed "wages" (V18) as one volunteer calls it in the form of physical sustenance and shelter to be able to work. Volunteers are part of the budget and therefore, they are not "free resources" because they "receive nonsalary benefits" (Berman 2006: 185).

For WWOOF hosts and volunteers, the transactional and relational contracts are not separate entities but may be treated as aspects comprising their exchange relationship. The relational aspect of the exchange relationship was also important to both hosts and volunteers. If volunteers

valued social relationships (Taylor, et al. 2006), hosts also value these relational aspects. This could depend on how one views the relationship between the transactional and relational aspects of the psychological contract. One volunteer seems to imply that work as part of the transactional aspect is an extension of the relational aspect when he said:

I guess that it is to work for the host and to exchange the knowledge and experiences each other. According to that I would make a good relationship with my host. (V3)

Some volunteers whose expectations were not met cited social reasons for staying with their hosts. They opted to stay because of the social atmosphere as one volunteer did inspite of the physical inconvenience, bad weather and lack of internet access:

Yes, at times living conditions are not optimal, there is no internet connection nearby and the weather is crummy. But I will stay if the people are graet. If the people on the farm are rude, demeaning, or completely ignore me, I leave sooner than expected. (V16)

I will present in this chapter how hosts value the relational aspect of the exchange relationship with volunteers based on expectations and obligations perceived as their own and as of their volunteers.

1. Motivation in relation to expectations

During the process of identifying motivations to start hosting and volunteering, the present study discovered the relationship of these motivations to expectations. Most categories identified in expectations are related to motivation. It can be assumed that motivations and expectations are identical but they are distinct. Motivation when expressed as needs, goals and values, “the generated motivation constitutes a major parameter in expectation formation” (Gnoth 1997: 283).

a. Motivation is distinct from expectation

Motivation as distinct from expectations could be surmised from the expectations of first time volunteers. Four of the volunteers I interviewed have worked for WWOOF for the first time. Their motivations for volunteering were travel goals, learning, and sustainability goals and environmental values. They have mentioned that they have no specific expectations from their hosts since they have “no idea what it was going to be like” (V18) and they “didn’t know what” (V15) they could expect. Their general expectations were regarding work and social relationship with their hosts. Hence, their motivations show that these are distinct from their expectations.

b. Motivation as part of expectations

Hosts expect their volunteers to be “highly motivated ...and cherish the value of manual labor” (H26). They must be “interested in organic agriculture and must be willing to learn and participate” (H9). And when they arrive, they come with “honest intentions, curiosity, and a collaborative spirit” (H15). The challenge was encountering volunteers who were taking advantage of the situation “that come for the beach and free food (free loaders)” (H4). Based on experiences of some hosts, most volunteers were motivated to use WWOOF for travelling rather than by interest in farming. For example, a host reported that:

The vast majority of WWOOFers were actually not really interested in agriculture or gardening. They use WWOOF as a cheap way to travel. We even had a girl that would not deal with a bit of dirt on her hands and clothing (we did offer working clothing but overalls were not her style) and a guy that was putting plastic in our compost bin. We have to explain to him why we separated organic waste (H4)

Some volunteers found it challenging to perceive that their hosts treat them more as farm help. As one volunteer said, “hosts were more interested in cheap labor than in any cultural or intellectual exchange of ideas” (V5).

Perceived incongruence in motivation may be the result of interpreting the action of others according one’s primary motivations. For instance, if hosts were primarily motivated by need for workers and not mainly by cultural and intellectual exchange, their volunteers will be perceived as not really interested in organic farming. Motivation cannot be observed but can only be deduced from the overt behavior of persons being evaluated. Interpretation of motivation was based on perceived motivation by the other party. “Misinterpretation of motives and misunderstanding” do occur in the encounter between hosts and guests (Sutton Jr 1967: 221) as cited in (Mittelberg & Palgi 2011: 105).

2. Expectations within the transactional aspect of the psychological contract

Expectations within the work/learning exchange will be treated as part of the transactional aspect. According to the wwoofing guide by WWOOF Independents (WWOOF Independents 2012b), expectations form the basis of exchange between hosts and volunteers. It states that volunteers can expect:

to receive warm, dry, clean accommodation and adequate food in return for their help; to receive hands-on experience of organic growing, country living or ecologically sound lifestyles; and to receive learning opportunities as part of their stay, by working alongside their host in their everyday tasks. (Ibid.)

Based on their responses, both hosts and volunteers consider most expectations about work, food, accommodation, safety and learning as obligations.

a. Work

Hosts acknowledge their obligation to provide hands-on work experience for their volunteers and show fairness. The fair exchange of labor was seen as justification for the food and lodging they provide. Fairness may mean divergently since the amount of work expected differs among hosts and volunteers.

Amount of work The amount of work expected by hosts from their volunteers varies from 4-7 hours a day within 5 to 6 days. The rest do not specify the hours and days like one host who said that, “they help us enough that we are not drained of energy and time from our regular life” (H16). Those who were not explicit about this viewed work as being accomplished “by way of self inspiration and personal initiative” (H15) and preferred to “keep the terms more fluid and less defined” (H22). Other hosts prefer to be flexible during the hectic time of the year. Consequently, the amount of free time for volunteers was affected.

As their obligation, volunteers were looking forward to a fair amount of 4-6 hours. Others expect about 25 hours a week but not more than 25 hours. The rest intended to work longer than the others because they “prefer to work harder and make the most” of their time. For some volunteers, working hours should be reasonable and flexible. Providing free time for volunteers is one of the obligations of hosts. One volunteer expected “to have 1.5 days off every week” (V16). They needed time to unwind and freedom to do their own activities. They would appreciate the presence of their hosts and their assistance regarding weekend activities and places they could go. For other volunteers, hosts are obliged to provide information about to do during free time.

Volunteers found fairness in work hours as challenging because some of them worked for more than 6 hours a day while others ended up working 14 hours a day, 7 days a week. During these working hours,

some volunteers who were not accustomed to farm labor seem to accept it as part of the exchange. They get easily tired with tasks such as “cutting the forest with machete” (V14). Particularly for those who grew up in the city, they find farm labor very demanding during the first week. This difficult experience entailed for some to work “outside at very cold temperature” (V15). A volunteer has been wwoofing for more than a year already and she found it challenging to have “to change the rhythm of life and work” (V15). For some volunteers, it is the obligation of hosts to make sure they are comfortable and happy in their working conditions.

The most difficult experience for hosts “involve very lazy wwoofers who come just for a free holiday” (H13). Volunteers were perceived as lacking initiative and “do not understand the circumstances they are coming to” (H3). For some hosts, other volunteers have “a romantic idea of farming and living outdoors” (H4). One host reported that volunteers were “walking around looking busy and not actually doing anything” (H8). Still another host said that:

Shorter term WWOOFers (1-3weeks) that typically try to book with only 1 or 2 weeks notice later in mid-summer are much less serious, reliable, or understand the WWOOF principles properly. They also gain less because there is not enough time to see results, but they exploit more during the best growing season.
(H24)

For volunteers who lack experience, hosts found it challenging to repeatedly explain and demonstrate the work needed to be done. They also experienced difficulties in teaching different skills and this could sometimes lead to “bad quality work” (H4). This may entail for some hosts to encourage their volunteers to work at the speed they work. Moreover, it was not easy for some hosts to organize and coordinate a big group of new volunteers. Some of them did not like taking directions and could always pose a great problem in farms where detailed work is needed. They also found that it was difficult for younger volunteers to

work independently. Hosts were considering giving less difficult tasks to volunteers with no or little experience with farm work.

Variety of work Hosts expect themselves to offer a variety of work that involve “weeding, picking fruits, cleaning around the fields, tending to chickens or horses, perhaps helping and learning some building techniques” (H14). One host from Belgium describes the different work opportunities in his garden:

Work variety as we grow a permaculture garden of 15.000m², most of the year (feb to dec) there is always weeding, harvesting, seeding, ...we do this with whoever is here wwoofers are invited and join (mostly) wholeheartedly as we also work on the domain (3 houses/2 ponds/5 polytunnels/1 glass house/...) some wwoofers also do wood/metal-work as needed... (H7)

For some volunteers, it is the obligation of hosts to provide variety of work to “make it less mundane” and “learn more” (V19). Expectations vary according to the kind of farm that they have chosen to visit. A volunteer preferred to use his skills while learning new ones.

Quality of work In terms of quality, some hosts expect their volunteers to work hard as they do like one host from said, “Try and work as hard as us and if not possible then try their best” (H5). This entails “a sound body n mind” (H26). But there were hosts that were willing to take volunteers who have physical limitations such as back problems.

Some volunteers have shared their opinion that hosts should not expect too much. It is their obligation to understand the range of jobs that volunteers can do. As hosts, they were required by some volunteers not to treat them as paid workers and not just free labor. They should not be overworked and hosts should not expect them to be perfect. As volunteers, they wanted to be viewed as “potential next-generation farmer” (V18).

b. Food

Both hosts and volunteers consider food provision as obligation of hosts. Hosts in turn consider that it is the obligation of volunteers to be willing to eat what is being provided. It is also their obligation to adapt their eating habits to what is necessary and what is available. Hosts differ in their ways of providing food for their volunteers which comprise the kinds of food that can be eaten and its preparation as expressed by the following hosts:

We eat meals together except the evening meal, and at weekends (i.e. days off) when people can make food for themselves. Foodstuffs are provided, and nobody is allowed to starve! Vegetarians can be catered for as long as they eat eggs and dairy products, and are prepared to do some of their own cooking. We appreciate it very much if someone makes a meal... (H9)

We usually try to make lunch for them each day - they therefore eat lunch at a different member's house each day getting to know each member. If we are unable to do this then we ask them to prepare their own food. We provide basic groceries for them. If they want what we would call luxuries (e.g. chocolate, cakes, cheeses) then we expect them to buy that for themselves. (H6)

There were food items that hosts cannot afford to provide and hence expect the volunteer to bring or buy these for them. In this instance, local produce are freely available. As one host said:

I also ask the wwoofers to supply their own breakfast food, they can buy bread ... and make toast, jam is usually there as well as butter or margarine. IF they eat cereal i ask them to bring it with them, as ceral is very expensive here. They have to look after themselves at breakfast and lunch. ..We have sub tropical fruit available all the time, they just have to pick it off the trees. They can also cook whatever they want, we have wwoofers who do cookies, others do jam, others make homemade pasta. (H13)

One host has accommodated volunteers who left early without compensating through needed farm help. They have decided to ask their

volunteer to pay for the food provided for them and for the “requested items” (H4). This host said:

This was the most frustrating experience we encountered I lost food ...So we learned from this experience we added the condition about "compensation for lost food" and we will not provide any credit anymore, personal requested items will have to be payed in advance. (H4)

Volunteers expect be “fed properly” (V19). For some, this meant at least 3 meals a day with “really good food” (V17). Some volunteers have special dietary needs. One volunteer recalled saying, “Most hosts were really accommodating, even with my gluten-free diet” (V17). Others were expecting food produced locally and some viewed that it is the obligation of hosts to let them enjoy local food.

Some volunteers experienced insufficient amount of food after working hard which made them feel depressed. Others find it challenging when they got hungry and served with strict amount of food like one volunteer who related that:

For Singaporeans, we are used to having food anytime we want it. It's in our culture to 'never go hungry'. But in some farms, especially in the English ones, meal times were strictly at certain times and snacking in between was quite frowned on upon. And with this much physical work, it's so easy to go hungry alot (V19)

c. Accommodation

Hosts consider it their obligation to provide “safe and suitable accommodation” (H3) for their volunteer. Some hosts enumerated in detail what volunteers can expect about accommodation and other provisions:

Towels and bedclothes are provided. We can provide overalls and rubberboots for work in the cowshed, and waterproof clothing for working in the rain. However, we recommend that you also bring with you some strong shoes for outdoor working and walks in the forest. And bring indoor shoes. Swimming in the river is a possibility, and bikes can be borrowed. Access to

internet in spare time is no problem, but please don't use our telephone for international calls... (H9)

For volunteers, hosts are obliged to adhere to living arrangements were described by them as basic, appropriate, clean and warm. Some volunteers preferred to include a bed and a bathroom. Others appreciated “a separate kitchen and bunk house for wwoofers” (V17). Other volunteers preferred to share housing with their hosts. For some, they wanted the host's place to be “near internet access” (V16).

Volunteers mentioned safety as a general obligation of hosts. Some hosts recognized this obligation with more details that concern accommodation for volunteers and their immediate environment including travel and tropical hazards such as infection and dangerous animals. They also included work safety by mentioning the need for accident insurance and avoidance of tasks and machineries deemed risky for volunteers.

Some volunteers have worked for hosts whose accommodation is not sufficient. Other challenges that they encountered were limited amount of warm water and electricity, and limited access to transportation and the Internet.

d. Learning

Both hosts and volunteers consider learning opportunities as obligation of the former. Aside from food and accommodation, hosts expected themselves to contribute training and education for their volunteers in exchange for physical labor provided by the latter. Both hosts and volunteers consider learning opportunities as obligations of hosts. Hosts share their knowledge about “organic farming, homesteading, living self-sufficiently, harvesting, marketing” (V13). Hosts expect their volunteers to be “challenged and learn new skills” (H10).

One host described learning as a two-way process between him and the volunteers, “What we expect from wwoofers is transfer of skills and also

to learn from then new experiences” (H18). Hosts also expect to learn from their volunteers who contribute “Creative suggestions about the farm, marketing, cooking and foodprocessing etc.” (H9). Both hosts and volunteers recognized the experience and expertise that can be mutually shared between them.

Volunteers consider it their obligation to desire learning, to fully enter this experience and learn as much as they can. They expect their farms hosts to be teachers who would share their knowledge, skills and trades regarding organic farming and “everything, about what they’re good at” (V15). Volunteers wanted to know about their job, lifestyles and philosophy.

Volunteers who viewed WWOOF as “exchange of knowledge” (V4) have encountered hosts whom they perceive as needing “free work” (V4) while providing them with “boring wwoof work” (V4). One volunteer observed that his host did not teach him any specific skill or trade and instead made him work all alone which made him feel as worker, not a wwoofer:

I volunteerd on a farm, where I just became a relief milker for the farmer, he didn't even get up to help with the milking, he just said that he trusted me, though he did use the time to do paper work, I feel that it is not a good environment to volunteer in, he was a rubbish farmer and really needed another farm worker not wwoofers. (V4)

3. Expectations and obligations within the relational aspect of the psychological contract

The expectations and obligations of hosts and volunteers within the socio-cultural exchange constitute the relational aspect of their psychological contract. Mosedale (2011) states that the success of the exchange relationship lies on the social interaction between hosts and volunteers. Wwoofing experiences are usually a short-term relationship between strangers where the element of uncertainty is experienced (Mosedale

2011). Hosts are welcoming strangers into their home and volunteers are being accepted by these hosts. The uncertainty may be challenging but the complicated meshing of unpredictability and alternative living as being entrenched in the local culture and affordability is part of the attractiveness. Wwoofing according to Mosedale (2011) provides adventure and unexpected novel social experiences.

The description of the host-volunteer relationship provided by Mosedale (2011) was not supported by empirical data but the description may hold true since the attractive quality of the relationship related more to the expectations of volunteers who benefit from the cheapness of the novelty and adventure of the experiences than for the hosts.

Moreover, based on the challenges mentioned above regarding the transactional aspect of the psychological contract, many hosts seem to give more importance to work as contribution expected from volunteers and an obligation they needed to fulfill. This is not conclusive since this is an exploratory study but it may be implied from these observations that if volunteers were not working or working enough, their social and cultural contributions would not compensate for what they were receiving from their hosts. There would be more losses for the hosts than for the volunteers in terms of benefits.

a. Social life

The exchange between hosts and volunteers goes beyond work. Hosts expect to meet interesting people with “fun relations attitude” (H1) and build “good relationships” (H27) with them. Hosts expect their volunteers to be trustworthy and willing to participate in their everyday work and living. As one host said:

mostly we expect that they became a part of our society, what means to work with us and to live with us, to be "social"...almost everybody could understand what is our way of life, and they became something like member of our family. (H17)

Hosts hope that their volunteers were “interested in the experience” (H10) and to “enjoy meeting and conversing” (H10). They expect volunteers to “fit in with everyone” (H13) including the host, his family, his paid employees and their families. Respect must be shown towards all of them, including the host’s farm and other properties. This respect extends into the neighbors surrounding the farm. One host depicts his expectation as:

as we are a group with many members from all sides, we cultivate permanence in impermanence i.e. we try to live fully any moment with the people who are there at that moment as ken kesey used to say you're either on the bus or off the bus a new generation is growing up more freely than the ones before we are happy to be able to share with them (H7)

Volunteers have felt some kind of anxiety knowing that they were expecting to socialize with their hosts and their families. A volunteer expressed these words: “adapting oneself to the family: we don't know where we're going to end up, and it can happen that we don't fit in the family's world” (V15).

Volunteers were expected to take part in everyday life around the farm and within the community. Hosts have varying expectations about partaking in these activities. One host said:

We expect them to engage with what is happening around the farm or within the community. If we're showing a film or drumming around the fire or going on a picnic, we expect them to be there too. (H6)

We expect them to have a nice and open attitude toward our lifestyle at the farm (diet, yoga, meditation, entertainment or events planned for them). (H14)

Volunteers wanted to “meet new people from overseas” (V4). They hoped that their hosts were respectful and “nice people” (V19). Their hosts “would be just that – hosts – and not bosses” (V18). Aside from “good

friendship” (V14) some volunteers preferred to live with the hosts in the same house and participate in their daily lives – sharing meals and playing with children. Volunteers expect them to be warm and friendly, welcoming them as guests and treated as members of their families. But as some volunteers have experienced, not all hosts are welcoming to wwoofers and some were perceived as being annoyed when they have strangers in their homes.

Extra help Both hosts and volunteers perceived extra help as part of the obligations of volunteers. Hosts expect their volunteers to “help where help is needed” (H11). Hosts request their volunteers “to assist feeding the animals on Saturday and Sunday, usually an easy task” (H13). Aside from taking care of small children, other members of the host’s community also need attention: “Their feeling to help others is also appreciated. especially in most cases where there are orphans, needy and disadvantaged who urgently need to access basic needs” (H18). Saturdays for some volunteers mean accommodating other requests from their hosts:

On Saturday mornings they must clean the whole house and washing floors etc. They are accommodated in the community house which is used just for wwoofers and/or visitors (no members live in the house)... If we're having a meeting and we ask them to look after the children and/or prepare a meal for us, then we expect them to do this for us. (H6)

Volunteers considered extra help as part of their obligations to their hosts. As one volunteer said, volunteers are not customers but members of the family who should also clean the house, help with the meals, wash the dishes, and other house chores. A volunteer compared the social atmosphere with dishes left unclean as symptom of lack of harmony:

Dirty dishes piling up in the common kitchen. I saw a direct correlation between the harmony of the group and how well people kept up with cleaning their dishes. (V13)

Rules set by hosts Hosts expect their volunteers to observe rules regarding cleanliness, safety and health. Volunteers who share rooms must be clean and organize as a display of respect to other volunteers. Some explicitly say that they do not allow the use of drugs and alcohol. They have different regulations concerning smoking.

There were hosts who expect volunteers to conserve water and electricity. Hosts who recycle and do not use petrochemical products expect their volunteers to do the same. Hosts prefer to apply the same rules to everyone to maintain order. Working rules for some hosts included regulations about the use of MP3 players that may impede work and social interaction.

With regards to safety and health, there were scarce instances of encountering alcohol abuse, drugs and smoking pot among volunteers. Smoking habits of some volunteers was challenging inspite of being informed by their hosts. A volunteer who smokes suggested that hosts should be open to smokers who were willing to be educated about the dangers of tobacco.

One host had volunteers who ignored safety advice and were almost faced with a disaster. For example, one host recounted her experience:

Once though we nearly had a disaster; two young men (an American and a Dane) went out swimming in the sea and couldn't get back in to shore. They were swimming alone having taken a bike ride down to the sea. Just by chance one of our members who is actually a life saver happened to go down for a swim too...rescued them both. We stress to them the dangers of the South African coastline but young guys often don't believe you! Think they're invincible (H6)

b. Cultural exchange

Within social interaction, hosts anticipate “sharing of experience, languages and talents” (H1) where volunteers exhibit openness to other cultures. Hosts were willing to share the beauty of their place together

with their own culture. For example, one host said about what volunteers can expect:

They can also expect to meet kind, open hearted people who are ready to share their lives and culture. Also, they can expect a tropical paradise with world class diving and all the other things that come with a remote South Pacific location. (H12)

One host uses the term “civility” because “so many different cultures sometimes make for different perspectives/aims we grow/harvest/eat our food together daily” (H7). Sharing of food was seen as both “social life around meals” (H21) and cultural engagement between hosts and volunteers. Some volunteers were expected by their hosts that “they be prepared to cook a dish from their country on Sunday” (H13) to be shared with the host.

When volunteers share their “unique cultures, outlook and values” (H20), they in turn “enhance the betterment of the farm in specific and to the knowledge of better world tomorrow” (H20). If the outcome of this relationship is good, hosts expect “continued friendship in the future” (H1).

According to one host, some volunteers have found “understanding other cultures” (H10) a difficult thing to manage. Some hosts even commented that other volunteers have responded by criticizing and insulting local cultures. One host has observed that some volunteers expect locals to conform to their culture:

I found that most Europeans are more open to adventure and grateful for the experiences, etc.... I also found that most Americans (and please don't take offense to this... I am American myself) are arrogant and expect people to change their schedules, habits, cultures to meet or conform with theirs... (H14)

There were hosts who were anxious that their volunteers would not like their way of cooking and may not be willing to explore local food. Others have difficulty with “sampling unusual cooking” (H10) of their volunteers.

Volunteers also expect intercultural exchange. They wanted to learn the English language and other aspects of culture. If they have shown interest in the hosts' life and culture, they hoped that this interest is mutual as one volunteer quipped:

I expect to have hosts that appreciate the opportunity for cultural exchange that WWOOF offers. Meaning they converse with me about my life, culture, traditions, background etc... just as much as I do about theirs. (V16)

The newness of the whole experience presents itself as a challenge for some volunteers. For them, new activities such as working with animals, feeding them, and learning to cut wood, in a new environment were something they have to withstand. They have also dealt with “new vocabulary” (V20) that they haven't learned before while for other volunteers, different languages have been experienced as “barriers” (V19).

The expectations and obligations shared by hosts and volunteers indicate the demands of the relationship between them. Motivations, expectations and obligations become interwoven during the experience of exchange that creates complexities that may lead to unmet expectations. Motivations such as pressing needs of hosts for labor when complemented with physical needs of volunteers for food and accommodation become the fulfillment of expectations and obligations of both parties to each other. When expectations are met, positive emotions such as satisfaction and happiness were felt. Experiences of hosting and volunteering thus become mutually beneficial. Challenges encountered by both groups have shown that this is not always the case.

4. Communication as expectation

Hosts and volunteers stressed that they expect each other to communicate clearly. They also recognize the value of communicating expectations. Since everyone in the volunteering experience has a psychological

contract that is not often articulated (Netting 2007), communication of expectations will prevent potential problems and future clashes in the relationship. As needs and external situations change, expectations also change which makes the psychological contract dynamic and must always go through repeated negotiations (Schein 1980: 24).

Both hosts and volunteers I interviewed view communication as one of their obligations but this is also one of the main challenges in their relationship. Time and resources are needed in order to meet this expectation while pursuing understanding is difficult since volunteers themselves have varied expectations and needs as one host remarked:

Beyond the documented guidelines to hosts and WWOOFers I have little to add. The most difficult aspect is to communicate and ensure understanding of the current situation at the host and ground rules without putting the volunteers off. Even as an experienced manager it is sometimes difficult to 'build the team' with such a diversity of hopes, fears, expectations, and limitations on time and resources. (H24)

Some volunteers have discovered the hard way how lack of communication can drastically turn a relationship of exchange into an exploitative one. One volunteer attributed his neglect of asking enough questions before venturing to his host's destination. He shared his story of being placed in a very undesirable situation with dangerous living conditions, lack of water, insufficient and poor quality of food, and lack of empathy from his host.

Not preparing by asking questions about a farm led me to a place I didn't want to be. Being out of my comfort zone in the wild east on a ranch in a desert with vipers in the fields all around, whilst sleeping in a caravan on my own having to deal with someone trying to break in during the night. I don't know who it was to this day but I couldn't stay there especially while spending my day time pulling nails out of planks of wood for 6 hours solid without a sip of water while the host tells me i'm cack handed... I wan't impressed and this was the final straw which made me go No i'm not living to these standards. There were many things I didn't like including the soup which was reheated probably from

a month prior to me eating it. It just didn't sit right inside me...
(V11)

Even before the hosting and volunteering experience starts, communication between the host and the volunteer begins. Initially, volunteers make contact with their prospective hosts through the WWOOF website. The profiles of hosts could be read by them and they would be able to send messages through this site. When hosts respond, they get access to the e-mail addresses of the hosts. Some hosts who cannot be accessed by e-mail have websites containing their contact information. Both continue to communicate through e-mail or by phone.

a. Communication *prior* to arrival of volunteers

Hosts expect that their prospective volunteers have read the description they have posted online either on their profiles in the WWOOF website or on their own websites. They think that it is the obligation of volunteers to do research about the places they would visit. Correspondence between them takes place mainly through e-mail. They send attachments with additional details such as a warning e-mail made by one host from a tropical country detailing all the needed protection from insects. Some hosts came up with their own wwoofing guide delineating specific features of the exchange. (The warning e-mail and wwoofing guide are made available in the Appendix). Concerning health and safety, one host sends information to her prospective volunteers regarding prevention of diseases that may infect them and the animals:

authorities require that 48 hours elapse before people coming from other countries come into contact with farm animals here, to reduce the danger of animal diseases being brought into the country. Your health is important! – some diseases (eg salmonella and TB) can be transmitted from people to animals, so it's vital that you think of that if you've had either of these infections within the last 3 months before arriving. You must make sure you are vaccinated against tetanus (lockjaw) before working on any farm in any country. (H9)

Hosts' obligations as perceived by them include replying to all the messages received from volunteers, negotiating about the needs and expectations of both parties and informing volunteers about change of plans.

Hosts expect their volunteers to communicate well. But some volunteers were perceived as lacking politeness and seriousness. Hosts have recounted about volunteers that stop responding to their messages when they receive the list of expectations. Some volunteers changed their plans many times or cancel at the last moment. Some did not show up when expected. Volunteers create their profiles as members of WWOOF by providing information about them. Hosts find it daunting to choose their volunteers when these profiles lack information or lack reliability. As one host recounted:

They state in their email inquiry application they are hard working interested in all forms of gardening, know about seed collecting and a heap of other things, when they arrive we see nothing of this demonstrated, and my local staff are very reluctant to make them perform to the info they put in their email. (H13)

Before deciding to choose a host, volunteers cared about honest, accurate and complete information about the hosts' place that must be provided online. They seem to be more concerned with the clear details about food, living, and work arrangements. Concerning work, they needed to know what exactly they should do and a clear schedule for these tasks.

Volunteers recognize that it is their obligation to be clear what they are willing to do and the range of skills they could offer to their hosts. They should have read the profiles of hosts before contacting them. They are also responsible for informing the hosts about change of plans.

Some volunteers found it challenging to wait for replies from hosts due to their busy schedule. Another challenge is misunderstanding due to barriers posed by different languages spoken by hosts and volunteers.

b. Communication *upon* arrival of volunteers

Hosts reiterate their expectations again onsite. One host tried to supplement the information given online by printing a copy of the wwoofers' guide from the WWOOF website. She observed that volunteers find it too long to read and just bring this copy with them when they leave. Other hosts were not so keen with direct communication and preferred to make their expectations known through body language while the rest use media such as movies and books.

Hosts discovered that some volunteers were not paying enough attention to the information they have sent to them particularly about the hard work expected from them. When these volunteers arrive, they responded by saying that these expectations were contrary to theirs.

Hosts also expect their volunteers to listen and follow instructions while working. They should inform the hosts if they can't manage the work and ask if they do not understand. But hosts have noted that some cultures prefer not to communicate when they do not understand which could lead to problems. Other problems such as sickness could have been attended to right away if only some volunteers would inform their hosts when they are sick.

Volunteers emphasized that they needed the presence of their hosts or someone else if hosts were not available, to give clear instructions and provide guidance. But some hosts were not present with their volunteers during work, leaving vague instructions to the latter.

c. Communication when volunteers leave

Both hosts and volunteers expect feedback. Hosts needed information from other hosts about their former volunteers. They needed this information as reference to able to select their volunteers. Volunteer also

think that hosts should provide feedback for them by allowing comments to be made on their farms.

With regards to communication after volunteering, volunteers found it challenging to inform their hosts when they finally decided to leave earlier than planned because the latter may take this personally. In relation to this, they consider as their obligation to other volunteers to inform them about their negative experiences to spare them from the same fate. As one volunteer did, she drafted and published a document that serves as warning to other volunteers containing the following information:

... project could be of the utmost benefit to both the local population and participating Wwoofers, if he fulfilled the promises made on his website. Unfortunately, in spite of painting a perfect picture, the reality is less alluring, so for the sake of future Wwoofers who could risk either a wasted journey or complete disillusionment, we have decided to provide a simple analysis of his claims fact versus fantasy. (V1)

Communication as an expectation is not only conducted verbally but messages get through naturally and freely through behavior. Expectations of hosts and volunteers may be held consciously and unconsciously. Problems arise when expressed oral intentions do not match with daily conduct. But when there is harmony of communicated words and actions, the exchange of relationship between hosts and volunteers opens possibilities for mutual meeting of expectations. As one host said,

By living together the bodily communication is louder than the verbal. Whatever U hold in the subconscious will be revealed sooner or later so it is a matter of time that a philosophy is developed particularly to that relationship since everyone will be different. Your home becomes a base for exchange that gives birth to a new breakthroughs. (H26)

Finally, hosts and volunteers were solicited of their suggestions regarding communication that are listed in **Table 1**.

Table 1. Suggestions about communication from host and volunteers

Suggestions from hosts	Suggestions from volunteers
	<p>for both hosts and volunteers Make sure that direct communication is possible between hosts and volunteers. "This way everyone is held personally accountable for their own accomplishments as well as errors."</p>
<p>for fellow hosts <i>Before arrival of volunteers</i> Avoid assumptions and communicate Inform volunteers about expectations Explain thoroughly details of farm work</p>	<p>for hosts <i>Before arrival of volunteers</i> Communicate expectations clearly Provide clear, honest and accurate description on their profile online and on their websites: about place about work – hours, kinds of jobs and projects about food and diet i.e. meal plans about accommodation – volunteers' place to sleep about internet access about lifestyle include photo gallery Describe the atmosphere and the involvement in everyday tasks Discussion with the host before arrival is recommended</p>
<p>for volunteers <i>Before arrival</i> Read all the documents for volunteers and hosts from WWOOF website i.e. advice, experiences of other volunteers Read the hosts' profile Research the destination Be honest during initial communication with hosts Don't ask silly or general questions Ask good questions Tell hosts about your skills, abilities and limitations Communicate clearly about your desires and needs Make sure all communication between you and your potential hosts is clear and unambiguous Read all information sent by host i.e. attachment Read volunteer guide provided by hosts which some hosts provide before arrival through e-mail</p>	<p>for fellow volunteers <i>Before arrival</i> Write on paper what you expect, what you want and do not want, what is important to you such as room, toilet, food, etc. Outline what you will be doing for work Be precise about what you want before calling your hosts Talk to them in a "normal" way, it's not an interview for a job Ask as many questions as possible before arrival Inform hosts about abilities and limitations i.e. back problems</p>
<p>for fellow hosts <i>Upon arrival of volunteers</i> Supervise volunteers because most of them need it</p>	<p>for hosts <i>Upon arrival of volunteers</i> On the first day, supply a FAQ sheet listing everything the volunteers need to know to avoid repetition i.e. quiet times, places to go on weekends, pets, children, etc. Be upfront about daily work tasks, shared responsibilities, and how you envision the cooperation Provide specific work schedule i.e. working hours Give clear work guidelines i.e. hours per week, types of jobs, level of flexibility in meeting desires of each volunteer Instruct amateur volunteers closely Use a bell to indicate meal and break times Be receptive to questions Meet weekly or set a time to explain weekly goals and tasks Allow comments to be made about their farms like in Couchsurfer forums</p>
<p>for volunteers <i>Upon arrival</i> Pay attention to verbal messages from hosts Ask when you do not understand Express wishes and complaints</p>	<p>for volunteers <i>Upon arrival</i> Communicate with hosts if experiencing discomfort, difficulty or worry. Hosts are "really generous people and will appreciate" honesty.</p>

5. Expectations concerning WWOOF organizations

The psychological contract involved hosts, volunteers and WWOOF organizations. The information provided by all of them may affect the formation of the psychological contract. Initially, new hosts and volunteers get information about hosting and volunteering from other sources mentioned in the motivation to start such as past experiences and friends. Then hosts and volunteers share information about each other before wwoofing begins. Aside from these sources of knowledge about WWOOF, formation of expectations may depend on the information that the organizations provide on their websites. Upon entry, new hosts and volunteers have incomplete knowledge about the actual terms of the wwoofing experience. New volunteers as mentioned earlier, either do not have expectations or just a few general ones. After initially experiencing WWOOF, some volunteers discovered that information in the WWOOF website may not actually correspond to the actual practices of registered hosts and their experiences as members of the organization. Volunteers have discovered that not all hosts expect 4-6 hours of work described as fair exchange in the WWOOF International website (WWOOF International 2012). In response to this new information, some volunteers resolved to be keener to ask questions before starting to work for another host. Probably, if volunteers who worked for registered hosts of WWOOF Independents have read and followed the pocket guide to wwoofing, the outcome for them could have been different. This document says that volunteers are expected “to negotiate with your host, before you arrive, concerning the needs and expectations of both parties” and “to give the agreed hours of help in return for your food and accommodation” (WWOOF Independents 2012b). New hosts have found out that not all volunteers were motivated to learn organic farming and have to modify

their expectations. Psychological contract theory refers to this stage as the sensemaking process of new comers (Rousseau 2001). Based on these results, knowledge thus plays a role in the formation of the psychological contract (De Vos, et al. 2005).

The psychological contract of hosts and volunteers constituted of expectations regarding WWOOF organizations. As members of WWOOF, they were aware of their obligations to the organization but expectations influence the way they conduct their hosting and volunteering behavior. The dynamics of relationship among hosts, volunteers and the organization is interplay of perceived expectations and obligations as contrasted with the actual experiences of hosts and volunteers.

a. WWOOF expected as organic farming

Hosts recognized their obligation to adhere to the requirements of WWOOF, as stipulated by one WWOOF organization called WWOOF Independents on their website, that hosts should “be growing organically, be in conversion, or use ecologically sound methods on your land” (WWOOF Independents 2012a). Based on the reported experiences of some volunteers, some hosts do not practice organic farming. This original intention of the organization may be facing problems with implementation. One volunteer recalled his experience of arriving at the host’s place thinking it was an organic olive production but it turned out that it was not as he has expected. It was a summer residence for a wealthy couple and he spent most of his time performing routinary yard maintenance. Other volunteers were made to work for their hosts’ café as cook and food servers.

The formation of these expectations held by volunteers regarding WWOOF is understandable because their website advertises that they intend to offer organic farming experiences. This is viewed as a central marketing theme by which WWOOF invites

backpackers to take advantage of the opportunities to work in organic farms in return for food and lodging (Nimmo 2001). As a form of decommodified tourism, Nimmo (2001) explains that WWOOF is a form of ecotourism because it entailed active involvement in nature and it intended to provide learning about its preservation. It is decommodified because there is no payment of money for the said experiences between hosts and volunteers. Because hosts are not required to follow certain set of standards in their hosting practices and in terms of providing information about themselves in standardized form like in the case of hosts in New Zealand, volunteers encountered varying living and working conditions that do not adhere to organic farming (Nimmo 2001).

In relation to this, hosts who practice organic farming joined WWOOF to express their environmental values but the consequences of travelling done by volunteers clashes with these deeply held beliefs. One host expressed his concern for the environmental impact of receiving volunteers from overseas:

The CO2 emitted on behalf of the average wwoofer to reach us here...is far more than any volunteer has ever offset with his work here. (H15)

The clash of deeply held environmental values with the environmental effects of actual hosting and volunteering experiences is a challenge for WWOOF organizations that claim to uphold sustainability through organic farming.

b. WWOOF expected to be free of charge

According to WWOOF Independents organization, the yearly fees that volunteers pay to get access to hosts are being used to for the maintenance of the website and for the administrative and technical support for both their hosts and volunteers (WWOOF Independents 2012a). But some volunteers expect it to be free since they were not able to get the host

information they wanted from the website such as the experience of the following volunteer:

A fee is demanded, therefore it is a service that must bear some responsibility for ensuring that both hosts and guests are fulfilling their roles. The couchsurfing model is the best I can offer as an example – note that it is free, as opposed to the payment required by Wwoof organisations. I can give you an example of one problem with paying for Wwoofer lists. My daughter paid for the European Wwoofing lists, only to find that there no Wwoof hosts in Ukraine where she wanted to go. A simple list of countries, with the number of hosts alongside, would have avoided this unnecessary payment and the negative impression it left on my daughter. (V1)

As of the writing of this thesis, the list of hosts of WWOOF Independents which includes Ukraine can now be viewed before volunteers are required to pay.

Some hosts do agree that the program of WWOOF should remain free or at least very affordable and accessible. Hosts are not required to pay fees in order to register for WWOOF Independents but need to confirm their membership every year (WWOOF Independents 2012a). Some hosts think that a movement is depending on WWOOF and if it turned into a big profit making organization, the movement will die.

Another financial issue that was mentioned by some hosts is how the organization has dealt with their needs as subsistence farmers. Due to constraint of resources to provide for their volunteers, they resorted to asking an optional amount of money to cover the foods costs but the organization told them that this was against WWOOF policy. One host viewed this experience as clash of WWOOF priorities and the welfare of subsistence farmers:

If wwoof puts as a priority the spread of organic farming, and the increase in environmental awareness, then they should value the needs of their hosts as much as the policies which protect and benefit their volunteers... I see a clash

between the reality of subsistence farmers and the priorities of WWOOF policy. A solution might be to allow hosts to ask for voluntary food contribution, or have volunteers meet their own food needs ALL-BE-IT ONLY WHEN NEED BE. The ideal of wwork-trade is excellent. But if the reality were a little more flexible it would open up a lot more possibilities and a lot more opportunities for both hosts and volunteers. I don't want to have to refuse wwoofers if the moment should come again in which I cannot feed them. (H15)

c. WWOOF expected to provide feedback

Hosts were aware that they are expected to inform WWOOF if “hosting experiences fall short of what should be expected of them” (WWOOF Independents 2012a). Volunteers on the other hand, felt that it is their obligation to fully participate in working and learning experiences with their hosts because they view that WWOOF provides educational and life-changing experiences. When they encounter negative experiences, they considered that they should also inform the organization so that other volunteers will be able to avoid these uncomfortable encounters. In relation to this, hosts suggested that there must be a place where the comments of the past volunteers regarding the good and bad of the places they have visited can be accessed for the benefit of other volunteers.

d. WWOOF expected to improve their websites

This expectation is closely related to the precedent. In order to make feedback accessible online, volunteers would like to see comments and reviews of farms on WWOOF websites. This would inform them about the experiences of other fellow volunteers. As one volunteer said:

And as a wwoofer myself, I would want to get recommendation from other wwoofers. In fact, when wwoofers meet, that's one thing we always do. Swap good stories and bad stories. Unlike Helpx.net, wwoof network doesn't have a 'review' or feedback function for us to tell if a wwoof host is good or bad. It's like going to a tripadvisor to read reviews of hotels you might want

to stay in. Its all about sharing experiences these days. Wwoof should really start thinking of facilitating that. (V19)

Hosts also suggested that the organization should provide online basic questions that volunteers can ask their hosts with regards to pertinent information that may affect them such as work, food and lodging.

So far, different WWOOF organizations have created their own websites. The International WWOOF website provides links to various WWOOF organizations around the world (WWOOF International 2012). Some volunteers expect the organization to improve the clarity of the contents of these websites and provide standardized information in their various national languages.

I would like a world organization. Some big entity that can provide the same website base in every county. The website for french wwoofing is crap, the one for new-zealand is great, why can't they all have the same in their language ? wwoofing need to become more formal to get famous, especially in countries as France or Germany, where people like things that are clear and safe. (V8)

C. Motivation to continue and the fulfillment of the psychological contract

This final section deals with the relationship between motivation to continue with met expectations and other benefits mentioned by hosts and volunteers. Distinctions were made on two meanings of the continuity of hosting and volunteering experiences. Furthermore, the perceived breach and violation of the psychological contract will be discussed with the concomitant undesirable outcomes encountered by both parties.

1. Motivation to continue and met expectations

All of the motivations to continue are similar with the motivations to start. Hosts and volunteers who were motivated to continue cited the benefits

they gained from the wwoofing experience. First, these benefits were in the form of met expectations. Second, benefits were positive outcomes that were not expected by them. This unexpectedness may refer to what PCT refer to as unconscious expectations. These unconscious expectations are needs, goals and values that hosts and volunteers may have but not fully aware of them. Or possibly, they may be some kind of awareness of these unconscious expectations but these were not the main reasons identified for participating as hosts and volunteers.

According to PCT, the contract is not written but it does exist and works at all times and powerfully determines behavior in the organization (Schein 1980: 22,24). There is no written contract between hosts and volunteers but its presence or absence depends on the understanding of the individual.

Absence or presence of contract Since the psychological contract is a subjective understanding, its existence was viewed by volunteers differently. One volunteer has stated that a contract does exist:

It is similarly important for the potential WWOOFer to be sure they are capable of engaging in/learning from/enjoying these parameters, since they are entering a sort of contract by accepting the volunteer position. Of course, like any new endeavor, someone might not be sure of whether they'll like something or not, and at that point I'd say that it is the responsibility of the WWOOFer to do his/her best to fulfill the conditions and term of the position. (V18)

What hosts and volunteers can expect from each other and what they can expect from the organization are clearly stated on the WWOOF Independents website (WWOOF Independents 2012a). Only some and not all hosts and volunteers mentioned these expectations.

Responsibility or immunity Volunteers who recognized the presence of the contract could interpret this as responsibility to meet the expectations of their hosts. But some volunteers viewed the contract as non-existent:

Some host did understand, some other didn't and we just left when it wasn't as we wanted. There is no contract between a host and a wwoofers, you just leave when you are not happy. (V8)

Volunteers as travelers are mobile. Their commitment to stay is not always as firm as the hosts expect it to be. Hence, since they are volunteers, their volatile commitment may lead to early withdrawal. When they are no longer happy, volunteers will shorten their stay and move on to work for another host. Whoever is at fault – the host or the volunteer – the mobility and the volatility of their commitment may lead to fragility of the exchange relationship. One volunteer referred to differences of expectations about teaching, lifestyle and social interaction as reasons for terminating the exchange:

Every host is different in the way they teach, in what they expect of the wwoofer, in their standards of living, and how they speak to the wwoofer and interact socially. If you don't like the work or farm your working on say and leave don't put up with something you don't feel is right. There are places you can work which give you real insight into traditional farming and life outside the box. (V11)

In this context where the contract does not exist, the commitment of volunteers in the exchange relationship becomes volatile. As volunteers, they have decided to work in their own accord and when they exercise their autonomy, immunity from responsibility to their hosts may unintentionally occur. For some hosts, volunteers are considered free to leave when the situation is no longer pleasant for them as one host has said, "Don't take it too seriously! If you're not having a happy time you can always cut your visit short and move on!" Whether the contract exists

or not according to the perspective of volunteers, expectations do exist and these comprise the contents of the psychological contract.

a. Motivation to continue hosting

Motivation to continue hosting has two different meanings. First, it means that hosts will keep on accepting and accommodating volunteers as farm help in the future. Hosts have recognized that volunteers have shown genuine interest and enthusiasm in organic farming. They appreciated the much needed help from strangers who were willing to take part in accomplishing their goals toward sustainability. The following hosts have mentioned that the challenges they have faced were not comparable to the contributions of volunteers:

Of course, we all feel within our organic farm and our other business interest in this small country that the benefits of having wwoofers from all over the world far surpasses the bad experiences we have had and know we will have in the future. (H13)

The help and positive energy created by a wage free relationship with willing strangers way out strips the effort we have to output to satisfy them and give them a great time. It is a pleasure to share our world and see how people can learn and benefit from our scene. (H1)

Secondly, motivation to continue hosting also means to maintain a specific hosting relationship with specific volunteers in a certain point in time in the past within the time agreed. When hosts have volunteers who do not meet their expectations, the duration of stay is shortened.

b. Motivation to continue volunteering

Similarly, motivation to continue volunteering refers to two different situations. First, it means that volunteers would keep on volunteering for the same or different hosts in the future. All volunteers except two have

expressed their plans to continue volunteering in the near future. One of the two volunteers will not be involved with WWOOF until he is intending again to learn more about farming. This volunteer said:

For the time being, I'm enjoying not wwoofing because I don't have to live out of a suitcase. I think it was the most educational year of my life, so I probably won't wwoof again until I'm ready for another round of farm-based education. (V13)

Another volunteer was planning to start her own project of self-sustainability while still open for the future possibility of wwoofing. According to this volunteer:

because after wwoofing at so many places, I am a bit tired of working on other people's projects. Yes it was amazing to learn and I needed to get the skills and knowledge. But my husband and I feel it's time to start our own project already...I am sure one day, we will feel the urge to travel again. And wwoof is a great great way to travel. (V19)

While the interviews were being conducted, three volunteers were continually volunteering outside of their home countries. The continuance of their volunteering occurs with hosts different from their earlier farm stays.

Volunteers will continue to work for WWOOF because their expectations have been met. Travelling as a motivation to start and motivation to continue volunteering is a way of attaining other goals such as physical work, learning, social reasons and cultural exchange. One volunteer considered these met expectations as beneficial for him:

I would and I will wwoof again. For me, it is the ideal way to travel and experience other place, people, cultures as well as learn new and important skills that will benefit me throughout my life in the face of the challenges facing society. Most of all, I love hard work and getting my hands in the dirt, building and being creative. My next experience will involve overseas. I've recently found a sailing boat that will take me to East Timor where I plan to wwoof and help out on various community projects. I would highly recommend anyone giving wwoofing a

go and seeing where it takes them. The possibilities are endless and the inspiration is guaranteed. (V9)

Secondly, motivation to continue volunteering also means that volunteers would be staying with their hosts based on the length of time that they have agreed upon. There were volunteers who finished their commitment to their hosts inspite of challenges they have faced. The commitment of volunteers to stay may be challenged when striving to meet cultural expectations different from their own. Here is an example of benefits gained in the form of unexpected positive outcome. One volunteer thought of leaving upon sensing culture clash with her hosts but when she fulfilled her commitment, she gained friends and lessons beyond her initial expectations:

...to fully experience a culture, you are expected to be everything you are not. Where I was... women are expected to be the perfect Southern Belle, never speak her mind or question a male. Being a tomboy my whole life, this was REALLY hard for me. I thought about leaving the first day, but I'm glad I stuck it out. I made life long friends and learned to appreciate a very different way of life. It will probably take a lifetime to fully process what happened... (V17)

There were instances that expectations of volunteers were not met as one volunteer described it: "Sometimes, it was different than what we expected, but we were happy so we stayed and learn new thing we didn't planed..." (V8). These volunteers carried on with their obligation and were thankful for the unexpected positive outcome. One volunteer who was expecting to work in an organic olive farm but made to do some maintenance jobs in his host's private estate acknowledged the educational and career-related benefits he received:

The positve though was that one of the owners was a leading lawyer for the NRDC who is now listed as a reference on my resume. So despite not getting to do the work I wanted I did learn from the owners by having conversations about current environmental issues and also being able to list a leading

environmental lawyer on my resume. (V2)

Volunteers were asked if they would recommend their former and current hosts. Those whose expectations were met said yes. This could lead potential volunteers to pursue wwoofing and the continuity of commitment for new volunteers to try working for other hosts.

2. Breach of the psychological contract

Met expectations as a concept can be understood as “the discrepancy between what a person encounters on this job in the way of positive and negative experiences and what he expected to encounter” (Porter & Steers 1973: 143). When an individual host or volunteer perceives that expectations were not fulfilled, this subjective experience refers to the breach of the psychological contract (Rousseau 1989). This perception is based on trust that both hosts and volunteers have placed on each other. Hosts expect their volunteers to be trustworthy and reliable especially in fulfilling work obligations. Volunteers expect their hosts to be relied upon when it comes to providing sufficient food, safe lodging, fair work and learning opportunities. These expectations were seen as binding even at times when these were not explicitly and clearly communicated and agreed upon by both parties.

Zaheer (1998) developed the concept of trust as innately relational. Trust in this concept is defined as “expectation that an actor (1) can be relied on to fulfill obligations (2) will behave in a predictable manner, and (3) will act and negotiate fairly when the possibility for opportunism is present.” The three components of trust are identified as reliability, predictability and fairness (Perrone, et al. 2003; Zaheer, et al. 1998).

Reliability The hosts expressed reliability as one of their concerns. This finding is similar to the study of sports events volunteers where managers encountered the problem of “reliability to turn up” which also affected the

amount of work that could be assigned to them (Nichols & Ojala 2009: 378-379). Hosts in the present study perceived that volunteers are obligated to “keep to their plans and timing” (H24), “do what they say they can do” (H3), and “finish work as agreed” (H19). The reliability of volunteers may be influenced by their motivations. Considering the array of motivations that volunteers have, work is just one of them. This could be the reason why some of them were observed by hosts as lazy and unreliable. Similar results were also found in the study of WWOOF hosts who realized that not all volunteers were interested to work (McIntosh & Campbell 2001). Reliability is also a concern for volunteers. They viewed that hosts should fulfill the terms previously agreed with them particularly about food and accommodation, and work and learning opportunities.

Predictability Volunteers seem more concerned with predictability than their hosts when they expect their hosts to communicate accurate and complete details of the work and living arrangements. They appreciated hosts who were more experienced and more professional enough to come up with written schedule detailing work and free time.

Fairness The expectation of fairness mostly centered on work. If some volunteers were viewed as not living up to their obligations, their different understanding of work obligations may be causing the difference in perception. Divergence in the perception of fair work hours may be rooted in different expectations in terms of work hours and lack of communication about this aspect of work.

Vulnerability Trust as a psychological state (Rousseau, et al. 1998) puts the trustor in his/her vulnerable condition (Verbeke & Greidanus 2009). When hosts shared private living space with their volunteers, they encountered diminishing of privacy, high level of stress in their homes,

dirt and damage to their properties, and risks dealing with volunteers' personality problems. Volunteers on the other hand, were dependent on their hosts for physical sustenance but when food was not enough and the lodging was unsafe, their health and well-being were put at risk.

Ability Trust may relate to the "ability to perform according to the intentions and expectations of a relationship" (Nooteboom, et al. 1997: 311). When breach of contract is perceived, this may not be intentional and its occurrence may be due to reasons beyond the abilities of hosts and volunteers to change. Hosts who felt unable to provide the hospitality their volunteers expected from them may be due to resource constraint. For instance, hosts in developing countries have acknowledged the financial demands of hosting volunteers for WWOOF. As one host related:

Also, in third world countries ... The Wwoofing program really is a lot more expensive than hiring competent workers. Labor ... is very cheap, specially in farming... so when Wwoofers come thinking they are doing us a bigger favor, than we are to them... they tend to be pretty wrong. (H14)

The possibility of discontinuing may be imminent for some hosts who are facing budget and personnel constraints. For these hosts, accommodating volunteers consisted of challenges concerning preparations such as buying food and preparing rooms and beds. Lack of finance and staffing was described by one host:

Collecting them from town (a 150km round trip) can pose a challenge, it's expensive and someone is not always available to collect them etc. Because we're not taking many wwoofers at the moment as we find it works out too expensive for us, it's a logistical challenge for us. We also don't have someone here at the moment to "oversee" them and their work, so the few people left here have to do this and they're very busy with their own work. It is for these two reasons (expense and not enough community members) that we haven't been taking wwoofers over the passed couple of months. (H6)

When hosts expect their volunteers to communicate well, they would be frustrated because they have limited English abilities and may need to develop their communication skills orally and in writing. Hosts may also share these language difficulties and the social interaction may lead to misunderstanding. One volunteer found it difficult to comprehend what his host was saying and he suggested that both parties should be more patient:

I've had conflicts before where I thought my host told me to do one thing, but because of his accent I thought he said something else. When I started the task I thought he told me to do he over reacted and became very angry. People just need to be more tolerant on both sides of the equation. I've seen wwoofers over react in the same way. When you consider many wwoofers have never left their home country a little understanding can go a long way towards a healthy work environment. (V2)

The breach of contract occurs when hosts have accommodated volunteers that do not follow rules set for them to follow. When this happens, the agreed time of hosting and volunteering comes to a halt. Hosts would request them to leave earlier than agreed upon. Hosts become concerned with bad references from these volunteers. One practical move for hosts was to lessen the number of volunteers when needed. One host mentioned about limiting the number of volunteers:

Started limiting number of Volunteers at one go and limiting number of staying days with us from prviously 3 months to only 10 days max. Extensions are only on a case-by-case basis, mainly based on their performance and attitude. (H2)

Volunteers respond to their hosts' perceived breach of contract in various ways. They may not report their experiences to any WWOOF organization and preferred to keep quiet but they won't recommend these former hosts to other volunteers. Others warned other volunteers by sharing their bad experiences.

3. Violation of the psychological contract

The breach of contract is distinguished from the violation of contract (Morrison & Robinson 1997). Breach is perceived by the employee based on the understanding that the organization failed to keep its one or more obligations to correspond to his contribution based on their promises to each other. The psychological contract is violated when “emotional and affective state that may, under certain conditions, follow from the belief that one's organization has failed to adequately maintain the psychological contract (Morrison & Robinson 1997).

When strong emotions are associated with the failure by the other party to fulfill obligations, violation of the psychological contract happens. Hosts who had volunteers who cannot be relied upon to work as expected have felt exploited because they have been taken advantage of as told by one host:

the only real problem came from a couple (not usually recommended) who had serious misconceptions of the WWOOFing concept of no, or as I prefer to say equal exploitation, vis-à-vis Working holiday ie where the idea was to work for the highest value and then go off and holiday as much as possible. They left in two days having exploited as much of me as possible! (H24)

Violation of contract may lead to shortening of hosting and early withdrawal from volunteering. Hosts respond to violation of contract by requesting their volunteers to leave.

Volunteers have expressed strong emotional reaction with regards to work expectations. One volunteer whose farm host didn't give clear work schedule worked for 55 hours a week and felt exploited afterwards. As compared to responses of volunteers to unmet expectations, they did not leave their hosts. Reactions to unmet expectations are not so severe compared to perceived violation of contract (Robinson & Rousseau 1994).

Another volunteer reported how she felt a combination of anger and annoyance in a work situation perceived as threatening:

I stayed there with three other wwoofers from beginning of March to mid-May, and the owner of the café showed up at the beginning of May. So, well, of course we were all pretty mad at this person who showed up out of nowhere and treated us as slaves. The day she arrived at the café, we were all of us away for the week end (as the other owner of the place allowed us to), so this woman called us to tell us to come back immediately or she would get other wwoofers instead of us. We called that "threatening" Then, even though she offered to pay those who worked more (me in the kitchen (I'm a chef) and another wwoofer who served the client) - that we gladly accepted - we were all really annoyed and left the place quicker than planned. (V15)

To describe the relationship between hosts and guests, David Mittelberg and Michal Palgi (Mittelberg & Palgi 2011) cited the analysis made by Sutton (1967). Sutton (1967) described the sociocultural dynamics between hosts and guests that consists of structural aspects that may either lead to "misinterpretation of motives" or "mutual understanding" (Sutton Jr 1967: 221). Based on this analysis, the temporary and novel nature of the relationship between hosts and guests may lead to them to be predators and exploiters because they do not anticipate a long-term relationship. This could explain some of the perceived breach and violation of contract encountered by WWOOF hosts and volunteers. But there are hosts who view the exchange relationship in a long-term perspective. One host experienced that this was possible during wwoofing and extends beyond:

I would like to carry on with hosting volunteers/wwoofers because through this we learn a lot from them and also they learn from us. There is long term co-operation and partnership during or after the visit. (H18)

These relationships deemed to have become more than transitory is evidenced by lifelong friendships, international networking with others interested with organic farming and volunteers who come back to be part of former hosts' personnel. One host mentioned about her return wwoofer:

we have one ex wwoofer coming back from the other side of the world to work for my business as a Site Manager, and one of his jobs is also to supervise the wwoofers along with my organic staff who train them. (H13)

Another quality of the relationship is the dependence of guests on their hosts (Sutton Jr 1967). Hosts need to know the needs of the guests in order to meet them, however, this dependency may either lead to acceptable exchange between them or may increase the exploitation of hosts that will cause animosity of guests toward them.

Lastly, the relationship is also characterized by the exhilaration felt by guests toward their new experiences while hosts were enlivened by these novel encounters (Sutton & Griffin 2004). The newness of experiences were encountered both in the transactional and relational aspects of the psychological contract of WWOOF hosts and volunteers. The uniqueness encountered within their exchange relationship may have contributed to their motivation to continue hosting and volunteering.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

I. Summary

This research aims to contribute new knowledge on the actual expectations of WWOOF hosts and volunteers which were not reflected in previous research on WWOOF.

The psychological contract of WWOOF hosts and volunteers was initially manifested in their respective motivations to start. These motivations influence the formation of expectations between hosts and volunteers when hosting and volunteering experience begins. Motivation to start hosting and volunteering displayed contrast, similarity and complementarity. The difference of motivations among hosts and volunteers is limited. The similarity and complementarity of their motivations suggest that cooperation is possible and compatibility between them may be attained. Motivations identified in this study play a role in the formation of the psychological contract. Most of the motivations were related to the expectations between hosts and volunteers such as work, food and accommodation, and learning, all of which comprise the transactional aspect of their psychological contract. Expectations within the relational aspect such as social life and cultural exchange were also related to motivations to start. Both of them encountered challenges in trying to meet their own and the other party's expectations—which include obligations. Motivations, expectations and obligations indicate the demands of the exchange relationship. Hosting and volunteering experiences were not always beneficial for both groups, particularly when their expectations are not met and perceived obligations were not fulfilled.

Communication as expectation takes place before, during and after the woofing experience and is considered by hosts and volunteers as part of their expectations and obligations. While recognizing the value of

communicating expectations, hosts found it difficult to fulfill this obligation since volunteers have different expectations. They also referred to limitation of time and resources that may impede the communication process with their volunteers. It is noteworthy that volunteers have encountered undesirable consequences due to lack of communication with their hosts.

The psychological contract of hosts and volunteers include their relationship with their respective WWOOF organizations. Communication from these organizations influences the formation of expectations of hosts and volunteers and it is particularly interesting that both hosts and volunteers made these expectations explicit in the online interviews. They also shared how their expectations were not met.

Finally, all hosts and volunteers who were motivated to continue cited the benefits they gained from the wwoofing experience in the form of met expectations and unexpected positive outcomes. In contrast, perceived breach and violation of their psychological contract as described through their self-reported accounts may lead to shortening of hosting and early withdrawal of the volunteers. Hosts respond to violation of contract by requesting their volunteers to leave.

II. Limits of the research

The findings of this study cannot be generalized to other settings and similar population because this is an exploratory study. Its sampling and method of analysis is not designed for generalization. It must also be noted that the small size of the sample does not represent the target population of WWOOF hosts and volunteers. As an exploratory study, the aim is to identify the range and variety of responses from research participants.

The level of analysis is at the aggregate level where findings represent categorized responses from hosts and volunteers. The results do

not show expectations as held by each host and volunteer respectively. Instead, responses from individual hosts and volunteers were collated, categorized and analyzed to discover their expectations. Moreover, the various outcomes associated with the fulfillment and breach of the psychological contract was meant to describe the relationship between expectations, and self-reported behavior and observations by the participants.

Online interviews based on self-reported data may be verified further by onsite interviews that may provide information not captured by the online method. Moreover, findings of the present study need further validation from research approaches that use multiple sources.

III. Future research

Since the present study focused more on the psychological contract of hosts and volunteers, the role of WWOOF organizations can be further understood in host-volunteer relations by including their side of the story. The exploratory approach may help in elucidating how representatives of one or various WWOOF organizations perceive as their part in the formation of expectations of hosts and volunteers. In addition to this, it might be helpful for both hosts and volunteers to access their perspective regarding expectations concerning the organizations.

The emphasis of previous research on violation of psychological contract has been recognized (Rousseau 2001) and perceived violation resulted to strong emotional reactions. This can be further explored by doing research on how positive emotions can support, maintain and enhance relations between WWOOF hosts and volunteers.

Expectations before and after hosting and volunteering can be compared since psychological contracts are considered dynamic (Robinson & Rousseau 1994). Furthermore, pre-entry and post entry

expectations as conceptualized in one previous study (Sutton & Griffin 2004) may shed light on the nuances of the host-guest relationship.

Appendix

Letter of informed consent

Dear _____,

Thank you for responding to the invitation.

Before you decide, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully. Don't hesitate to ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you need more information.

The title of the study is World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farms (WWOOF): Expectations of Hosts and Volunteers. Its purpose is to contribute to the understanding of expectations and its role on the outcome of the volunteering experience. As part of this project, I will be interviewing WWOOF hosts and volunteers who are at least 18 years old. I will be asking a series of questions that will be sent through e-mail. Detailed answers to the questions are needed for this research which will be received by the researcher through e-mail.

Your responses will be anonymous. All information you provide is considered confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study, however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used. Your confidentiality will be kept to the degree permitted by the technology being used. No guarantee can be made regarding the interception of data sent via the Internet by any third parties.

There will be no direct benefit to you for your participation in this study. However, I hope that the information obtained from this study may inform efforts to enhance the relationship between WWOOF hosts and volunteers. The results of this research will be posted on the university website.

This interview is voluntary. You are free not to answer any question or questions if you choose. If you decide to take part in this study, you are free to stop the interview at any time and without giving a reason.

If you accept this invitation, kindly provide the information needed below.

Country:

Age:

Sex:

Work:

Education:

I will send the questions after your reply to this message.

Thanking you,

Mary Ann Alvarez

Interview guide

About 3 to 4 questions were sent at a time to respondents depending on their availability. Others requested to answer all the questions at once.

1. How long have you been hosting/wwooofing?
2. What made you decide to host/to wwoof?
3. What are your specific expectations from your volunteers?
4. How do you make these expectations known to your volunteers?
5. What do wwoofers/hosts contribute?
6. What are the responsibilities of volunteers/hosts?
7. What are your obligations as hosts/volunteers?
8. What challenges have you encountered in dealing with volunteers/hosts?
9. What would you suggest to wwoofers/hosts so they could fully meet the expectations of their hosts?
10. What else do you want to share concerning expectations between hosts and volunteers?
11. Would you continue hosting? Why?

Communication of expectations Sample 1: Warning Email

A host sent “a strong warning e-mail about the living conditions” (H4) to prospective volunteers

"In order to manage your expectations, I have to inform you that first time campers may have a bit of a problem dealing with our living conditions. We do not have electricity, this is like a semi-camping set up ; dry open air toilet, showers under the moon light. If you have not done any camping in the wild, this may be challenging, and we do have mosquitoes (numbers vary according to the weather).

So if you intend to come at our place please bring mosquito repellent for the duration of your stay (usually 2 applications a day) and look at the expiration date it does make a difference.

Special notes to ladies please do not use sweet perfumed cream, soap etc. a few days before your arrival. However cremes and soaps with natural repellent are good these include, lavender, neem, geranium, thym, holy basil, citrus, mint.

Individuals that did not take this notice seriously (and too many did not) did not enjoy their stay. So please do not be one of them. This may be a long notice but it is very unpleasant for everyone. "

Rancho Magante Wwoofer Guide

Live, Share, Create, Inspire.

July 2011 - December 2011



Table of Contents



1. Rancho Magante
2. Mensen Academy
3. Wwoofer Accommodations
4. Wwoofer Working and Meals Schedule
5. Wwoofer Meals
6. Wwoofer Activities
7. Rules and Etiquette

Rancho Magante

PURA VIDA

ORGANIC - NATURAL - PURE



In late 2009, Henry Mensen, a Canadian retired builder and developer mostly known for his last project in Ambergris Cay, Turks and Caicos Islands, purchased approximately 1,500 acres of land on the North Coast of Dominican Republic. The land is situated right along the coast and through immediate mountains of Magante. Henry, who has also been a devoted Yogi for more than 20 years, has called his new property Rancho Magante and his wish is turn it into the perfect retirement place for those interested in a pure life, a pure diet and a pure lifestyle that can be 100 percent self-sustainable, natural and organic.

At the same time, Rancho Magante aims to educate, through its facilities and Mensen Academy, the educational center funded by Rancho Magante, the nearby local communities and even interested international visitors to preserve their rich ecosystem and to inspire them as well to live a self-sustainable lifestyle.

At the moment, Rancho Magante is at its beginning stage. We are establishing the proper infrastructure through out the property: Rehabilitating old roads that have been neglected and forgotten through the years and connecting or opening access to the locations where most food is currently growing or where we plan to establish plantations or reforestation sites; we are also renovating existing homes for shelter and accommodation of our volunteers and staff; we are establishing irrigation systems and digging wells for drinking water; opening horse trails, we are investing in solar power and other forms of energy for all our operations and consumption; etc.

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Since mid 2010, we have planted more than 12,000 trees around the property and we continue with a target of at least 4,000 trees per year. Among the trees we have planted, you will be able to find all types of citrus trees, cacao trees, plums, macadenian nut, cashews, mangoes, cherries, mahogany, cederes, local hard woods or indigenous trees, tamarind and more tropical fruit bearing trees, as well as moringa, eucaliptus and other potential medicinal trees.

Our gardens have gone a period of soil testing through experimental stages but are now well on their way to produce everything needed to feed our staff, volunteers and managerial staff, plus still having some left for opening our new organic veggie stand.

We have completed the first stage of our green house and soon we will be able to start planting there. And we are about to cut our first crop of organic rice.

Some of the vegetables already producing good crops are: squashes, root vegetables such as yuca, sweet potato, and batata. We also have lots of plantain of three different kinds, bananas, tomatoes, some lettuce, cabbage, coliflower, eggplant, ockra, watermelon, beans, and sugar cane. In addition, the property has been growing mangoes, avocados, pineapple, guanabana, passion fruit, guava, limonsillo, limes, oranges, and coconuts for a few years and we harvest lots of them while in season.

Rancho Magante also has lots of fresh water sources. We have approximately seven small springs and two bigger rivers running all year round though the property. One of our biggest targets at the moment is to keep those water sources clean and avoid their contamination.

The property is very big and it has lots of hiking possibilities, as well as horse trails and points of interest.

We own twelve horses for riding and some chicken for eggs, bees for honey, cats, dogs and a goat.

At the moment we still house some cattle owned by the former owner of some of the land and that gives us the chance to have fresh milk. But our intention is to take all cattle out of the property, as our project doesn't support the beef industry.

Rancho Magante aims to promote healthy living in all its forms, therefore, we encourage all kinds of outdoor activities and clean habits. We jog, run, walk, swim, hike, bike, do yoga, qi gong, meditate, cook, keep things clean and neat, work hard and play hard.

We do not believe in charity but we do teach our neighbors the importance of hard work and we work with them to benefit their communities and lives in many ways.

Welcome to Rancho Magante.

Mensen Academy

LEARNING TO LEAD AND LIVING TO BE



Mensen Academy Children learning different skills and sciences

The mission of Mensen Academy is to bring more literacy opportunities to the communities surrounding Rancho Magante and to teach them about a healthy lifestyle, both physical and spirituality. Mensen Academy focuses on creating a community that cares and takes care of their environment and nurtures the mind and soul properly. To train the community with practical skills that will help them survive in their immediate environment.

Headed by its President and founder Maria Mensen, and Co-founder and main teacher Matilde Villegas, the Academy already prides in the achievements of its students, who in only two years are the main people responsible for cleaning the main road connecting Los Puyones, their village, to the main highway and sometimes the nearby beach. Mensen Academy has also been gaining a fantastic reputation in the arts during the annual arts expositions in Rio San Juan, and their Athletics team, Mensen Lightning, is already recognized as one of the most competitive on the entire North Coast of Dominican Republic.

Mensen Academy already offers sciences, mathematics and literacy courses, languages, yoga, music, arts and crafts, green issues workshops, drama, permaculture and health. Future plans for the academy include the organization of a Chess Team, Debate Team, Green Sciences Teams, Soccer and Baseball Teams and more, all while searching for national and international accreditation.

The current teaching content at Mensen Academy is significant and adequate to the age and learning capacity of its students.

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Starting from our pre-K levels, the Academy forms the basis for what one day will become a person of integrity, creativity, and plenty competitive. To help our students achieve that, our teachers guide them to create models of thoughts and exemplary habits of perseverance. In addition, we nurture the love for learning and culture.

We give more importance to quality than quantity, promoting the application of the acquired knowledge to our practical lives or the life of others.

Mensen Academy and its Connection to Rancho Magante

Rancho Magante is the main sponsor of Mensen Academy. Not only does Rancho Magante financially support Mensen Academy for the purchase of materials and teaching salaries, but it also gives Mensen Academy great tools to practice the skills learned in the classroom.

Through Rancho Magante, Mensen Academy students can observe and learn on agricultural and permacultural projects, alternative energy projects, environmental issues, reforestation fields, construction and environmentally friendly building, etc.

Rancho Magante also shares its professionals with Mensen Academy, as most of the managerial staff, and even some volunteers in Rancho Magante also grant us some hours to teach different skills at Mensen Academy.

Rancho Magante and Mensen Academy share the same ideal as well: "Give a man a fish and he'll eat for a day. Teach a man how to fish and he will never be hungry."

We teach our students and communities to earn a living and everything we give them, they proudly earn.

Wwoofer Accommodations

LIVE IN A NATURAL SETTING SURROUNDED BY MOUNTAINS AND TROPICAL FRUITS

The current location we have designated for Wwoofer accommodations is known as “The Antena Building.” It is located right next to a telecommunications tower and it has all services, water, electricity, internet service, a full bathroom and a well-equipped kitchen. Rancho Magante will provide you with clean sheets, blanket, a mosquito screen and towels at your arrival.



Currently, there are three bedrooms, two of which can be used for couples with queen-sized beds and one that has a bunk-bed for two. The house also has a common area and we are trying to increase our library with interesting books, table games, etc. The staff kitchen is conveniently located right in the house and the staff quarters is right in front of it, some of the gardens, shade house and green house are also immediate to the property.

The New Wwoofer House

Coming soon, September 2011, we hope our new Wwoofer House is completed and decorated. This new location will be able to host at least 12 people and Wwoofers living there will be able to wake up in the middle of the mountains and to some of the most amazing views in Dominican Republic.

Wwoofer Working And Meals Schedule

FARMING IS HARD WORK



There will be a rotation of your duties in the farm every week.

Hour	Mon-Saturday	Sunday
6:30 am to 7:15 am	Breakfast - Self Made	Breakfast - Self Made
7:30 am to 1:00 pm	Farm Work	No Farm Work on Sundays So you can make your breakfast a bit later.
9:00 am to 12:00 pm	Only Kitchen and Cleaning Staff and Wwoofer assigned to assist.	Lunch - Self Made. Everyone eating at the farm should get together and organize to prepare lunch and clean up.
3:00 pm to 5:30 pm	Only Kitchen Staff and Wwoofer assigned to dinner	Dinner - Self Made. Everyone eating at the farm should get together and organize to prepare dinner and clean up.

Please note that everyone must help to clean up all dishes and kitchen after dinner, and on Sundays everyone should participate for making meals and cleaning up. You can also organize yourselves and assign one person each week for such duties.

Wwoofer Meals

ORGANIC, LOCAL AND OWN-GROWN



Most dishes prepared at Rancho Magante are done with local and own-grown organic vegetables. We don't consume meat and our major sources of protein are eggs, yogurt, beans and very bright vegetables. We make our own yogurt, and our own bread or pizza dough. The only things we purchase that are imported and we include in our Wwoofer menus are: seaweed sheets for sushi, rice paper and some nuts.

A Self-Sustainable Diet

For Rancho Magante, becoming self-sustainable is a major priority. Therefore, we will always flood the table with our very own-grown and home-made products. However, learning how to adjust to eating only our own produce is not difficult, as we enjoy a wonderful diversity of tropical fruits and vegetables and we are learning as well the art of turning plantains into three or four very different dishes. There are lots of options and your culinary experience can be extraordinary if you use your creativity.

Things we buy outside and include in Wwoofer and Staff Menus	Things we grow and/or make and we include in Wwoofer and Staff Menus
Pastas, rice, flour, rice paper, vinegar, salt, spices, cereal, sugar, tomato sauce and ketchup, eggs, potatoes, garlic, onions, cabbage, eggplant, beans, tayota, popcorn, oils, mayonnaise, soy sauce. In limited amounts, almonds, raisins, walnuts, milk, butter and cheese.	Plantains of three kinds, bananas, passion fruit, pumpkin, mangoes, yuca, sweet potato, pineapple, avocado, tomatoes, arugula, other lettuces, melons, watermelons, coliflour, cabbage, limes, coconuts, spinach, cucumbers, beans, rice, papaya and other tropical fruits, honey, yogurt, parsley, basil, oregano, cilantro. Please note that all these are seasonal and may become limited depending on our harvest.

A Classic Rancho Magante Breakfast

Because we start our days very early and for health purposes, we recommend you a light breakfast made with seasonal fruits, home-made yogurt, honey, cereals and oats, and some nuts and raisins. You can mix these and prepare these on a bowl or turn them into smoothies.

You can also use eggs, but please limit yourselves to two eggs per day each.

If you want to enjoy bread for breakfast, make sure to coordinate with the kitchen staff the baking of bread in advance.

Rancho Magante Lunch Menu

This is the meal in which you will consume most of your carbohydrates and protein to replenish your energy and to experience a true Dominican diet. The menu was created considering our staff needs and cultures and our goal of self-sustainability. The things we use for this meal are: rice, beans, plantains, pasta, onions, garlic, other root vegetables, potatoes, sweet potatoes, squashes, cabbage, and whatever we have lots of and in season (e.g. tomatoes, okra, avocados, mangos, yuca, pineapple).

Dinner

For this meal, everyone can make suggestions about new dishes and/or what they would like to eat, always considering that we only provide a vegetarian and local diet.

But since the number of people for dinner diminishes greatly, you have a chance to be more creative for this meal and to create an extraordinary culinary experience for yourselves.

Search for recipes online or ask Maria about the possibilities for meals. She has been preparing amazing vegetarian/vegan/raw meals with just a few ingredients for more than five years. She is an expert in turning a potato into at least seven different gourmet dishes.

Wwoofer Activities

LEARN, ENJOY, HAVE FUN AND FEED YOUR SOUL



A few possibilities for your free-time.

After your working hours, the possibilities are endless. You can simply have a cold shower after work and grab a book, read in your room, or by the pool, gardens or fields, go for a dip, a hike, a horse back ride, do some yoga, take the cooking class, or a Spanish lesson, or simply share with the children at the Academy or even teach them something. You can also organize a trip to the beach with other Wwoofers or staff members, or a domino tournament. Some evenings, you can join Mensen Academy students for a salsa, merengue and bachata night or for a movie night. On Thursday night, we have a series of talks at the guest's house. It is titled "For the Record, I was here." That is the evening when we get to share a bit about ourselves and we discuss anything you want to talk about.

All the activities we offer are free of charge and are not mandatory. Please feel free to attend or not and depending on weather conditions, they may change in time or place.

They are also subject to cancellation depending on attendance or teacher or leader availability.

See our activities scheduled on the next page.

Scheduled Activities

Day and Time	Activity	Details
Monday, Wednesday and Fridays at 4:00 pm	Yoga with Henry	At the Yoga Deck - bring drinking water and a towel.
Tuesdays at 3:00 pm	Cooking Lesson with Maria	At the Staff Kitchen. Bring paper and pen.
Wednesdays at 6:00 pm	Spanish Lesson with Matilde	Mensen Academy, bring paper and pen.
Thursdays at 8:00 pm	For the Record, I was Here and the conversation continues...	Sharing is learning. Bring an open mind.
Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays at 6:30 am	Jogging, or athletics, marathon and triathlon training.	We start gathering people at the main house and run down the hill toward the main road picking more people up.
Fridays at 6:30 pm	Salsa Night or Movie Night.	Join Mensen Academy students to learn new dance movements or watch a movie at Mensen Academy. Bring your own beer and popcorn.
Some Saturdays after work and Sundays	Beach Parties, Pool Parties or Bunfires	Require previous organization and planning. When everyone interested cooperates, we cannot deny such pleasures.
Sometimes on Saturdays after work.	Health, nutrition or other skills workshops.	These are run by Mensen Academy and are announced with a week in advance.
Monday - Saturdays from 2:00 to 6:00 pm	Pool is open for general use.	Bring your own towel and bathing suit.

Rules and Etiquette

RESPECT AND PEACE ABOVE ALL

Rancho Magante and Mensen Academy have opened their doors and welcome you to experience a unique lifestyle proper to the North Coast of Dominican Republic. Here, you will have the opportunity to live in harmony with nature in a tropical and very unique setting and to help a community grow and learn from one another.



Some Wwoofers and Rancho Magante/Mensen Academy Staff and Students after a day of cleaning and playing at the local Beach.

We are grateful for your contributions, and to make your stay more pleasant to everyone here, we ask you to please follow the following rules and etiquette.

1. When you make your breakfast in the morning (cereal, fruit or smoothies), make sure you wash after yourself.
2. Make your bed before you go to work and leave your space neat to avoid mice or other insects making nests in your sleeping quarters. Remember you will be sharing your space with other people.
3. During your work hours, please give it an honest effort to learning the tasks given to you and show respect toward your other team mates and supervisors.
4. Please observe proper hygiene habits (showers at least once a day, and definitively before bed to avoid forcing your room mates smelling undesired odors)
5. You will be given clean sheets, a blanket and two towels for your use. You are responsible for them and to clean them as necessary.

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6. To maintain this program free of charge, we ask you to turn the light off when you don't use them and to turn off the fan in your rooms when you leave in the morning or when you are not in the room. Electricity here is very unreliable and quite expensive to produce and have available 24 hours a day.
7. Please make sure to flush the toilet and throw all toilet paper in the basket and not in the toilet.
8. Try to consider the diet we provide as a health choice and respect it as what your host can give you. If you have special diet needs or complaints about it, please communicate them as soon as you see the problem to find a solution. But please do not cook meat at Rancho Magante's facilities or cook after hours of scheduled meals without communicating it to the managers.
9. Any complaints concerning staff members or other Wwoofers, please try to address them in an early fashion and in private. First confronting the person you have a complaint about and then taking it to Matilde or Maria if no resolution was reached.
10. Internet use at the Antena site should be organized among yourselves and considering that video uploading and skype conversations may slow down your connections and/or terminate it before the end of the month for excessive use.
11. Treat everyone with respect and please avoid profane language.
12. After 10 pm, please consider turning the lights off and going to bed, or simply keep quiet for those who need their rest.
13. Please return all books you use to their place and treat them well.
14. When using the washing machine, consider conserving water and your use of detergents. Stay around to unload it and hang your clothes properly on the line or take them off the line, and give others the chance to use it as well.
15. If you want to receive visitors, please inform the managerial staff in advance. But no visitors should stay overnight without proper authorization.
16. Smoking is not encouraged, but if you have to do it, make sure it is outdoors and never in sleeping quarters or storage rooms or bathrooms.
17. Drinking alcohol is allowed only on special occasions and in limited amounts at Rancho Magante.
18. Drugs are strictly forbidden and Rancho Magante reserves the right to ask anyone to leave the property if drugs are found in his/her possession.

Pool Rules

1. See activity schedule for pool hours and remember that the pool is closed on Sundays.
2. Please have a shower before jumping in the water.
3. Do not urinate, defecate or release bodily fluids in the pool.
4. Do not leave towels or clothes around the pool chairs or pool bed as Bella and Bear (our lovely dogs) love to chew on whatever they find lose.
5. Enjoy it and let others enjoy it.
6. No diving in the shallow end.

Work Rules

1. Be punctual.
2. Please try to use shoes at all times during working hours.
3. Consider using hats, long sleeves and long pants if working on reforestation fields and gardens to avoid sunburn, rashes or excessive mosquito bites.
4. Try not to distract others from their duties.
5. Always return your tools to the proper place once you are done with them.

Any violations of the rules above may result in the request for early departures.

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