This is a post-print version of a chapter published in:

Ensign, P.C., Giles, A., & Reed, M.G. (2010). Labour migration – What goes around comes around. In D. Carson, P.C. Ensign, T.L. Huskey, O.L. Rasmussen, & A. Taylor (Eds.), *Demography at the edge: Remote human populations in developed nations*. London: Ashgate.

Chapter 11

Labour Migration – What goes around comes around

Prescott C. Ensign, Audrey Giles and Maureen G. Reed

Introduction

Labour mobility exhibits some peculiarities in remote regions. Workforce migration may be temporary (seasonal or cyclical, based on economics) and may be continuous with people moving, moving again, perhaps returning or moving on once more. There is quite a bit of nomadic behaviour among workers at the periphery (as we demonstrate in this chapter with examples of labour that moves in (taxi drivers in Alaska) and labour that moves out (Inuit youth and women)). There is evidence to support the proposition that it is individual personality and behavioural characteristics that cause people to 'self select' this employment lifestyle (Ensign 2008a, and the case example in this chapter about the North West Territories Above Ground Pool Program). There is also plenty of reason to affirm the proposition that the organization of industry or economic activity necessitates a nomadic (or at least highly mobile) workforce with particular demographic characteristics (for example, resource extraction: mining, fishing, and so on) (Storey 2009, and the case example in this chapter about women in the Canadian forestry sector).

The composition of the labour market at the periphery defies neat and tidy depiction or meaningful averages. Workforces at the periphery draw on local, regional, national and international labour. A worker from 1,000 kilometres south may not just be from a warm locale

but also an urban one, while a worker from three or four times that distance may be from a similar climate or culture and have greater affinity for a kindred peripheral establishment. Sharing a common animosity (usually towards 'the South') may even unite groups. In Canada, 100 years ago (and again more recently), the 'prairies' backlash against federal authority in central Canada was a unifying force (Ensign 2008b). At about the same time period, many in the Faroe Islands held a political conviction favouring greater independence from Denmark. A common enemy, be it a political adversary or socio-economic crisis such as poverty, can bind groups tightly together.

Humans in these remote areas may be similar to polar bears—both groups will relocate and change behaviour in pursuit of their own self-interest—about which Wisniewski (2009: 154) notes a difference between a change in population distribution and a population reduction. The assertion is that the overall population is not necessarily diminished (when absent from a specific place), just differently dispersed. 'Polar bears are flexible and adaptable and pursue a wide variety of prey.' This compares with Heleniak's (2009) examination of migration decisions of human populations in the Russian North. While labour market incentives[1] drew folks to the periphery, other factors kept them there. 'Attachment to place' plays a role in the decisions of some. 'Place-specific social capital' was also a significant factor in the retention of many. But self-interest that initially drew them some north to the periphery also led to a large-scale outmigration back to the core. Heleniak (2009) found strong evidence that 'sense of community and attachment to place were weak among many of these newcomers to the North. However, among others, they initially viewed their stay in the North as temporary but ended up staying permanently' (Bolotova and

---

1 In contrast to the Stalin years when people were forced North against their will, Russia's present day 'state support available to Northern residents is a distinctive mix of monetary payments, job-related privileges, travel, pension rights and social services' (Rasell 2009: 92).

Stammler 2008). This notion of temporary: 'I was going to stay 2 or 3 years, but that was 17 years ago' was a recurring theme in recent interviews by McCluskey and Ensign (2009) in Nunavut:

> I came up to visit a couple times, and on the third visit I decided to move up, to a less stressful job that was five days a week, more pay and no overtime. I met my husband two days after I was back, and we have been together ever since, and that's been twenty years.

So, while many 'came for the work' (Halseth 1999), labour migration patterns are not purely determined by trade in labour. This chapter puts labour migration at the edge in a broader context of the economic and social systems that have emerged in remote areas.

Rationale for Relocation and Reasons to Stay

Economic explanations centre on wage differentials (subtracting costs for travel and relocation) and maximizing self-interest. Seeking prosperity is the driver of migration (even for polar bears), risk profile and other traits are secondary and community characteristics and networks play a minor role (Heleniak 2009). Sociological explanations focus less on material incentives and more on emotional criteria. Heleniak (2009) points to investments in community building, collective bonds and shared struggles. In the case of Russia's North in the Soviet era, there were cohorts of arrivals.[2] This is also true for Canada's North—where most arrive at the start of the summer season. The following quote from a restaurateur is indicative:

> We treat our employees really well and give them exactly what we have promised them. We would love to hire locally, we try our very best and do have a few locals, however they just aren't as dedicated. We advertise across Canada … Yes [we fly people up], we take the money off over six pays, and then if they stay a year we give that money back to them. Most of those who come, we give subsidised housing to, because rent is crazy here. Turnover is high too. In a month we have about 25 [full time employees], we have them at the beginning of the month and then they quit and so we

2 -Russia's foray North has been described as 'conquest' or a 'conquering' mentality (Rasell 2009: 93).

> replace them, but when I do remittance for payroll at the end of the month it's usually 29, sometimes 32. (McCluskey and Ensign 2009)

Recruitment is a constant concern at the periphery. One individual recalled the situation with a recently hired architect: 'but at that point his wife wasn't working, so I told him he should get her to come up for a bit and she was here for a year and now I have both of them working in the office. We also hire from the schools and we've probably hired ten or twelve over the last eight years from the College of the North Atlantic [which has 17 campuses in Newfoundland and Labrador] and the instructors there know who we are.' Another individual stated:

> The number one [challenge to running a business in the North] is employment, finding good staff, and if you can retain them. Just the mere effort of finding a new employee takes a lot of time and effort. We bring about ten people in every so many months. We tend to rely on personal contacts and recommendations and hire blind. What we do is, if you are a rookie and want to become a carpenter, we make sure you are going to at least try for your certificate. So say we have a ceiling to do in six months, I would give you one thousand dollars a week, your flight, your room and board, $125 [Canadian dollars] a week for food, and at the end of the year, if we did well you would get a bonus. Right now we have 12 employees, they are all full-time/part-time which means they come up for three months and leave for one month. So I would say that four of those are permanent full-time because they live here and eight are in and out. (McCluskey and Ensign 2009)

Another interviewee shared this experience:

> A friend of mine, that's also my [business] partner, his best friend from back home was looking for a job … Hired him, and got him up here. That's how [this business] started. And now I've got five working for me and one more on the way starting the first of next month. But as of right now, I'm maxed out [and cannot grow the business further]. Next month, I can take on a bunch more [contracts] because I have another employee coming. I try to hire local people if I can get them. The last girl I hired a few weeks ago, she was from here. But if I can't get anyone from here, I just put ads in papers. This one I just hired came from my hometown. So I always start with my hometown, because I know people there; and if I need references, I can call someone and say, 'hey you know this

> person?' and it works. When we hire someone, we fly them up and give them a return flight. This lady we just hired is coming for six months, so we'll fly her up, fly her home after six months, give her a vehicle while she's here, pay for her housing, and the whole nine yards. I stress the point that I'm hiring them for six months to a year; I don't require them to sign a contract or anything. I haven't yet. [Does anyone ever want to extend?] Oh yea, actually, Justin, the main guy, he was only going to be with us a year, and he's on his third one now. Billy, he was only going to be working for eight months, and he's on his second year. Crystal's on her second year, and Krista, I just hired in the spring, so she hasn't been here a year yet. I myself came up to work, eight years ago, came up for a year. I'm a cook really and my job before that was ice fishing on the offshore boats, I used to cook for those guys. We had an experimental fishery for the Greenland government over there, and we came through the Davis Strait fishing. Seen a place on a map, called my wife, and said I want to move to Iqaluit in January. That's what happened, and that's how I ended up here.[3] Yeah, just wanted to see the North, I'm from a small town in Newfoundland, and the winters are cold and harsh, so as for the cold and snow, it doesn't bother me. Always wanted to come up, decided to come for maybe two years and it's been eight now.

One interviewee indicated that part of the reason for exiting her current business and pursuing other opportunities was related to labour issues:

> Seven days a week, employees forever quitting, I'm forever training. The staff right now are very good. Most of the time they show up when they have to, but sometimes they don't. I have others that wouldn't show up, and that would mess up my whole day. No, I don't advertise. [New staff are acquired] by word of mouth. They come to you and say, "hey, I hear you're looking for a new employee."

Several respondents spoke of calling family in to work to help out in times of crisis. Another Inuit female entrepreneur on the subject of staffing stated:

---

3 His wife actually moved up one month before him. She started working at the place that then hired him to be the cook and manager.

> I have two, right now, that are full-time. But normally have four full-time positions. It is hard to compete against the government, we don't pay well, but we are a really good employer and look after our employees. Employees are always spending time looking and wanting to work for the government, and we train them and as soon as we get them trained they are taken.

She too had plans to sell her existing business to pursue other options:

> It would be nice to sell to someone local, it would be a great business to be in, but it's hard work. Yes [I intend to start another business], when I retire. I just turned 53 and could go anytime soon. We will be moving back to the Arctic coast [northwest Canada] for the summers, and we have a winter home down in southern Alberta. So in spring and summers, my brothers and I are going to be doing guided hunting/fishing, tourism and in the winters take clients sport hunting.

Just as in Russia (see Heleniak 2009: 32), those living in Canada's periphery may be categorized as those who never move and those who move often (that is, recurrent mobility or cyclical migration). And this broad characterization applies to both insiders and outsiders. Many of those who may be classified as insiders (for example, Inuit) are at either end of the mobility spectrum. There are many who never stray more than 100km from home, while another sizable portion of the population move among peripheral communities, regional hubs and with time, move to core regions as well. While outsiders are among those who have the highest transience, this is not universal. Some eschew the building of new ties and expanding the network, preferring to stay put or limit travel to a few familiar corridors.

There is also evidence that Inuit traditions may not emphasize wealth accumulation. This implies that rational, expected behaviour of seeking maximum financial reward may not be exhibited.[4] 'Traditional forms of social organization and the subsistence lifestyle are based on reciprocity

---

4 Back at the core, there is a growing trend among the accomplished mainstream to reject greater wealth and return to uncomplicated, uncluttered ways. Espousing Thoreau's dictum 'Simplify, simplify, simplify' they have relinquished their spot in the 'rat race' chasing material possessions to pursue leisure and tranquillity even at the price of less income and consumption of fewer goods.

and communal responsibilities rather than individual profiteering' (Oakes 1995: 93). Oakes (1995: 96) further notes that 'the social organization of some societies lends itself to training more entrepreneurs than others. Some social structures financially reward people who strive to continually improve their creative work-related skills while other social structures encourage the development of skills that require less risk taking and less innovative thinking.' Oakes (1995: 96), however, does assert: 'Traditional Inuit values complement modern business skills in many ways. Successful Aboriginal hunters need a variety of characteristics including: the ability "to plan, take risks, tolerate uncertainty, be flexible, and work hard" (Kanahele 1987: 5).' There is evidence to suggest hunters and businesspeople think alike (Mason et al. 2007, 2008). Economic opportunity maybe be proactively sought or more passively engaged (Anderson 2002). Some sit and wait, others track and chase. Depending on the game or business opportunity—either strategy might make perfect sense. Environmental conditions (rainy weather, poor bank financing) play a role too.

Consistent with the notion of just staying for a stint (even if the duration ends up spanning decades) many see their career at the periphery ultimately coming to a close and plan to return/retire to the core (often to a 'home' area with which they are no longer familiar). The notion of a labour rotation system evidenced in Heleniak's (2009) work is consistent with other satellite communities and mother-country/colony relationships. 'Migration has a cumulative inertia … the longer people stay in place, the less likely they are to move' (Heleniak 2009: 33). Evidence from a variety of settings supports the converse: 'last in, first out' characterises those who, like an ever-mobile frog, hop from lily pad to lily pad.

Some Strange Stereotypes – Taxi Driving in Alaska.

Taxis in Iqaluit

Iqaluit is a place where people seem to wash ashore, like Indian wedding decorations or terra cotta pot shards in Jamaica Bay. How did they get there? Where are they going? Who knows? Apart from Inuit and government administrators, it's a rare person who can explain just how he came, by long-thought plan, to live in a city of 6,184 souls, some 1,200 icy uninhabited miles north of Ottawa, a day's snowmobile ride from the Arctic Circle.

'It's so good to see a friendly face', sighed my first taxi driver as I entered the car, an inch-long cut from a rifle sight still fresh between my eyes. 'I just got robbed.' He explained how his last fare held a knife to his chest and stole $150 (CD). His dispatcher had called the police, but it probably wouldn't help. 'Does this happen often?' I asked. 'Oh no', he replied. 'It's the first time in three weeks.'

Another taxi driver, the next day, was Lebanese and wore expensive Italian sunglasses. He rolled down his window to hail every cab and most of the cars we passed. Before Iqaluit, he lived in Brooklyn, not far from me, working for his uncle in a downtown counterfeit goods shop. When the city cracked down, a relative said he could make good money here and so he was; but after six months he was ready to leave. He recounted how a colleague's hair was set on fire by a passenger in the back seat.

I asked how long drivers tended to stay, mentioning the robbery and the hair-torching. He laughed. 'I came here 23 years ago', he said. 'I was just going to stay for a few weeks.'

- Brandon Keim, http://earthlab.net weblog entry, 22 January 2010

In Boston, Los Angeles or Toronto, one is not surprised to learn that a taxicab driver is a recent immigrant. This can also be the case in the remote North. In Whitehorse, Yukon, Canada, there are at least four taxi drivers named 'Mohamed' (Keevil 2010). And if you ask the driver why

they're here doing what they do—the answer is the same as for taxi cab drivers in major Western cities. They came for the opportunity. However, with flat rate fares in many Northern communities, it may be harder to get ahead. One taxi driver in Iqaluit explained the economics further indicating that there are quite a few of them on rotation in a single apartment and that they take shifts exchanging a warm bed for a warm taxi (McCluskey and Ensign 2009). According to a *Los Angeles Times* report, the village of Bethel (population 5,800) in southwest Alaska has the highest concentration of taxis in the United States: one for every 62 people. The 93 taxis service a 10-mile paved loop and 20 miles of unpaved roads. Most of the taxi drivers are Albanian or Korean, while most riders are Yupik Eskimo. Bethel itself is the hub for 56 surrounding Yupik villages.

Bilal Selmani left a farming town in Albania, travelled to Connecticut and on to Alaska when a friend said that was the place to make money fast. Selmani started driving a taxi in Bethel in 1977 at age 23. He worked for 12 hours daily for nine months of the year and would return to Albania for three months to see family. News of his 'good fortune' spread and other Albanians followed; 100 or more living in Bethel are of Albanian ancestry. In 2001, Selmani brought his wife and two sons to Bethel. In their twenties, one son takes the night shift when his father is done driving, while the other son is an auto mechanic. Selmani recalls that it was nearly 20 years ago that the Koreans started showing up; today they have taken over the taxi business (Tizon 2007). Yun Lee arrived in Bethel in 2006 at age 56. Before that he was in Torrance, California for six months after his departure from Seoul, Korea. It was in Torrance that he saw an ad in a Korean-language newspaper: 'Big Money, Big Adventure—Come to Alaska!' (Tizon 2007). South Korean immigrants in Bethel number approximately 130 and own four of the five cab companies and nine of the dozen restaurants. The 'best restaurant in town' was opened by a South Korean woman who drove a cab for number of years (Tizon 2007). Of the 16 female cab

drivers, most are Koreans. *Los Angeles Times* writer Tomas Alex Tizon captured one Yupik taxi driver's story:

> A single mother with two teenage daughters, Tinker has recently moved in with her mother to save money. Tinker was born and raised in the Bethel area, and she wants nothing more than to get out. She says to Green [Tinker's kindergarten teacher], who acts as if she has heard it before. 'OK then, bye-bye!' Green says, climbing out of the taxi. But Tinker continues with her line of thought. 'One more year of this', she says. 'Then I'm gone.' Her plan is to drive as many hours as she can, save as much money as possible, and then move to Anchorage, a real city, with tall buildings and universities and restaurants and movie theatres (Tizon 2007).

The story of the taxi drivers in Alaska shows that being an entrepreneur (or labourer) in the remote North is not easy. There is a constant process of decision making (or avoiding decision making) about whether and when to stay or go. There are conflicts between 'insiders' and 'outsiders', even when (especially when?) the 'insiders' were once 'outsiders'. There is also a interdependency between the groups, as the outsiders who become insiders inspire migration from friends and family back home and the connections back home that are strengthened with each new arrival keep options for departure open. This theme of conflict and interdependency within the labour market extends to demarcations along the lines of race, age, gender, education, income, power and status. The conflicts are as much about insiders staying (and going) as outsiders coming (and staying), as is evidenced in stories of Indigenous inhabitants seeking their place in the global-local labour market.

Future Now, Future How?

Much of government policy seeks to capture the imagination of those who want to depart. Harnessing the sense of adventure in the young and often female, Inuit are shipped South for exposure to the real world and further schooling. The goal is for them to return capable and trained, ready to get to work solving a multitude of problems. The ideal being that, those from

the periphery will 'boomerang' back home with greater knowledge, skills and be able to contribute markedly to their communities. Greenland has been quite successful with such programs, despite many not returning (Jeppson 2008, Winther 2008). Although it can certainly be argued that losing some 'ambassadors' to the core is not a bad situation for the periphery (Rasmussen 2008). One problem experienced in all of the settings of this book, is that many return from advanced schooling ready to take on responsibilities; often times, however, they return with little opportunity waiting for them. With talent unharnessed, they are left in a frustrating limbo. Those whose expectations and dreams are not dashed upon arrival, return to greater responsibility—generally in the public sector, find themselves at a very young age, fast tracked to positions of power, and power, history tells, can corrupt. In the case of Nunavut, a territory formed in April 1999, things are changing rapidly and systems are still being developed. The danger is particularly acute for power to corrupt those in a system with nascent checks and balances. As freshly minted lawyers are unleashed they find themselves in a position to influence decisions and determine the fate of many realms in both the public and private sectors. Land rights, allocating property for particular interests, mining access and so on are all immensely significant and some monumental and lucrative deals have been struck by these youngsters. Aligning incentives such that self-interest and community obligation are in parallel is important. Most can be assumed to be benevolent, but ensuring this behaviour with the proper mechanisms in place is necessary.

A number of efforts are underway to bring Aboriginals to the core, while additional efforts are made to bring the core to them in situ (such as Akitsiraq, which brings law school to those in Nunavut to increase the number of lawyers in the Canadian Arctic. Students take classes from Iqaluit remotely at the faculties of law at the Universities of Victoria and Ottawa and at the end are awarded a law degree as if they had attended classes in Southern Canada). When the program

began in 2001, Nunavut had only one Inuit lawyer. Eleven students (ten of whom were female) graduated in the first cohort in 2005. These efforts, however, are controversial; aimed at improving the lives of some and building capacity of the territory, there are numerous critics and detractors. Some see the periphery being infiltrated with values from the core. Others have voiced that $5 million (CD) spent over four years might have been better placed elsewhere. The impetus for this law school program came from sponsors that included judges, lawyers from the North and South and the public. But the best way to achieve these and other ambitions is far from clear. Should remote-dwelling Inuit be brought 'down South' as a group and isolated/protected or should they be integrated? Should they be left to fend for themselves or be given a full support network? The future of the remote North in many ways depends on further integration, working through discrepancies and likely bringing more of the core to the periphery. But there is certainly no advantage to this transfer of practices and ideals being unilateral. Bone (2003) calls for a two-way flow; the North will progress by accessing what the South has to offer, but the South too must have eyes open to what the North can reveal.

The Northwest Territories Above Ground Pool Program

People rarely think about the contribution that recreation can make to demographic changes and trends; yet, in an area rich in natural resources and thus outdoor pursuits, the Canadian North attracts many adventurers and the workers necessary to facilitate such adventures. In addition to one-off adventures, the Northwest Territories also offer ongoing recreational opportunities for its permanent residents. One unique Northern program that has resulted in a great deal of South to North mobility in Canada is the Northwest Territories' (NWT) Above Ground Pool Program (NWTAP). The NWTAP was created in 1967 as part of what was initially an effort to teach apparently leader-less Aboriginal northerners to develop EuroCanadian-styled leadership skills and was later expanded to focus on water safety (Giles, Baker and Rousell 2007).

The first above ground pool was built in Fort Simpson/Liidlli Kue, a community in the southwest NWT in 1967. This pool was the first of many seasonal pools to be constructed in arenas, curling rinks, maintenance garages and other structures throughout the NWT, which - until the territorial division in 1999 - included what is now Nunavut. Above ground pools, as opposed to standard in-ground pools, were necessitated by the fact that permafrost made digging deep pools in the North both impractical and costly. As a result, the above ground pools that were constructed were typically temporary structures that were 13 metres long and no greater than three feet in depth. These pools operated in the summer months due to warmer temperatures and the nature of the structures in which they were constructed, which were typically not insulated. Because the pools were able to be deconstructed at the end of each summer, they were often moved from community to community to ensure that a variety of communities' residents were exposed to aquatic programming. Waterfront programming in often frigid waters in rivers, lakes and the Arctic Ocean was also offered through the NWTAP; short-term waterfronts were created in very northerly communities, while long-term waterfronts were established in larger, more southerly communities. At its height, 41 aquatic programs operated in the NWT and what is now Nunavut: 5 bussing programs (where individuals would be bussed to neighbouring communities on the road system), 21 pools, 8 seasonal waterfronts and 7 short-term waterfronts (Szabo 2002).

While the NWTAP had an enormous impact on aquatic programming in the NWT, it also had a great impact on the lives of those who worked for the program. According to public health regulations, the operation of swimming pools requires certified lifeguards and swimming instructors. As aquatic programming was new to the NWT, trained swimming instructors and lifeguards - typically university students were hired from southern Canada in order to meet public health requirements and also to provide training to local community members. These

southern-based young adults had job descriptions that included not only teaching swimming lessons and lifeguarding in facilities, geographical areas and cultures completely foreign to them, but they were also responsible for the pools' maintenance and perhaps most dauntingly, the pools' construction, often with little training (Szabo 2002). In 1981, training workshops were held for the first time to provide aquatic leaders with much-needed information pertaining to pool construction, filter and boiler operations and pool chemistry. These workshops initially brought together swimming pool supervisors who were to work across the entire territory, but were later reduced to regional workshops in the 1980s and early 1990s (Giles et al. 2007). Due to cut-backs, the workshops were cancelled in the mid-1990s (Szabo 2002), but were brought back on a regional basis in the NWT in 2004, when shortly thereafter they were cancelled yet again.

The NWTAP has seen a great deal of change in its nearly 40 years of operation, not the least of which included the establishment of permanent pool structures, including large, modern facilities in Hay River, Yellowknife, Inuvik and Fort Smith. Initially, the program was supported and facilitated through the Government of the NWT, which employed a Territorial Aquatic Coordinator on a seasonal basis through the Department of Municipal and Community Affairs (MACA) from 1980 to 1997. Regional Aquatic Coordinators, often from southern Canada, were also hired on a seasonal basis through MACA from 1986 to 1999 (Szabo 2002). These Coordinators were further supported by an aggressive recruitment campaign for what were highly coveted aquatic leadership positions across the North. A MACA staff member conducted job interviews across southern Canada, thus ensuing that the program recruited the best of the best from southern Canada (Gosselin, R., personal communication, 28 June 2006). High rates of pay, free airfare to and accommodation in the NWT helped to make employment

with the program even more attractive to the close to 500 annual applicants (Gosselin, R., personal communication, 19 January 2007).

The division of the NWT into the NWT and Nunavut occurred in 1999 and as a result, government budgets were decreased, which led to the elimination of the Regional and Territorial Coordinator positions. Another important change in the Program occurred when aquatic contributions were moved into unconditional base funding for communities. In the past, funding for the NWT Aquatics Program was in the form of conditional funding, in that communities would have to apply to MACA to receive funding that would be dedicated to aquatics programming (Szabo 2002). Unconditional funding provides communities with funding to allocate towards their own priorities, thus emphasizing community empowerment (Schauerte, G., personal communication, 1 June 2006). Within this funding framework, aquatics programming now has to compete with other important budget items, such as water treatment and road maintenance. As a result, aquatics' move to unconditional funding in 2000–01 had—and continues to have—a 'direct negative impact on the number of programs operating in the NWT' (Szabo 2002: 6).

In addition to all of the above changes, the NWTAP was slowly devolved to the NWT Recreation and Parks Association from the mid-1990s until early 2000, as the Government of the NWT removed itself from direct program delivery (Legaree, I., personal communication, 17 January 2007); this further removed the program from important resources and partnerships. While the NWT Recreation and Parks Association has made a valiant effort to sustain the program, as a non-governmental organization, it works with a very limited budget. As such, the Program has gone from having an aggressive recruitment program and employing a Territorial Coordinator and several Regional Coordinators to having one part-time, often seasonal, Aquatics Coordinator with minimal resources. Sustaining past levels of programming and

community support with such limited resources has been found to be impossible (Bennington, C., personal communication, 29 May 2006). As such, the program is no longer as widespread as it once was and thus fewer people from both the South and North are employed by the program.

Perhaps one of the unexpected results of the NWTAP is the way in which it promoted an understanding of Northern life to southerners. Many pool and waterfront staff members' lives changed after experiencing the North, as evidenced by the number of teachers and other workers in the NWT who first travelled North to work for the NWTAP for 'just one summer', which often turned into decades if not a lifetime in the North. The NWTAP provided both northerners and southerners with experiences and opportunities that greatly shaped their career choices and opportunities. Certainly, the NWTAP has made significant contributions to demography in the North.

Inuit and Labour Migration Systems in Northern Canada

Labour migration stories are usually told around 'outsiders' to the remote North, but migration has always been a 'central part' of living in the North for all populations (Howe 2009). Migration practices are as important in maintaining traditional knowledge as in joining the global economy. Technology has enabled easier/cheaper communication and travel for Inuit people, but changes have been harsh for some. Cumming and Johan (forthcoming) find: 'For small and more remote rural communities, the Internet enables consumption of items not produced locally and discourages entrepreneurship among communities that lack a pre-existing entrepreneurial cluster.' Cumming and Johan (forthcoming) go on to indicate that access to the World Wide Web 'opens the door to competition from around the world for small businesses in rural communities … as production shifts to more cost efficient cities.'

A striking, yet uncomfortable situation common in many peripheral regions is the hierarchy in government, more specifically the composition of the levels. The position(s) at the absolute top are often held by locals (Inuit in the case of Canada); having an Aboriginal figurehead is deemed the correct thing to do. The remaining layers of management—those making decision, doing the thinking—tend to be predominantly white outsiders from the core. Finally, the bottom of the pyramid is populated by locals; taking on the menial and mindless roles. The top and middle layers are often highly mobile, with both figureheads and experienced administrators in great demand. Those at the bottom, however, tend to be excluded from the broader labour system and find it difficult to progress (Luffman and Sussman 2007). Differential mobility patterns therefore become critical in institutionalising disadvantage.

Spatial mobility is different from job mobility. A substantial amount of job churning takes place at the periphery, the person remains in place but skips from job to job—sometimes seeking the job, but oftentimes the job finds them. In a limited labour pool, an employer can track and be aware of candidates maturing and developing over time—even decades. Job churning occurs for both locals as well as outsiders. Oakes (1995: 95) observes in the Northwest Territories that 'adequately trained personnel is difficult to find in small communities, especially during spring and summer … Trained individuals tend to leave the Minnguq Sewing Group to work at better paying-paying jobs. Well-trained employees also have the flexibility of resigning from their positions in the spring with the security of knowing they will be the best-trained person for the position in the fall.' This mobility may not be available to those whose position in the market economy is menial and mindless. Ruthless market competition is egalitarian (blind to ethnic background), but it does favour those who are prepared and educated in the necessary ways of navigating its ebbs and flows. Without an understanding of market forces and some guile, neophytes are often greatly disadvantaged. But the harsh realities of Northern life were

previously good teachers of the laws of supply and demand—hunt or be hungry. High unemployment (and underemployment) and poverty influence behaviour. Howe (2009: 71) makes it clear: 'These and related social economic characteristics provide an important context for understanding migration patterns in the Arctic.' Extensive personal networks also play an important part in behaviour. Howe (2009: 78) notes that 'households accumulate specialised capital', which may not adapt well if taken from a rural to an urban setting. The (mobile) hunt for jobs that bring money may therefore be linked to increasing fragility of social and cultural bonds. This is a constant tension for Aboriginal people in remote areas.

Commercialising culture (through the arts and tourism sectors, for example) does not immediately present as a solution to the tension. Successful commercialisation may require, for example, compromise of cultural values. Carvings produced for trade may be of some form/style passed down through generations or may simply be what the customer wants—something entirely irrelevant to locale and tradition—but suitable for the customer's coffee table display and conversation. Still other carvers/artists may be influenced by hipper, modern tastes (as taken in via television and the Internet), eschewing what either past tradition or the customer calls for when crafting their products. A carver may make a piece and sell it that day with no consideration of inventory or time. Successful (cash) returns from commercialising culture require planning foresight capabilities that may not be easy to develop in remote areas (McCluskey and Ensign 2009). Successful commercialisation makes culture a global commodity. What happens when the locally produced, authentic, stone carving which sells for hundreds of dollars arrives in town from stone carvers in Africa or China for a fraction of the cost? An Inuit man spends a day cutting, polishing, preparing a 'dancing bear' stone carving that may fetch $500 (CD) that evening at the tourist hotel. If the same carving or reasonable facsimile can be reproduced and imported for $25 (CD), there is an avenue for significant disruption.

And will these economic ventures succeed at a community level? There is strong and persistent evidence that a community that experiences an economic boom experiences a stark decline in Aboriginal share of the population (Hamilton et al. 1997). There is also evidence that migration from villages to hubs in the periphery accelerates and that once movement to the hubs transpires, there is an increase in further migration from the periphery to the core. 'Moving to town' gains popularity or grows in acceptance once others have done it and shown the way. Further, it becomes a stepping-stone for the jump down South, which in time also grows in likelihood (that is, herd behaviour, bandwagon effect).

Huskey (2009: 19) notes that Northern economies are in three parts: the market economy, the public transfer economy and the traditional/subsistence economy. 'The public transfer economy provides jobs, services and real income subsidies and is the major component of the local money economy.' Huskey (2009: 19) goes on to indicate that direct public sector hiring accounts for at least 42 per cent of employment in Arctic Alaska and that the impact is 'even greater when government spending through non-profits and the real income provided by subsidised public services are included.' Berman (2009: 3) notes the disparate views of the subsistence economy: Is it 'the employer of last resort for people unable to find paying jobs' or is it 'a productive activity contributing to the quality of life in rural Arctic communities?' The three parts of the economy appear poorly integrated for Aboriginal people and so the tension between cash and culture persists.

The Flight and the Plight of the Young

Many contend that those individuals that are talented enough to leave are talented enough to stay or return, while those who cannot make it in place cannot get out either. Those with employment choices can elect to stay at the periphery or make the journey to or towards the core. Whereas those who cannot find work locally, often do not have the skill set and resources

to make it in other locations. Huskey (2009: 17) notes that urban areas act as 'magnets' for Northern residents providing 'jobs, education and bright lights.' He further notes 'the propensity to migrate differs across gender, age and socio-economic groups.'

The assertion is that if you can make it in the North, you can make it anywhere and the converse seems to hold. That is, those that cannot 'get ahead' and make economic progress in the North have trouble finding (locating, accessing, seizing) opportunities elsewhere. Self-employment is on the rise in the North and among Indigenous populations in particular, but there is no indication whether such trends are a good sign. High rates of self-employment among Blacks in the United States are often out of necessity. This 'reactionary entrepreneurship' (Dana 1997) is much different than opportunity-seeking entrepreneurial behaviour. Blacks or Aboriginals may not 'choose' to become entrepreneurs, but they are forced to start their own businesses as a last resort because jobs are not available or are inferior (low wages, no benefits).

Further, Aboriginal businesses tend to be concentrated in industries that are labour-intensive and less knowledge-intensive. This trend has persisted for some time and is unfortunate as knowledge-based industries experience greater growth and are more profitable (Statistics Canada 2004, 2006). One Indigenous peoples' forum sees the challenge as building the foundation for an emerging economy; the solution advanced includes 'finding effective mechanisms to promote private enterprise.' The Canada-Aboriginal Peoples Roundtable (2004) report lists a myriad of obstacles (some self-imposed) and institutional forces faced in launching a new venture. Self-employment, then, is unlikely to be a solution to the flight of young people from remote communities.

Disenfranchised workforce age youth and discouraged school age youth are a serious matter. One substantial conundrum is the desire to see prosperity shared equally while having a market system where individual efforts are rewarded. While it may be feasible for those two ideals to

coexist, there are real discrepancies; one area that has not been fully addressed is incentives—incentives for education, training and employment. In particular, youth may not see the value in these activities. And as Diochon, Menzies and Gasse (2008: 151) note, education and work experience play a role in opportunity identification, but at best, play a very weak role in opportunity pursuit. The cash-based economy often provides less work for people than the traditional economy, in which everyone had a job. Often local populations are growing faster than the economy can sustain and with so many youth, challenges can be expected to increase.

Women and Children First

As noted in the earlier story about a taxi driver named Tinker, women leaving and taking their children is a concern at the periphery in Alaska and elsewhere. Community viability is threatened when schools close and school closure is directly related to outmigration, primarily of women and children (Martin 2009). 'School closure not only affects jobs but limits prospects for return migrants' (Martin 2009: 63). Martin (2009: 61) indicates: 'Many leave and few return or are replaced by in-migrants … Non-natives are a semi-transient population—most are teachers and other government workers—who move in and out of villages every couple of years.' Research has shown that girls have a greater desire to leave their communities than do boys (Hamilton and Seyfrit 1993, see Chapter 13).

A Place in the Forest: Gender, Jobs and Generalisations in Canadian Forestry Occupations

Despite the struggles with youth outmigration and 'female flight', there are those who fight against the reputation of the remote regions (however far North or South) as 'no place for women'. They even engage in 'male' industries such as forestry, mining or fishing. Analyses of the impacts of change in those industries often overlook the important role of women who do stay and who do value their economic and social/community participation. Who are these

women and what do we know about them? When it comes to the case of the forestry sector in Canada, it turns out that we have a very sketchy picture of women's employment in the industry and in its management – in both the private and public sectors. There are no comprehensive data at a national level collated by resource sector, job classification, location and gender by Statistics Canada, other government agencies, employers or academics. We continue to represent women as very minor actors in relation to forestry. This gap in knowledge has important implications for our understanding of these populations at the edge.

The Gendered Division of Labour in Canadian Forestry

Statistics Canada is responsible for collecting, analysing, and disseminating Canadian Census data. A simple review of census data demonstrates a highly gendered division of labour in the forestry workforce across a range of forestry occupations. Table 1 indicates the proportion of women in all forest industries across Canada according to Statistics Canada (2001), within the public service across Canada (2006), within the Canadian Forest Service (CFS) (date unknown, but in the 2000s) and within the firm Weyerhaueser for the province of Saskatchewan (2003). The table reveals that there is a higher proportion of women working in the CFS than in the private firm. Nevertheless, when compared to other public service occupations, the CFS mirrors the gender imbalance in the industry across occupational types. In the CFS, women composed 34 per cent of the workforce, but again, are over-represented in administrative/support and technical functions and grossly under-represented at executive level categories, science professional categories and operational categories (Table 1).

Table 1: Proportion of female representation by occupational category for all forest industries in Canada, for all public service employees, for the Canadian Forest Service, and for Weyerhaueser, Saskatchewan

Occupational Category	All Forest Industries in Canada (2001)	Public Service Employees (2006)	Canadian Forest Service (date unknown)*	Weyerhaueser, Saskatchewan (2003)
Executive	10	39	16	8
Science professionals	14	44	20	No comparable data
Administration and Foreign Service	No comparable data	58	52	No comparable data
Technical	15	32	34	No comparable data
Administrative and clerical support	98	82	94	94
Operational	9	19	6	17
Total	14^	54	34	16

* Fullerton (2006) did not provide a date for these figures. It is likely either based on data provided by Statistics Canada from the 2001 Census or from Departmental figures between 2001 and 2006.
^ There is a slight discrepancy between Fullerton (2006) who reports this total as 16 per cent and Martz et al. 2006, who reports this total as 14 per cent. The proportion '14' was selected based on a calculation of all forestry jobs from Statistics Canada data set and reported in Martz et al. 2006.

Sources: Statistics Canada 2001, Fullerton 2006, Martz et al. 2006, Mills 2006, Statistics Canada 2007, Special Tabulation, Public Institutions Division.

This finding is supported by research conducted by Teske and Beedle (2001) who noted that Canadian women have been found increasingly in 'knowledge-based' or 'expert work' where they provide research, information, knowledge and data to support silviculture, regulation and management decisions, although they were still not well represented in decision-making positions. Fullerton's (2006) analysis of female representation in the CFS noted that women made up 16 per cent of CFS workers at the executive level—double the proportion noted by the private firm, Weyerhaueser. Yet, according to Fullerton's discussion, this proportion (16 per cent) in the CFS represents only 47 per cent of the available workforce. Ironically, these findings support Thomas and Mohai's (1995) review of the US Forest Service in the mid-1990s and are

significantly lower than those reported more recently about the United States by Agpaoa (2006). Mandatory hiring quotas are controversial, but appear to have had a significant effect in the US. There is very little information on women in professional or executive positions within the Canadian forest sector. Teske and Beedle (2001) noted that in that year, there were no women Chief Executive Officers in any of the forest companies, although there were several women Vice Presidents. I reviewed all annual reports of the CFS published from 1995–2005, entitled *State of Canada's Forests*. The 1997/98 report contained a feature article on women in forestry that included two women who were Chief Executive Officers in Canadian companies, indicating that finding women in these positions was still quite rare (Natural Resources Canada 1997/98).

The availability of data on registered professional foresters (RPFs) is also limited. Between 4–16 per cent of registered professional foresters are female in each province (Teske and Beedle 2001, confirmed by personal communication in 2006). My efforts to obtain national-scale data on the gender and age of members of Registered Professional Foresters' Associations revealed the need to approach each province separately and these associations were reluctant to share details. Only recently, have the associations started to segregate data about their membership by gender and for all provinces but British Columbia (BC), it is not possible to obtain the age categories of the members. BC has the longest record of women who are registered as professional foresters, with data first segregated by gender in 1995. In this year, 10 per cent of registered professional forestry graduates were women; by 2000, this proportion had increased modestly to 14 per cent (Yochim 2002). Here, only one per cent of its members were women over 40 years of age, suggesting that this occupation was a relatively new one for women. My efforts to secure data on more detailed demographic characteristics were declined because of concerns that the information might violate individual privacy.

The consequence of these patchy data is that we know relatively little about the gendered division of labour in forestry—particularly in the emerging knowledge-based professions—and any outstanding issues faced by women have not reached bargaining units and management tables. The absence of good data is a symptom of, and perpetuates, the lack of attention to employment challenges faced by women in forestry.

Documenting Women's Employment Experiences

In 2006, Diane Martz and Maureen Reed completed a study to document women's employment experiences in forestry and agri-food industries in Saskatchewan, Canada (Martz et al. 2006). Special data runs from Statistics Canada and a mail-out survey to employers across Saskatchewan in forestry were used to determine the number of women employed in forestry in different job categories across Canada and Saskatchewan. They also conducted 40 in-depth interviews with women employees and three employers in Saskatchewan. While several issues were raised ranging from systemic discrimination to family stress, we focus only on two here: childcare and education/training opportunities.

Women expressed satisfaction with many aspects of their employment (Martz et al. 2006). These aspects included enjoying working outside and/or engaging in physical work, appreciating good wages and benefits, particularly in rural areas where well-paid jobs were difficult to find. Nevertheless, women were found in the lower income brackets across Canada and there were large income gaps between male and female employees—a disparity that was most pronounced in Maureen Reed's home province of Saskatchewan.

Women who worked in the mills had to contend with shift work. Some women liked having the extra days off that shift works provides. However, those with families, especially young children, faced significant challenges associated with providing childcare, particularly when they were working 12-hour shifts. Consequently, childcare arrangements were often informal, requiring

that women rely on partners or extended family members. Some women quit because it was too hard to juggle home-work responsibility. While childcare is not only 'a woman's issue', in the highly gendered division of labour that characterises Canadian rural and resource communities, the disproportionate burden of providing or addressing childcare (and eldercare) needs continues to fall to women (Preston et al. 2000, see also, Report of the UNECE/FAO Team of Specialists on Gender and Forestry 2006). Neither government policies related to rural areas nor company policies have addressed childcare (or eldercare) as an issue worthy of significant attention.

One of the greatest barriers for women is the lack of education/training opportunities from which they can benefit. Within many of the larger forestry companies, there is a range of opportunities for education including access to basic high school, office training, trades and subsidies for university. Additionally, training for administrative positions may also be available. However, women do not typically take additional training and are still not likely to be advanced through the system at the same rate as their male counterparts. Three sets of processes may work against women's training and advancement. The first set of processes arises from the multiple roles women have as employees and as workers within home settings. Women described challenges in arranging for training, especially if travel is required. Without support for childcare, women were reluctant to take on additional training. Second, women were concerned that advancement could require longer work hours and/or more mobility, including the possibility of moving from the community. Women with children expressed concern about their ability to successfully juggle family and work responsibilities such advancement might require. The third set of processes arises from the lack of a critical mass of women. Some women believed that they were passed over because they were viewed as less competent or because they did not have the networks that would help to advance their work abilities. Furthermore, women

identified few mentors within their work environment. Exclusion from networks and lack of mentors meant that there were few people who might identify specific women as competent and encourage them to develop their potential—a key factor in the success of executive women interviewed by Teske and Beedle (2001). Thus, there is a need for incentives for training and advancement ranging from childcare subsidies, defraying travel costs and explicit opportunities for mentoring and networking for women seeking new employment opportunities.

There are some aspects of women's lives that are shared across forestry and more Northern communities. Residents are vulnerable to company and government decisions that are often made some distance away. Consequently, long-term job prospects are unstable and the last few years have witnessed unprecedented job losses in forestry across the country. Jobs in the forestry sector may be unstable, but they are well-paid, even for women. Union workers often earn three or four times the Canadian average wage. For women (and men) in resource towns, a forestry job is often highly desirable because of the pay package and associated benefits. While in some cases, people may migrate for particular positions; in other cases, companies seek local residents. For example, in Saskatchewan, one of the principal companies established recruitment and retention strategies for Aboriginal people. This presented both an opportunity and a challenge for both residents and companies.

In Canada, about 80 per cent of Aboriginal communities (First Nations and Métis) are within the nation's forest regions (Gysbers and Lee 2003). In recent years, a range of coalescing factors has seen government and forestry companies seek to increase Aboriginal participation in forestry employment as well as in plant ownership, planning (Parsons and Prest 2003) and management

decision-making (Parsons and Prest 2003, Merkel 2007).[5] Yet, relatively few Aboriginal people have benefited from recent employment programs (Mills 2007, Parkins et al. 2006). Following up on work by Dunk (1994)[6], Mills (2007) used Census data to compare the employment profiles of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal men and women within the forestry industry in Northern Saskatchewan. She found that both male and female Aboriginal workers were over-represented in seasonal woods-based forest industries that offer non-standard and flexible forms of work, while white women were over-represented in clerical occupations: 'First Nations people and women were concentrated in lower paying occupations and industries to a greater extent than non-First Nations people and men. First Nations people, in particular, were concentrated in less stable occupations' (Mills 2006: 161). Furthermore, she noted that First Nations women were not only excluded from male-dominated occupations, they were also excluded from the female-dominated clerical and secretarial occupations (Mills 2006). Thus, gender intersects with cultural identity to form multiple layers of exclusion for Aboriginal women and men.

Final thoughts

In Canada, women remain grossly under-represented in the forest industry as a whole and in all occupational categories except for secretarial and related support positions. Employment counts that provide information by resource sector, job type, community or region and gender are not readily made available either by Statistics Canada, other government agencies, researchers or

---

5 These factors have included the recognition by Canadian courts that Aboriginal people have rights to resources, the need to maintain a steady workforce in some of the more remote rural areas and the need for government and industry to address glaring disparities between Aboriginal and settler populations across many social indicators including employment, education, health and income (Parkins et al. 2006).

6 Thomas Dunk's (1994) research on white male pulp mill workers in Northern Ontario found that men constructed their identities as workers in opposition to both women and Aboriginal people, the latter who were considered as belonging in the bush and outside of mill work.

industrial employers. Data from provincial agencies or private companies are extremely uneven in their temporal and spatial range. They are difficult to make comparable. Company records have not historically distinguished between women in non-traditional jobs (for example, planers) and those employed in traditional jobs (for example, secretaries) within the firm. Without good data, we don't know much about how gender intersects with other social categories to the disadvantage of specific groups of men and women. The consequence is that it's easy to perpetuate the discrimination of some groups—in this case Aboriginal people—even inadvertently.

Uncritical use of available data, combined with longstanding sexist attitudes and practices, have perpetuated stereotypes about forestry as 'woods' work' and about women's and men's place within the forest industry and forest management. Consequently, policies and programs that might help women and Aboriginal peoples in the workplace, assist them during times of economic dislocation or provide them with training and advancement opportunities, are insufficient, controversial, or non-existent. Instead, those who are under-represented while working in the industry described waiting for the dinosaurs to retire (their words) before they would see improvements in their job situations (Martz et al. 2006).

Limitations in data availability also reduce the prospect of generating an inclusive industry and a broader conceptualisation of the meaning of forestry. Having more accurate data on worker demographics, including gender-segregated statistics on age, education, employment type and location is critical to maintain and develop the industry for environmental and social sustainability. If accounting systems truly reflect our values, as argued by Waring (1988), then it seems imperative to find ways to more accurately identify and describe forestry workers. In doing so, we may also create opportunities for women—and men—to be valued in the industry and in the communities in which they work and in the forest itself.

Conclusion

As noted in the introductory comments in this book, averages can be difficult to meaningfully interpret. Statisticians would tell us to turn our eye towards the median, which is instructive, but it too may take us off course. Remote regions are settings for a variety of experiences—high levels of population turnover hiding large proportions of the population who never leave; conditions apparently unsuited to women and children; hiding groups of women and children who embrace the economic and social opportunities presented there; high rates of Indigenous unemployment hidden behind workforce shortages filled by (domestic and international) in-migrants. The labour systems in these places are complex, despite the small size of the populations. The potted examples of small business owners struggling to find staff and establish succession plans, taxi drivers from the Middle East following 'normal' new migrant pathways, seasonal migrants in the recreation sector helping create different views of 'the North', Indigenous people seeking entry to economic systems dominated by outsiders and female forestry workers demanding recognition from a 'man's world' reveal some of the complexity and highlight the interdependency between remote places and the sources and destinations of labour migrants they attract and repel.

References.

Agpaoa, L. 2006 . Gender Structures in forestry organizations: The United States. In Report of the UNECE/FAO Team of Specialists on Gender and Forestry (Eds.) *Time for action: Changing the gender situation in forestry*, 79–83 . Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Anderson, R.B. 2002 . Economic development and aboriginal Canadians: A case study in economic development, *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, 7(1), 45–65.

Berman, M. 2009 . Moving or staying for the best part of life: Theory and evidence for the role of subsistence in migration and well-being of Arctic Inupiat residents, *Polar Geography*, 32(1), 3–16.

Bolotova, A. and Stammler, F. 2009 . How the North became home. Attachment to place among industrial migrants in Murmansk region. In *Migration in the Circumpolar North: New Concepts and Patterns*, edited by C. Southcott and L. Huskey . Edmonton, Alberta: Canadian Circumpolar Institute Press, University of Alberta Press.

Bone, R. 2003 . *The geography of the Canadian North: Issues and challenges*, 2nd edition, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Canada-Aboriginal Peoples Roundtable. 2004 . Economic opportunities sectoral follow-up session.

Cumming, D. and Johan, S. forthcoming . The differential impact of the Internet on spurring regional entrepreneurship, *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*.

Dana, L.P. 1997 . The origins of self-employment in ethno-cultural communities: Distinguishing between orthodox entrepreneurship and reactionary enterprise, *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences*, 14(1), 52–68.

Diochon, M., Menzies, T.V. and Gasse, Y. 2008 . Exploring the nature and impact of gestation-specific human capital among nascent entrepreneurs, *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, 13(2), 151–65.

Dunk, T. 1994 . Talking about trees: Environment and society in forest workers' culture, *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 31, 14–34.

Ensign, P.C. 2008a . Entrepreneurship at the periphery. Paper presented at the *International Arctic Social Sciences Association* conference. Nuuk, Greenland.

Ensign, P.C. 2008b . Small business considerations in Canada: The resurgence of regionalism, *Journal of Entrepreneurship*, 17(1), 37–47.

Fullerton, M. 2006 . Gender structures in forestry organizations: Canada, In *Report of the UNECE/FAO Team of Specialists on Gender and Forestry (Eds.) Time for action: Changing the gender situation in forestry*, 20–6 . Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Giles, A.R., Baker, A.C. and Rousell, D.D. 2007 . Diving beneath the surface: The NWT Aquatics Program and implications for Aboriginal health, *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health*, 5(1), 25–49.

Gysbers, J. and Lee, P. 2003 . *Aboriginal communities in forest regions in Canada: Disparities in socio-economic conditions*. Edmonton Alberta: Global Forest Watch Canada.

Halseth, G. 1999 . "We came for the work": Situating employment migration in B.C.'s small resource-based communities, *Canadian Geographer*, 43(4), 363–81.

Hamilton, L. and Seyfrit, C.L. 1993 . Town-village contrasts in Alaskan youth aspirations, *Arctic*, 46(3), 255–63.

Hamilton, L., Seyfrit, C.L. and Bellinger, C. 1997 . Environment and sex ratios among Alaska Natives: An historical perspective, *Population and Environment*, 18(3), 283–99.

Heleniak, T.E. 2009 . The role of attachment to place in migration decisions of the population of the Russian North, *Polar Geography*, 32(1), 31–60.

Howe, E.L. 2009 . Patterns of migration in Arctic Alaska, *Polar Geography*, 32(1), 69–89.

Huskey, L. 2009 . Community migration in Alaska's north: The places people stay and the places they leave. *Polar Geography*. 32(1), 17–30.

Jeppson, S.R. 2008 . Population concentration policies in Greenland before and after Home Rule—Their planning and their consequences. Paper presented at the *International Arctic Social Sciences Association* conference. Nuuk, Greenland.

Kanahele, G. 1987 . Creating wealth by blending traditional values and modern business skills, In *Seizing the Day: Local Control and Rural Economic Development*, edited by L. Otto and A.K. Bethel. Kuskokwim Community College.

Keevil, G. 2010 . The Mohamed mix-up. *Yukon News*. January 22, 2010.

Luffman, J. and Sussman, D. 2007 . The aboriginal labour force in Western Canada, *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, 8(1), 13–27.

Martin, S. 2009 . The effects of female out-migration on Alaska villages, *Polar Geography*, 32, 61–7.

Martz, D., Reed, M.G., Brueckner, I., and Mills, S. 2006 . *Hidden actors, muted voices: The employment of rural women in Canadian forestry and agri-food industries*. Ottawa, Ontario: Status of Women Policy Research Fund.

Mason, A.M., Dana, L.P. and Anderson, R.B. 2007 . The Inuit caribou harvest and related agri-food industries in Nunavut, *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business*, 4(6), 785–806.

Mason, A.M., Dana, L.P. and Anderson, R.B. 2008 . Entrepreneurship in Coral Harbour, Nunavut, *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation*, 9(2), 111–20.

McCluskey, C. and Ensign, P.C. 2009 . Interviews of insider and outsider entrepreneurs in Iqaluit, Nunavut, 19–23 October 2009.

Merkel, G. 2007 . We are all connected: Globalization and community sustainability in the

boreal forest, an Aboriginal perspective, *The Forestry Chronicle*, 83(3), 362–66.

Mills, S.E. 2006 . Segregation of women and Aboriginal people within Canada's forest sector by industry and occupation, *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 26(1), 147–71.

Mills, S.E. 2007 . Women's experiences and representations of diversity management and organizational restructuring in a multinational forest company. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Saskatoon, University of Saskatchewan.

Natural Resources Canada 1997/98 . *State of Canada's forests 1997/98*. Ottawa: Natural Resources Canada.

Oakes, J. 1995 . Climate and cultural barriers to northern economic development: A case study from Broughton Island, N.W.T., Canada, *Climate Research*, 5, 91–8.

Parkins, J., Stedman, R., Patriquin, M. and Burns, M. 2006 . Strong policies, poor outcomes: Longitudinal analysis of forest sector contributions to Aboriginal communities in Canada, *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development*, 5(1), 61–73.

Parsons, R. and Prest, G. 2003 . Aboriginal forestry in Canada, *The Forestry Chronicle*, 79, 779–84.

Preston, V., Rose, D., Norcliffe, G. and Holmes, J. 2000 . Shifts and the division of labour in childcare and domestic labour in three paper mill communities, *Gender, Place and Culture*, 7, 5–19.

Rasell, M. 2009 . Neoliberalism in the North: The transformation of social policy in Russia's northern periphery, *Polar Geography*, 32(3), 91–109.

Rasmussen, R.O. 2008 . Gender, generation and social characteristics of internal and external migration patterns in Greenland. Paper presented at the *International Arctic Social Sciences Association* conference. Nuuk, Greenland

Report of the UNECE/FAO Team of Specialists on Gender and Forestry. 2006 . (Eds.) *Time for action: Changing the gender situation in forestry*. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Statistics Canada. 2001 . 2001 Census of Canada.

Statistics Canada. 2004 . Aboriginal entrepreneurs survey.

Statistics Canada. 2006 . Survey on financing of small and medium enterprises.

Storey, K. 2009 . Commute work, regional development and settlement strategies. Paper presented at the conference *The Role of the State in Population Movements: The Circumpolar North and Other Periphery Regions*. Arctic Centre, Rovaniemi, Finland.

Szabo, C. 2002 . NWT Above Ground Pool Program: Summary. Yellowknife: Government of the Northwest Territories.

Teske, E. and Beedle, B. 2001 . Journey to the top – breaking through the canopy: Canadian experiences, *Forestry Chronicle*, 77, 846–53.

Thomas, J. and Mohai, P. 1995 . Racial, gender, and professional diversification in the Forest Service from 1983-1992, *Policy Studies Journal*, 23, 296–309.

Tizon, T.A. 2007 . America's cabbie capital, *Los Angeles Times*, 30 November 2007.

Waring, M. 1988 . *If women counted: a new feminist economics.* San Francisco: Harper & Row.

Winther, G. 2008 . Reforms on migration in Greenland through incentive policies. Paper presented at the *International Arctic Social Sciences Association* conference. Nuuk, Greenland.

Wisniewski, J. 2009 . Book Review *Inuit, polar bears, and sustainable use: Local, national , and international perspectives*, edited by M.R. Freeman and L. Foote, *Polar Geography*, 32(3/4), 153–55.