

Local land use associated with socio-economic development in six arctic regions

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1 **Local land use associated with socio-economic development in six arctic**
2 **regions**

3
4 **Abstract**

5
6 The socioeconomic causes of land use change are complex. They are highly context
7 dependent, but most often studied through case studies. Here we use a a quasi-experimental
8 paired block design to investigate whether better access to wage income leads to more visible
9 land use around 28 settlements in six regions of the circumpolar Arctic. We mapped visible
10 land use on high-resolution satellite images taken both close to the settlements, and in a more
11 remote area of extensive land use, and payed special attention to tracks of off-road vehicles
12 (ORV). Despite considerable differences among regions, there was an overall positive
13 relationship between better access to wage income and land use. Reindeer herding was also
14 associated with more visible use, in particular ORV tracks. These results suggest that access
15 to wage income in the mixed subsistence-cash communities of the Arctic could lead to more
16 local use related to harvesting and reindeer herding.

17
18 **Keywords:** arctic tundra, motorized vehicles, remote sensing, resource use, socio-ecological
19 systems, subsistence

20 **Introduction**

21 Human use of land has transformed ecosystems and landscapes all over the world (Foley et al.
22 2005). The underlying environmental and socioeconomic causes of land use change processes
23 are complex and often depend on broad-scale transitions in market demands, urbanization and
24 globalization that interact with local land use systems (Rounsevell et al. 2012; Meyfroidt et al.
25 2013). To date most studies have investigated local land use change using a place-based, case
26 study approach. Many of the empirical case studies provide a rich understanding about the
27 constellations of drivers and the historical legacies that explain land use change at specific
28 localities, but their transferability to other regions remain questionable (Vaclavik et al. 2016;
29 van Vliet et al. 2016). Thinking in terms of counterfactuals through multiple case studies
30 comparisons or natural experiments may address some of these scientific challenges of
31 linking land use to socio-economic processes acting at a broader scale (Young et al. 2006;
32 Meyfroidt 2015).

33 Deforestation, agricultural frontiers or urban expansion have been the main focus in land use
34 studies, but small-scale land uses are also affected by similar socioeconomic changes (Sonter
35 et al. 2015). Land use on the arctic tundra has rarely been researched, with the exception of a
36 few mega-projects related to oil drilling in Alaska (Walker et al. 1987), or mining and gas
37 extraction in northern Russia (Kumpula et al. 2011). Most of the arctic tundra is sparsely
38 populated, difficult to access, and characterised by small indigenous communities that engage
39 in harvesting renewable natural resources for local subsistence use (Larsen and Fondahl 2015;
40 Fauchald et al. 2017). While in North America traditional harvesting activities consist mainly
41 of hunting and fishing, in Eurasia reindeer herding is also important (Huntington et al. 2013).
42 The land use legacies of small arctic settlements range from communities established by the
43 government to settle nomadic populations in the 1930-60's, to older settlements forming as a

44 result of trade and industrialization of furs or whale exploitation (Avango et al. 2014; Bennett
45 2016). Mineral extraction, geopolitics and military activities have also traditionally been used
46 to encourage people to settle in the Arctic (Luzin et al. 1994). At present the melting sea ice
47 allows for increased access through seaways (Buixadé Farré et al. 2014) opening new
48 frontiers for resource exploitation and trade, and access to markets for these remote areas.

49 Economic development and increased market access to remote communities that depend on
50 wild food harvest could substantially affect local land use (Kramer et al. 2009; Cimon-Morin
51 et al. 2016). In the Arctic, the use of harvest technologies and motorized transport for
52 subsistence hunting and fishing is limited by the financial costs of investing, maintaining and
53 operating such equipment (Natcher et al. 2016). For example, fuel costs have been shown to
54 affect the frequency, geographic area, or time spent on subsistence activities in Inuit
55 communities (Behe 2011; Brinkman et al. 2014). But a transition to cash economy may also
56 lead to increasing reliance on store-bought food (Loring and Gerlach 2009), decreasing the
57 need for harvesting activities. Moreover, the opportunity to sell wild food may affect the
58 patterns of resource and land use (Fauchald et al. 2017). Reindeer herding is central to
59 Eurasian indigenous cultures such as that of the Sami and Nenets people (Jernsletten and
60 Klovov 2002). Herding practices and lifestyles of herders are also changing depending on
61 cash income, marked access and technology (Riseth and Vatn 2009; Hausner et al. 2011;
62 Stammer 2013), although possibly in a different way than for other forms of wild food
63 harvesting. Furthermore, in-migration resulting from employment opportunities may also alter
64 remote communities by changing lifestyles, resource use and the traditional resource
65 management (Kramer et al. 2009).

66 Our purpose is to empirically investigate how contrasts in socioeconomic conditions have
67 influenced arctic land use. We include six regions from arctic Russia, Canada and Alaska

68 encompassing different cultures, land use legacies, governance systems and landscapes, and
69 investigate the relationship between socio-economic conditions and visible land use
70 associated with 28 settlements based on remote sensing. We asked whether economic
71 development and better access to wage income in the settlement was related to higher land
72 use, or whether on the contrary most visible use occurred around settlements relying mostly
73 on wild food harvest. As human use of land in the Arctic largely depends on motorized
74 access, we specifically analysed tracks of off-road vehicles (ORV).

75 Since most settlements in the Arctic are mixed subsistence-cash communities (Larsen and
76 Fondahl 2015), we expected that better access to wage income would be among the main
77 causes of differences in land use. Higher level of wage income will most likely lead to more
78 permanent transformation of land in and around settlements such as buildings and roads
79 (Maurer 1992; Forbes et al. 2004), but the effects on local land use associated with wild food
80 harvest, reindeer herding and recreation is less clear in the literature. On the one hand, it has
81 been suggested that increased wage income could increase the dependence on store-bought
82 food and reduce the investment in subsistence activities (Loring and Gerlach 2009; Fauchald
83 et al. 2017). This would reduce the extensive land use related to hunting and fishing, and
84 consequently the amount of traces from e.g. ORV tracks and camp sites. However, it has also
85 been suggested that subsistence activities are constrained by the high expenses associated
86 with off-road vehicles, fuel, hunting equipment and other supplies (Brinkman et al. 2014;
87 BurnSilver et al. 2016). In this case, increased wage income could increase the opportunities
88 for extensive harvesting, and consequently the amount of visible signs of land use. Reindeer
89 herding requires a high level of activity in the tundra, and is associated with a nomadic
90 lifestyle in the Russian Arctic (Jernsletten and Klokov 2002). Wage income and market
91 access may encourage people to adopt a sedentary lifestyle in the settlements, or, on the
92 contrary, allow the adoption of new technologies in the traditional nomadic way of life

93 (Stammler 2013). Therefore the relationship between socio-economic conditions and visible
94 land use may be different in areas where reindeer herding is important.

95 The use of a quasi-experimental design consisting of pairs of contrasted settlements within the
96 same kind of landscapes (blocks), allowed to control for the large-scale differences across
97 regions, and thereby disentangle the effects of wage income on the intensive and extensive
98 land use in the subsistence-oriented arctic communities from their historical legacies. We
99 hypothesized that the relationship of wage income to ORV tracks could differ between the
100 immediate surroundings of the settlement and the more remote areas, which are used less
101 often and only in relationship with specific harvest or recreational activities. If increased
102 access to wage income increased the opportunities for harvest and other extensive nature-
103 based activities, we would expected an increase in ORV tracks in these more remote areas.
104 Alternatively, if increased access to wage income reduced the investment in subsistence
105 activities, we would expected a reduction in ORV tracks. As reindeer herding results in more
106 intensive land use than hunting, gathering or fishing, we predicted that it would increase the
107 amount of visible land use on extensive use images. We also investigated a possible
108 interaction between reindeer herding and income, asking whether better access to wage
109 income would affect this specific type of land use differently than other activities.

110 **Material and Methods**

111 *Study area and choice of settlements*

112 Our study encompassed six administrative regions (Fig. 1A): Alaska (USA); Nunavut and
113 Labrador (Canada); and Murmansk, Yamal and Taimyr (Russia; Fig. 1). The regions represent
114 different governance systems, histories, cultures and ethnicities, as well as different
115 biophysical landscapes. To control for the regional differences, we employed a block-design

116 where pairs of neighbouring settlements (200-5000 people) were treated as a random block
117 factor. Within each region we chose 2-3 pairs of settlements located in the low Arctic or sub-
118 arctic climatic zones (Fig. 1A). Within each pair we contrasted settlements with better
119 opportunities for wage income (high income - H) to settlements with less opportunities for
120 employment where subsistence harvest is more important in supporting people's livelihood
121 (low income - L) by using data on i) household income; ii) employment rate; iii) poverty rate;
122 presence of iv) industry; v) administrative centres; and vi) transportation hub (Table 1). In
123 Alaska, data were collected from the community database provided by the State of Alaska,
124 Department of Commerce, Community and Economic Development
125 (<https://www.commerce.alaska.gov/dvra/DCRAExternal/Community>) and official web-sites.
126 In Canada, data were collected from Statistics Canada, National household Survey, 2011
127 (<https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E>) and official web-
128 sites. No data on poverty rate was available from Canada. Due to lack of data at the settlement
129 level, the Russian settlements were classified based on the presence of industry,
130 administrative centres or transportation hubs based on the official web-sites of the regional
131 administrations and the municipalities. This information was confirmed by visits to most of
132 the settlements in 2012 (Appendix S1). Some H-settlements were related to oil and gas
133 extraction or mining sites. Other H-settlements were regional hubs, where the local
134 administration, hospital, commercial companies or transportation facilities (airport) etc.
135 offered employment opportunities. In L-settlements most of these elements were absent, and
136 wild food harvest, including reindeer herding, together with services (e.g., school, shop)
137 constituted the main activities of residents. In Alaska and Canada, the settlements were rather
138 similar with respect to these characteristics, and the classification was based mainly on
139 socioeconomic data.

140 In addition to access to wage income, we expected visible land use to depend on population
141 size, settlement age, reindeer herding, and landform. Data on population size, settlement age
142 and reindeer herding were obtained from the sources given above (Table 1). With respect to
143 landforms, plains with soft ground (e.g. bogs) are likely to be more prone to visible ORV
144 tracks than harder substrate such as stony hills. The main landforms for the area covered by
145 each satellite image was determined based on a worldwide layer of landform types according
146 to Hammond's classification (ESRI™). This classification was simplified as *Plain* or *Relief*
147 (hills, mountains or tableland with moderate or strong relief) and summarized as the
148 proportion of plain in each image (Table 1).

149 *Satellite image analysis*

150 Visible land use around settlements was mapped on high-resolution satellite images
151 (Quickbird™, GeoEye™ and World View II™). For each settlement, two ca. 10x10 km²
152 images were obtained. One image included the settlement and revealed *intensive use* in its
153 immediate vicinity. The other image was placed at a random location 30 km from the
154 settlement, and was used to map *extensive use* far from the settlement (Fig. 1B; Appendix S1).
155 Images were taken mostly in July and August between 2006 and 2012 (Table S1).

156 All visible land use was mapped. We recorded settlement areas, cultivated land, areas of
157 intense grazing, ORV-tracks, landfills, garbage deposits, fences, camps, mining activity,
158 electrical power lines, pipelines, drilling sites, quarries, other man-made structures and
159 undefined traces of human activity. Traces were detected visually in the satellite images using
160 methods similar to those used by Kumpula et al. (2010) and Tømmervik et al (2012). Visual
161 detection and interpretation was based on both panchromatic and pan-sharpened multiband
162 images (4 channels). Detection was facilitated by enhancement techniques like edge-
163 detection, contrast stretch, histogram-equalization and different filtering methods (Gonzalez

164 and Woods 1992). All detected objects and traces were manually delineated in each image at
165 a 1:2000 resolution using ArcGis 10 software (ESRI™ ArcMap 10.0).

166 *Statistical analysis*

167 To estimate the area occupied by visible land use, objects mapped as lines or points were
168 transformed to polygon features. We created three response variables for the statistical
169 analysis: i) the total proportion of the area of with visible land use; ii) the proportion with
170 permanent structures including buildings, roads and airfields; and iii) the proportion with
171 ORV tracks. These proportions were calculated relative to the visible land area of the images
172 after subtracting the surface of lakes, rivers, sea and clouds.

173 We used generalized additive models with a logit link and a beta distribution as implemented
174 in the package GAMLSS (Rigby and Stasinopoulos 2005) in R version 3.3.2 (R Core Team
175 2017) to analyse these area proportions. Intensive and extensive use areas were analysed
176 separately. For *intensive use areas*, we analysed the total proportion of area with visible land
177 use, the proportion with permanent structures, and the proportion with ORV tracks as a
178 function of wage income (H or L). Settlement pair was included as a random factor in all
179 models to reflect the block design. Candidate models with different covariables were
180 assembled for each response variable (Appendix S1, Table S2). The most parsimonious model
181 was chosen based on GAIC (Rigby and Stasinopoulos 2005) following a forward model
182 selection approach. The results of the selected models were reported as parameter estimates
183 for fixed effects with 95% confidence intervals (CI).

184 For *extensive use areas*, we analysed the total proportion of area with visible land use and the
185 proportion of area with ORV tracks as a function of wage income and the presence of reindeer
186 herding. Candidate models for each response variable included the focal fixed factors wage

187 income and reindeer herding either as additive effects or with an interaction (Appendix S1,
188 Table S3). Model choice and assessment of model fit were carried out as for intensive use
189 areas.

190 **Results**

191 Settlements classified as H (higher opportunity for wage income) were in general larger
192 (mean population size = 1385, SD = 855) than L-settlements (mean = 945, SD = 872), but the
193 difference was not significant (pairwise t-test: $t = -1.35$, $p = 0.19$). Settlement age differed
194 little between the two groups and was on average 118 years (SD = 66) for L and 140 years
195 (SD = 144) for H settlements.

196 Regions: There were large contrasts in amount and type of visible land use on the different
197 images and among the six regions (Fig. 2). Between 0.84% (Novaya) and 36.3% (Seyakha) of
198 the total area of the intensive use images consisted of visible traces of land use (mean = 8.8
199 %, SD = 9.5). As expected based on the definition of the areas, there were considerably less
200 traces on the extensive use images. No visible land use was identified on four extensive use
201 images from North America (Chesterfield Inlet, Nain, Rigolet, and Noorvik). The images with
202 the largest proportion of land use (ca 3%; Fig. 2) were from Russia (Mys Kamennyi and
203 Tumannyi). On the remaining extensive use images, 1.5% or less of the area consisted of
204 visible land use. ORV tracks represented the main proportion of land use in Russia (Fig. 3A).
205 Only on the intensive use area image from Zapolyarnyi, permanent structures occupied more
206 space than ORV tracks (Fig. 2, Fig. 3B). In Canada, on the contrary, permanent structures
207 were more important than ORV tracks (Fig. 3C), but the proportion of area affected by visible
208 land use was in general lower, in particular in Labrador (Fig 3D). In Alaska very little visible
209 land use was recorded on extensive use images.

210 Intensive use area: When controlling for the large regional differences (through the use of
211 settlement pair as random effect) and focussing on contrasts within the block design, the total
212 proportion of area visibly affected by land use in intensive use areas was best explained by a
213 model including landform in addition to wage income. All other candidate models obtained
214 Δ GAIC values > 2 , and GAIC did thus not support the inclusion of the covariates population
215 size, settlement age or reindeer herding (Table S2). The model showed that there was on
216 average 1.7 times more visible use around H-settlements than around L-settlements (effect on
217 the logit scale 0.58, 95% CI: 0.22 – 0.94, $n = 28$; Table 2). Local land use occupied thus a
218 larger area around settlements with better opportunities for wage income, independent of
219 population size and settlement age. There was also a positive relationship with the proportion
220 of plain on the images (landform). The predicted difference between an image with 0% plains
221 and 100% plains was in the same order of magnitude as the effect of wage income (effect on
222 the logit scale 0.56, 95% CI: 0.10 – 1.02; Table 2).

223 When analysing only ORV tracks, the results were nearly identical. For permanent structures,
224 the most parsimonious model included landform and log age in addition to wage income. A
225 model including also reindeer herding obtained nearly the same GAIC value, but included
226 more parameters. All other candidate models obtained Δ GAIC values > 2 (Table S2). The
227 selected model revealed a positive relationship of wage income to the area occupied by
228 permanent structures, which was slightly larger than for the two other response variables. The
229 confidence intervals for the estimates of the effect of landform and age did not exclude 0,
230 indicating that these variables had only a small effect (Table 2).

231 Extensive use area: Most of the visible land use recorded in extensive use areas consisted of
232 ORV tracks. For both response variables, GAIC did not support an interaction between wage
233 income and reindeer herding (Δ GAIC = 0.63 and 1.92 for total and tracks respectively; Table

234 S3). The best models included landform and log of the age of the settlement in addition to
235 additive effects of wage income and reindeer herding. All other candidate models obtained
236 Δ GAIC values of 1.99 or more. The results indicated that there was more visible land use in
237 areas related to H-settlements, and this effect was slightly larger than for the intensive use
238 areas (effect on the logit scale 1.02, 95% CI: 0.61 – 1.43 for total; Table 2). As predicted, the
239 amount of visible land use was also clearly higher in areas with reindeer herding. For total
240 proportion, the confidence intervals for the estimates of the additional factors landform and
241 age of the settlement did not exclude 0, indicating that these factors had only a small effect.
242 For tracks, however, there was a slightly negative effect of age, indicating that there were
243 more tracks in extensive areas related to newer settlements.

244 **Discussion**

245 There is a large heterogeneity in land use among the different circumpolar regions, which
246 need to be accounted for to identify general relationships between socioeconomic conditions
247 and local land use. Land use has often been studied through local case studies and
248 generalizations have mainly been based on qualitative meta-studies (van Vliet et al. 2016).
249 Here, on the contrary, by using pairwise contrasts between neighbouring communities, we
250 were able to detect broad scale patterns of land use in relation to economic development
251 despite the regional differences in biophysical conditions and historical legacies of land use.
252 We found more visible land use where people had better access to wage income in settlements
253 from six regions from the circumpolar North. This was true both for intensively used areas
254 within 10 km of the settlement, and for more distance areas (ca 30 km) reflecting the
255 extensive landscape use of local people. As predicted, permanent structures such as buildings
256 and roads were more important where there was better access to wage income in settlements.
257 But this was also true for ORV tracks in intensive as well as extensive use areas. Moreover,

258 reindeer herding, a more intensive land use activity than subsistence harvesting, was also
259 associated with more visible land use in extensive use areas. Our results are thus compatible
260 with a hypothesis suggesting that wage income leads to increased use of ORV related for
261 instance to harvest activities, reindeer herding or recreational use in mixed subsistence-cash
262 communities.

263 If ORV tracks reflect an increase in harvest activities, our findings are in agreement with
264 previous reports documenting that wage income can support wild food harvesting by covering
265 some of the high expenses associated with off-road vehicles, fuel, and other supplies (Ready
266 and Power 2018). The importance of high expenses in limiting the extent of land use by local
267 people has been documented in previous case studies from Alaska (Brinkman et al. 2014;
268 BurnSilver et al. 2016), Canada (Pearce et al. 2015) and for reindeer pastoralism in Norway
269 (Riseth 2006). Brinkman et al. (2014) found that higher fuel prices were associated with
270 reduced number of hunting trips and distance travelled. The access to wage income may allow
271 a larger spatial extent of local land use (Wenzel 2009). The costs of travelling thus seem more
272 important than the time available to hunt, fish or collect berries and mushrooms for explaining
273 local land use in the Arctic. These findings must also be seen in relation to the sharing
274 networks in the communities, where costs of local land use and wild food harvest may be
275 shared among the members of the community (Wenzel 2009; BurnSilver et al. 2016) and
276 considered as investment in social relationships (Ready and Power 2018).

277 Nenets reindeer herders in Yamal and western Taimyr live as nomadic families and migrate
278 with their herds resulting in permanent human presence and activity on the tundra (Forbes et
279 al. 2009). They also live for various periods of time in camps, where they pursue traditional
280 harvest activities, mainly fishing. It is possible that with increased access to income, tundra
281 inhabiting Nenets may afford to use motorized transportation more often and increase the

282 number of trips for instance to the village to buy fresh supplies. Our data did not, however,
283 support an interaction between income and reindeer herding, indicating that the positive effect
284 of access to wage income on the amount of recorded tracks was similar to the rest of the
285 Arctic, despite overall higher levels of visible land use associated with reindeer herding in
286 extensive use areas.

287 Our results indicate that the mixed subsistence – cash economies of the Arctic may differ
288 from more remote indigenous communities that rely on harvest for subsistence elsewhere in
289 the world. For example, in Ecuadorian Amazonia households with better income from
290 employment harvested smaller amounts of wild meat (Vasco and Siren 2015). Elsewhere,
291 Iwamura et al. (2014) found that the increase in size and age of a village is among the most
292 important factors explaining land cover change and hunting. Village size and age were little
293 influential in our analyses of local contrasts in land use. Other recent studies have also
294 underscored the importance of studying wage income, market access and socioeconomic
295 development to understand changing use of subsistence hunters and fishermen (Cinner et al.
296 2012; Fauchald et al. 2017).

297 Local land use recorded in our case is, however, not purely related to subsistence activity.
298 Activity tracks detected on satellite images cannot be clearly assigned to one type of activity,
299 therefore the observed patterns need to be interpreted with caution. Our observations when
300 visiting the communities showed that in some of the settlements visible industrial use has also
301 been recorded, increasing the total area used. This was the case for Gaz Sale and Zapolyarnyi
302 on Yamal (Fig 3B), and to some extent for Tukhard and Baker Lake (Table 1). All of these
303 settlements were classified as H because of the ongoing industrial activity, which may have
304 contributed to the positive effect of wage income on visible traces in intensive use areas. This
305 industrial use may also be related to the negative correlation observed between settlement age

306 and ORV tracks in extensive use areas, as the industrial settlements are often quite recent
307 (Table 1). Moreover, recreational driving may have been important in Murmansk and is also
308 likely to increase with increased access to wage income.

309 *Differences between regions*

310 In general, there was more visible land use in Russia than in North America, but the
311 proportion of used land occupied by permanent structures was larger in Canada than in the
312 other studied regions. There were also considerable differences among the three Russian
313 regions. Overall, there was little visible land use in Alaska. Several historical and
314 contemporary factors may explain these differences.

315 The main type of local land use is likely to explain some of the observed regional differences.
316 Yamal is a prosperous reindeer herding area (Forbes et al. 2009; Klokov 2011). Although
317 Nenets still use reindeer sledges as their main means of transportation year round, the use of
318 motorized vehicles is increasing. The presence of a tundra population is also likely to lead to
319 more traffic between the settlements and the nomadic camps. Nenets in western Taimyr
320 (Nosok) are poorer, and do not use motorized transport to the same extent. In eastern Taimyr,
321 on the contrary, wild reindeer, which are hunted in fall/winter, constitute the major harvested
322 resource together with fish. Wild reindeer are often hunted in more or less stationary camps
323 close to rivers, or using snowmobiles after the rivers freeze up and the ground becomes snow
324 covered. Most fishing is river fishing, where transportation occurs by boat (Fig. 4D). These
325 harvesting methods can be intensive without leaving visible traces. In Labrador, where the
326 least visible land use was recorded, marine fisheries constitutes the most important natural
327 resource. Also for fresh water fishing and hunting, the main means of transportation are boats
328 and snowmobiles (MacDonald et al. 2013), which do not leave any visible tracks on the
329 vegetation (Fig 3D). In Nunavut, where caribou hunting is more important, visible land use is

330 a bit more widespread, although still low compared to levels observed in Russia. Alaska was
331 characterised by very little visible activity in extensive use areas, possibly because most
332 travelling occurs with boats or snowmobiles. An important source of potential bias when
333 analysing local land use from high resolution satellite images results thus from the different
334 means of transportation used (Fig. 4).

335 The chosen regions differ also in their legacy of industrial development. Thus, considerable
336 oil and gas exploration and exploitation is taking place in the Yamal region since the Soviet
337 period. A first wave of development in the 1970s and 1980s (Kumpula et al. 2010) was
338 followed by a relative stagnation after the end of the Soviet period in 1991. At present,
339 development is in a boom phase again. Because of the heavy vehicles used in Russia, in
340 particular in the past (Fig. 4A), some old traces, for instance in the extensive use image of
341 Mys Kamennyi or Seyakha, may still be visible today (Forbes et al. 2004), although there is
342 little industrial activity at present. Visible land use related to past and present industrial
343 development may have been recorded in the extensive use areas of both H and L settlements
344 on Yamal, and are thus less likely to have affected our result compared to the intensive use
345 areas. There are also large oil exploitation projects, both past and present, in Alaska, but this
346 activity was not reflected in visible land use to the same extent as in Russia – possible because
347 of the use of different vehicles (Slaughter et al. 1990).

348 Our study focused on remote settlements in the Arctic, an area with very low population
349 density. The Murmansk region is the most populated region included. Moreover, there is road
350 access to three of the four settlements studied in this region (Teriberka, Tumannyi and
351 Lovozero), which are all accessible within a couple of hours driving from the city of
352 Murmansk (population 300 000). Teriberka is the only place in Russia where the coast of the
353 Arctic Ocean can be visited without special permits. Recreational use by urban citizens and

354 tourism is thus important in this region. This is likely to explain some of the ORV tracks
355 recorded, notably in the extensive use area of Tumannyi, which is an area where residents of
356 Murmansk may go for fishing, hunting or berry picking trips. At the same time the presence
357 of roads may have relieved some of the ORV traffic around settlements, as people can drive
358 cars along the road to some harvesting or recreational destinations.

359 The dominance of permanent structures in Canada could be explained by housing (Fig. 2). In
360 Canada, houses are usually built for each family separately resulting in more space for roads
361 or squares between them. Most Canadian and Alaskan settlements have a permanent air field
362 (Fig. 3C), whereas many smaller Russian settlements are only accessible by boat or
363 helicopter. Russian arctic settlements are more compact. Larger settlements often have several
364 story houses with apartments (Khatanga, Tumannyi, Teriberka), in addition to older small
365 houses, reducing permanent structures in the settlement. Also small settlements such as
366 Novaya consist of houses with several apartments (2-4) in each.

367 *Conclusions*

368 By using counterfactuals to focus on socioeconomic contrasts between pairs of otherwise
369 comparable settlements, we were able to statistically show the generality of a positive
370 relationship between wage income and local land-use despite the large differences among the
371 six arctic region. But, our result is only a rough indication of this pattern and further research
372 should include market integration and socioeconomic development more explicitly and
373 quantitatively (Verburg et al. 2011). Moreover, the context dependency of local land use and
374 wild food harvest underlines the importance of combining large scale counterfactual designs
375 with knowledge of the local situation to avoid misinterpretations. Indeed, despite the fact that
376 less visible land use surrounded the poorer communities, other research documented that
377 subsistence food is very important in these settlements and may be used in larger amount per

378 person than in communities with higher degree of wage income, where store-bought food is
379 more accessible and affordable.

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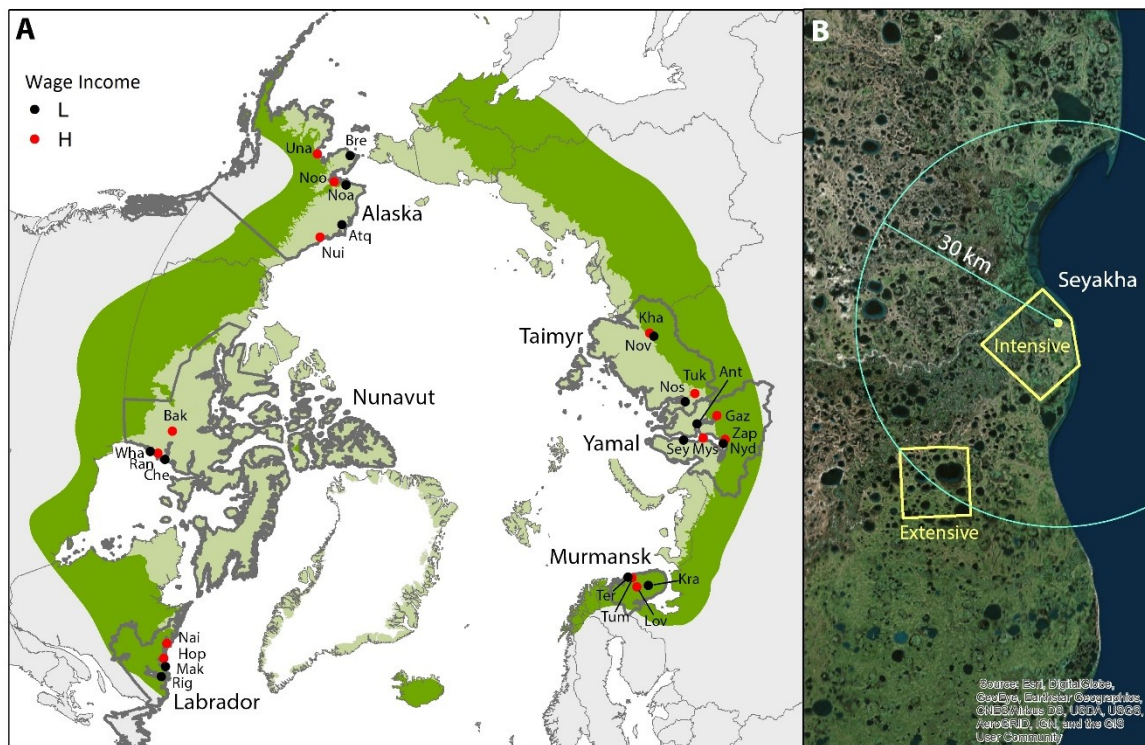
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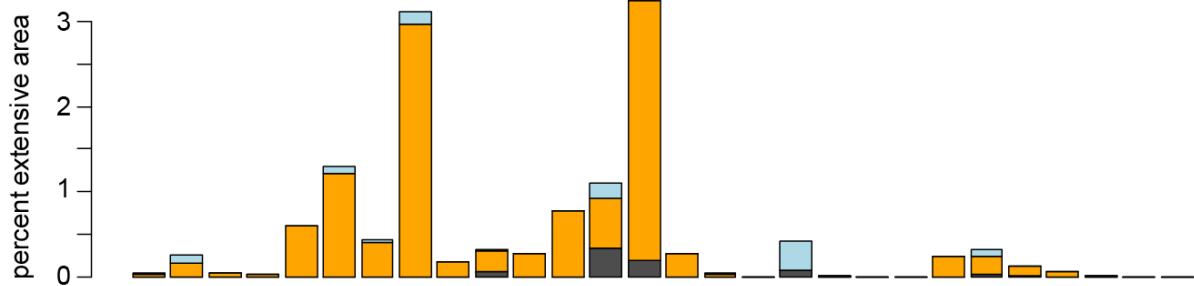
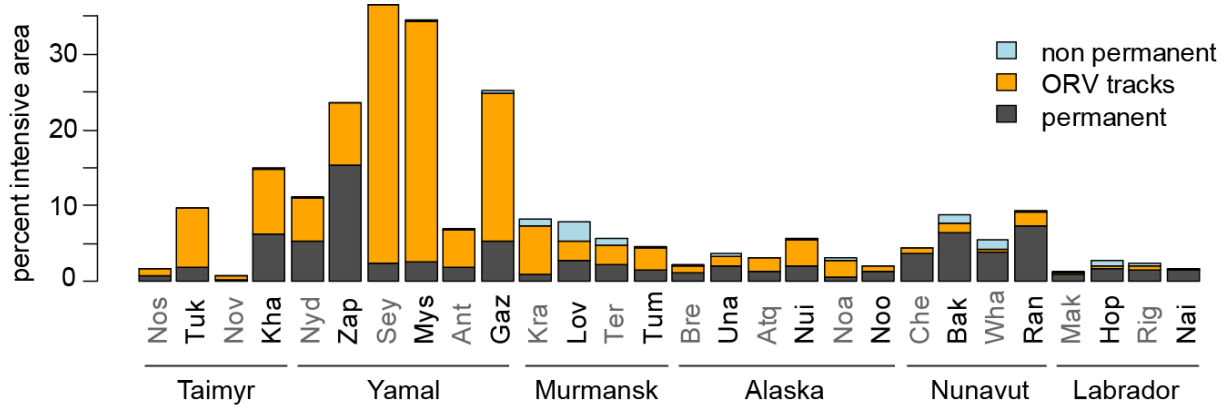
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502 **Figure 1.** Study design. A) Regions and selected settlements. Study regions, Murmanskaya
 503 Oblast' (Murmansk), Yamalo-Nenetsky Autonomous Okrug (Yamal) and the northernmost
 504 part of Krasnoyarskiy Kray (Taimyr) are surrounded by thick grey lines. Three letter code
 505 indicates settlement name (see Table 1). Wage income: L = settlements with low access to
 506 wage income, H = settlements with high access to wage income. Pale green shows the Arctic
 507 according to the Circumpolar Arctic Vegetation Map (Walker et al. 2005) and darker green
 508 shows the subarctic. B) Example of the selection of areas for satellite pictures of an intensive
 509 use area and an extensive use area.



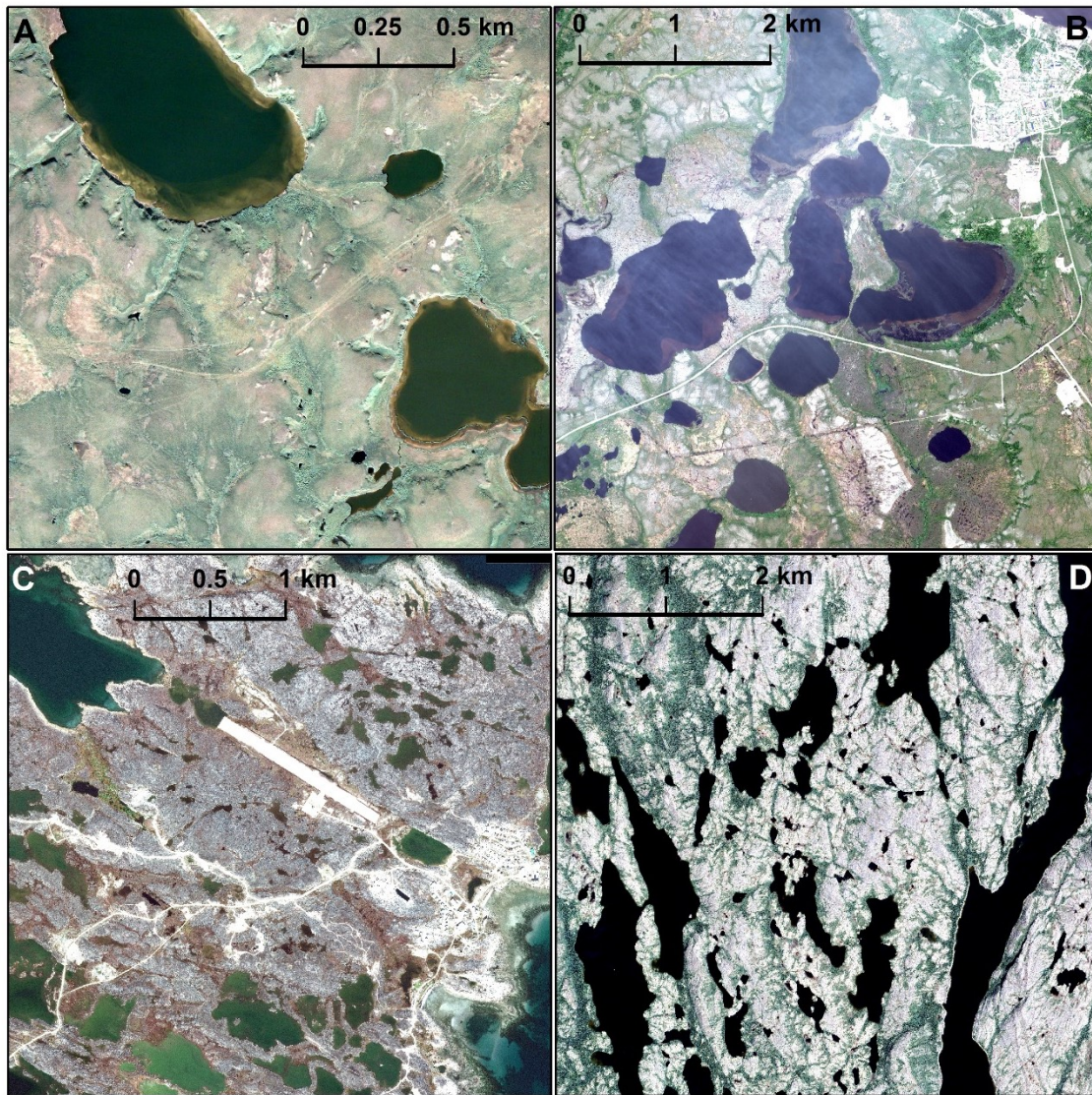
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512 **Figure 2** Percent land area occupied by visible land use on each image. The upper panel
 513 shows intensive use area images, which included the settlement itself. The lower panel shows
 514 extensive use area images situated 30 km from the settlement. Note the different scales.
 515 Visible traces are shown according to the categories permanently transformed habitat, ORV
 516 tracks, and other non-permanent land cover transformation. Full names of the settlements are
 517 given in Table 1.

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521 **Figure 3** Examples of satellite pictures. A) The extensive use area of Mys Kamennyi was
 522 characterized by a high amount of ORV tracks. The high amount of tracks observed in
 523 extensive areas on Yamal Peninsula can be related both to reindeer herding and to the fact that
 524 the areas is at present experiencing the second wave of development related to oil-and gas
 525 exploitations. B) Intensive use area image from Zapolyarnyi, the only area in Russia where
 526 permanent structures were more extensive than ORV tracks. Many of the structures on the
 527 present image are likely to be related to the gaz industry. C) Settlement area of Chesterfield
 528 Inlet, a settlement with a population of 313 in Nunavut, Canada, classified as low access to
 529 wage income. Permanent structures such as buildings and roads were more important than
 530 ORV tracks in Canada. D) No visible traces of human use were recorded in the extensive use
 531 area of Hopedale in Labrador (Canada). In this area boats and snow scooter are main means of
 532 transportation, and the stony ground is less prone to show visible traces of use.



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535 **Figure 4** Large size Russian off-road cars leave easily visible and persistent tracks,
536 sometimes already after a single passage over a stretch of tundra, whereas intense land use
537 based on boat or snow scooter traffic, which are cheaper means of transportation used a lot in
538 the poorer Russian settlements and in North America, do not leave visible tracks at all. A)
539 heavy chain vehicles were used in the Russian Arctic in the past, which left deep and long-
540 lasting traces in tundra areas on soft ground, here wet areas (Photo V. Belov). B) Also many
541 modern Russian ORV, such as this off-road car in Yamal, are of considerable size and thus
542 prone to leave tracks which can be identified on satellite imagery pictures (Photo I. Fufachev).
543 C) In Alaska and Canada people typically use smaller and lighter ORVs (Photo J. Schmidt).
544 D) Intense fishing based on boat traffic does not leave visible land use traces in Novaya,
545 Taimyr (Photo A. Khrushev).

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Table 1. Characteristics of the studied settlements and criteria used to classify each settlement as H (high opportunity for wage income) or L (low opportunity for wage income; WI). Hub includes the presence of administrative centres and/or the presence of a transportation hub. Income is the median household income in USD for Alaska and in CAD for Canada. Employment is the employment rate of residents above 15 years and Poverty is the percentage below poverty level. Reindeer herding refers to the presence of reindeer herding in the area (1). Landform is the proportion of the area classified as plain in the intensive and extensive use areas respectively.

Country	Region	Settlement	Population	Founded	WI	Industry	Hub	Income	Employment	Poverty	Reindeer herding	Landform (I – E)
Russia	Taimyr	Khatanga	2960	1626	H	0	1	–	–	–	0	27 - 100
Russia	Taimyr	Novaya	313	1940	L	0	0	–	–	–	0	100 - 100
Russia	Taimyr	Tuchard	814	1970	H	Gas extraction	0	–	–	–	1	100 - 74
Russia	Taimyr	Nosok	1692	1850	L	0	0	–	–	–	1	100 – 91
Russia	Yamal	Zapoliarnyi	1035	1986	H	Gaz pipeline hub	0	–	–	–	1	100 - 100
Russia	Yamal	Nyda	1763	1896	L	0	0	–	–	–	1	100 - 100
Russia	Yamal	Mys Kamennyi	1639	1950	H	Post-industrial ²	0	–	–	–	1	100 - 100
Russia	Yamal	Seyakha	2612	1936	L	0	0	–	–	–	1	100 - 100
Russia	Yamal	Gaz Sale	1917	1966	H	Gas extraction	0	–	–	–	1	100 - 100
Russia	Yamal	Antipayuta	2591	1930	L	0	0	–	–	–	1	100 - 100
Russia	Murmansk	Lovozero	2871	1516	H	0	1	–	–	–	1	75 - 2
Russia	Murmansk	Krasnoshelie	423	1920	L	0	0	–	–	–	1	66 - 91
Russia	Murmansk	Tumannyi	685	1971	H	Hydroelectric plant	0	–	–	–	0	0 - 1
Russia	Murmansk	Teriberka	957	1870	L	0	0	–	–	–	0	0 - 0

Canada	Labrador	Nain	1185	1771	H	0	1	62663	74	–	0	0 - 0
Canada	Labrador	Hopedale	555	1782	L	0	0	58485	68	–	0	0 - 0
Canada	Labrador	Makkovik	365	1860	H	0	0	63959	64	–	0	0 - 0
Canada	Labrador	Rigolet	310	1735	L	0	0	46173	53	–	0	0 - 0
Canada	Nunavut	Baker Lake	1865	1924	H	Mining	0	73959	81	–	0	13 - 96
Canada	Nunavut	Chesterfield Inlet	313	1911	L	0	0	*	*	*	0	94 - 82
Canada	Nunavut	Rankin Inlet	2245	1955	H	0	1	111560	85	–	0	100 - 69
Canada	Nunavut	Whale Cove	410	1950	L	0	0	54181	79	–	0	100 - 100
USA	Alaska	Nuiqsut	470	1973	H	Oil and gaz extraction	0	85833	77	3	0	100 - 100
USA	Alaska	Atkasuk	221	1977	L	0	0	51500	69	21.5	0	100 - 100
USA	Alaska	Noatak	583	1910	H	0	0	56250	65	19.9	0	91 - 0
USA	Alaska	Noorvik	644	1920	L	0	0	52500	59	29.3	0	83 - 49
USA	Alaska	Unalakleet	758	1830	H	0	0	57188	70	16.6	0	32 - 14
USA	Alaska	Brevig Misson	418	1900	L	0	0	32143	66	61	0	2 - 21

* Data for this area has been suppressed by statistics Canada for data quality or confidentiality reasons.

¹ Mys Kamennyi was established in the frame of gas exploration and transportation, but at present there is not much industrial activity left in the settlement. For sources see main text.

Table 2 Parameter estimates for the selected generalized additive models (logit link and a beta distribution) describing the relationship of visible traces of human use to wage income. Parameter estimates are given on the logit scale with 95% confidence intervals. For factors, they are presented as contrasts to the reference level as indicated in parenthesis. a) Intensive use areas. Fixed effects are wage income (WI: H – higher opportunity versus L – lower opportunity for wage income), landform (L) and A (settlement age). Response variables are total use area, area occupied by permanent structures and area occupied by ORV tracks. b) extensive use areas. Fixed effects are T, L and A as above, and presence of reindeer herding (R). Response variables are total use and ORV tracks.

A)

<i>Fixed effects</i>	Total use	Permanent	Tracks
WI (H – L)	0.58 [0.22 – 0.94]	0.66 [0.33 – 0.99]	0.52 [0.13 – 0.92]
L	0.56 [0.10 – 1.02]	0.11 [-0.32 – 0.53]	0.67 [0.11 – 1.24]
A		-0.02 [-0.27 – 0.22]	

B)

<i>Fixed effects</i>	Total use	Tracks
WI (H – L)	1.02 [0.61 – 1.43]	1.01 [0.62 – 1.41]
R	1.33 [0.83 – 1.83]	1.61 [1.12 – 2.10]
A	-0.18 [-0.43 – 0.07]	-0.30 [-0.55 – -0.05]
L	-0.16 [-0.72 – 0.40]	-0.45 [-1.01 – 0.11]

Ambio

Electronic Supplementary Material

This supplementary material has not been peer reviewed.

Title: Local land use associated with socio-economic development in six arctic regions

Authors: Dorothee Ehrich, Alma E. Thuestad, Hans Tømmervik, Per Fauchald, Vera H. Hausner

Appendix S1: Supplementary Material and Methods

On the ground confirmation of settlement classification

Most settlements included in this study have been visited by the authors or associated researchers in the frame of a large scale interview project in 2012. Originally, it was planned to visit all the settlements, and use the same design and approach for the selection of the settlements as in the present study. However, because of logistic constraints the following settlements could not be visited: Tukhard (Taimyr), Krasnoshelie (Murmansk), Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik and Rigolet (Labrador), Rankin Inlet (Nunavut), Unalakleet and Nuiqsut (Alaska). During the visits one or two researchers/assistants stayed in the settlement for about a week. Interviews about harvesting and other use of renewable natural resources were carried out with selected residents, usually including members of the local administration. Through this work, the structural characteristics of the settlements used to classify them into L or H-settlements were verified on the ground.

Criteria to choose the placement of intensive and extensive use areas

For each settlement, two ca. 10x10 km² images were obtained. One image included the settlement (intensive use) and the other image was placed at a random location 30 km from the settlement (extensive use). The distance of 30 km was chosen based on our knowledge of how far people in different parts of the Arctic usually go (obtained among others during the interviews described above), and how far the daily use of the surroundings of the settlement goes compared to distances, which people usually travel to pursue specific activities such as hunting, fishing and recreation. Most of the selected settlements were located along a major water body, such as a river or the sea shore. To standardize the configuration of the images, the settlement was placed at the mid-point of one of the sides of the image with the edge of the water body placed along the same side. The extensive use image was chosen at a random location along a circle with a 30 km radius around the settlement. To secure a remote location reflecting the extensive land use of the focal settlement, additional criteria were that the image should be at least 5 km away from the seashore, not contain any major buildings such as industrial infrastructure visible on Google EarthTM, and not be situated closer to another settlement than to the focal settlement.

Statistical modelling

Candidate models with different covariables were assembled for each response variable (Table S2). For *intensive use* areas, we included each of the logarithm (log) of population size, log settlement age, the presence of reindeer herding and landform as additive fixed effects in addition to the focal variable wage income. The most parsimonious model was chosen based on a generalized Akaike's Information Criterion as implemented in GAMLSS (GAIC). Models with a difference in GAIC (Δ GAIC) < 2 were considered equally adequate, and the simpler model was preferred. When several models with one covariate were equally adequate, we additionally considered a model combining these covariates, following a forward model selection approach. The results of the selected models were reported as parameter estimates for fixed effects with 95% confidence intervals (CI) on the logit scale. Model fit was assessed graphically looking at the distribution of normalized residuals.

For *extensive use* areas, a similar modelling approach was taken. Here the focal fixed effects were wage income and reindeer herding either as additive effects or with an interaction. As above, following a forward model selection approach, we considered additive fixed effects of log population size, log age and landform (Table S3) and included settlement pair as random effect in all models.

Table S1 Information about the satellite images used. Type refers to the satellite taking the image, and Area indicates the total area analysed after subtracting areas covered with water (sea, lakes, large rivers) or clouds.

Country	Region	Settlement	Intensive use area			Extensive use area		
			Type	Date	Area (km ²)	Type	Date	Area (km ²)
Russia	Taimyr	Khatanga	WorldView-2	31.07.2011	95.1	WorldView-2	10.07.2011	78.3
Russia	Taimyr	Novaya	WorldView-2	31.07.2011	94.3	Quickbird-2	11.08.2011	74.4
Russia	Taimyr	Tuchard	Quickbird-2	16.07.2012	91.7	Quickbird-2	18.09.2012	74.3
Russia	Taimyr	Nosok	Quickbird-2	23.08.2009	108.2	Quickbird-2	23.08.2009	78.0
Russia	Yamal	Zapoliarnyi	WorldView-2	13.07.2012	90.8	Quickbird-2	18.07.2012	69.2
Russia	Yamal	Nyda	Quickbird-2	20.07.2012	92.5	WorldView-2	13.07.2012	76.6
Russia	Yamal	Mys Kamennyi	Quickbird-2	03.07.2012	112.5	Quickbird-2	27.08.2009	68.2
Russia	Yamal	Seyakha	Quickbird-2	03.08.2012	84.0	GeoEye	27.08.2009	59.0
Russia	Yamal	Gaz Sale	WorldView-2	30.06.2012 01.07.2012	79.4	Quickbird-2	04.07.2012	75.5
Russia	Yamal	Antipayuta	Quickbird-2	01.09.2012	86.7	Quickbird-2	21.07.2012	75.1
Russia	Murmansk	Lovozero	WorldView-2	15.08.2011	98.8	WorldView-2	21.08.2011	79.1
Russia	Murmansk	Krasnoshelie	WorldView-2	20.08.2011	98.7	GeoEye	23.07.2010	83.9
Russia	Murmansk	Tumannyi	WorldView-2	15.08.2011	88.0	Quickbird-2	23.08.2011	69.2

Russia	Murmansk	Teriberka	WorldView-2	26.08.2012	73.3	GeoEye	20.08.2009	73.3
Canada	Labrador	Hopedale	Quickbird-2	24.07.2008	51.3	Quickbird-2	24.07.2008	74.4
Canada	Labrador	Makkovik	WorldView-2	26.07.2011	83.8	GeoEye	28.07.2011	71.3
Canada	Labrador	Rigolet	WorldView-2	25.08.2011	82.5	GeoEye	13.07.2010	81.1
Canada	Labrador	Nain	Quickbird-2	24.07.2011	76.7	WorldView-2	31.07.2011	82.8
Canada	Nunavut	Baker Lake	Quickbird-2	17.07.2006	43.3	WV-02	09.08.2010	62.9
Canada	Nunavut	Chesterfield Inlet	GeoEye	07.09.2010	81.5	Quickbird-2	24.07.2011	71.2
Canada	Nunavut	Rankin Inlet	Quickbird-2	31.07.2007	77.3	WV-02	07.08.2010	59.0
Canada	Nunavut	Whale Cove	Quickbird-2	02.08.2006	51.2	Quickbird-2	16.07.2011	56.6
USA	Alaska	Nuiqsut	Quickbird-2	03.06.2007	74.1	WV-02	28.07.2011	54.3
USA	Alaska	Atqasuk	Quickbird-2	02.07.2007	86.3	GeoEye	18.07.2009	68.2
USA	Alaska	Noatak	Quickbird-2	07.07.2007	83.9	Quickbird-2	25.07.2011	77.6
USA	Alaska	Noorvik	Quickbird-2	02.07.2007	78.3	WV-02	26.08.2010	77.6
USA	Alaska	Unalakleet	GeoEye	16.08.2009	93.1	GeoEye	03.07.2009	77.2
USA	Alaska	Brevig Misson	Quickbird-2	21.07.2011	90.2	Quickbird-2	18.07.2011	75.7

Table S2 Model choice table for the proportion of *intensive use area* with visible traces of human use. Three response variables were considered, the total proportion of area with visible traces of human use (Total use), the proportion of area with permanent structures (Permanent), and the proportion of area with tracks of vehicles (Tracks). Explanatory variables included in the models were abbreviated as follows: WI – wage income, P – logarithm (log) population size, A – log age of the settlement, R – presence of reindeer herding, and L – landform (proportion of plain on the image). Settlement pair was included as a random effect in all models. The selected models are highlighted in bold.

Model	Total use		Permanent		Tracks	
	GAIC	ΔGAIC	GAIC	ΔGAIC	GAIC	ΔGAIC
WI	-98.64	5.66	-156.04	5.09	-131.30	4.86
WI + R	-99.13	6.15	-154.32	3.37	-132.55	6.11
WI + A	-95.93	2.94	-153.55	2.61	-129.48	3.04
WI + P	-95.74	2.76	-155.53	4.59	-129.15	2.71
WI + L	-92.98	0.00	-153.19	2.24	-126.44	0.00
WI + L + A			-150.94	0.00		
WI + L + R			-153.13	2.18		
WI + L + A + R			-150.98	0.04		

Table S3 Model choice table for the proportion of *extensive use area* with visible traces of human use. Three response variables were considered, the total proportion of area with visible traces of human use (Total use), the proportion of area with permanent structures (Permanent), and the proportion of area with tracks of vehicles (Tracks). Explanatory variables included in the models were abbreviated as follows: WI – wage income, P – logarithm (log) population size, A – log age of the settlement, R – presence of reindeer herding, and L – landform (proportion of plain on the image). Settlement pair was included as a random effect in all models. + indicates additive effects and x an interaction. The selected models are highlighted in bold.

Model	Total use		Tracks	
	GAIC	ΔGAIC	GAIC	ΔGAIC
WI + R	-202.12	4.59	-216.50	3.91
WI x R	-201.49	3.96	-214.59	1.99
WI + R + A	-199.92	2.39	-215.29	2.70
WI + R + P	-202.48	4.95	-219.42	6.82
WI + R + L	-200.54	3.01	-214.96	2.37
WI + R + A + L	-197.52	0.00	-212.59	0.00