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Migration and Mobility

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MIGRATION AND MOBILITY

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Introduction

Until recently, nomadism was integral to Arctic Indigenous Peoples' lives and the Arctic remains a place where people are constantly on the move. Mobility across the Arctic is complex and people move for migration, work, education, health, subsistence, leisure, family as well as for identity and cultural reasons. While globalisation and technological developments have transformed mobility potential, place-specific context continues to be important for understanding Arctic mobilities, including how place and space are imbued with meanings, which in turn shapes gender practices. In short, addressing migration and mobility requires a gendered approach (Vladimirova & Habeck, 2018).



Henningsvær in Lofoten, Norway. *Jan Helmer Olsen*

The choices young people make are influenced by the gendered structures of opportunities in places. Thus, in a world of gendered structures and mobility practices, young men and women might orient their futures in very different ways. Furthermore, infrastructural realities are fundamental to mobility and for creating and maintaining sustainable communities. Therefore, this chapter will explore gendered contexts to provide insight into how migration and mobility in the Arctic are constructed.

In most regions of the Arctic there are more men than women, skewing the sex ratio, especially in younger age groups. Women outnumber men in terms of out-migration, and there are higher levels of immigration as well as domestic in-migration of men. A skewed sex ratio is amongst the factors that may reinforce inequalities of women and men, and moreover, is a driving force of female out-migration.

Chapter approach and overview

Gendered migration and mobility are still neglected areas in Arctic literature and much of the extant literature is oriented to differences between women and men. Too few studies are grounded in feminism, masculinity studies, intersectionality, LGBTQIA2S+ and Indigenous gender perspectives, but we build on the studies that are available. Furthermore, contributions to this chapter from experts across the Arctic – in the fields of gender, migration, mobility, and Indigenous studies – facilitate a bridging of Arctic knowledge.

Due to lack of data coupling migration, the Arctic, and gender, our approach entails piecing together research on gender in the Arctic, with other fields of knowledge. We employ statistics along with a qualitative context-based approach to understand space as gendered and to understand the contextual nature of migration and mobility. As the Arctic is highly diverse, we cannot tell one overarching story, rather we discuss key issues for understanding of, and acting on, gender equality and migration and mobility.

In this chapter, we define the Arctic as follows: the state of Alaska in the United States; in Canada, Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and Nunavut; in Norway, Nordland, Troms og Finnmark as well as Svalbard; in Sweden, Västerbotten and Norrbotten; in Finland, Lapland, Kainuu, and North Ostrobothnia; all of Greenland, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands; in Russia, Murmansk Oblast, the Nenets Autonomous Okrug, Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, Vorkuta City in the Komi Republic, Norilsk, Igarka, Taymyr in Krasnoyarsky Krai, and those parts of the Sakha Republic whose boundaries lie closest to the Arctic Circle and Arkhangelsk Oblast.

This chapter is structured into three main sections, the first of which includes a discussion of migration and mobility as concepts and how they are understood and applied in the Arctic context. This is followed by addressing key issues pertaining to gender equality, migration, and mobility that emerged through our exploration of the various regions of the Arctic. The second main section is a region-wide overview of gender equality, migration, and mobility with a sub-section on each of the nine regions in the Arctic. The final section concludes the chapter by discussing policy highlights.

Defining migration and mobility

For this chapter, the concept of migration is differentiated from mobility. Migration studies concentrate on people in places, rather than the actual movement itself, which is the case for mobility studies. We focus on the gendered nature of migration between settlements, in and out of the Arctic and between Arctic countries. Moreover, we emphasise geographic work mobility as paramount in order to sustain livelihoods while also acknowledging other forms of mobility as important aspects of labour market participation.

Use of Terms

Migration is the movement of people from one place to another with the intention of settling.

Mobility refers to movement in space. The focus here is on work-related mobility.

Immigration refers to migrants who arrive from other countries. These are defined by citizenship; however, some stats classify immigration as foreign born or those who have resided in other countries two years previously.

Emigration refers to migrants who move to other countries.

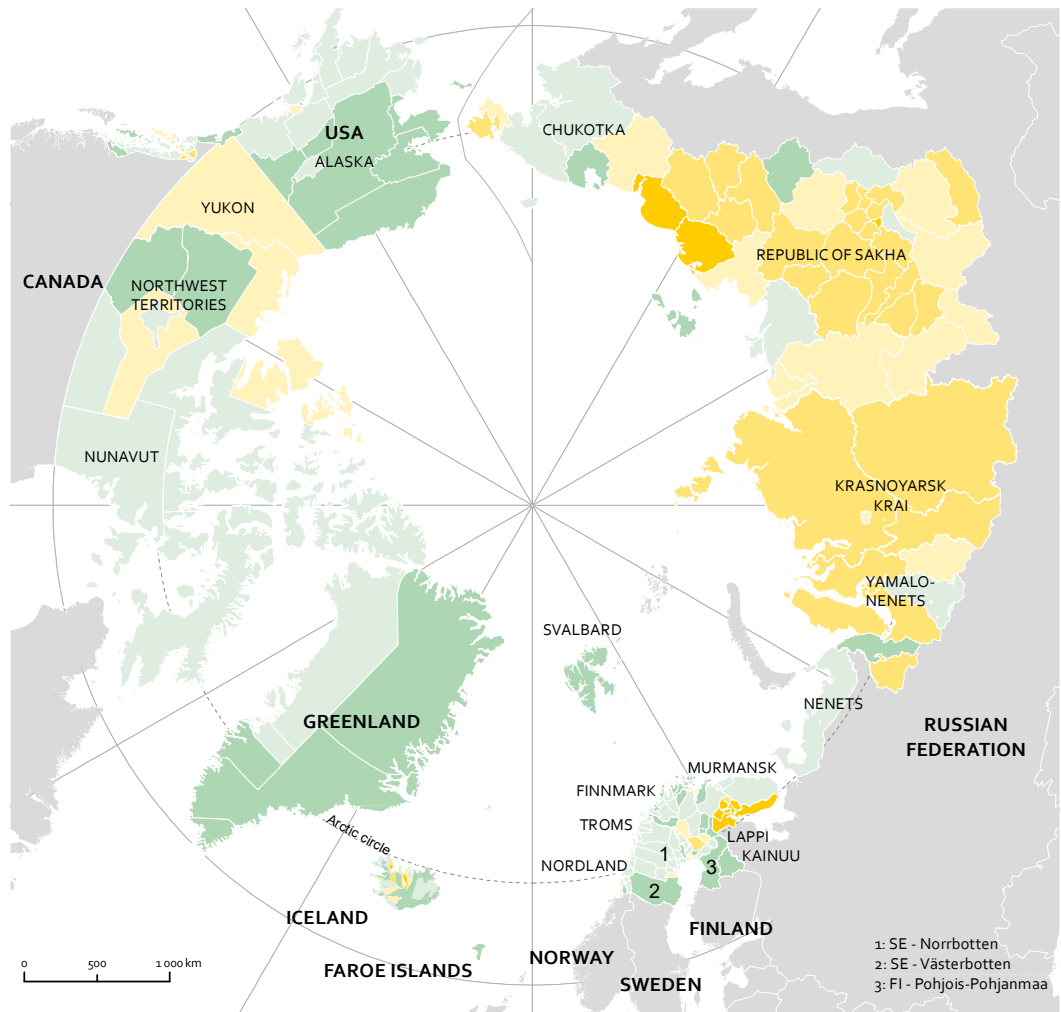
In-migration refers to domestic migration. This is especially relevant for countries which have Arctic and non-Arctic regions.

Out-migration refers to domestic out-migration. However, for succinctness, out-migration is also used throughout the chapter to refer to general out-migration from the Arctic, both emigration and domestic out-migration.

Migration and Sex Ratios

Mobility is highly gendered and associated with age (Heleniak et al., 2020; Heleniak & Bogoyavlensky, 2015; Walsh et al., 2013). Young people leave the Arctic mostly for work or educational opportunities associated with central urban areas south of the Arctic. Women pursue higher education to a greater extent than men; consequently, they out-migrate at a higher rate (Emelyanova, 2017), often not to return. This leads to a skewed sex ratio, which in some places is exacerbated by a greater tendency for men to immigrate to the Arctic for work purposes (Heleniak, 2010). These issues of gendered migration will be explored later. However, it is relevant to point out that gendered migration is a major factor leading to an unequal balance of men and women in the Arctic, as the map overleaf illustrates (Turunen, 2019).

Total number of females per 100 males at the subregional level, 2017



Total number of females per 100 males at the subregional level, 2017



Regions included:

USA - Alaska; CA - Yukon, Northwest Territories, Nunavut; GL - Kommune Qeqertalik, Avannaata Kommunia, Qeqqata Kommunia, Kommune Sermersooq, Kommune Kujalleq; IS; FO; NO - Nordland, Troms, Finnmark; SE - Norrbotten, Västerbotten; RU - Murmansk, Nenets, Yamalo-Nenets, Krasnoyarsk Krai, Republic of Sakha, Chukotka.

Data sources:

Data published by the National Statistical Institutes. Year: 2018; GL - 2019; CA - 2015.

The map highlights that across the entire Arctic there are more men than women and, in some places such as Alaska, the Faroe Islands, and Greenland, the imbalance is substantial. It is noteworthy, however, that Russia diverges from the general pattern of the Arctic. Furthermore, the populous nature of Russia creates an overall female surplus in the Arctic. The reasons for this will be addressed in the section on Russia, later in this chapter. Overall, the skewed sex ratio across the Arctic is a cause for concern for the future social sustainability of the region.

Mobility, Materialities and Local Mobile Cultures

Over the past decade, scholars have advocated for a shift in thinking on mobility from that of fixity to a perspective in which multiple mobilities are incorporated into understandings of contemporary societies (Cresswell, 2011), including in the Arctic (Cresswell et al., 2016). As previously mentioned, Indigenous Peoples of the Arctic have until recently lived highly nomadic or semi-nomadic lives (Elixhauser, 2015). Colonialisation imposed sedentary lifestyles on Indigenous Peoples by means of

relocation, compulsory schooling and subsequently, wage-earning work. Watson (2017) argues that in Arctic Canada, trajectories of Inuit migration to Southern cities must be understood in the context of history, as colonisation is deeply implicated in Indigenous migration and mobility today. Therefore, where applicable, we weave Indigenous trajectories of movement into our discussions.

When engaging with gender and mobility it is necessary for policy makers to look beyond the dominant systems of automobility and international aeromobility. Transport by road and air are important infrastructures in the Arctic, and essential for FIFO (fly-in, fly-out) workers and road commutes to work. However, we also include some examples of alternative, localised, and context-specific mobilities. Localised mobile cultures are relevant to work-related mobility, including sailing between islands, travelling to hunting grounds or using snow scooters to access herding pastures. Some of these methods involve mobility associated with subsistence activities such as hunting, fishing and reindeer herding. The gendered nature of subsistence entails that these forms of mobility are dominated by men. As such men and women navigate and relate to localised mobile cultures from a gendered perspective.

Local Mobile Cultures in East Greenland (Elixhauser, 2015)

The livits of East Greenland are mostly wage labourers, and these days few depend entirely on fishing and hunting for their livelihood. Yet, many livit hunt and fish outside of formal paid work to obtain food and as cultural practice. As such, the paid labour market and subsistence economy is integrated and subsistence activities remain important in Greenland generally (Nielsen et al., 2017).



Iluissat Greenland, a man tethers a team of Greenland huskies. *Kylie Nicholson / Shutterstock*

Practically all hunters are male, however, women often participate in fishing and berry pick in autumn. In the rural places of East Greenland, many young women migrate to the urban town of Tasiilaq, preferring urban life. In this sense they practice gendered mobility.

In rural East Greenland, travelling is a highly valued activity and during the summer boating-season many venture out of the village. Women may visit other villages or towns, whereas it is primarily men who head for hunting grounds. Professional hunters and fishermen travel further afield and are away for lengthy periods, whereas their families tend to stay behind in the villages. During the wintertime, mobility is more limited as travel by air is costly. There is some travel on snow scooters and by means of dog sledges, which are mostly owned and used by hunters.

When East Greenlanders leave villages to practice subsistence activities, the act of wayfinding (by boat, sled, or snow scooter) is a highly gendered activity. Although women might aid, it is men who navigate, steer, and lead the activities once hunting or fishing grounds are reached. As such, spaces at sea, on ice and in transport are highly masculinised spaces. This clear division of labour, Elixhauser (2015) argues is pronounced in subsistence activities and in child-rearing. However, division of labour is less pronounced in wage labour and other modern contexts of East Greenland. This example demonstrates the co-existence of traditional activities and modern paid labour, pointing to a fluidity between work-related and leisure mobilities. Yet, within the context of local mobile cultures, mobility is a gendered practice.

The materialities of Arctic geographies are often characterised by vast spaces, among the lowest population density in the world, and limited accessibility to and from settlements. These are features that impact access to education, supplies, employment, transport, and digital infrastructures. Given the sometimes-harsh conditions of the Arctic, mobility may be seasonal or hampered by day-to-day weather variations. These characteristics are generally associated with adverse human conditions for living, remoteness, and inaccessibility, all of which are implicated in labour market, educational and mobility infrastructural policies.

The Arctic Context of Gendered Out-migration

Places in the Arctic have diverse opportunity structures with "different conditions and barriers that directly and indirectly promote or hinder opportunities for individuals" (Bæck, 2019, p. 64). At the same time, local opportunity structures intersect with overarching macro structures, for example, national gender equality policy, the spatial patterning of economic development initiatives, or access to education. Therefore, migration decisions are complex and situated within local and national opportunity structures, but are firmly woven into individual, social, and relational contexts.

The case of Qaanaaq, North Greenland illustrates the importance of context. In Qaanaaq, young people who wish to attend secondary school must migrate several hundred kilometres. In Greenland, women are more likely to leave such communities for education. This can be emotionally difficult and is even more challenging given the high costs of aeromobility in Greenland, precluding regular visits home. The pursuit of secondary education must also be considered in the context of the Greenlandic schooling system. Despite the transformation of schooling from Danish to Greenlandic, there is still a shortage of Greenlandic teachers with the language and cultural skills necessary for transmitting Indigenous culture. Furthermore, Greenlandic society represents complex realities of Indigenous traditional culture and modernity, which may have contrasting values towards formal education; values which may be differently manifested in girls and boys. Moreover, intergenerational trauma still impacts educational achievement in the Greenlandic context, affecting stay-or-leave migration decisions (Zielinska, 2008).



Scheduled helicopter flight from Qaarsat to Uummannaq, Greenland. *Tara Kenny / Shutterstock*

As discussed, young women especially, out-migrate in pursuit of educational opportunities in urban areas, whereas men are more likely to undertake vocational education (Pedersen & Moilanen, 2012). As a result, in most regions of the Arctic, women are more highly educated than men and in some regions the difference is substantial (Roto, 2015). Not only is the difference in educational level in the Arctic skewed towards women, but even within national borders, Arctic regions may experience greater gender differences in educational attainment compared to non-Arctic regions.

The pattern of gendered out-migration leads to the Arctic being a heavily masculinised space. Indeed, if women see fewer opportunities, they are more likely to imagine futures elsewhere, and less likely to return after their education. The Arctic as a masculine space has also been observed in discourses of

research and development. Men represent the public voices in extractive and industry developments and women's voices are largely silent (Gerrard, 1995; Holtedahl, 1986; Neis et al., 2013), an issue which is also discussed in the empowerment chapter. Furthermore, there is silence surrounding the relationship between industry development and gender, which contributes to the separation of women from industry (Kvidal-Røvik, 2018). Arctic research is grounded in masculine values of rationality and objectivity. Even research concerning major issues, that impact human societies differently according to gender generally fail to put gender on the research agenda (Hoogensen Gjørsv, 2017). Therefore, the production of knowledge and planning of the future, position the Arctic as a masculine space.

As also discussed in the chapter on empowerment, the gender division in labour markets in many Arctic regions is evident, both in terms of vertical and horizontal segregation. In many regions, women are more inclined to hold public sector employment that is more readily available in the cities, whilst men work in the private sector where industry is largely male-dominated. The highly gendered nature of industry, employment, and education in the Arctic, may in part be explained through gender constructions, in non-urban places especially, where masculinities tend to be structured around work rather than schooling.

Changing gender roles and subsistence

The formal labour market, as a product of colonialisation, entails that Indigenous Peoples practice more sedentary lives. Although women still participate in subsistence and cultural crafts, they are more likely to be closer to home, especially as they often hold paid employment. The attraction to engage in subsistence activities, however, does vary throughout the Arctic and may depend on the relative importance of subsistence to the mixed economy (Poppel et al., 2007). Such social change results in men's skills being more intimately connected to nature and place, than they are for women. Yet, women's roles in, for instance, fisheries and coastal industries have proven to be vital as well (Gerrard & Kleiber, 2019; Walsh & Gerrard, 2018).

Gender and Migration in Nunavut, Canada (Dowsley & Southcott, 2017)

Contrary to many regions in the Arctic, including those with high concentrations of Indigenous Peoples, there appears to be little evidence of female out-migration in Nunavut communities. Furthermore, the fertility rate is high in the region, which is similar to many other regions in the Arctic with high shares of Indigenous Peoples (Heleniak et al., 2020). The women in the study by Dowsley and Southcott (2017) had low employment rates; however, they did not indicate intentions to out-migrate for either work or education. According to Dowsley and Southcott (2017), the reasons not to migrate are complex but appear to include the following:

- There are educational opportunities in the region with the Nunavut Arctic College, which is a mobile college in the sense that it rotates between communities. Furthermore a culture of migration in which families encourage out-migration for education is thought to be less prominent compared to some other regions, where youngsters essentially grow up "learning to leave" their communities (Corbett, 2007).
- The internet helps overcome distance and is a platform for endeavours such as the sale of locally produced skin and craft items.
- Jobs are scarce meaning one may have difficulty finding suitable employment post-education.
- Being able to participate in a subsistence economy is a valued activity.
- Compared to living in a large urban area, feelings of involvement and empowerment are much higher in Nunavut communities. Furthermore, close networks and the strong emotional attachment to land are features of Indigenous communities in Nunavut.

Gender ideologies, sexuality, and migration

Historically, concepts of gender as binary have been introduced in Indigenous communities through colonisation and Western, Christian gender ideology. The introduction of these ideologies had the results that male dominance and ensuing female subordination were taken for granted. As such "motherhood [was] considered sacred, sexuality a sin (female sexuality in particular), and [there was] a firm belief in the virtues of monogamous marriage" (Arnfred & Pedersen, 2015, p. 282). Furthermore, male-oriented activities were hegemonised and women's responsibilities devalued. Upon contact, patriarchal values associated with Western culture were the basis on which interaction and negotiations between colonisers and Indigenous Peoples took place, effectively silencing women's voices.



Reindeer skin tanning, Siberia. *Yakovleva Yana*

This gender ideology stands in opposition to traditional Indigenous understandings of a person's worth. From a gender perspective, for example in Inuit culture, men and women were considered to have complementary and interdependent roles, both of which were highly valued (Williamson, 2006). Despite a historical division of labour between men and women, gender was a more fluid concept in Inuit culture. Furthermore, the lack of rigid boundaries between the sexes allowed for the switching of gender and gender roles (d'Anglure, 2005) and the tolerance of complex sexualities. Therefore, the concept of gender equality is rooted in a different reality, compared to that of genderlessness, which in Inuit culture, entails that gender and power become de-linked (Arnfred & Pedersen, 2015, p. 283; Williamson, 2006).

In modern times, the politics of gender and sexuality are situated within Western ideologies of gender. Indigenous Peoples' realities are lived within a division of the public and private sphere, that has emerged through modernisation. Furthermore, Western heteronormativity, patriarchy, and the devaluing of women's work have also become internalised in Indigenous cultures (Olofsson, 2017). As such women's traditional activities in Indigenous culture have come to lack recognition and are marginalised. The implications for gendered out-migration and increased urbanisation cannot be ignored.

Small communities are often associated with a sense of belonging; however, the social intimacy of such places can lead to informal social control and even feelings of claustrophobia (Bjarnason & Thorlindsson, 2006). There are indications that the negative effects of social control, such as gossip, are greater for girls than boys (Haugen & Villa, 2006). As such, a lack of anonymity can be a contributing factor in the higher levels of out-migration of women than men from small communities. The social dynamics, the importance of family and lack of anonymity of non-urban places are factors that contribute also to pushing LGBTQ+ people towards cities, either within the Arctic or outside the Arctic altogether (Thorsteinsson et al., 2020).

When taking the perspective of LGBTQIA2S+ adults currently living in non-urban areas of the Arctic, the rural/urban dichotomy might be too simplistic a factor on its own to predict the out-migration of LGBTQIA2S+ people from non-urban areas. For instance, in the Finnish context, one study concluded that the proximity of a rural area to large tourist (ski resort) areas can impact how LGBTQ+ individuals navigate relationships (Peltomaa, 2013). In this sense, access to areas with greater levels of anonymity might impact diversity in rural areas. Therefore, rurality should not be understood as a monolithic concept and a clear predictor of out-migration. Despite the complexities of places, it would nevertheless appear that across the Arctic, especially in non-urban areas, it can be difficult to openly ascribe to and practice an LGBTQ+ identity (Logie et al., 2018).



Ruka ski area in Finland. Max Topchii / Shutterstock

Research concerning migration and mobility of LGBTQIA2S+ people in the Arctic is scant. The available literature mostly addresses sexual health issues, and there is precious little research giving voice to and exploring the experiences of LGBTQIA2S+ people in the Arctic. The need for knowledge, especially taking the perspective of LGBTQIA2S+ people is integral to furthering understanding of inequalities in the context of migration and mobility in the Arctic.

Same-Sex Couples, Parental Rights, and Children's Rights in the Faroe Islands (Joensen, 2020)

The case presented here is of a Faroese same-sex couple currently living in Denmark. It highlights how Malan and her partner are hesitant to return-migrate to the Faroe Islands due to their lack of rights in the Faroe Islands as same-sex parents.

In the Faroe Islands, only one parent in a same-sex couple can assume legal status as parent. In this case Malan's partner gave birth; therefore, were they to migrate to the Faroe Islands, Malan would cease to be a registered parent. Malan would be entitled to adopt her own son, but not until she had lived with him for 2½ years. In practice this means that in the worst case, if something happened to Malan's partner, Malan could lose her son. Lately, there has been much focus on this issue in the Faroe Islands and there is a strong resistance from traditional religious and conservative parties to providing equal rights to the children of same-sex parents.

Malan told her story in Faroese media recently.

Malan: People keep asking us, when are you moving home, when are you coming back to the Faroe Islands? But I get really sad inside, knowing that they [same-sex parents in the Faroe Islands] do not have the same rights as I have here in Denmark. I think that there needs to be room for everyone, regardless of family composition. If I was offered a good job in the Faroe Islands, then it is constantly in the back of my head, that I would lose my rights to my son, rights that I have here. If same-sex couples enjoyed equal rights, then it would not have to be a constant element, we have to consider when deciding whether to move back to the Faroe Islands or not.

Migration and trajectories of homelessness

Indigenous People are overrepresented amongst the homeless worldwide, as is the case for Alaska, Greenland and Arctic Canada (Christensen et al., 2017). Whilst there are serious housing shortages in some rural and urban regions across the Arctic, migration emerging out of homelessness must be understood in the wider context of colonialisation. As also discussed in the chapter on violence, histories of displacement, experiencing a loss of home and being forced to move have resulted in

intergenerational trauma. This trauma is in some cases the root cause of homelessness. Such trauma is linked to racism towards Indigenous Peoples along with mental health issues, violence, incarcerations, and addictions (Christensen et al., 2017).

Homelessness takes various forms, such as living in sheltered accommodation, inadequate accommodation, couch surfing, episodic homelessness, and living on the streets. Homelessness is a driver of migration, and the visible homelessness in urban areas of the Arctic often originates in rural areas. As such, homelessness can be conceived of as a trajectory, originating in one place and possibly involving multiple moves.

Homelessness is a gendered phenomenon. In Alaska, surveys indicate that women are overrepresented in figures for homelessness (Christensen et al., 2017). Furthermore, the consequences of colonisation manifest in distinct ways for women and men. For instance, in Greenland one main group of homeless people are women who have been victims of domestic violence, and another group are men who suffer from addiction (Christensen et al., 2017). Yet homelessness has different meanings, and the forms of homelessness that women experience are often less visible to the public eye and less discernible in statistics (Nelson, 2018).

When people migrate towards cities, including those outside the Arctic, the trajectory of homelessness includes complex factors beyond a lack of housing. For instance, in Greenland, homeless women are an especially neglected group within social policies and services (Christensen et al., 2017). Inadequate social services, which do not address the root causes of trauma in the Arctic may drive Indigenous People out of the Arctic, towards places such as Denmark or southern Canadian cities. Unfortunately, cities do not always provide healing of trauma and treatment for substance abuse. This is evident in the case of Denmark, in which Greenlandic people are 50 times more likely to be homeless compared to the resident population (Baviskar, 2015).



Tents and wooden shacks used as a place to live. *Fiona Paton*

Immigration to the Arctic

Historically, migrants all over the world have tended to settle in large, central metropolitan areas. More recently, immigrants do not necessarily take up residence in cities, but find their way to less populated areas, including non-urban areas further north. This is also the case for the Arctic, although some places, such as fishing communities in the Arctic, have for years seen work-related, temporary immigration (Bærenholdt & Aarsæther, 1998; Skaptadóttir et al., 2001). Globalisation, including the emergence of the internet, enables transparency and the building of networks to places that were previously relatively inaccessible. In this sense, dispersed communities and distant labour markets can become connected with relative ease. As a result, the Arctic is becoming more diverse. The proportion of people born outside the Arctic and who come from other countries has grown substantially in several regions. For example, from 2002–2019 the proportion of foreign born citizens in Arctic Finland grew by 110%, for Arctic Norway 213%, for Arctic Sweden 73%, and for Iceland 347% (Statistics Finland, 2020d; Statistics Iceland, 2020c; Statistics Norway, 2020c; Statistics Sweden, 2020e). For some regions, immigration has prevented population decline, a topic we discuss further in the regional section later in this chapter.

This growth is connected to some degree with out-migration from the Arctic, as a reduction in the total workforce can lead to an increase in the demand for immigrant labour. Furthermore, a low percentage of women can lead to an increase in marriage migration between immigrant women and local men (Schmidt, 2011), which can change Arctic communities in new ways (Skaptadóttir & Wojtynska,

2008). Migration is complex, and observing processes merely as push and pull factors may conceal its situatedness. However, patterns of migration in the Arctic suggest that out-migration, especially that of women, contributes to the pull effects that attract immigration.

Mode of entry, and immigrant country-of-origin, depend on immigration legislation of respective countries. Immigrants to the Arctic enter mainly by means of work visas or family reunification, the latter mostly as marriage migrants. Legal structures, local economies, and culture define the gendered pattern of immigration. Context shapes immigration to the Arctic and there is no one overriding gendered picture of immigration. Yet, one prevalent occurrence in several regions is for women to immigrate through family reunification and men by means of work permits.

People immigrate to the Arctic from countries all over the world. However, the legal structures surrounding immigration shape the national make-up of immigrants. Geographical positioning and historical alliances are important factors too, for example, Russia's alliances during Soviet rule, the European Union and Nordic co-operation. This means that the regions have different feed-in countries, that may also change over time.

Gendered immigration

In countries where emigration is deeply embedded within the culture, migration is often intertwined with social mobility and gender equality. For instance, in the case of the Philippines, 90% of Filipinos married to foreigners are women (Lauser, 2006). Women who marry to emigrate, and vice versa, may not only improve the life chances for themselves and their children, but also through remittances for families in the country of origin (Lauser, 2006, 2008). However, this is a simplification, as it risks essentialising female migrants and rendering them unagentic. Furthermore, family reunification through marriage has many shapes and forms. Indeed, even the division between marriage migration and labour migration is somewhat analytical and artificial. Yet, the gendered nature of this pattern of migration is observable in statistics and is extensively researched.



Northern lights over downtown Whitehorse, Yukon, Canada. *iStock*

There are also social and cultural reasons associated with marriage migration to the Arctic. In particular, Western men are perceived as treating women with greater respect and as equals, compared to men in countries such as Thailand or the Philippines (Flemmen & Lotherington, 2008; Ísfeld, 2019; Lauser, 2008). At the same time, however, Arctic men may prefer marrying a woman, who they perceive to be more traditional compared to the main gender culture (Schmidt, 2011). This may partly explain why marriage migration is heavily dominated by women, especially to Nordic countries in which egalitarianism is a dominant ideology. It follows, that gender is central to understanding patterns of transnational marriage migration to the Arctic because the Arctic as a masculinised space is implicated in women's out-migration. In turn, immigrant women tend to seek what they perceive as modern partners, who nevertheless might represent the masculine Arctic that some women choose to leave.

Entering the Arctic for marriage is not just associated with increased mobility. In some Arctic countries, residency permits can be withdrawn until such time that an immigrant has been married to a national for a stipulated period. In practice, this can result in women who are in unhappy and sometimes violent relationships staying with a partner to avoid deportation. In this sense, immigrants and their children are rendered immobile, fixed in contexts that can be detrimental to their physical and mental health (Flemmen, 2008).

In several regions in the Arctic, Thai and Filipino women are well represented amongst immigrants; for example, in Canada, Greenland, the Faroe Islands and Norway. However, the mode of entry depends on the legal structures for immigration. In Canada, for instance, many Filipino women enter through work permits, later to settle permanently. Through cultures of migration, Filipinos are effective at building international networks and actively attract fellow Filipinos to the places they settle. In the case of Whitehorse, Yukon in Canada, which has an active immigration policy, one of the first Filipino women settled with a work visa in the 1980s. Subsequently, several hundred women have followed, mostly as un-skilled workers (12% of Filipinos come as skilled workers to Yukon, compared to 68% from other countries) (Johnson et al., 2019).

Inclusion, exclusion and constructing the other

Being an immigrant can be a difficult and emotional experience (Aure, 2013b). The meeting between cultures and ethnic groups through immigration to the Arctic is by no means a uniform experience. Integration policies send powerful cues concerning the relative status of immigrants in each society. Furthermore, the production of otherness, depends on the make-up of the immigrant population. History is important in understanding how immigration and immigrants fit into the self-understanding of places. Some have also argued that integration in the European context is more complicated compared to Canada and the USA, as the latter places do not have ethnonational cultures (Forsander, 2004).



Grand Mosque of Arkhangelsk city in the northwest of Russia. *Shutterstock*

In the Nordic context, the Nordic welfare model and the ideology of gender equality are deeply embedded in national identity. Multiculturalism, with different gender underpinnings, is in many respects seen as a threat to the social order. In this sense, Nordic gender equality notions can create boundaries, producing "the-gender-equal-of-Nordic-descent" and designating others as "the-gender-unequal-immigrants" (Þorvaldsdóttir, 2011, p. 410). Through such othering, stigmatisation can emerge, creating a climate of expectation that immigrants assimilate to gender ideologies of the dominant population. As such, immigrants may experience expectations of leaving their cultural selves behind. In several regions in the Arctic, for instance, discourses have emerged of Southeast Asian women as victims, purchased, mail-order brides, and their husbands as socially challenged as they cannot otherwise find a partner. These women are potentially seen as being helped by the strong Nordic countries. Such stigmatisation conceals the agency of these women and men and creates an aura of disrespect surrounding alternative meanings of marriage, love, and partnership.

This construction of immigrant stereotypes is evident in the Arctic. For instance, following the opening of borders between Russia and the Nordic countries, there has been a substantial increase in Russian immigrants coming to work, study and/or marry in Sweden, Finland, and Norway. In Norway, for instance, stigmatising discourses surrounding Russians have emerged, including in the media (Flemmen & Lotherington, 2008; Stenvoll, 2002; Sverdljuk, 2009; Wara & Munkejord, 2018). Similar processes have been found with respect to Muslim immigrants in, for instance, Arctic Russia, with Mosques and the wearing of Islamic clothing being seen as potential threats to social norms (Laruelle & Hohmann, 2020). Such discourses provide contexts in which interethnic tensions, inequalities, and discrimination may arise.

Accessing the labour market in the Arctic can be challenging, not least due to exclusionary mechanisms such as language, race, and cultural practices. Immigrants may enter the Arctic as highly skilled but find there are significant barriers to obtaining employment that fits with their skills and qualifications. Consequently, immigrants may experience de-skilling, which can lead to a loss of confidence and even a crisis of self (Aure, 2013b). Women generally are paid less than men; therefore, becoming de-skilled and working in low-paid jobs can lead to a gendered double-earnings penalty – due to being both an immigrant and a woman (Hayfron, 2002).

Some places in the Arctic are close-knit and it can be challenging for immigrants to access networks. Local identity is constructed through family and social networks, and boundaries are created through politics of belonging. For instance, one study with LGBTQ+ immigrants to Iceland found that immigrants experienced Iceland as providing a more open climate towards sexualities, compared to their countries of origin. However, still they found it difficult to access LGBTQ+ networks in Iceland (Guðmundsdóttir, 2018). Therefore, despite an open climate, the othering of immigrants results in exclusionary experiences.

Work Mobility

The vast space and climate conditions of the Arctic challenge mobility. Urbanisation and processes of centralisation result in employment becoming highly concentrated. At the same time, non-urban or distant places struggle, as local employment opportunities are limited and often incompatible with young peoples' educational and career expectations. As a consequence, despite immigration, non-urban and semi-urban places experience population decline.

We have previously considered the complexity and interconnectedness of different mobilities, including how colonialisation has transformed Indigenous Peoples' mobility practices. This has entailed a move from practicing nomadic mobilities, to Western ideologies in which work life is separated from family and social life. The complexity of mobility is not least evident in late modernity with the compression of time and space, which creates new opportunities for participation of various sorts, including for work and sociality (Dorow et al., 2017).

As a facilitator of immigration, the internet has opened the Arctic as a place to migrate to. More fundamentally, immigrants to the Arctic commonly continue to maintain close ties with their places of origin, leading trans-local lives and being connected to different places. While acknowledging the diverse ways in which mobility is practiced, space prevents us from a detailed analysis. Instead, we focus on geographical work-related mobilities, especially those associated with the highly gendered resource and extractive industries.

Long-distance working

In several of the Arctic regions it is evident that men travel further than women to work. Long-distance mobility, also referred to as fly-in-fly-out, is typically associated with mining, fishery, off-shore work, oil extraction, and similar industries. This is known as work-related mobility, in which places of work are beyond commuting distance and workers spend lengthy periods of time away from home. For families affected by such work patterns, the distinction between work and home becomes more clear-cut, and time becomes structured as cycles of being home and away.

Long-distance working practices inevitably impact gender relations (Roseman et al., 2015). Work-related mobility is heavily male-dominated and the work schedules, lack of flexibility, and macho work culture can preclude women from these occupations. Some such jobs are highly paid, which creates a gender gap in earnings. Moreover, in some places it is simply culturally unacceptable for women to engage in such work practices (Hayfield, 2018). Subsequently, one major challenge, is the underrepresentation of women in Arctic industries, which leads to a gender divided labour market and male-oriented discourses surrounding certain forms of work. Consequently, the participation of women in Arctic developments is lacking, ultimately perpetuating female out-migration.



West Hercules, in Skálafjordur, Faroe Islands. *Faroephoto*

Where jobs are scarce, the possibility of practicing long-distance work contributes to social sustainability. In families with two parents, there need only be work for one parent within the locality. From a Russian perspective, exports of minerals and energy is highly significant for the economy and much extraction activity is located in Arctic Russia (Nuikina, 2013). Within the petroleum sector alone in Russia, there are hundreds of thousands of long-distance workers (Saxinger, 2016). For those engaging in long-distance work in the Russian Arctic, such work practices become a normalised multi-local mode of living (Saxinger, 2016). Another issue, raised in the context of Arctic Canada, is that experiences of Indigenous women, who practice long-distance work have not been documented. Furthermore, social ties beyond the nuclear family are significant factors in discussing the contexts of women's work practices in Indigenous communities (O'Shaughnessy & Krogman, 2011).

Although long-distance working has gendered structures, the ways such work patterns impact gender relations vary throughout the Arctic and more research is needed to substantiate this. In Canada, it has been argued that people's (particularly men's) focus cannot be on home-life whilst working in mines, due to the hazardous nature of the work (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2017). In Norway, on the other hand, men working long-distance find ways to be actively involved in childcare by means of information and communication technologies (Aure, 2018). This practice is the product of state involvement, promoting fathers as carers through family policies, coupled with a culture that values work-life balance.

Commuting for work may involve daily or regular commutes across national boundaries, especially for people living in close proximity to borders. Traditional Indigenous practices also involve the practice of mobility, including across borders. For the Nordic Sámi, moving between pastures may entail leaving inland areas to travel to the coast of Norway. This is also necessary given urbanisation, mining, tourism and climate changes, factors that impact access to grazing pastures (Risvoll & Hovelsrud, 2016). Whilst reindeer herding is a traditional activity, the Sámi have adapted to modern technology and use snowmobiles, all-terrain vehicles (ATVs) and motorised transport to move herds between pastures – a form of mobility mostly practiced by men. It is evident that work-related mobility in the Arctic is not only gendered, but movement between borders is also common in some regions.

Summarising Key Issues

Migration and mobility in the Arctic are as diverse as the peoples and the places they live. Low population density has implications for access to work, education, welfare, markets, and more. Distances and climate provide conditions for movement, and from these contexts local mobile cultures emerge. Mobility structures are complex but must be understood within local mobile cultures. The Arctic has a long history of Indigenous Peoples practicing mobilities, but these practices have been somewhat transformed through colonialisation. The field must move beyond mobilities associated with globalisation and urbanisation to better understand contemporary Indigenous mobilities.

There is an imbalance between women and men in the Arctic, sometimes with highly skewed sex ratios. Women in the Arctic are more educated than men, more inclined to seek higher education or work in larger urban areas, and thus more likely to out-migrate. Men on the other hand, are more likely to seek vocational education closer to home. The Arctic is a masculine space and women may perceive a lack of opportunities, not least in industries heavily dominated by men. There is evidence that masculinities are structured around work and being breadwinners, as opposed to attaining higher education and being primary carers.



Reindeer herding using snowmobiles in Sápmi. *Jan Helmer Olsen*

Colonialisation has transformed gender within Indigenous cultures and as a result, Indigenous women have become relatively marginalised within traditional economic and subsistence activities. Furthermore, they are more likely to hold paid work, which provides less spatial mobility for activities such as fishing or hunting.

Young people, and especially young women, out-migrate from small communities in the Arctic. Whilst they may feel a strong sense of belonging; a lack of anonymity, few opportunities, and social control impact their future orientation towards out-migration. There are also indications that for those ascribing to LGBTQIA2S+ identities, cultures in small communities, and the Arctic in general, are not open enough.

Homelessness is not a static experience, but a migratory trajectory. Indigenous People are overrepresented in homeless statistics, and in some countries, women are more likely to be homeless than men. Furthermore, the forms and experiences of homelessness are gendered. Homelessness drives Indigenous People out of the Arctic to southern cities or other countries, as is the case for Greenlanders who move to Denmark.

The Arctic is becoming more ethnically diverse with the increase in immigration in more recent years. Immigration to the Arctic is gendered; women are more likely to immigrate for marriage, whereas men are more likely to immigrate on working visas. In some regions, it can be difficult for immigrants to integrate into local society and they face exclusion. The makeup of the immigrant population shapes the intercultural experience and is context based. In some regions, immigrants face stereotyping and even stigmatisation. Furthermore, alternative immigrant gender practices are not always readily accepted in Nordic countries that construct national identities based on gender equality ideology.

In terms of work-related mobility, women may commute; however, men commute much further. This is especially evident in men's long-distance working, which is widespread in the Arctic. The impact of long-distance working on gender relations and families varies. Men's long-distance work patterns impact labour market participation for some women. They may work reduced hours or be less oriented towards a career. In some places, however, men working away from home find ways of fathering during periods away and are highly involved in childcare and housework when at home.

Regional Section

In this section we move on to addressing key issues pertaining to migration and mobility for each of the Arctic regions. To provide some background for comparison of the nine regions, the table overleaf provides a gender perspective on selected demographic and migration factors. These include information about population, territory, sex ratio, Indigenous Peoples ratio, migration patterns, and immigrant population. It should be noted that some figures are not directly comparable due to country differences in defining and registering data. Furthermore, the years referenced might not correspond for all regions. Nevertheless, the intention is to provide the reader with an indication of trends rather than precise comparisons.



Inukshuk on Baffin Island, Nunavut, Canada. *Ryerson Clark / iStock*

Selected demographic and migration factors, by sex

	Arctic Canada	Alaska	Arctic Russia	Arctic Finland	Arctic Sweden	Arctic Norway	Faroe Islands	Greenland	Iceland
Population overview	112,000	731,000	2,851,300	662,300	552,000	488,000	52,000	56,000	364,000
Territory	0.3% of Canadian population living in 40% of Canadian territory	0.2% of US population living in 16% of US territory	1.9% of population living in 28% of Russian territory	11% of Finnish population living in 47% of Finnish territory	9% of Swedish population living in 34% of Swedish territory	9% of Norwegian population living in 41% of Norwegian territory	Population living on 18 islands, which are compact and connected	Population living on coast, 85% of land area is covered by ice	Population predominantly living in coastal areas. 80% of region is uninhabitable
Regional subdivision belonging to Arctic	Territories of Nunavut, Northwest Territories (NWT) and Yukon	Whole region	See note 7	Provinces of North Ostrobothnia, Lapland and Kainuu	Counties of Norrbotten and Västerbotten	Counties of Nordland and Troms og Finnmark	Whole region	Whole region	Whole region
Sex ratio male/female	103:100	109:100	92:100	101:100	104:100	104:100	107:100	111:100	106:100
Indigenous People ratio ¹	53%	15%	4%	2%	4%	10%	0%	90%	NA
Education, male/female ²	University certificate, diploma, bachelor or above, ages 25-64 Females 2.8% Males 1.9%	Graduate, professional, bachelor's or associate degree, ages 25+ Females 4.2% Males 3.3%	Share of persons with tertiary level education, ages 15+ Females 18% Males 14%	Share of persons with tertiary level education, ages 15+ Females 33% Males 24%	Share of persons with postsecondary education, ages 16-74 Females 38% Males 25%	Share of persons with tertiary level education, ages 16+ Females 37% Males 28%	Share of persons with tertiary level education, ages 20-74 Females 28% Males 34% ³	Share of persons with tertiary level education, ages 16-74 Females 15% Males 9%	Share of persons with tertiary level education, ages 20-74 Females 33% Males 24% ³
Population pattern	Between 2011-2016: Nunavut +13%, NWT +1%, Yukon 6%	2000-16: Population growth 17%, 2017-19 population decline.	20% population decline post Soviet Union	2000-15: slight population growth, 2015-19 population decline	2000-19: 2% population growth	2000-2019: 5% population growth	2000-19: 8% population growth	2000-19: 0.1% population decline	2000-19: 30% population growth
Migration highlights	NWT and Nunavut out-migration, but growth due to high natural increase. Yukon positive net-migration	Net out-migration between 2000-2019, especially since 2012. Natural increase too low to offset out-migration	Population decline due to high mortality rates among men and large scale out-migration	Out-migration of Finnish citizens, population growth between 2000-2015 due to immigration	For 15-35 age group, higher immigration of men and higher out-migration of women	Out-migration of Norwegian population, especially of 20-29 age group. Growth through immigration	Return migration of Faroese represents 75% of growth, immigration 25%	Out-migration and population maintained through high birth rates. Birth rates now in decline	Out-migration of Icelanders in 20-29 age group, especially young women. High levels of immigration
Immigrant population (by sex as percentage of male/female population) ⁴	Females 8% Males 8%	Females 9% Males 7%	Not available	Females 4% Males 4%	Females 13% Males 12%	Females 11% Males 12%	Females 4% Males 4%	Females 8% Males 13% ⁵	Females 11% Males 16%

1. Figures are estimates as most Arctic countries do not register ethnicity.
 2. Figures indicate gender differences and are not comparable between countries, due to differences in ages and educational groupings.
 3. Most recent figures available: 2011.
 4. Definition of immigrants inconsistent across regions. Figures variously based on foreign born, citizenship or previous residence.
 5. Calculation based on population born outside Greenland, including those born in Denmark.

Source: Statistics Canada, United States Census Bureau, Alaska Commission on Postsecondary Education, Alaska Department of Labour and Workforce Development, Federal State Statistics Service, Helmiak (2019, 2020), Sokolova (2013), Statistics Finland, Statistics Sweden, Statistics Norway, Statistics Faroe Islands, Statistics Greenland, Statistics Iceland.

6. Figures for Finland, Sweden, Norway, Faroe Islands, Greenland, and Iceland are based on 2019 figures. Figures for Canada are from 2016 Census. Alaskan figures are from 2018 and 2019 population estimates. Russian figures for sex ratio and educational levels are from 2010, population figures from 2013, whilst others are from 2018.
 7. Murmansk Oblast, the Nenets Autonomous Okrug, Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, Vorikuta City in the Komi Republic, Norilsk, Igarka, Ilaymyr in Krasnoyarsky Krai, and those parts of the Sakha Republic whose boundaries lie closest to the Arctic Circle and Arkhangelsk Oblast.

Arctic Canada

The degree of urbanisation in Arctic Canada varies, but the sparsity of the population has implications for mobility and access to jobs, education, and welfare services. 53% of the population are Indigenous (Statistics Canada, 2020) and colonialisation has had important implications for gender and patterns of movement in Canada. There is a gender imbalance in Arctic Canada and population analysis of Inuit Nunangat* reveals that there is a higher sex ratio imbalance amongst the non-Indigenous population, potentially due to in-migration of non-Indigenous men for work purposes (Lévesque & Duhaime, 2016).

Patterns of migration

In the territory of Yukon, the trend for some years has been a positive net-migration, in part due to economic growth and active policies encouraging immigration. In contrast, there is a general tendency in Northwest Territories (NWT) and Nunavut of out-migration. However, due to the high fertility rate of Indigenous women, the age structure is young, which has ensured population growth in NWT and Nunavut (Government of Nunavut, 2018; NWT Bureau of Statistics, 2019; Yukon Bureau of Statistics, 2010).

The population of Arctic Canada appears more mobile compared to the rest of Canada and residents are more likely to include internal migrants in Canada compared to the national average. As migration is often associated with youth, increased mobility may be partially explained by the younger age structure of the population of the territories (Cooke & Penney, 2019).



Inuit boy practicing with a traditional dog whip, Baffin Bay, Nunavut. *André Gilden / Alamy*

Furthermore, during the five-year period of 2011-2016, and consistently for all three territories, women residing in the Canadian Arctic were more likely than men to have migrated internally in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2020). This may in part be explained by the return of young people who have been away for education or employment.

There is evidence of steppingstone mobility in Arctic Canada. Furthermore, a relatively large proportion of Inuit (one in four) reside outside Inuit Nunangat, most in cities (Watson, 2017). Inuit out-migration is generally for educational and employment opportunities as well as housing. However, a study of Inuit women living in Canadian cities (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2017) shows that escaping abuse and access to recovery and medical services in the South are also driving factors. Therefore, trauma resulting from violence and post-colonial problems are drivers of out-migration.

* Inuit Nunangat is considered the homeland of Inuit and spans the four Canadian regions of Nunavut, Nunavut (N. Quebec), Inuvialuit region (Northwest Territories or NWT), and Nunatsiavut (Labrador).

Inaccessibility to housing has resulted in overcrowding and high levels of homelessness in the territories. Homeless people often stay in shelters for lengthy periods, build their own shelters or couch surf. Overcrowding has implications for mental health and has been found to negatively affect women's sense of home (Perreault et al., 2020). As a result of intergenerational trauma and social inequalities, women are overrepresented amongst the homeless in Arctic Canada (Christensen et al., 2017).

The Arctic Canadian context of migration and mobility

Statistics concerning migration flows in and out of Arctic Canada provide some insight into the migratory patterns of people in general. However, Watson (2017) warns against viewing Indigenous migration as a trend akin to the global phenomenon of urbanisation. Rather he argues that the migration of Indigenous People in Canada must be understood within the historical perspective of colonialisation and forced transformation of Inuit mobility.

Only 50 years ago, the Inuit of Canada lived nomadic lives as hunters and gatherers, continuously moving to ensure survival. Subsequently, Indigenous mobility was transformed into forced sedentarism, giving rise to poverty, social problems, and inequalities, which are frequently the cause of migration to urbanised settings. Watson states that "the Canadian project embodied the fundamental breakdown and then reconfiguration of Inuit society organised around new urban priorities such as liberal welfare reform, settled residence, economic rationalist polity, and technological innovation" (2017, p. 193). As such, Indigenous Peoples find themselves subject to individualistic capitalistic structures, that are disharmonious with their egalitarian collectivist cultures (Williamson, 2006).



Inuit hunter travelling by snowmobile on melting sea ice, Pond Inlet, Canada. Peter Prokosch - GRIDA

As discussed above, gender is a more fluid concept in Inuit culture. This is exemplified in gender neutral names, and the lack of rigid boundaries between the sexes, allowing for the switching of gender and gender roles (d'Anglure, 2005). Western patriarchy, capitalism and the associated political structures have silenced the voices of women, who traditionally had equal worth (Williamson, 2006). This has led to gender inequalities as the egalitarian nature of Inuit culture has not been given space within the Western regime.

In traditional Inuit culture, wage-earning work is neither a male nor female domain. Men's responsibility is to animals and humans and as such, paid work in a fixed place conflicts with hunting mobilities. Expectations towards degrees of freedom and mobility vary for girls and boys. In her research, Quintal-Marineau (2017) observed that boys were generally left to themselves, whereas girls were socialised early into caring and domestic roles (p. 342). Women's obligations are carried out closer to home, and therefore, it may be easier for women to take on paid employment (Bodenhorn, 1990). In this sense, adjusting to Westernisation can be a smoother transition for women in comparison to men, who may find their traditional knowledge is less relevant in the new work regime.

Men's land-based skills, and traditional livelihoods, are more difficult to reconcile with requirements of formal education and paid work (Aylward et al., 2015). In Nunavut for instance, women are gaining higher levels of education, have lower unemployment rates, and their average income has increased between 2001 and 2011 such that they earn approximately the same on average as men (Quintal

Marineau, 2017). This transformation shapes migration in gendered ways and produces different kinds of mobility potential for women and men. In other words, men have increased spatial place-based mobility in the context of settlements, whereas girls seem to have more mobility capital in the form of out-migration.

Immigration

Immigration from outside Canada to Arctic Canada is often associated with work migrants. In Nunavut, the level of immigration from outside Canada is significantly lower than for NWT and Yukon. For NWT and Yukon, the number of immigrants in comparison to population size was similar for the period 2011 to 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2020). However, there are gendered differences between the two territories. NWT saw almost double the number of male immigrants compared to female immigrants. Yukon, on the other hand had 37% more female immigrants than male immigrants. In NWT and Yukon, the dominant group to immigrate are Filipinos. For NWT, 39% of female immigrants and 40% of male immigrants between 2011 to 2016 were from the Philippines. For the same period in Yukon, 60% of female immigrants and 52% of male immigrants were from the Philippines (Statistics Canada, 2020).

Alaska

The Alaskan population more than tripled from 1960 to 2016, and migration in and out of the region has fluctuated over the period, partly linked to economic up and down swings. Notwithstanding fluctuations in net-migration, the 30-year period from 1986 to 2016 has seen a cumulative net-migration of minus 55,000 people. More recently, due to a sharp drop in birth rates, the natural increase no longer offsets levels of out-migration, leading to population decline between 2017 and 2019 for the first time in three decades (Alaska Department of Labor and Workforce Development, 2019).

Patterns of migration

As with Canada, steppingstone migration is evident in Alaska, where rural populations are likely to first migrate to regional hub communities before continuing on to the urban centres (Howe, 2009; Howe et al., 2014). Furthermore, out-migration from rural villages creates a positive feedback loop: as the population decreases, the basis for social services and industries disappears, reducing the availability of jobs, which further perpetuates out-migration (Martin et al., 2008).

Alaska Indigenous youth are a highly mobile population group, with young women especially engaging in rural out-migration (Hamilton & Seyfrit, 1993; Hamilton et al., 2018; Martin, 2009). This phenomenon has been attributed to women being more inclined to pursue secondary education, and a lack of suitable jobs (Hadland, 2004; Hamilton & Seyfrit, 1994a, 1994b; Martin, 2009). As a result, there is concern that rural out-migration will leave a negative footprint (Hamilton, 2010) on communities, individual health and resilience of Indigenous cultures (Gerlach et al., 2011; Gram-Hanssen, 2018; Voorhees, 2010).

In 1992, surveys of high school students in 15 towns and villages of two predominantly Indigenous regions of rural Alaska, Northwest Arctic, and Bristol Bay, found consistent gender differences. Among locally-born youth, girls more often than boys expected to migrate permanently away from their home regions (Hamilton & Seyfrit, 1993). Subsequent surveys have confirmed this (Hamilton & Seyfrit, 1994b), adding that the gender gap in migration expectations was most pronounced among self-identified Alaska Indigenous or mixed-race students (Seyfrit et al., 1998).

One result of this gendered migration flow is that smaller communities tend to have more Indigenous men than women, whereas larger towns and cities often have more Indigenous women. An excess of men in smaller communities is particularly striking because their higher mortality rates should, without migration, instead yield an excess of women. Therefore, female out-migration is greater than sex ratios alone would suggest (Hamilton & Seyfrit, 1994a).

Common to other regions in the Arctic, there is a gender gap in educational attainment in Alaska. In 2003, the rate of students enrolled at the University of Alaska was 157 female students for every 100 males. The gap is even more pronounced among Indigenous Alaskans (31% male vs. 69% female at

University of Alaska in 2003), especially in rural areas not accessible by roads or ferries (27% male vs. 73% female) (Kleinfeld & Andrews, 2006). This gap, the authors suspect, can in part be attributed to gender roles where:

School success and employment in occupations that require academic credentials are inconsistent with the traditional, prestigious male role as independent hunter and provider...[and the] traditional male role among Alaska Natives emphasized skills and virtues from which schooling is irrelevant, but which were vital to the community, making the difference between survival and starvation (Kleinfeld & Andrews, 2006, p. 432).

Furthermore, traditional gender roles could have stronger appeal for men than for women, when compared with the role choices each might have in cities. In their discussions with village high school students, Hamilton and Seyfrit (1994a, 1994b) found that boys frequently mentioned hunting and fishing, along with newer activities such as basketball or snow machine riding, among the leading attractions of rural life. Girls more often mentioned their desire for education, careers, and other opportunities available only in larger places. Social problems including substance abuse and violence in small communities can weigh heavily on women and girls. Marriage to outsiders provides another migration pathway that is generally more open to women (Hamilton & Seyfrit, 1994a).



Aerial view of University of Alaska, Fairbanks. Fred Hirschmann / Alamy

Work and subsistence mobility

Colonialisation resulted in a shift from Indigenous semi- or seasonably nomadic lifestyles (Mason & Saleeby, 2010) to increasingly sedentary lifestyles. This is largely due to the federal requirement that all children be given formal education, as well as the establishment of regional and village corporations as part of the land claim settlement process (Barnhardt, 2001). Yet, mobility still plays an important role in cultural practices and maintaining relations. The cyclical nature of Alaska Indigenous migration should also not be ignored. One survey, for instance, indicated that half of those who had moved away, planned on returning at some point (Martin, 2009).

Many Indigenous Alaskans desire a lifestyle of both wage-earning work and subsistence activity (Turcotte, 2015). However, not only do men participate more in subsistence activities than women, but the activities are also highly gendered. Women are more likely to gather berries and go seine fishing, while men are more inclined to practice hunting, which frequently involves traveling farther afield (Turcotte, 2015).

Indigenous Alaskan men consider out-migration as much as women (Turcotte, 2015), but are more likely to remain in villages to engage in subsistence hunting and fishing. As these activities demand place-specific knowledge and property rights the costs of leaving may be higher for men (Martin, 2009). Thus, men are more spatially mobile in their own region, whereas women are freer to out-migrate. Moreover, by moving, men are in effect forfeiting access to fishing and hunting grounds, and consequently, the use of their specialised place knowledge. Women on the other hand, may still have options to berry pick or gather clams, even if they reside in the city (Lee, 2003).

Immigration

Alaska is home to some 58,000 immigrants, about 8% of its population (9% of females and 7% males), over half of whom are found in Anchorage (Farrell, 2018). Most of Alaska's immigrants, about six of 10, now trace their origins to Asia, particularly the Philippines, Korea, and Thailand. Furthermore, there are substantial Latin American and Caribbean origin populations, and a small but growing African origin population as well (Kimmel et al., 2019). Alaska's immigrant population is increasingly characterised by women outnumbering men, 100:84, compared to US born men outnumbering women, 114:100 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020).

Arctic Russia

Arctic Russia is a highly diverse region permitting only a limited overview of migration dynamics within the region. However, histories of migration shed some light on migration in Arctic Russia today. In the 1930s, Arctic Russia grew dramatically as the Soviet state used forced labour and sent millions of people to the region to secure rapid industrialisation. Later a system of wage increments was developed alongside other benefits, to entice people to migrate to and work in the region. This resulted in a much larger population than would have been possible under free market conditions (Heleniak, 2020). In the wake of the Soviet Union breakdown and the Russian transition to a market economy, subsidies and enticements were reduced significantly. A so-called "flight from the North" followed, and the population declined by 20% (Heleniak, 2019). Intensive out-migration in the 1990s was mostly driven by the deteriorated well-being of northern populations. The fast expansion of cities in Arctic Russia also led to pressures on utilities, which resulted in highly contaminated water supplies (Khoreva et al., 2018), one factor impacting well-being in Arctic Russia. Most out-migrants were younger or working age individuals, while older cohorts of residents remained, leading to a rapidly ageing Arctic Russia (Vlasova & Petrov, 2010).



Travelling by tank in Arctic Russia. *Embla Eir Oddsdóttir*

Even before the economic transition, the male sex ratio in Arctic Russia was significantly lower than in the rest of the Arctic, though higher than the rest of Russia (Riabova, 2001). In two decades, the sex ratio declined from 101 men for every 100 women, to 92:100 in 2010 (Heleniak, 2019). Although industries that attract and demand a male workforce in other Arctic regions are found in Arctic Russia as well, the male sex ratio in Russia differs significantly. Therefore, the Russian Arctic diverges from the rest of the Arctic. A pivotal reason for this deviation is the difference in life-expectancy between men and women. The historical reasons for these differences between men and women are multifactorial (Heleniak, 2019). In contemporary times, however, an increased death rate among men due to murder, suicide, accidents and cardiovascular diseases, has negatively affected the male sex ratio in the Russian Arctic (Heleniak, 2014).

Despite out-migration accounting for a considerable share of population decline, data suggests, that only one quarter of the decline in the male sex ratio can be attributed to higher male out-migration (Heleniak, 2019). Three quarters are the result of significantly higher and widening gaps between female and male life expectancy. Whilst life expectancy varies somewhat in Arctic Russia, the average life expectancy for the region is lower for both men and women, than for Russia otherwise. In the Arctic zone of Russia in 2018, life expectancy for men was 67.1 years and for women 77.3 years, a difference of 10.2 years (Federal State Statistics Service, 2019).

Because of extensive out-migration, the region generally has been in decline, whilst some new cities mostly in Yamalo-Nenets and Khanty-Mansi have seen growth, most notably because of their significance in Russia's oil production. Furthermore, the population moving to cities in the region, are relatively young people who are attracted to cities in Arctic Russia (Laruelle & Hohmann, 2020).

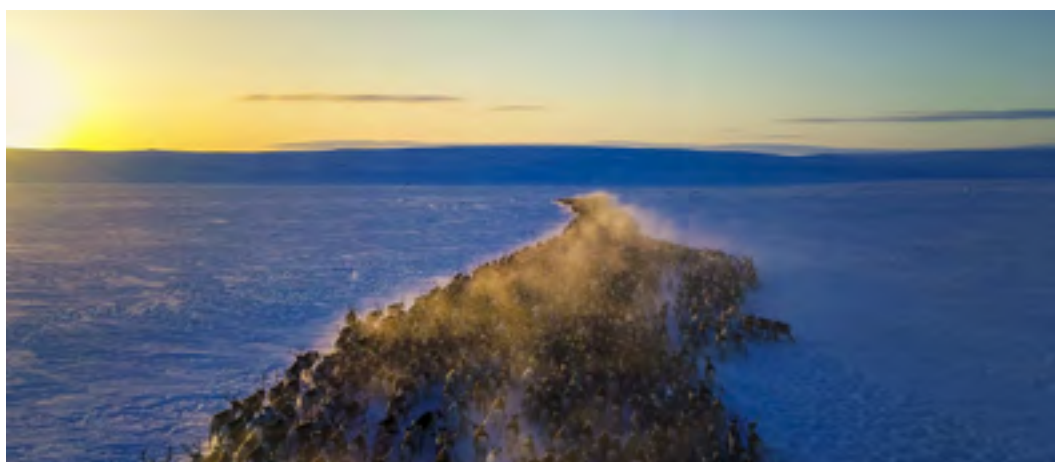
Russian Sámi migration and mobility

The Sámi people represent a case of transnational ethnic identity as Sápmi spans four countries: Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia, of which Russia has the smallest Sámi population of around 2,000. The majority of Russian Sámi live in the Murmansk Region, where they constitute 0.18% of the population.

Looking at official statistics, Sámi, like other Indigenous groups in Russia, show stable population numbers during the 20th century. Since 1989 the population has grown from 1,615 to 1,878 in 2010 (Census, 2010; Vinogradova, 2005). At the same time, Russian demographers warn of lower birth rates and negative natural growth among Sámi in contrast to other Indigenous groups (Bogoiavlenskii, 2004). Thus, contemporary numbers can only be explained from the political and cultural revival of Indigenous People in Russia accompanied with the introduction of special economic rights. Local scholars interpret this process as an "increased Sámi identity" (Gutsol et al., 2004).

The Murmansk Region is one of the areas with the highest level of urbanisation in Arctic Russia (Kraskovskaya, 2020). In 2018, for example 92% of the population in the region lived in 16 towns of various sizes. According to official statistics, Sámi constitute an exception to this tendency, as some scholars assert that somewhere between 60% (Suleymanova & Patsia, 2016) and 75% (Gutsol et al., 2004) live in rural areas. Scholarly studies reinforce the stereotypical representation of Sámi as emblematic rural residents involved in rural and traditional livelihoods (Vladimirova, 2011)

Approximately 10% of Sámi live outside the Murmansk region (Suleymanova & Patsia, 2016), and whilst other ethnic groups have relatively equal gender structures, men are more numerous among the Sámi (Konstantinov, 2015; Vinogradova, 2005). This can be explained through lower rates of out-migration among Sámi men, compared to other ethnic groups (Korchak, 2019). Young Sámi, especially women, are the most mobile, which is common to all ethnic groups in the region (Sharova, 2015). Such gendered migration is common for many Arctic communities, especially among Indigenous Peoples (Hamilton & Rasmussen, 2010; Hamilton & Seyfrit, 1994b).



Reindeer migration in Finmark Norway. *Jan Helmer Olsen*

Remote wilderness areas come to be progressively masculinised and perceived as male spaces (Eikjok, 2007). Many northern communities are compelled to cope with the challenge of gender-specific out-migration causing enforced celibacy, higher divorce rates, decreasing population numbers, and the masculinisation of jobs. Gender asymmetries have serious social implications, ultimately leading to a shift in the perception of some remote locations, like that of reindeer herding camps in the tundra, where perceptions shift from a place where humans dwell to a field of economic exploitation. Gender inequalities and asymmetry in Sámi reindeer herding communities are also observed among Nordic Sámi (Beach, 1982). Eikjok's study of gender aspects in Norwegian Sámi reindeer husbandry (2007) describes urbanising tendencies that outline differential gender roles for Sámi, positioning men as losers in this process.

Such gender asymmetry has been observed among other Indigenous groups in Russia as well (Ssorin-Chaikov, 2002). The general statistics of Murmansk Region also indirectly confirm this connection, where among other ethnic groups, 68% of all men who migrated from the region have higher education (Korchak, 2019).

A Youth Focus on Migration in Nenets (NAO) and Yamalo-Nenets (YaNAO) Autonomous Regions

Unpublished data from recent field research with 400 youths and professionals by Marya Rozanova-Smith

In the NAO and YaNAO Autonomous regions there are certain characteristics that affect local youth and strengthen migration trends. Firstly, the lack of higher education institutions contributes to youth out-migration. Secondly, the growth of resource extraction industries, with a high demand for a diversified professional labour force, facilitates in-migration of (almost exclusively male) FIFO workers, as well as high-skilled temporary and permanent workers.

Thirdly, the emerging economic prosperity of YaNAO, and to a lesser degree NAO, makes these regions strong magnets for workers from southern regions of Russia with high unemployment rates (including North Caucasus (Sokolov, 2016)), as well as for labour migrants from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (Kulik & Eidemiller, 2016; Oparin, 2018; Yarlykapov, 2020). Lastly, to a lesser extent, ongoing urbanisation affects rural communities and their young residents, both Indigenous (Rozanova, 2019) and non-Indigenous.

Informal surveys in NAO and YaNAO reveal that respondents, primarily female students, emphasise the limited range of educational services, especially higher education, as a substantive problem resulting in young people seeking higher education opportunities and higher social status elsewhere. All of them plan to study outside the Arctic regions.

The number of young people willing to stay correlated with age; 14 to 17 year olds are mostly inclined to move, while vocational college students 17 to 21 years old express stronger bonds with local communities and demonstrate different life strategies. For instance, only 9% of male and 8% of female high school students in Naryan-Mar stated that they most probably will stay in NAO; in YaNAO the figures are as low as 4% for both genders. Among college students, on the other hand, 33.5% of males and 32% of females in NAO, and 35% of males and 33.5% of females in YaNAO, are willing to stay in their regions.

However, life strategies vary among Indigenous and non-Indigenous high school students. For instance, in boarding schools in NAO, predominantly for Indigenous students, 17% of males and 26% of female students see their future in NAO.

On the one hand, these figures indicate a well-known fact that Indigenous People in the Arctic keep strong emotional attachment to their lands. On the other hand, these figures may also indicate other underlying causes. Firstly, without enrolment programmes, which were eliminated after the Soviet Union collapsed, it is more difficult for Indigenous graduates from boarding schools to enrol in higher education (Interfax, 2020). Secondly, rural Indigenous parents involved in a subsistence economy, have fewer financial resources (Government of the Russian Federation, 2007; Willerslev, 2010) for tuition and living costs.



A Nenets girl in -50c in Siberia, watching the reindeer herd and preparing to migrate. Susan Christianen

Immigration

Due to the importance of resource extraction in Arctic Russia, many migrants to the region arriving on work permits work in mining and construction. In the region, the share of people employed in the field of mining and construction is considerably higher compared to the Russian average (Sokolova, 2016).

The region attracts migrants from within Russia as well as immigrants from other countries. In terms of domestic migration, Arctic Russia experienced net out-migration to elsewhere in Russia in 2014 and 2016, whilst net immigration to the region from abroad was positive (Khoreva et al., 2018). The pattern of immigration to the Russian Arctic varies between the regions and immigrants arrive from different countries. However, many come from CIS countries, most notably Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan (Khoreva et al., 2018; Laruelle & Hohmann, 2020).

Arctic Finland

The population of Arctic Finland grew by 2% from 2000–2019 compared to 7% in Finland as a whole, peaking in 2015 with a population of 666,400. However, since 2015 there has been a decline in the region bringing the population down to 662,300 (Statistics Finland, 2020d).

Arctic Finland is also home to 10,000 Sámi people, of which an estimated 60% live outside Sámi Homelands (Sámediggi, 2020). Sámi rights are defined according to geography and apply to the three municipalities of Enontekiö, Inari, and Utsjoki as well as the Sámi reindeer-herding district of Lapin Paliskunta, which is in the municipality of Sodankylä (Löfving et al., 2020).

When examining population trends within North Ostrobothnia, Lapland, and Kainuu, it is evident that population changes are not uniform throughout the provinces. In Lapland and Kainuu the population declined by 16% and 8%, respectively, during the period 2000–2019. In contrast, North Ostrobothnia, which accounts for almost two thirds of the population in Arctic Finland, experienced a population growth of almost 11% over the same time period (Statistics Finland, 2020a). The cities in Arctic Finland have grown substantially, and despite a population decline in Lapland overall, the city of Rovaniemi in Lapland grew by 9% from 2006–2019 (Statistics Finland, 2020c).

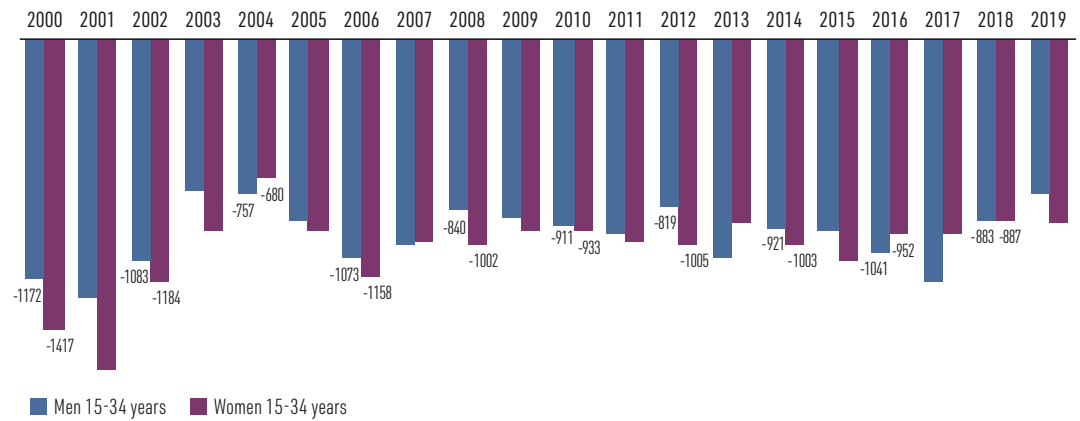
Unlike many areas in the Arctic, the Finnish Arctic appears relatively gender balanced. From 2000–2019 the sex ratio remained constant for most of the period, at around 101 men for every 100 women. In comparison the sex ratio in 2019 for Finland generally was 97.5 men for every 100 women (Statistics Finland, 2020d). Interestingly, when examining the sex ratio of the two large cities of Oulu and Rovaniemi a diverging picture emerges. Whilst the sex ratio in Oulu has become more equal at almost 100 men for every 100 women, there are still more women than men in Rovaniemi (91:100) (Statistics Finland, 2020c). These figures suggest that despite Arctic Finland generally, and Lapland specifically, having an overall balanced sex ratio, women in Lapland are more likely than men to settle in the urban area of Rovaniemi.

Patterns of migration

In Arctic Finland, a relatively low share of the population is foreign born. The foreign born population comprises 4% of Arctic Finland compared to 8% for Finland in general. There are now over 25,000 foreign born inhabitants in Arctic Finland, compared to around 12,000 in 2000 (Statistics Finland, 2020d). As such, Arctic Finland has not experienced the same level of immigration compared to some other Arctic regions.

The growth in the immigrant population over the period 2000–2019, is numerically slightly higher than the total population growth in Arctic Finland. This means that when natural increase (births minus deaths) is included, the net result is that people are out-migrating from Arctic Finland to non-Arctic areas of Finland. The figure below illustrates net-migration by gender for the period 2000–2019 for the age group 15–34 years.

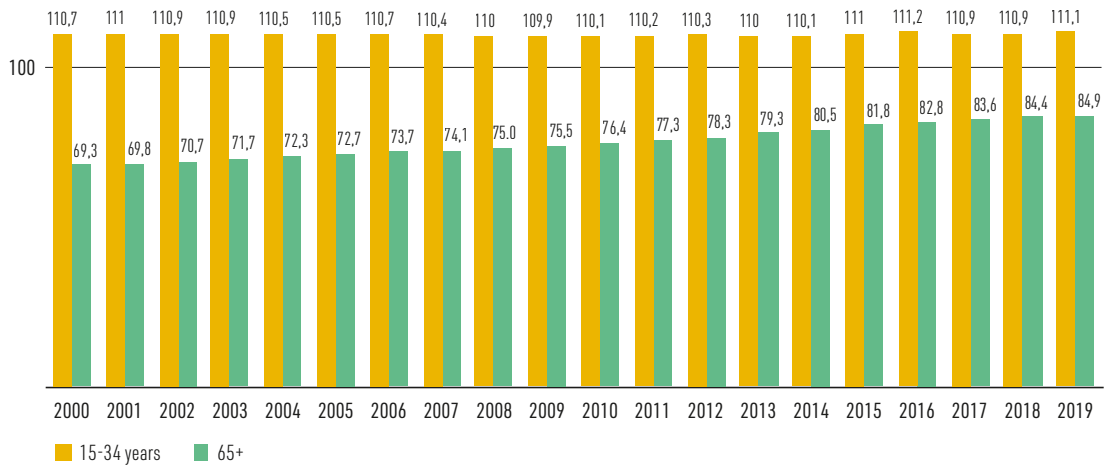
Net migration between Arctic Finland and rest of Finland, 2000–2019, women and men, 15–34 years



From the figure we observe that young people out-migrate over the whole period. When considered in the context of all ages, the 15–34 year age group represents as much as 87% of net out-migration. Furthermore, women are more likely to out-migrate in this age group: for every 100 women who out-migrate, there are 94 men who out-migrate (Statistics Finland, 2020b). Overall out-migration is related both to gender and urbanisation.

Out-migration by young people, and especially young women, takes its toll on the sex ratio of Arctic Finland. Whilst the overall ratio is balanced, a different picture emerges upon examining specific age groups. In all three provinces, the sex ratio is highly skewed in the age groups 15–34 years and 65+. In the former, there are more men, and in the latter, there are more women, as women have a longer life expectancy. The sex ratios for these two age groups are illustrated in the figure below.

Gender ratio for Arctic Finland, 2000–2019, for age groups 15–34 years and 65+ years



Interestingly, the figure indicates that the gender imbalance in the 65+ age group gradually reduced over the period of 2000–2019, most likely because men are living longer (though their life expectancy remains lower than women in the same age group). In contrast, in the 15–34 age group there is a consistent gender imbalance over the period, averaging at 110.5 men for every 100 women.

Factors that contribute to out-migration include economic uncertainty and fewer educational opportunities. Furthermore, in rural areas a lack of basic services for a good quality of life negatively affects well-being and wellness, social activities, and other services. The rural population is aging, which in turn can perpetuate the lack of basic services such as nurseries and schooling. As a result, the very existence of small communities in the Arctic is in danger, including Indigenous settlements (Yeasmin & Kirchner, 2020).

Immigration

Labour-based immigration has become one of the top themes in Finland in response to the current labour shortages in different sectors. In terms of nationalities, the top six countries represented in Arctic Finland are: Russia and Sweden, which neighbour Finland, and Syria, China, Thailand, and Iraq. The presence of Syrian and Iraqi nationals, where men outnumber women, can be explained through the Finnish quota system of refugee selection (Finnish Immigration Services, 2020). In terms of gendered migration, the clearest difference pertains to Russia and Thailand, where women outnumber men. Furthermore, many women from Asia and other European countries follow a semi-nomadic lifestyle in Finnish Lapland as seasonal workers by picking berries and mushrooms.

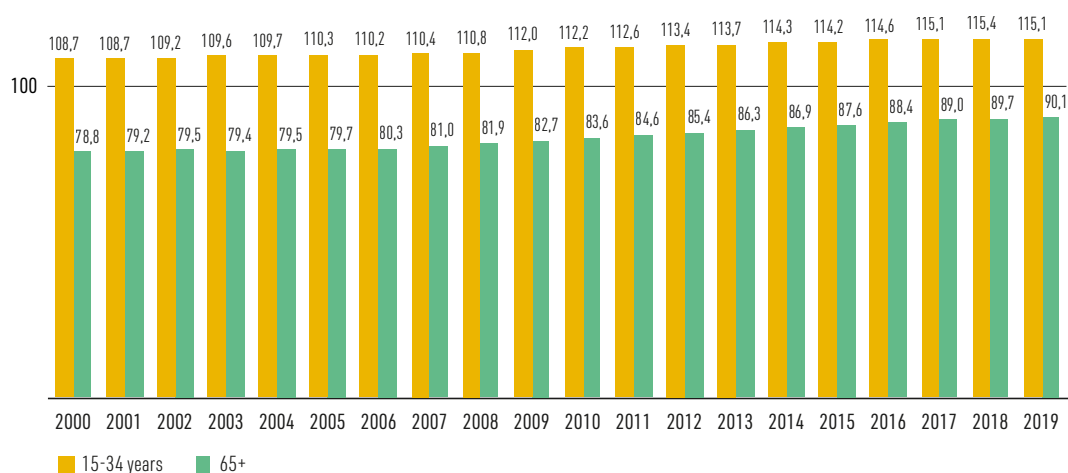
Arctic Sweden

The population of Arctic Sweden is evenly distributed between the counties of Västerbotten and Norrbotten, but the region is more sparsely populated than southern parts of the country (Statistics Sweden, 2020e). Västerbotten has grown by 6% since 2000, largely due to immigration. Conversely, Norrbotten experienced a population decline of 2.4% despite a substantial growth in the foreign born population (Statistics Sweden, 2020c). In this sense, Arctic Sweden has experienced the same out-migration tendencies as much of the Arctic.

Although immigrants have become a key source of population increase in the Nordic region over the past few decades (Heleniak, 2018), with the percentage of foreign born in Sweden reaching 24% in 2019, the equivalent figure for Arctic Sweden is only 11% (Statistics Sweden, 2020b).

The overall sex ratio for Arctic Sweden is 104 men for every 100 women (Statistics Sweden, 2020e). However, when the sex ratio is examined within age groups, much like in Arctic Finland, the picture changes. The figure below indicates the sex ratio for the two age groups, 15–34 years, and those in the 65+ age group.

Gender ratio for Arctic Sweden, 2000–2019, for age groups 15–34 years and 65+ years



There is an unequal gender balance in both age groups. For the 15–34 year age group the sex ratio is highly skewed which can be explained through migration activity. For the 65+ age group there are fewer men than women. However, the figure indicates an upward trend, partly explained by the life expectancy of men increasing more than for women.

Patterns of migration

In examining net migration figures for the period 2000–2019 for Västerbotten and Norrbotten, a diverging picture emerges for the two counties. The table below (Statistics Sweden, 2020d), shows cumulative net-migration during 2000–2019 for both Västerbotten and Norrbotten and the net effect on the population by gender.

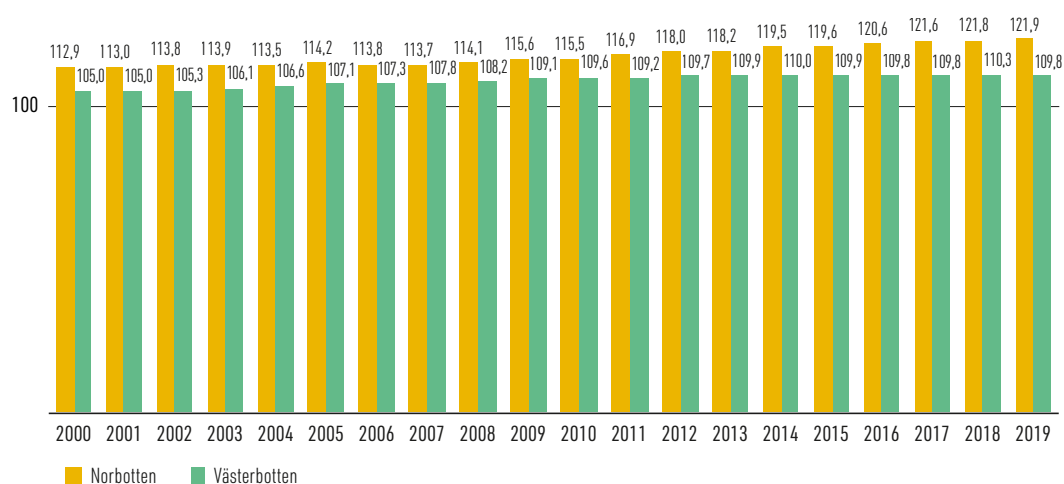
The table illustrates that women are more likely than men to out-migrate, except in the 25–34 year age group for Norrbotten, where more men than women out-migrate.

For Arctic Sweden, overall figures for migration indicate that since 2011, there has been a steady positive net in-migration of young men. Västerbotten has experienced population growth and Norrbotten population decline over the period 2000–2019. However, the sex ratio shows an uneven balance of men and women in Arctic Sweden generally. Given that migration activity for the two counties diverges somewhat, it is pertinent to examine the sex ratio for each county as illustrated in the figure below (Statistics Sweden, 2020e).

Net effect on population from migration: 2000–2019

	Västerbotten	Norrbotten
Men 15–24 years	9,364	2,218
Women 15–24 years	7,115	-4,079
Cumulative gender effect 15–24 years	2,249 (+males)	6,297 (+males)
Men 25–34 years	-4,927	-2,609
Women 25–34 years	-5,399	384
Cumulative gender effect 25–34 years	472 (+males)	2,218 (-males)

Gender ratio for Norrbotten and Västerbotten, 2000–2019, for 15–34 age group, 2000–2019



From the figure, the trend for both counties is towards an increasingly skewed sex ratio. For Norrbotten, however, the situation is much worse, with almost 122 men for every 100 women by 2019.

In the context of northern Sweden, Rauhut and Littke (2016) point out that it is necessary to go beyond economics-based explanations and examine the socio-cultural context of gendered out-migration. This might involve factors such as social embeddedness, networks, and gender roles as contexts promoting out-migration. Rauhut and Littke (2016) argue that women are pushed out of masculine areas and that "a rural area becomes "male" because the local power relations, dominant values and norms, and activities are determined and dominated by men, while female activities are less visible and valued" (p. 305).

Even when it comes to non-work activities, spaces in remote regions are infused with gender. Work and activities associated with nature are considered to be masculine spaces, and whilst women may participate, their participation is under the conditions set by men (Bye, 2003). Thus, remote regions in the Arctic are characterised by male-dominated industries and gendered spaces that affect migration decisions (Walsh, 2013). In their study of gender and out-migration in northern Sweden, Rauhut and Littke (2016, p. 308) conclude that the economic and educational pull factors represent merely the tip of the iceberg, and that push factors play an important role:

Among the push-factors the gender segregated labour market with its limited career opportunities for women stands out, though this is not simply a labour market issue as it actually goes to the heart of the lifestyles debate too. Poor communications, the limited supply of cultural activities, poor services (both public and private) as well as the limited availability of leisure activities for women effectively also act as push-factors. Small or non-existent social networks, the experience of being bullied, harassed or assaulted or preferences that are not in line with the prevailing “macho” culture and male gender regime also push women away.

Therefore, to fully understand out-migration in the Arctic calls for understanding the gender context of places and looking beyond the pull factors associated with urban areas. Furthermore, through place sensitivity, it is possible to view places as contexts and see the complexities of place belongingness. This is pertinent to young peoples' life decisions and their associated mobility and migration trajectories.

Rural and remote places in the Arctic are portrayed as places in which young people, and especially young women are pushed away from. Whilst this may be a reality for some, this portrayal fails to tell a more complex story of what places mean to young people. Juvonen and Romakkaniemi (2019) argue that in their transition to adulthood some young people choose to stay in their localities, and even those that move away often have already made decisions to return. Yet, regardless of their choices the youngsters have a strong sense of place belongingness, which is "rooted in the dynamics of their social networks, local culture, physical surroundings, position and roles in the community, locally available opportunities and embeddedness in the their environment" (Juvonen & Romakkaniemi, 2019, p. 331).

In their qualitative study on emotional well-being, stress, and leisure participation, Gotfredsen et al. (2020), present findings that shed light on rural youth's place-belonging as significant for migration and mobilities as is highlighted in the case below.

"If We Leave ... the Club won't Survive" – Mobility, Rural Responsibilities, and Girls' Leisure in Northern Sweden (Gotfredsen et al., 2020)

These findings are from focus group interviews with 16 girls and young women (aged 14–21) from two sport organisations, located in two municipalities in rural Northern Sweden (Gotfredsen et al., 2020). Conversations and subsequent analysis revealed that within a context constructed as the "rural dull" with dismantled welfare and leisure services (Rye, 2006b), young people actively take responsibility in creating their own fun, or for keeping already existing places of leisure up and running.

The girls described how they carry the responsibility for many of the daily tasks in leisure organisations (e.g., fundraising, teaching, mentoring, and general maintenance of facilities). Although this engagement resulted in additional stress for the girls, they strongly emphasised the importance of leisure being productive in terms of learning new skills (such as leadership and pedagogy) and learning how to take responsibility. Although they carried many responsibilities already, both in terms of leisure and their education and social life, they still perceived it as a competence they were lacking in becoming successful young women (Harris, 2004).

These rural responsibilities relating to leisure played an important role in girls' educational and migration trajectories. Attending high school for rural youth often requires long hours of commuting or moving (Rönnlund, 2019), something that worried the girls in relation to their commitment, and the survival of the local organisation. They were concerned about who would take over their responsibilities, ranging from daily tasks and chores, to having enough players on the team, as Maria expressed — "If we leave ... the club won't survive!" This pressure was reinforced by adults within the organisations, who asked the girls to consider the consequences for the team or club, when choosing which school to enrol in.

These rural responsibilities for creating and maintaining places of leisure, align with the social norms of a "Can-Do Girl" (Harris, 2004). This norm expects girls to be resilient, responsible, self-made, and self-driven. At the same time, these rural responsibilities and commitments also conflict with norms of successful femininity since they affected the girls' educational and migration trajectories. The girls knew that moving away or starting to commute could have dire consequences for the leisure organisations they fought so hard to keep alive.

The case above provides insight into how local contexts impact mobilities and migration for youngsters in rural areas. It highlights what places can mean, and how place-belongingness instils feelings of responsibilities to place. This case further illustrates how contributions and actions of individuals are important in making places, something of which these young women are acutely aware. As such, out-migration can contribute to a decline or dwindling of services, provisions, and local opportunities. Therefore, decisions surrounding migration may involve considerations beyond individual motives, and be taken in the context of relations and communities.

Immigration

Immigration to Arctic Sweden has become important in population development and social sustainability in the region, and municipalities have started to actively use place marketing to attract people to rural areas. Despite such initiatives having a positive effect on inward migration to these areas, they would appear to be insufficient in the long term, as few stay permanently or for long periods of time. Compared to their male counterparts, immigrant women, especially those originating from outside Europe, are more likely to be unemployed or underemployed (Sigurjónsdóttir et al., 2018). As such immigrant women, and especially those who are refugees, are rendered vulnerable. Furthermore, these women rank highest in numbers when it comes to unemployment rates as well as the share of the population, who are outside the labour market. This means that they are also underrepresented in various job-promoting arrangements and integration programmes, provided by the Public Employment Services (Sigurjónsdóttir et al., 2018).

Arctic Norway

Arctic Norway accounts for around half of Norway's landmass and consists of the two counties Nordland, and Troms og Finnmark. Additionally, Arctic Norway includes the islands of Svalbard. The total population of Arctic Norway has increased by around 5% during the period 2005–2019, compared to 16% for the whole of Norway (Statistics Norway, 2020b). This difference in growth is partially explained through out-migration of young people, a factor that is visible in the age structure of the region (Statistics Norway, 2020b). Norway does not register residents according to ethnicity, however; there are estimated to be around 50,000 Sámi living in Norway, the largest Sámi population of Sápmi (Löfving et al., 2020).

Twenty years ago, for all age groups there was a gender balanced population with 101 men for every 100 women. This has subsequently increased to 104:100. However, for the population aged birth to 64 years only, there is a constant skewed ratio of 107:100 over the period 2000–2019, whereas the sex ratio for those 65+ has increased from 73:100 to 91:100, likely due to men's life expectancy increasing during those years (Statistics Norway, 2020b).



Hurtigruten Norwegian, public coastal route. Jan Helmer Olsen

Pattern of migration

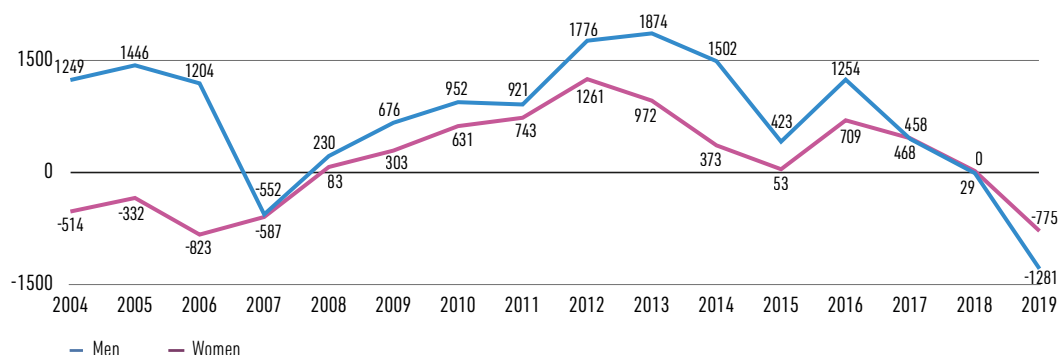
To discuss gender and migration it is relevant to address Norwegian regional policy, which is aimed at stability and growth (through migration and employment). Norway has a strong regional development policy that includes various incentives on a national and regional level to attract businesses and people to less populated areas. For instance, both Finnmark and Troms are tax zones that pay the lowest employer-paid social security (Rybalka et al., 2018). Importantly, the regional development policy has been criticised for being too male-oriented and the policy has been implicated in the skewed sex ratio in the region. Lotherington (2005, p. 112), for instance, has argued that the policy "has been based on a taken-for-granted patriarchal understanding of men as superior and women as subordinate, which has not been in line with the general and official Norwegian gender equality policy". This has been substantiated by Kvidal-Røvik (2018), who argues that gender issues have been absent in public discourse on development in Arctic Norway.

In regards to the societal infrastructure enabling mobility, the region is well developed in terms of housing, access to health services and communication infrastructure (Rye, 2006a). Furthermore, one key aspect of the Nordic model of welfare is that of family policies, which promote women's labour market participation and men as carers.

The presence of higher educational centres, not least those that are important to preserve Sámi culture and livelihoods, is significant for providing educational opportunities to young people and reducing out-migration to large cities in southern Norway.

Over a period of almost 20 years (2000–2019), net-migration to Arctic Norway has had a cumulative positive affect on the population, although the figure below points to periods of net out-migration from the region. However, there are significant gender differences, as male net-migration is cumulatively 12,132 over the period, but only 2,594 for women (Statistics Norway, 2020a). This means that the cumulative growth in the population stemming from migration is much higher for men.

Net migration by gender 2004-2019



However, when examining net-migration figures by age, the net effect of migration is especially between the ages 16–39. By breaking the 16–39 group down further, it becomes apparent that from the age of 16–19, men are much more likely to in-migrate and women to out-migrate. For the age group of 20–29 years, both women and men out-migrate, although women at a greater rate. For the age group of 30–39 years, there is a positive net-migration of women and men (possibly also including return-migration), although the net effect for the period is that fewer women than men in the 30–39 age group in-migrate. It should also be added that for those aged 60+, both women and men have out-migrated over the period, though more women than men, at a rate of 134 women for every 100 men out-migrating (Statistics Norway, 2020a). We can conclude from these figures, that migration in Arctic Norway is highly gendered, and the impact of migration on the sex ratio varies with age.

In Arctic Norway, 37% of women and only 28% of men in the population over 16 years of age have tertiary education (Statistics Norway, 2019). Such gendered patterns in education, may in part be explained through gender in rural places, where masculinities are structured around work rather than schooling (Paulgaard, 2017). However, this is likely intensified as the economy in Arctic Norway is based on raw materials and male-dominated industries in which many jobs may not require extended

education. Despite structural changes in many industries, and women having entered the labour market en masse, Paulgaard (2017) argues that local ideologies of masculinity have not undergone much change. There are exceptions, however, for example, among some of the fishing actors, although the national fishery policy has not changed much (Gerrard, 2013). Consequently, masculinities in rural areas remain associated with employment that is connected to nature.

Immigration

Arctic Norway relies on immigration as an important driver of population growth. Most immigrants to the region come from Europe, especially Poland, Lithuania and Russia (Kunnskapsbanken, 2019). Immigrants serve an important function, both in terms of securing the presence of public services, such as nurseries and schools in municipalities, and in the labour force, both as high and low skilled labour (Aure et al., 2018). Several studies have shown how immigrants in Arctic Norway are understood in gendered ways (Flemmen & Lotherington, 2008; Wara & Munkejord, 2018). They are deemed suitable for certain types of work according to gender, for example women in the health care sector and cleaning services, men in the building and construction industry, and both women and men for fish processing (Aure, 2011, 2013a). Recently there has been a focus on immigrants leaving Arctic Norway. In the 20–49 age group, the out-migration of men to elsewhere in Norway is especially prevalent, with 2.3 males out-migrating for every 1 female (Statistics Norway, 2020a).

Faroe Islands

The Faroe Islands are compact in size and the internal mobility infrastructure on the 18 islands is highly developed. Almost 90% of the population is connected by a network of roads, bridges and subsea tunnels, and the remainder by means of ferry services. This policy of connecting villages, towns and islands together has led to people being able to practice (auto)mobility in networked regions (Hovgaard & Kristiansen, 2016). Therefore, Faroe Islanders hold mobility capital and opportunities to participate and commute to the local central labour market, which is not possible in some of the other Arctic regions.

Despite having one of the highest fertility rates in the Arctic and in Europe, presently at 2.4 (Statistics Faroe Islands, 2020c), there is national concern over the demography and gender imbalance of the Faroe Islands. In 2020 the sex ratio was 107 men for every 100 women (Statistics Faroe Islands, 2020b). Moreover, in 2020 there were 2,100 fewer women than men in the birth to 66 age group (Statistics Faroe Islands, 2020a). This gender imbalance is mainly caused by more women than men emigrating. As a result, in 2013 the Faroese government drafted a national strategic plan for population growth (Føroya landsstýri, 2013; Reistrup & á Rógvi, 2012).



Faroe Islands, Eysturoy tunnel. The first roundabout under the Atlantic Ocean. *Olavur Frederiksen / Faroephoto*

Patterns of migration

The Faroese have long been highly mobile people and practiced emigration, mainly to Denmark (Patursson, 1942), where the islands have political, cultural and social ties. At the start of the 20th century, women started emigrating to Denmark, which offered new opportunities in terms of employment (Simonsen, 2020).

Today the Faroese emigrate for various reasons, including for employment; however, most emigrants are young people pursuing tertiary education, mainly in Denmark. Around half of Faroese students in tertiary education study at the University of the Faroe Islands, whilst the remainder study abroad (Studni, 2020).

As migration is engrained in Faroese culture, a large portion of Faroese living on the islands are returnees. Indeed almost 40% of the entire population and two-thirds of 30–44 year olds have lived abroad at some point (Statistics Faroe Islands, 2012). As such, migration is a normal part of the life trajectory. In this sense migration is deeply embedded in Faroese culture and there is a culture of migration (Hayfield, 2017).

Whilst Faroese in general are mobile, it is apparent that Faroese women are more likely to emigrate, particularly for tertiary education, and they also undertake higher degrees than men. In the years 2010–2017 on average 59% of Faroese students abroad in tertiary education were women, and only 41% were men (Studni, 2017). Given that not all who emigrate return, this emigration of young women is reflected in the increasingly skewed sex ratio of the 20–34 year age group, with 117 men for every 100 women (Statistics Faroe Islands, 2020a).

The emigration of Faroese women to Denmark, however, as Knudsen (2016) explains, has not been explored from the perspective of women themselves. In her dissertation she argues that emigration is complex and whilst many women emigrate for educational purposes, other factors such as moving to better one's social position due to financial difficulties (the Danish welfare system is considered more generous for single-income families) or starting afresh, constitute other reasons.

Work mobility

The mobility of the Faroese people has proved to be vital for survival. In the latter half of the 19th century fisheries emerged as an industry, and since then it has been customary that Faroese men work long-distance. Today around one in six men work in fisheries, shipping, or offshore industries. This has clear implications for how paid and unpaid work is organised around gender. The long history of men doing long-distance work away from the islands has created a clear gender division of labour. This is evident in the labour market where women heavily dominate the public welfare services and men the maritime, resources-based, technical, and manual sectors. Furthermore, in terms of hierarchy men are vastly over-represented in management, politics, and other power positions.



Tórshavn by night, the Faroe Islands. *Olavur Frederiksen / Faroephoto*

The Faroese welfare system belongs to the family of Nordic welfare regimes. These are welfare models in which egalitarianism and gender equality are core values, practiced through women-friendly family and labour market policies. Yet, gender relations on the Faroe Islands remain relatively traditional. One dominant discourse is that of women as natural carers, frequently practicing part-time work, and men as primary breadwinners (Hayfield, 2020). This is evident in the gendered nature of mobility, and employment-related mobility especially. However, a change in gender roles surrounding parenting, care, and paid labour is evident in more recent times. Men are much more involved in childrearing and household tasks. At the same time women are increasingly occupying positions of power in Faroese society. Yet, despite some degree of change in gender and mobility progress is slow.

Immigration

Over the past decade there has been a significant change in the demography of the Faroe Islands, with immigrants (defined by citizenship) entering the islands as wives, husbands, workers, or athletes. Over the past two decades, residents of the Faroe Islands holding a non-Nordic passport have increased six-fold, accounting for 2.2% of the population in 2018 (Hayfield & Schug, 2019). The recent population growth over the past few years has seen young Faroese return migrants, mostly men, settling back on the islands. The gender distribution for immigrants from outside the Nordics also indicates a gendered picture with men accounting for 73% of immigrants in 2019 (D. Im, Faroe Islands Immigration Office, personal communication, 2020). Most immigrants to the Faroe Islands are Eastern European men whose stay on the islands is for employment purposes, typically working as manual labourers on building projects. On the other hand, the vast majority of immigrant women (on average 80% between 2012–2016) enter through the process of marriage or family reunification (D. Im, Faroe Islands Immigration Office, personal communication, 2020).



Looking beyond the horizon, in Eiði, Faroe Islands. *Olavur Frederiksen / Faroephoto*

Greenland

The Greenland ice sheet covers almost 80% of the country with people living in coastal areas mostly on the Western side of Greenland. Within settlements and towns there are local road networks; however, there is no road infrastructure connecting populations to each other except for a limited road network in the south of Greenland. This means that the mode of transport between settlements and towns is by air, by boat in the summer, and dog sled in the winter.

Due to its size, travel in Greenland can be time consuming and costly. This significantly impacts the mobility potential of its residents as frequent mobility is challenging and daily commuting virtually impossible. As many as 85% of Greenlanders live in urban areas, the highest figure of Indigenous People in the Arctic (Laruelle, 2019). Part of the explanation might be that migration to urban areas can be a necessary alternative practice compared to regular mobility, which is a realistic option in some other areas of the Arctic.

The population in Greenland of 56,000 has been stagnant over the past 20 years. Inuit represent an estimated 90% of the inhabitants (Laruelle, 2019), the highest concentration of Indigenous Peoples in the Arctic. As with other Indigenous Peoples in the Arctic, neither migration nor gender can be fully understood without paying attention to colonialism. Through a paternalistic colonial strategy to maintain Greenlandic culture and hunting traditions, and thus promote the Danish trade monopoly, the Greenlandic male hunter was encouraged and celebrated by the Danes. Furthermore, colonial patriarchy and Christian understandings of appropriate gender practices were promoted as part of colonialisation. These were in contrast to traditional gender practices in Greenland, which were grounded in a different gender ideology characterised by a degree of genderlessness (Arnfred & Pedersen, 2015).

In the life-worlds of Inuit, one was not so much defined by gender, but rather through equalness and worthiness as a being (Arnfred & Pedersen, 2015). Consequently, gender was less rigid and binary, and fluid forms of gender were accepted (Williamson, 2006). Subsequently, a Westernised gender ideology has emerged, and one of the key issues dominating discourses on gender equality in modern Greenland is that of gender-based violence.



The new airport terminal, Iqaluit, Greenland. *Fiona Paton*

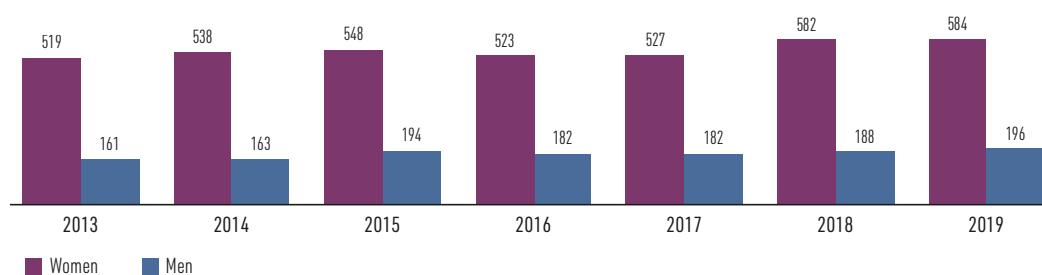
Patterns of migration

Historically, Greenland's population and sex ratios were strongly affected by mortality; more recently, migration has become a main influence on both (Hamilton & Rasmussen, 2010). Over the past decades, Greenland has experienced emigration; however, natural increase has prevented the population from decreasing further. The sex ratio in Greenland today is highly skewed with 111 men for every 100 women. Since 1993, the net migratory effect on gender created a gender gap that has widened by 524 men (Statistics Greenland, 2020a). This gender imbalance is caused in part because of higher levels of female emigration compared to men, but in addition also a higher rate of male immigration.

Many Greenlanders who emigrate move to Denmark, typically in search of opportunities for work, education, health, and welfare, or to be with family. As with the Faroese, the legal status of Greenlanders residing in Denmark is such that they have Danish citizenship. This means that Greenlanders in Denmark enjoy the same rights and access to education and welfare as the Danes. Presently, there are an estimated 14,000 Greenlanders in Denmark.

Generally, Greenlanders migrate much more frequently than people elsewhere in the Arctic, both domestically and internationally (Grønlands Selvstyre, 2010), which may in part be linked to barriers of commuting. Internally in Greenland, young people display high mobility. Many young women and men from urban and rural communities across the country leave their childhood home in search of vocational and academic (secondary or tertiary) education and training, work experience, and a better life for the future. The rural–urban migration within Greenland typically represents a permanent relocation as few teenagers and young adults return to their village communities later in life. In terms of tertiary education, Greenlandic women are much more likely to undertake higher education as the figure below indicates (Statistics Greenland, 2020b).

Women and men undertaking bachelor's or master's degree in Greenland or Denmark, 2013-2019



In 2019, at the University of Greenland, almost 60% of women were undertaking a degree in a welfare-oriented field such as teaching, social work, or nursing. Men who undertake university education are, however, more likely than women to do so in Denmark. This may in part be explained by the types of degrees available in Greenland, some of which are more oriented towards female-dominated professions.

Emigration from villages for educational purposes is also evident throughout Greenland. Due to the vastness of Greenland, youngsters are compelled to move to continue their schooling. Furthermore, women with resources – economic, social, and cultural capital – move because they want a career, a family life, and personal autonomy (through modern gender equality values), which can be difficult to find in the local community. In this sense women and men may be transitioning along different trajectories of globalisation.

Marginalised women may move because of abuse, danger, and social stigma. Their male counterparts are less vulnerable at home, because of the traditional privileged position of men as hunters. However, many young men also head for Nuuk and other cities in search of a new start and further education. The families usually invest large expectations in young men, who are expected to convert their hunter mentality and masculinity to achievements in urban settings. This puts enormous pressure on the men, who struggle to translate their competencies and knowledge to the cultural currency of modern urbanity (Gaini, 2017).

Young women, on the other hand, will often enter the city without the heavy burden of keeping the pride and honour of the family. For female newcomers, urbanity might even offer a more positive and uplifting experience as the young Greenlandic woman is not confronted with the same pressure to repress her gender and cultural identity in order to adapt to and gain recognition from the dominant groups in urban life. In other words, the contrast between the rural (Inuit) and urban (Danish) environment cracks the gender identity of men and conflates the gender identity of women (Gaini, 2017). Among young Greenlanders, gender, location, and also ethnicity define the structures of mobility and future perspectives.

Housing and homelessness

Those who do not have a place to call home may experience forced mobility and migrate involuntarily. Therefore, housing shortages and homelessness are drivers of migration both domestically and internationally. Yet, scholars have underlined the importance of not abstracting issues of homelessness from the context of colonialism. This is especially salient given that Indigenous People are overrepresented amongst homeless in the Arctic. Intergenerational trauma stemming from colonialism and residential schools, it is argued, plays an important role in pathways to homelessness and homeless mobilities (Christensen, 2012).

In Greenland there is a shortage of housing, and people can wait for accommodation for many years. Arnfjord and Christensen (2016) identified four groups of homeless in Greenland, some of which are gender-based. One group is that of men over 30 years of age with addictions, and another consists of women who are single, who may have lost custody of their children and are victims of abuse or domestic violence. Christensen et al. (2017), however, have pointed out that women are an especially neglected group in Greenlandic social policies and services. This is manifested in emigration where Greenlanders, and possibly especially women, migrate to Denmark to access support services that are lacking in Greenland.



Semersooq Municipality, Greenland. Weather havens for homeless people to aid social distancing, during COVID-19. *Kommunekarfiq Sermersooq*

Immigration

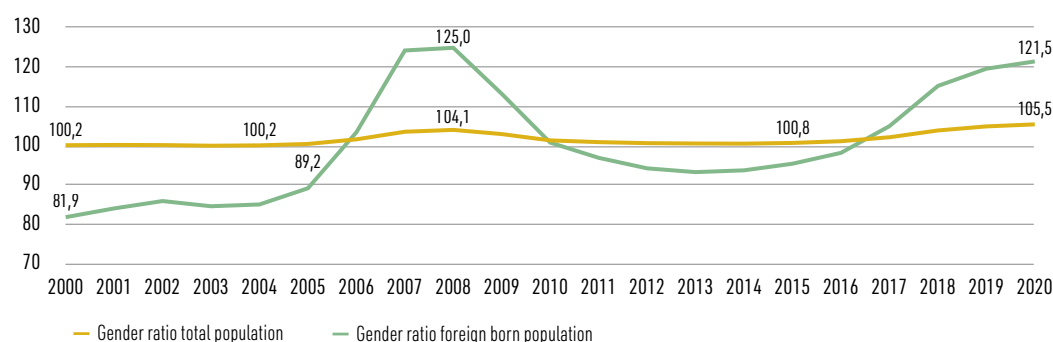
From the time of the Danish government launching its modernisation plans for Greenland in the 1950s and 60s, by far the largest group of immigrants have been Danish men. Danish people have lived and worked in Greenland, often in positions of influence, and until recently been vastly overrepresented in the central administration. Statistics Greenland does not group the population based on ethnicity, but rather according to citizenship, which means that in statistics, Greenlanders are registered as Danish. Therefore, the numbers of Danish living in Greenland today are an estimation based on country of birth, which also includes Greenlanders born in Denmark and Danes born in Greenland. It is estimated that around 4–5,000 Danish people live in Greenland today (Josefsen, 2017), which corresponds to around 8% of the population. This is a substantial decrease from the 1960s when 20% of the population in Greenland was Danish (Grydehøj, 2016). In addition to Danish immigration, Greenland also experiences some degree of immigration from elsewhere. Overall, the figures for immigration indicate that more men than women immigrate to Greenland, especially from Iceland, Norway, Poland, and the Faroe Islands. In addition, there is a significant increase in the Thai and Filipino population in Greenland for both women and men. As such the composition of the Greenlandic population is undergoing change, albeit at a slower rate than some of the other Arctic countries. (Statistics Greenland, 2020a).

Iceland

Iceland has seen rapid population growth for several decades, and from 2000–2019 the population increased by 30% (Statistics Iceland, 2020b). More than two-thirds reside in or around the capital of Reykjavík, making it one of the most urbanised states in Europe (Hlynsdóttir, 2020). Iceland is sparsely populated like much of the Arctic but connected through a road network circling the island.

For some time, the sex ratio in Iceland has been relatively balanced, and from 2000–2004 the sex ratio was 100 men for every 100 women. However, in 2005 the proportion of men to women started increasing because of a rise in immigration. The immigrants were disproportionately male, coming to work in growing economic sectors like construction, which mostly consists of a male workforce. Prior to the bank crisis in 2008, the sex ratio had reached 104 men for every 100 women. However, over the course of the crisis the sex ratio fell with the emigration of men and almost levelled with the female population. As can be observed from the figure below, in 2015 the sex ratio started to become skewed due to a disproportionate number of male immigrants (Statistics Iceland, 2020c). By 2020 the sex ratio for the total population had risen to 105.5 men for every 100 women.

Sex ratio for all citizens and foreign citizens 2000-2020



Patterns of migration

Migration in and out of Iceland is affected by the economic situation, and migration figures for Iceland indicate a much higher emigration in the years following the economic crisis of 2008 (Guðjónsdóttir & Loftsdóttir, 2017; Júlíusdóttir et al., 2013). The large population growth in Iceland over the years may conceal that Icelandic citizens display a general tendency to emigrate from Iceland. For the period 2000–2019, there has been a net emigration of the population with Icelandic citizenship (Statistics Iceland, 2020c).

When delving into migration figures by age and citizenship, the period 2000–2019 indicates that the group with the largest net emigration are young Icelanders, especially young women in the 20–29 age group. The cumulative effect on the population, due to emigration in this age group, is minus 3,563 men and minus 4,398 women. Net-migration in this age group is negative every year between 2000–2019 and is not especially concentrated around the economic crisis. Therefore, in the 20–29 age group, the sex ratio of emigration for the period is 81 men emigrating for every 100 women (Statistics Iceland, 2020c). Young Icelandic men emigrate; however, Icelandic women are more likely to do so.

In a study performed by Bjarnason (2009) with 14–16 year old Icelanders, when asked for their preferred migration destinations, girls were much more likely than boys to choose Denmark (to which Iceland has historical connections) and slightly more likely to choose Germany. Boys, on the other hand, were more likely to choose England and the United States (Bjarnason, 2009).

Bjarnason (2009) suggests that various factors might explain the gendered destination choices of young Icelanders. Of importance are language abilities (girls outperform boys in Danish in Iceland) and geopolitical considerations, including geographical affiliations and the gendered images of countries. As such Bjarnason (2009) maintains that the findings "are consistent with the stereotypical notion that boys should on average be more partial to countries with a "masculine" image of economic and military power, while girls should be more likely to choose countries with a more "feminine" image of equality and welfare as potential destinations for emigration" (p. 158). These findings are interesting, and must be situated within overall discussions of gender, education, and socialisation. However, they do provide some reflection on how gender structures, even in a gender-equal country like Iceland, channel girls and boys in different geographical directions.

Out-migration from rural areas

Rural areas in Iceland face challenges of youth out-migration, and especially out-migration of young women. Young people have multiple reasons for out-migration, with work and education being the main attractions of urban areas. Furthermore, social reasons impact out-migration, including that rural areas tend to be more masculine spaces (Darcy, 2014; Little & Austin, 1996), both when it comes to the labour market as well as leisure.

Research suggests that more often, it is the male and his place of origin and family that influences future residency decisions of couples in rural areas (Løken et al., 2013). Furthermore, a recent study in Iceland (Jóhannesdóttir et al., n.d.) indicates that a higher portion of married men (33%) spent all their upbringing in their current hometown, compared to married women (24%), suggesting that women are more mobile.



The Tungudalur ski resort in Ísafjörður, Iceland. *Ágúst G. Atlason*

New data from a survey conducted in 56 small towns in Iceland, by the Icelandic Regional Development Institute, indicates a mobile population in rural areas (Bjarnason et al., 2019). People that move from their town, are just as likely to be moving within their area or another part of Iceland (34%), as to be moving to the capital (32%). This is a change from the former flow of migration to the capital. Not surprisingly, the youngest age group were the likeliest to migrate, where seeking education might be one of the main reasons.

Looking at gender differences, men are likelier to report they will never out-migrate (58%) compared to women (53%). When asked for reasons for migration plans, men prioritise their own job opportunities higher than women do, while women prioritise educational opportunities for themselves and their children more highly. Furthermore, 13% of women report that getting away from old fashioned gender values is important in their decision to leave, compared to 7% of men (Jóhannesdóttir et al., n.d.).

Immigration

Prior to the 1990s immigration to Iceland was low and primarily consisted of immigrants from the other Nordic countries (Skaptadóttir & Wojtyńska, 2008). Presently, the percentage of immigrant citizens in Iceland is 14% (16% of male population and 11% of female population), up from 3% in 2000, mostly due to increasing demand for labour in the construction, tourism, and service sectors (Statistics Iceland, 2020a). Consequently, the rapid increase in the Icelandic population is fuelled by immigration. The association between economic growth and immigration is evident from immigration statistics. Polish immigrants outnumber others by a large margin, but their numbers are highly prone to fluctuation.

Immigration from Polish men peaked at over 4,000 in 2007 and subsequently again in 2017. During the economic crisis, and again in 2018, many Polish men emigrated, albeit, at a lower rate than the previous immigration. The immigration/emigration curves for females are similar to those for males, although the level of female immigration from Poland is lower, peaking at 1,565 in 2007. (Statistics Iceland, 2020c). Based on country of birth, there are presently twice as many Filipino women (1,480) living in Iceland as men (743) (Statistics Iceland, 2020b). Men are significantly more likely than women to report that their reason for coming to Iceland is based on work, nature, peacefulness, and safety, whereas women are significantly more likely than men to come to Iceland because of an Icelandic partner, and more likely to come to Iceland for a non-Icelandic partner, for family reasons, or to study (Hoffman et al., 2020).

Policy Relevant Highlights

Research and knowledge on gender, migration, and mobility

Given that migration and mobility in the Arctic are highly gendered, the lack of knowledge on this topic from a gender perspective is both surprising and concerning. Young people, and especially women, out-migrate from the Arctic, yet most studies that address migration and mobility in the Arctic fail to include gender perspectives. What is more, studies on gender in the Arctic, rarely include significant life issues such as migration. Thus gender, migration, and mobilities tend to be approached as stand-alone and isolated research topics.

It is, however, insufficient to merely address gender, as a matter of differences between men and women. A difference-approach provides a partial understanding how women and men navigate migration and mobility in the Arctic. However, there is a need for more intersectional research that puts gender much higher on the research agenda. From an intersectional research perspective, other social categories, in which gender is implicated, most notably Indigenous perspectives and sexuality (LGBTQIA2S+), can thus be brought to the fore.

Promote and sustain research and knowledge on gender, migration, and mobility, especially research that takes an intersectional perspective.

Out-migration from the Arctic

The disproportionate out-migration of women has led to a skewed sex ratio in much of the Arctic. Whilst urban opportunities, primarily education and employment, pull young women away from less populated areas, this oversimplifies migration decisions. Women are more likely to undertake higher education, whilst male identity is more intertwined with industries and employment in which higher education might not be necessary.

There is a need to create opportunities and maintain services locally so that women can see potential futures in the region. However, in addition to pull factors, women are also pushed away from rural areas, in part due to a lack of anonymity and social control (although this is also somewhat true for men). Possibly of greater importance, such places are masculine spaces. Labour market structures, industry structures, and leisure activities (hunting, fishing, snow-scootering, etc.) are dominated by and defined by men. As such, to prevent out-migration and stimulate return migration, it is necessary to address place-relevant structures that result in more women than men leaving.

Further understanding of the complex processes that lead to out-migration of young people, and especially women. Women and young people should be included in defining problems and drawing up policies. Focus on developing, improving, and sustaining local opportunity structures from a gendered intersectional approach, such that opportunity structures are created and maintained, making them attractive to women and men.

Gender and industry development in the Arctic

The labour market in the Arctic is characterised by gender segregation and industry in the Arctic is generally heavily masculinised. In industry and policy development, the discourse is masculine and reproduces a gender segregated Arctic, as the voices and concerns of women are excluded or marginalised. As such, development, inward investment, and associated policies, rarely consider how such activity will affect women or how women can be brought into these industries. More diverse voices in planning and policy can contribute to transforming the gender segregated labour market in the Arctic.

Actively bring gender perspectives into discussions, applied planning, and policies surrounding industry and development in the Arctic. This will require that more women are involved in industrial policy and a greater emphasis on employment areas where women are active.

Services, housing, and homelessness in the Arctic

There is a lack of support services in the Arctic for Indigenous People who suffer from intergenerational trauma. This can lead them to migrate to urban areas or out of the Arctic. Furthermore, Indigenous People are especially at risk of being homeless in the Arctic. This is not least due to serious housing shortages in some regions of the Arctic. This chapter addressed how the forms, experiences, and root causes of homelessness are gendered. Homelessness in the Arctic, however, should not merely be considered as an urban phenomenon. Homelessness frequently has its roots in intergenerational trauma, physical, sexual or substance abuse and often originates elsewhere but becomes visible in urban areas. However, little is known about homelessness in the Arctic, and many regions do not know how many people are homeless.

Establish and provide quality gender-sensitive support services in the Arctic, such that people are not forced out of the Arctic to receive help in recovering from violence and abuse. Conduct research and produce knowledge on homelessness and gender in the Arctic, including experiences and causes of homelessness. Furthermore, for some regions, homelessness and support and recovery services should be more actively addressed in social policy.

Immigration to the Arctic

Immigration to the Arctic has increased substantially in some regions. Whilst reasons for immigrating to the Arctic are complex, a gendered pattern is clearly discernible for most regions. Most men immigrate to the Arctic for work reasons, and women are much more likely than men to immigrate with a partner or for a partner (e.g., through family reunification). In some regions of the Arctic, therefore, women are more likely to settle long term, compared to men. When men enter the region for employment, they may emigrate if there is no more work. This chapter has discussed issues of inequality between migrants and the local population. These include the double-earnings penalty for women, and the risk of being excluded or marginalised on the labour market. Furthermore, immigrants often have great difficulties in applying their skills in the host labour market or gaining language skills, as well as difficulty accessing social networks. In some regions of the Arctic, immigrants are marginalised and gender stereotyped, leading to stigmatisation.

Develop an overarching policy and specific strategies to address gendered inequalities amongst immigrant women and men, especially for those who are outside the labour market. Furthermore, context-sensitive integration strategies are needed in several of the Arctic regions. These are strategies that acknowledge the diversity amongst immigrants and how place specificities impact how immigrants integrate.

Work mobility

Living in the Arctic requires that people can be mobile, most especially to access employment. In many regions, commuting long-distance is a reality. By actively promoting commuting, labour markets are expanded beyond the immediate vicinity. Consequently, greater opportunities for pursuing careers and social mobility can either prevent out-migration or attract people to the region. Therefore, increasing access to employment opportunities in the Arctic provides possibilities for people to live and work in the region.

Daily commuting and long-distance working, however, are highly gendered. Men travel further than women to work and are away for longer periods of time. Long-distance working is a feature of the labour market in the Arctic and may involve men being away for weeks or months at a time. Furthermore, women are less inclined to commute far, and instead opt for employment locally, often in the public sector. In this sense, employment opportunities in the public sector may allow women to apply their skills locally. However, the expectations of women being primary carers and staying closer to home and family are widespread in the Arctic.

To promote geographical work mobility in the Arctic, a gender-focused, quality, and reliable infrastructure is necessary. Yet, such an infrastructural strategy should go beyond material mobility infrastructures, such as roads, transport, and housing. Policies that promote and incentivise both men and women's involvement in families are important, thus promoting care equalities. In this sense, changing the division of care is arguably, a pre-requisite for women to practice work mobility. The culture that makes it unacceptable for women to practice mobility must be addressed. To do so, family policies that promote and incentivise men's involvement in parenting (e.g., paternity leave, affordable quality childcare services) are some potential solutions. Furthermore, flexible work arrangements for parents in families, which take into account periodic absences of a partner, can help to promote women's labour market participation.

Develop material and welfare infrastructures to enable residents in the Arctic to engage in work-related mobility, both long-distance working and more frequent commutes. Furthermore, actively promote flexible work arrangements, which can promote home-working and enable those with long-distance working partners to arrange work around a partner's absences and times at home.

Urbanisation and migration of Indigenous People

The Arctic is becoming increasingly urbanised, including for Indigenous People. The process of urbanisation has not been straightforward for Indigenous People for several reasons. Men tend to have place-specific skills, which they apply in subsistence. These skills are much less readily transferred to urban living. Men thus have less migration capital than women. In many regions of the Arctic, women in rural settlements are more tied to wage-earning labour. They are less mobile in rural settlements, but their skills are more transferrable to urban life. Indigenous women, therefore, have greater migration capital than Indigenous men. This means, that there is a risk that Indigenous men and women lead spatially separate lives: men living in rural settlements and women in urban areas. Once in urban environments, it can be more difficult to maintain cultural traditions, teach children Indigenous languages, and to practice subsistence. Consequently, the maintenance of cultural knowledge is at risk in urban areas.

A multi-faceted approach, including a gendered analysis and Indigenous tradition-sensitive approach, is required in project and policy development. Policies should include being able to access education locally and the need for economic diversification in communities covering both public sector and private sector employment. This requires less of a focus on male-oriented mega-projects. Furthermore, various incentives on a national and regional level are important in attracting businesses and people to less populated areas.

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