



Gender Issues

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Understanding the prevailing power relations is instrumental in making sense of human development in the Arctic. This includes power relations between women and men. However, any discussion of power relations and gender roles must also recognize the social and cultural diversity across the circumpolar North and the fact that many different perspectives can be applied when analyzing these roles.

Some of the authors in this chapter emphasize that the traditional relationships between women, men, children and the land have been paramount for life in the harsh conditions of the North. The gender roles displayed in many Arctic regions are therefore seen as complementary rather than opposing. There may indeed be a commonality of this experience across the Arctic that transcends both culture and nationality.

However, western values, attitudes, structures and regulations were imported from southern societies following the introduction of the large-scale nation state. The paternalistic male bias inherent in these values and structures led policymakers and administrators with little knowledge of the societies they were working with to defer to males when assigning decision-making positions. Increased understanding of situated and traditional knowledge can make us aware of what we are losing by adopting gender roles from other cultural landscapes. Introducing western feminist critique may even be perceived as yet another vestige of post-colonialism. It is seen as more relevant to discuss gender equality in terms of tradition, justice, values, and democratization.

Other authors emphasize issues that have long been reflected in the feminist agenda, including western, non-western and indigenous feminist perspectives. This includes analyses of women's representation in formal decision-

making bodies and a discussion of gendered violences.

In light of the diverse perspectives on the significance of gender and culture in designing power structures in the Arctic, this chapter provides a starting place for further dialogue on gender issues in the Arctic. It is a collection of varying views of gender and culture as a basis for describing Arctic societies. The themes range from a critique of western feminism as contrary to indigenous views and realities, through the importance of acknowledging indigenous men's disenfranchisement, to using the concept of human security as a way of thinking about female out-migration and gendered violences. They also include discussions about women's involvement and representation in political life and natural resource management.

The objective of the chapter is not to present a comprehensive assessment of gender issues in the Arctic. In Arctic research, gender is still an emerging topic, and there is not a fully developed body of literature available for assessment. Therefore, the chapter is more of an exploratory scoping exercise. The aim is to operate as a catalyst for future analysis of how shifting gender roles affect human development in the North.

Gender and equity, the Arctic way

Karla Jessen Williamson

“Kaaleralanngortartoq, Makkanngortatoq” was one of the chanting songs I received from one of our close family friends during my childhood in Greenland. This translates to “that person who alternates Karl and Magrethe.” I have many baptismal names, and the first ones were Karla and Magrethe, but this friend labelled the male and female in me at the same time. This always caused me some puzzlement as a grow-

ing girl. This contribution examines gender equity in the Arctic and argues that it requires an approach that differs from the western feminist discussion.

The term “Arctic” evokes for many southerners thoughts of ordeals and the idea that those traveling to the area must be seeking a test of bravery. That such a perception has arisen makes good sense, considering that visitors to the Arctic from the south have been largely male. Arctic “exploration” in search of minerals and the Northwest Passage, fur-trading, whaling, mining, and military activities were mostly achieved by men without their women-folk (1). It was only relatively recently that southern women came to the Arctic, some to stay and many others as transient workers in the governmental structures.

The particular perception of the Arctic being a male world is also compounded by the fact that most of the Arctic peoples’ lives depended on hunting, trapping, and husbandry of reindeers. Most literature on peoples of the Arctic was written by males whose writings have yet to be analyzed through non-patriarchal and non-colonial frames of perception. The strong male bias about the Arctic has led into a situation where relatively little is known about Arctic women’s roles. There is little appreciation of women’s capacity to contribute to decision making around hunting, or of their roles in the hunting economy, including group membership and location, and spiritual relationships (2-4).

While one can lament the negligence and the lack of knowledge about Arctic women typical of earlier generations, there remains much to be celebrated in the real achievements of Arctic women (5). Among indigenous populations, the Arctic is home for at least as many women as men. Have they had less say than their men in, for example, how life should be ordered and enjoyed, where one should hunt, how food should be distributed, or how to thank the forces of life for the good and rewarding life in the Arctic?

Southern women have also asked such questions over the years, and since the early inception of feminism, many different groups have embraced the idea of equality and developed further thoughts on how to achieve a more egalitarian society. These new ideas may be seen, for example, in “eco-feminism.” Such groups as the socialist feminists, radical feminists, and liberal feminists speak to different priorities and differ-

ent means by which different inequities can be addressed.

How has this process of social change affected Arctic women? Many feminists whom I have talked to take it for granted that Arctic women experienced the same devaluation as the southern women did, and many assume that Arctic women experienced even more devaluation due to colonization. This perception is compounded by the perception that the Arctic is a male-preferential world and that Arctic women therefore must suffer doubly under male dominance as compared to women in the south.

Some of these perceptions may hold some truth, depending on how different people look at Arctic societies. But there are also other realities. Lekhanova (6) is a Russian northerner who writes: “In northern families the women – the mother and particularly the grandmother – had an indisputable authority. It is not by chance that in the folklore of all the Arctic peoples, maternity and femininity prevail ... women and men had equal rights ... gender balance prevailed.” On the other side of the circumpolar range, Hansen in Canada (7) writes: “In my early years, my mother was the anchor for our family. She taught me that strong families build strong leaders.” In my own field research in Greenland, I found that many of the women and men I interviewed never had the perception that their own women-folk had lost their status in their own societies, in present times or historically. Individual women carry out their daily activities without thought of their activities being deemed less or more important than others. Women are valued as real human beings, making their contribution as real men do.

Socio-culturally speaking, indigenous Arctic women seem not to have experienced loss of importance in the family setting to the same degree as their southern sisters, or indeed by comparison with their men-folk. In fact, in writings about equity issues in the Arctic, the notion that each human being is valued in much the same way is rather common. As Lekhanova writes (6): “Every human being in the Arctic community is a worthy individual as such holding his or her rights.” These points speak to a deep sense of genderlessness, with every person seen primarily as a human being rather than being identified by characteristics of sex. Naming traditions provide another example.

Among the Inuit, the traditional names are given to each person regardless of gender. The names are androgynous and carry with them the

spiritually renewed source of life, which has its own autonomous power. Females and males may carry the same name. Many indigenous languages around the world are structured in a way that does not divide human beings between male and female. Instead they are both “it” – this indicates equal validity, particularly in the case of those cultures that invest spiritual power in the name and require respect for the soul denoted by the name. This non-gendered terminology equates all with other creations in the world, both physically and metaphysically (8). Intellectually, women enjoyed sharing their knowledge for the communities’ well-being, and good wisdom was never divisible between gender. The traditional egalitarian approach among Arctic societies speaks to a humanistic or individualistic approach to holding power instead of emphasizing one gender over another. It is in this context that “Kaaleralanngortartoq Makk-anngortartoq” can best be understood.

It is perhaps on the basis of the above that no single model of marriage can be found in the indigenous Arctic communities. Much like Koukarenko (9), my own research shows that Arctic couples practice matriarchal, patriarchal or even other models, depending on their situations. These arrangements are negotiated among couples, and these realities are most likely much older than the historical accounts. Today, one might find among younger couples a situation where a mother holds a job outside the home while the husband is the homemaker with three or four children at home. These arrangements largely depend on the individual circumstances and the individual personalities involved.

These observations demonstrate that gender equality issues have to be understood from a uniquely Arctic perspective, different from the typical idea of power imbalance between males and females. Insisting on introducing southern styles of equity issues to the Arctic peoples will only reinforce colonial attitudes. For indigenous populations the colonial systems have already had a devastating effect on areas such as language, religion, and management of resources, among others. Families have been divided where children have been removed from their families in the name of education. At this point Arctic families need to recover from various levels of alienation. Land-claim settlements negotiated with the governments create tension rather than emphasizing the need to live in the Arctic regions symbiotically. Generally speak-

ing, the expected tensions between men and women in the Arctic need to be understood differently, and gender issues in light of the aforementioned obstacles appear absolutely miniscule.

The experience of Arctic indigenous women in relation to feminism may at times be reminiscent of other non-western cultural groups who live within western societies. Macionis and Plummer (10) assert that “[w]hite feminism is often critical of the family, and subordination of women within it.” But, as one can see, indigenous Arctic women enjoy a high status when creating lives. The birth of children is seen as a fundamental renewal of life and energy and a continuity of an old tradition closely related to the beginnings of all lives. Muslim and Afro-Caribbean women, whose lives are often circumscribed by the family, according to Macionis and Plummer (11), may have experiences in relation to their womanhood and their social status more similar to that of the Arctic indigenous groups than that of southern feminists. According to the two authors, there is a significant debate between African-American and Euro-American women, as the first group “sometimes feel they have become the [manipulated] objects of white feminism” (10). Interestingly, Ackerman’s (12) statement on Colville reservation women rings quite true for Arctic indigenous women that “women are not accorded a lower status because child-bearing, child-rearing, and lactating functions, but rather are honored by men for these contributions.”

In summary, southern perceptions of the North are not always useful or accurate in understanding gender relations in the Arctic. Unlike western feminist perspectives, much of the oppression and inequality in the Arctic has more to do with the colonial and paternalistic practices of southern powers than inequality between men and women. Most indigenous women in the Arctic have not experienced the same degradation of human worth as in the western world, and the same question Lillian Ackerman (13) asked about the Colville Indian Reservation in United States could be asked about the Arctic indigenous women: “Why has female status been reduced in other parts of the country and the world by colonialism and capitalism and yet escaped that fate on the Colville Reservation and, in fact, in the entire Plateau Culture Area?”

Arctic indigenous women have experienced equal status but have also gone beyond that; for

example, many are emerging as leaders for their peoples. Instead, it may be that men have a disadvantage in some Arctic societies. This is explored in the next section.

Fig. 1: Unemployment rate (% of labor force) for Greenland, Iceland, Alaska, and the United States in 2002.

Do Arctic men and women experience life differently?

Karla Jessen Williamson

One of my Cree friends in Saskatchewan once asked me why the Cree and Inuit seem to have strongly delineated work along gender lines in their daily lives. She was asking me knowing that such practices may seem “old-fashioned” to some and may appear discriminatory in light of present-day couple arrangements. As good friends we had long conversations, comparing and contrasting the Inuit and the Cree from historical times to the present and in relation to spiritual realities and other situations. Little did we realize how steeped our conversations were in a scholarly discourse on gender construction across cultures and time. Indeed, according to the editors of “Many Faces of Gender” (14), gender “is not just about sex roles but about relationships...it is about complex interpersonal interactions rather than two-dimensional dichotomous stick-figure people.” The authors’ statement applies very directly to the analysis of how men and women experience life in the Arctic, which is rarely rigidly dyadic.

Some of how Arctic men and women experience life differently can be analyzed through the tasks that men and women do both inside the house and outside. In my own studies in Greenland, some of my informants thought that the fact that so many people today live in apartments surely contributed to the loss of human value – particularly for men. The particular interviewee compared his own ownership of the family house where he continues to enjoy healthy esteem by looking after the outside of the house to be enviable to men who have no say or responsibility in apartment living. In his estimate these men lost their role and their ability to exchange their manhood duties for all what their womenfolk offer. Certainly much of men’s and women’s lives can also be analyzed through the kinds of jobs they hold in society, and how the values attributed to those jobs have changed. However, for the sake of brevity, this contribution focuses on a few indicators: unemployment, suicide, criminality, and life expectancy as a way to depict differences in female and male lives.

Fig. 2: Gender specific suicide rates (per 100,000) for Alaska, United States, Canada, Nunavut, the western Northwest Territories, and Nunavut.

Figure 1 shows that in the year 2002 men in Greenland, Alaska, the United States, and Iceland had a higher rate of unemployment than women.

	Men	Women	Total
Greenland ¹	6.9	5.9	6.8
Iceland ²	3.6	2.9	3.3
Alaska ³	8.7	6.5	7.7
United States ⁴	5.9	5.6	5.7

¹ Greenland in Figures, Statistics Greenland; www.statgreen.gl

² Labour Market Statistics on the web, Hagstofa Islands; www.hagstofa.is

³ U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics;

<http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/surveymost>

⁴ Current Population Survey, <http://www.bls.gov/cps/home.htm>

Figures 2 and 3 indicate gender specific suicide rates. Suicide in the Arctic is not myth. The gender differences in suicide rates in the Arctic, especially the number of young males committing suicide, simply cries out for action. Although it seems that the suicide rate is especially relative to gender and age, suicide is much more prevalent among Inuit men and women than among any other cultural groups in the Arctic. Young men up until 24 years of age seem much more directly affected by this phenomenon. The statistics for suicide rates in the Nordic countries are not disaggregated by cultural group making it difficult to ascertain if cultural factors play any role there. Even if men are more likely to commit suicide, statistics from Alaska raise a note of caution on how to interpret the data. In Alaska, while four times as many males as females commit suicide, females attempt suicide four times more often than men and report higher rates of depression. Alaskan males are 80% more likely (35.8 vs. 19.99 per 100,000) and Alaskan females are twice as likely (8.7 vs. 4.4 per 100,000) as their peers nationwide to commit suicide.” (15)

	Men	Women
Alaska (2002-2003) ¹	35.8	8.7
United States (2001) ²	18.2	4.0
Canada (1997) ³	19.6	5.1
Nunavut (1986-96) ⁴	119	32
Western Northwest Territories (1986-96) ⁵	34	17

¹ <http://www.hss.state.ak.us/suicideprevention/AboutUs/2002SSPCAnnualReport.pdf>

² <http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/abus/tables/2003/03hus046.pdf>

³ <http://www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/health01.htm>

⁴ <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/pphb-dgspsp/publicat/cdic>

⁵ http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/pphb-dgspsp/publicat/cdic-mcc/19-4/c_e.html

In the broadest societal context, the strikingly high suicide rate in most northern areas may suggest – along with extreme housing problems and substance abuse – some correlation with unemployment figures. The kinds of jobs available and the predominantly male attitudinal control over work force deployment by gender is

Gender specific suicide rates per 100,000 among 0-24 year old

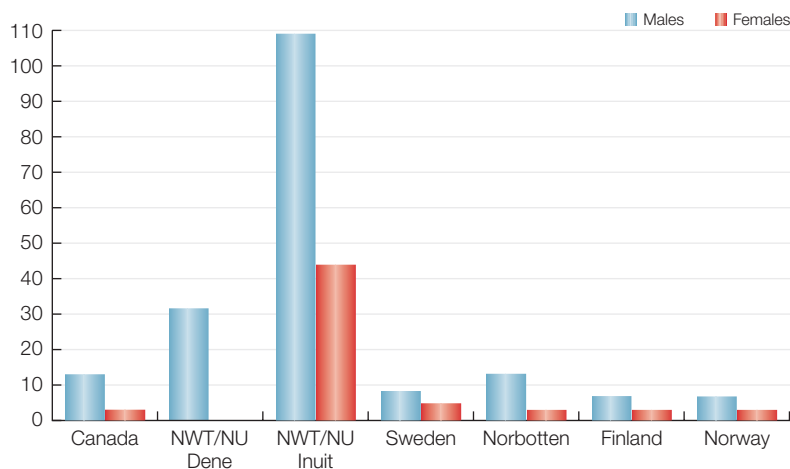


Fig. 3: Gender specific suicide rates in different regions of the Arctic. The figures for Canada, Norway and Finland pertain to the year 1998, while for Sweden and Greenland they are based on total rates for the years 1992 to 1997.

Source: Preliminary Findings of the Health Programme Data for Children and Youth in the Arctic, p. 47; http://www.arctic-council.org/files/inari2002sao/C_YAppendices.pdf

probably also significant. I also suspect that the devaluation of men’s traditional role in the Arctic plays a tremendous part and this needs to be addressed on both the individual and the societal level.

Incarceration rates along gender lines were only available from the Alaskan Department of Corrections. Here 93% of the incarcerated are men and only 7% women. This picture fits well with international statistics and is not unique for the Arctic (16). Nevertheless, it tells a story of differences in men’s and women’s lives and I expect that the Alaskan experience would have great similarities with other nations across the Arctic.

Life expectancy also shows a variation across gender (see Figure 4). This is not too different from any other developed nations (17) where men can expect to have shorter lives than women. However, Russian men live on average much shorter lives than any other group. The Greenland population can expect to live on average 10 years less than their ex-colonial counterparts in Denmark. Interestingly, the Faroese population has a longer life expectancy than the Danes.

	Men	Women	Difference
Russian Federation (1998)	61.4	73.3	11.9
Finland (2001)	74.6	81.5	6.9
Faroe Islands (1996-2000)	75.2	81.4	6.2
Greenland (2002)	62.8	67.8	5
Denmark (1998)	73.9	78.8	4.9
Iceland (2000-2002)	78.2	82.2	4
Arctic Canada (1999)	67	72	5
Canada (1999)	76.3	81.7	5.4

Source: <http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/aus/tables/2003/03hus026.pdf>; <http://tlastokeskus.fi>; <http://www.hagstova.no>; www.nanoq.gl/eli; <http://www.hagstofa.is>; <http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/020507d020507b.htm>; Chapter 2, Arctic Demography, this volume.

These statistical snapshots indicate that the welfare of Arctic men is much more jeopardized and at risk than that of women. This is in contrast to the assumptions of feminist discourse on gender issues. Enfranchisement was the very tool for early feminists and rightfully so. In the Arctic, modern development is, in fact, systematically disenfranchising Arctic men. Gender equality discourse needs to concentrate now more on Arctic men. In light of the suicide and incarceration rates, actions need to be real and immediate.

Women’s migration from and in the Arctic

Gunhild Hoogensen, Ann Therese Lotherington, Lawrence C. Hamilton, Sarah Savage, Natalia Koukarenko and Marina Kalinina

A sense of place and home is crucial to human security (see box on page 192 for further detail on the concept of human security). This includes not only the lodgings available, but also the surrounding services and community that either supports or does not support a person’s needs, sense of well-being, and overall security. The movements of people, or migration, as individuals or as groups can provide an indication of the sense of security people feel in given spaces at given times. Whether migration is voluntary or involuntary, it speaks to the sense of security or insecurity felt in the place that is left, and the expected security in the place of destination.

A pattern of disproportionate out-migration by young adult females has been observed in a number of northern regions including Alaska,

Fig. 4: Life Expectancy in Selected Regions and Countries

Human security and gender

In 1994, the UNDP Human Development Report (18) chose as its focus the concept of “human security” indicating that security is integral to human development and, in an expanded definition, can be largely associated with human well-being. Human security was generally defined as “freedom from fear, and freedom from want”, and was further identified with seven broad categories of security: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political. Human security thus refers to the dynamic process through which basic material needs are met, while concurrently securing and realizing human digni-

ty (19-20). The concept of human security coincides with much of feminist literature on what it means to be secure (21). Both the human security literature and gender literature argue that security is integral to who human beings are, and how they are allowed to develop and improve their well-being. Gender studies have argued that communities, states, men, women, and the environment are interconnected, and the security of one depends upon the securities of the rest. Security is not merely the avoidance of threats in these instances, but enabling and positive. To be secure means to feel secure, to feel enabled.

Greenland, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Norway, Newfoundland, and Russia (22-27). Where it occurs, such out-migration results in an excess of young adult males among the locally born population, particularly in smaller and more remote places. One statistical footprint of “female flight” is a positive correlation between the percent female and the total community population. Figure 5 illustrates with data from Alaska. Here, sex ratios range from 113 men per 100 women in smaller villages (1–999 people), to only 73 men per 100 women in cities (10,000 or more people). High mortality rates afflict males, but adult female out-migration apparently more than offsets this, leaving young adult through middle-aged males predominant in many villages (28).

Fig. 5: Alaska Native population ages 20–39, by total population of place (2000 Census data).

Total population of place	Native males	Native females	Males per 100 females
1–999	6,071	5,389	113
999–9,999	3,587	3,456	104
10,000 or more	3,364	4,364	73
All	13,022	13,479	97

Such patterns are by no means inevitable, or universal, but they seem to occur widely across different cultural, economic, historical and governmental regimes in the contemporary North. In Arctic Norway, in Saami as well as non-Saami communities, this is the trend, and this “woman-deficit” in the rural areas has been a driving force in policy development over a period of 20 years (29).

Marriage to outsiders plays a significant and under-studied role in northern out-migration. Locally-born women in many places are more likely to marry outsider men – often men who moved North, at least temporarily, for jobs in construction, resource and service-sector fields

– than the reverse, local men marrying outsider women due to gender based patterns of mobility. Men from non-Arctic areas have, to a much larger degree than women, visited the Arctic regions, whether for military reasons or for natural resource exploitation. On the other hand, women from the Arctic tend to leave their birth-place more often than men for educational purposes. These gendered mobility processes expand the marriage market for women. Marriage to an outsider makes it both easier and more likely that someone will eventually move away, or not move back after graduation. Most women move to more urban areas in their home country but an increasing number of women, especially from Russia, find a life partner from another country, and move to his domicile. Mobility in the Arctic is thus both within and out of the area.

Why?

The motivation for female flight appears to be a complex of individual and structural push and pull factors, which disproportionately influence young women to choose town or city life over small villages (26, 29-34). These factors include the differential attractiveness of traditional, rural gender roles for men and women, as compared with their alternatives in the city, and major structural changes in primary traditional industries such as fisheries, herding or farming. Substantial downscaling of these industries makes women’s traditional roles redundant (35). What remains of the traditional lifestyle appears as a better choice, in some respects, for rural men than for rural women, and men remain in what’s left of the traditional industries. As these industries do not provide enough income for the survival of a household, women

have to work in paying jobs (36). Some get these kinds of jobs locally, e.g. in the health care sector, at schools, in municipal administration. Others do not, and they tend to move out and seek higher education. Disproportionate numbers of women consequently go on for advanced education, which is more available in larger communities (36). Education tends to prepare them for more urban types of jobs, increasing both the attraction of cities, and the likelihood that an individual can successfully adapt to life there. Hub towns and cities also have relatively diverse secondary and tertiary economies, which open economic opportunities for women that cannot be found in small villages.

For Russian women, the situation is somewhat different, and more critical. Major political changes over the last 15 years have caused a deterioration in living conditions for the population in general but for women, and single mothers, in particular. The economic problems in the 1990s caused a reduction of employment opportunities, and women with family responsibilities were affected most. The paternalistic, “protective” ideology of the Soviet State resulted in women being regarded as unprofitable employees who became “a burden” for enterprises due to various entitlements and privileges. In the media, the image of women was more and more exploited within the domestic domain. The only positive representation of a woman was that of a good caring wife or mother. Thus the transformation period for women in Russia turned out to be a patriarchal renaissance. The opportunities for moving away from the deteriorating regions are limited but quite a few women do move, *inter alia* as a result of cross border marriages. More than 40% of women queried, in a study in the Arkhangelsk region, however, said they would leave the region if they had the means and opportunity.

Consequences

There are positive as well as negative aspects regarding women’s out-migration and desire for moving. For the individual woman, a move may open up new windows of opportunity, and increase freedom of choice. On the other hand, she may lose her close relations to place and culture, and may experience change of identity. The women who remain may also experience new windows of opportunity, because their presence becomes more highly valued. They may become more actively engaged in societal

and political development in order to improve the situation in the local community. However, increased poverty is also a possible consequence of remaining. Out-migration has clear linkages to economic (in)securities experienced by many women, especially in areas where resource extraction industries, such as oil, gas, and mining, are prominent. These jobs offer some of the highest average earnings, but the vast majority of employees are male. Higher rates of female employment occur within the care-giving, education, and/or social services sectors. In many Arctic regions, economic cutbacks by national governments have often had a negative impact on rural and remote locations, reducing the standard of living and the quality of life in these areas through limited employment opportunities, low wage levels, and underdeveloped social services (37). Not only is access to services therefore limited for these women, but also sources of employment. Self-employment is often the only recourse for women living in remote areas, creating great insecurity if this employment is fundamental to a family or group of people dependent upon her income.

For men, the out-migration of women means that they are left with the opportunity to continue doing what they have always appreciated doing, maintaining their cultural and masculine identity. On the other hand, the experience of many is that they are not able to find women to share their lives with, or at least that they do not find women with the same cultural background as them and an understanding of the importance of their lifestyle. If that happens, they may also have identity problems to work on. We also see that men who are not in, or for some reason are excluded from the traditional industries of herding, hunting and fishing, become unemployed and stay unemployed due to the lack of new employment opportunities.

At the structural level, one may see the traditional industries become more economically and ecologically sustainable because fewer people are taking part in them. This could develop in a sound way whilst the cultures and knowledge are maintained, as long as men do the traditional work and women bring in the necessary cash (36).

In areas of depopulation and significant out-migration of women, there is justified worry about community stagnation due to lack of reproduction. We have also seen the development of “bachelor cultures” as a result of men’s

need for sustaining certain aspects of masculine identity.

The cross-cultural and even cross-border marriages may thus cause new societal dynamics and developments in the rural areas. This may, however, also be considered negative from a cultural heritage point of view, as women are often important for the transfer of cultural knowledge between generations.

A closer look at a rural community in northern Norway can illustrate some of the challenges that contribute to the out-migration of women, but also some opportunities that could help change the trend.

Focus on Nordland, Norway (38)

Ingunn Limstrand and Marit Stemland (39)

An analysis of the situation in the small community of Steigen, Nordland, shows a society with problems. Traditionally a fisherman-farmer community, Steigen with its 3,000 inhabitants faces the same challenges as many other small rural societies. Population and birth rates decline, and changes in the work force, production modes, and education patterns highlight a need for economic and political transformation. Specifically, men and women in the demographically very important 20-39 age group move to the towns and educational centers, and not all move back to where they came from or indeed seek the life offered there.

Strategies for rural development in Norway have traditionally focused on (low-level) blue-collar work and work that does not demand higher levels of education. Modernity, however, has introduced better telecommunications and infrastructure as well as a wider geographical distribution of social relations and of media, making it possible for people to stay in touch and connected independent of distance and location. Also, the dependency on primary resources in rural areas is lessened.

Some political strategies for rural development have focused on women. In the 1980s and early '90s, the strategy was to use affirmative action to give women the same opportunities as men. Focus was mainly on entrepreneurial training and job-creation, not on increasing formal competence. This strategy has been criticized because women were used to fulfill a pre-defined strategy, and were not given real influence in defining the content of the policy and the development (29). From the late 1990s, the ideals of gender mainstreaming and integration have dominated the picture. Strategies today are

based on a gender perspective, and to a certain extent take into account a need for more formal capacity building, for decentralized education systems, and flexible models. However, in rural areas this strategy has been difficult to implement as the mainstreaming models maintain the imbalance in development between center and periphery. Rural development policy remains therefore an "in-spite-of" strategy to reduce the consequences of the mainstreaming strategy. As an alternative, we would like to suggest a focus on education.

Traditionally, settlement in the rural areas has been located where natural resources were available. In coastal areas like Steigen, fisheries and small-scale farming formed the basis for settlement. Exploitation of natural resources and to a certain extent subsistence economy did not require high academic or formal competence. In more recent generations, an increasing number of young people – many from rural areas – have sought higher education. These areas have not had a need for skilled labor, something that has led to a situation where rural areas find they are exporting youth out of the region. The young people who choose not to seek higher education remain in the local community, while those leaving to get more education never come back. This has created a view of "educating oneself away from the rural areas." From this perspective, knowledge and education become a threat to the periphery.

As for the gender situation, jobs in resource-based industries have to a large extent become male professions, with women's work being made "invisible" or given lower status. A typical example is that of fisheries. Today, the jobs that the local community can offer young women are mainly in health care services, schools, and public administration. But many young women have other educational plans and wishes for their lives. One illustration of this is the fact that municipalities in Nordland that have schools and university colleges also have more young women than men. In sum, the concept of educating oneself away from the rural areas is even more true for young women.

If the rural areas are to be sustainable societies, the economic, social and political situation in the rural areas needs readjustment and development. Readjustment is competence-intensive. With a higher level of education, both the society and the individuals will be more flexible. Flexibility means people will be more able to adjust to changes, for example in the market.

Also, as individuals they will be more able to influence the direction of these readjustments.

Quite a few young and highly educated people look to the periphery for a place to settle and develop what they see as “a good life.” The current generation seeks a diversity of job opportunities, a varied cultural life and a tolerance of different attitudes. Should they choose to settle in a small community, they still demand the right and possibility to be citizens of the world. This is a great challenge to a small-scale community, which traditionally has had the image of conformity, in the sense that most of the citizens have had the same background, and have worked in similar trades. From our point of view it is crucial to find a strategy to develop modern and inclusive societies in the periphery.

Gendered violences

Gunhild Hoogensen

Gendered violences are part of the broader issue of human security and gender (see box on page 192). In many gender analyses of security, it is made clear that articulations of what it means to be secure or insecure must also include personal, non-state levels of security (40-45). Biases towards state-based and militaristic notions are thereby reduced if not eliminated, and there is a recognition that security is not complete if not addressed at a variety of levels. This approach illuminates the interconnectedness of structure and agency, that one insecurity (such as violence) cannot be divorced in a categorical and masculinist fashion from other securities/insecurities, or from structural influences. This is well demonstrated when examining violences and the ways in which they arise and are subsequently handled.

The notion of violences has been recognized in gender analyses as a number of various, subtle, and nuanced manifestations, from “institutions that ‘beat your essence’ to a war that would blow your world apart” (46). These are often located in identity, such as gender and race (20, 46) and are often conditioned and created by social arrangements “that obstruct human development” and are therefore structural (47).

Gendered violences research in the Arctic context is still emerging as a field, but what has been accomplished to date demonstrates clearly that the collection and compilation of data (including structural and security data) cannot be divorced from gender analysis. They function simultaneously and thus go hand in hand.

Statistics on gender violences must therefore be accompanied by a discussion of what these mean in the gendered context, both to understand what is happening and in moving towards solutions. This is exemplified by the approach taken in the “Taking Wing Conference Report” based on the Conference on Gender Equality and Women in the Arctic (3-6 August 2002). The section on violence against women addresses a wide range of violences, including spouse-beating, structural impediments, and access to proper health and economic services (37). Winberg notes that the patriarchal structure impacts other societal structures, such as racial, social and economic ones, thereby creating economic and personal insecurities by increasing the vulnerability of women, in particular through reduced power, access to resources, wages, and personal safety, as well as increasing discrimination on the basis of gender and race (48). Masculinist and patriarchal structural impacts on women and men of the Arctic take the form of prostitution and human trafficking (48-49) and also domestic violences, ranging from beatings to murder, and sexual and emotional abuse such as deprivation, shaming and stalking (50). It includes limited access to resources and health care services addressing gendered violences (50), as well as community and social censorship of discussions about such topics as spouse-beating, murder and incest. (51-52). Kailo provides an analysis of violences created by the globalizing and “othering” forces that dominate the Arctic through economic inequalities and imposed economic and social structures, which are not reflective of the needs and identities of the peoples of the Arctic. She notes the “near-legitimation” of male violence against women, and the conditioning of men towards violent, gendered behavior (53). This theme is also mirrored in other works, such as those by Sørensen, who notes that in Nuuk, Greenland, men’s violence towards women is often met with indifference or dismissal (54). This kind of indifference, particularly towards indigenous women, occurs both within and outside of indigenous communities as demonstrated by a recent Amnesty International report on the high rates of violence against indigenous women in Canada, claiming that both racial and patriarchal structures ensure that the deaths of hundreds of women remain unheard of and unsolved (55).

Gendered violences are not restricted to men’s violence against women, however.

Domestic violence in Greenland, by Mariekathrine Poppel, University of Greenland

The occurrence of violence has been analyzed in the Greenland Health Profile (61). The analyses show that 47% of the women and 48% of men have been subject to violence at least once in their lifetime (62).

Gender and violence is often analyzed from the women's perspective. In this project, the focus is on men, masculinity, and men's power practices (63-64). It will gather information on men's violence from several different sources, including drum songs, narratives, and police reports. This contribution discusses some preliminary results from the analysis of police reports of domestic violence from 2001.

Comparing the age distribution for the convicted and the whole adult male population, it is especially striking that there is an over-representation in the age groups: 30-34 and 40-44 among the convicted, while there are no convicted at all in the age groups: 45-49, 50-54 and 60 and above. Apart from striving to get further data on not convicted offenders and eventually include police reports for more years, the last observation might lead to questions on the reasons why men born in the late 1950s and the late 1960s are over-represented.

There is an ongoing registration of unemployment whereas the number of persons employed is not systematically registered. Despite this lack of actual registration it seems obvious that the unemployment rate among the offenders is considerably higher than that among the workforce in general.

There is also a significant difference between groups in educational profile especially concerning school attendance. Even though the Living Conditions data gives a picture of the 1994 situation, the proportion of the general male population having attended school more than 7 years is considerably larger than that of the persons convicted for violence in 2001.

Though the Living Conditions data from 1994 concerns the male labor force and the 2001 offenders are characterized by a higher degree of unemployment, it seems reasonable to suggest a lower level of vocational training among the group of offenders.

In addition to these factors, the offenders have a number of other social problems. Most prominent is that alcohol is involved in most cases of violence. (65-70).

Security and insecurity concerning identity, particularly within indigenous communities, have been shown to play in role in the development of violences (54, 56-60). Economic, identity, and personal insecurities intertwine to create a climate whereby a person's own coping strategies no longer suffice to combat these insecurities. For example, rates of suicide among indigenous peoples have been recorded at levels three to five times higher than within the non-indigenous populations, and although women attempt suicide more often, men are more effective in actually committing suicide (59).

Both quantitative and qualitative work still need to be done to examine more effectively and deeply the problems of gendered violences in the Arctic context. Resources are still limited, making such research logistically problematic as demonstrated by Amnesty International's own admission that they lack the resources to examine the structural and direct violences waged against women in the Arctic. The Taking Wing conference report provides a very good introduction to this research, however. And with analysis and data, action can be taken, such as that taken by the Swedish Government to curb the rapid expansion of the prostitution industry. By focusing efforts on criminalizing the men who are purchasing sexual services rather than

the women providing them, Sweden has responded to the unequal power dynamics inherent within patriarchal structures and the insecurities caused by them.

Political representation

This section examines women's political voice by highlighting their representation in formal decision-making bodies. By focusing on the Arkhangelsk region in Russia and the Canadian North and with some reference to the Saami Parliaments and Greenland, it illustrates that there are still few women at the higher levels of politics, sometimes in spite of well-documented active involvement at the local level. Two other contributions bring attention to the need to look at women's participation in decisions on particular issues that are important in the Arctic, such as resource management and contaminant politics.

Focus on the Arkhangelsk Region, Russia

Natalia Koukarenko and Marina Kalinina

Women in the Arkhangelsk Region of Russia were traditionally strong, independent, and free. While men were out on sea to fish or to hunt, or to trade for long periods, women were

the heads (*starostas*) responsible for all decision making in the localities. When the men came back home, they had to accept all the decisions. In the 19th century, there was a higher rate of female literacy in Arkhangelsk than in Russia as a whole. In 1860, 3,619 northern women had their own enterprises and almost 17% of all sea industries were under the control of women.

During the Soviet period, women's roles changed drastically. The young Soviet government granted Soviet women all political and civil rights, and the progressive legislation improved the position of many lower-class women (71-72). A 30% quota on women's representation on all levels of politics was introduced (except for the Government's Presidium), although they were admitted only to decision-making on "soft" issues (like social affairs) and were appointed only to "soft" ministries (culture, education, medicine, etc.). Work, however, became compulsory for every Soviet citizen. This new "right" to work for women made them less free, especially as they were not relieved of the heavy burden of housekeeping.

Neither the women's movement nor women themselves were the motivating force behind these changes, and the result was often apathy for political and social activities, and an inability to engage in political struggle or to organize themselves politically. Also, many problems (e.g. wife-beating, child-abuse, etc.) were dismissed as they were considered private or personal.

In the Russian North during the 1920s, women's councils were created everywhere and women became actively involved in political life. These first appeared as non-formal and non-governmental volunteer unions, where women gathered to solve everyday problems. Women also initiated "illiteracy liquidation" activities, "Saturday collective" activities, and created children's care-centers and canteens in schools. These active women were called women-delegates. There were 350 of these "women-delegates" in the Arkhangelsk Gubernia (Province) in 1920 and by 1929 the number had grown to 19,000. But their activities were under the control of the Communist Party and other state bodies.

In June 1930, there was an official decision that women's issues were solved in the USSR, and women's councils were abolished. Women's activities instead became a part of the party activities. Still, in the 1960-70s, women's coun-

cils were revived again. They became independent associations active in the social, cultural and everyday spheres, including health issues, environmental issues, children's and teenagers' leisure, etc. In 1979, there were 250 women's councils and women's trade-union committees in the Arkhangelsk region.

With *perestroika* and new market relations, the situation became complicated for both men and women. Problems in the economy caused unemployment. Both sexes were unprepared for this new reality but women having family responsibilities were most affected. In this market competition, women had more difficulties finding jobs as well as keeping them. The "protective" ideology of the Soviet state resulted in women being regarded as unprofitable employees who were "burdens" for enterprises because of their various entitlements and privileges. At the same time in the mass media, images of women's lives were limited to the domestic domain. The only positive image of a woman presented was that of a good, caring wife and mother.

In the political sphere, this resulted in male domination in top-level politics. In addition to the abolishment of "paternalistic" quotas, women often lacked experience in competing. They were often indifferent to "conventional" politics, which did not appeal to their interests and experiences. Gender stereotypes and widespread mistrust toward politics, power institutions, and authorities also played a role. Still, the 1980s-90s turned out to be the period when women started to establish new kinds of associations and organizations for protecting the political, economic, and social rights of women and for representing their interests. By now there are more than 40 different women's institutions, NGOs, networks, and associations.

At the same time there is an obvious contradiction between the general ideology that women do not need to go into politics and the real situation, as has become obvious in a series of studies of political representation in the Arkhangelsk region. In fact, one study from 2000/2001 showed that women were politically active at the local level and comprised the majority in the processes of preparing and running the elections (73). They are actively involved in forming the state, regional, and local authorities, as well as NGOs. Nevertheless, it is basically at the levels of region and municipality where women are better represented. One rea-

son might be the municipal and regional administrations are less desirable for men, and that there is thus less competition. The local level is also very time consuming and is not well paid. The higher the level of power, the fewer the number of women in authority. We do not imply that the local levels of decision making are less important than the national and the international ones but rather that the situation of women in Russia can hardly be changed unless women become equal partners, capable of decision making in all spheres of society, life and on all levels.

Other reasons explaining the lack of women in politics are conservatism of public opinion, lack of unity in the Russian women's movement, and the unwillingness of political parties and movements to work with female voters and involve female leaders in their work. Poor access to information, lack of experience, and attempts to speak on behalf of all women without taking into account the differences among women are some factors that prevent women who go into politics from reaching top-level political positions.

Another 2001 study examined social politics in the Arkhangelsk Region. Based on questionnaires and an analysis of official documents, laws, and mass media sources, the study showed that women were not considered as a target group when social politics were being formulated. Their situation was not taken into account, and data on the situation of women was often lacking. Moreover, existing statistics show that women are discriminated against. To change this situation, they have to be perceived as active subjects of social policy and decision-making processes. A questionnaire showed that women were eager to participate in social, political, and economic life to a greater extent. They therefore represent a great potential for the region's development but at the same time they have the lowest status in society and no mechanisms or opportunities to raise them.

In summary, neither regional nor state politics really welcome women. Moreover, women lack confidence in themselves and their ability to change anything in the political sphere in Russia, and they distrust authorities. Also, stereotypes about "natural" roles and missions of women are still very strong among women and these affect their life strategies. That is why women become more active in the political sphere only when they have "fulfilled" their "natural" mission and raised their children.

This was especially clear in a study focusing on the gender dimension in local rural development, where women are very active in creating local networks and have played very important roles in local development processes. There is thus an obvious contradiction: women consider the political sphere to be important and think that there should be more women in politics but they do not try to enter "conventional" institutions.

The Nordic countries

Since World War II, women in the Nordic countries have become more involved in politics. This can be seen from their representation in the regional parliaments and the indigenous institutions in the Nordic countries. But the development is not the same from country to country. Also, the numbers of women in the Saami parliaments in Finland, Sweden and Norway are all low, and there is no indication that this will rise to the level of the national parliaments in each country. The Saami Parliament in Finland has six women of a total of 21 representatives (2000–2004), the Saami Parliament in Sweden has eight women of a total of 31 representatives (2001 to 2005), and the Saami Parliament in Norway has seven women of a total of 39 representatives (2001 to 2005) (74). In Norway, this is a decline from previous elections (75).

Greenland

In Greenland, the franchise for women was not given until 1948. The first Home Rule Parliament, in 1979, had only 5 women, but since then there has been a clear improvement, with 35% women at the latest parliamentary election in 2002 (10 seats out of 31). This improvement is also reflected in the municipal councils where women comprised 19% after the 2001 election. The number of women is very limited in municipal councils in the hunting districts, however, and some of these municipalities have no women council members (76).

Focus on Canada

Stephanie Irlbacher Fox

This section provides a snapshot of the participation of women in key aspects of political decision making in the three northern territories of Canada (77). In the territories, indigenous peoples are either the majority or large minority

populations. Generally, the participation of women in institutions of public government is much lower than that of men. Since the 1970s, women's participation in territorial legislative assemblies has hovered at about 10%. As of December 2003, there are three women serving in the Yukon legislature and two each in the legislatures of the Northwest Territories and Nunavut. Only in Nunavut do women enjoy cabinet responsibilities within the legislature. In both the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, women have held the post of premier. Information about local participation is incomplete, yet reflects a slightly higher participation of women in leadership roles, including as mayors, band councillors, and First Nation council chiefs.

The Northwest Territories: As of 2003, women's participation in community politics in the Northwest Territories is marked by the disparity between the high numbers of women participating on community councils as councillors and the much lower numbers of women being elected to the top posts of mayor or chief. For example, in the 2003 municipal elections, 40% of the councillors elected were women. However, only 16% of the mayors elected were women. Indigenous women were even less likely to be elected to the top jobs in First Nation, Inuvialuit Community Corporation, and Métis Locals; of a total of 48 of these organizations, only 4 were headed by women.

The Yukon: The Yukon Legislative Assembly has 18 members, of which three are women. Information available regarding 13 of 14 Yukon communities indicates that three of 13 mayors in the territory are women, and that women hold 23 of 49 available councillor seats. Of the 11 First Nations in the territory, only one has a woman serving as chief.

Nunavut: There are 19 members of the Nunavut Legislative Assembly; two are women (78). Among the community leadership, women are less well represented: as of 2002, only two of the 25 mayors of Nunavut communities were women. Nunavut experienced extensive national media attention prior to the formation of the new territory when a proposal was put before the public to decide on whether the Nunavut Legislature should be designed to ensure a balance between male and female representatives. In a public referendum, the gender parity proposal was defeated, however. The referendum evoked extensive debate among Nunavummiut on the role of Nunavut women in politics, and

the place of women in community and territorial political life.

In conclusion, in the legislative assemblies, women are vastly under-represented. However, an analysis must also take into account the fact that a significant share of each territory's population is constituted by indigenous peoples, who do not necessarily accord elected leaders the same power or regard as non-indigenous political culture assigns. As a result, women in these communities may be part of an "unelected" leadership, operating within indigenous peoples' own forms of governance, which exist outside of government-sanctioned and -imposed elected government institutions. The numbers of elected women often are not indicative of the role and quality of women's contributions at the community or territorial levels.

Focus on contaminants

Joanna Kafarowski

Some contaminants are potentially harmful to women and children across the circumpolar North. Many studies have been conducted on the impact of persistent organic pollutants (POPs), toxic metals and radionuclides on Arctic environmental and human health. More recently, scientific interest has broadened to include socio-cultural effects on Arctic communities (79-80). Research suggests that women develop original solutions to complex environmental problems such as Arctic contaminants and that natural resource conflicts may be resolved more effectively with the active participation of women *and* men (81-82). Although not fully acknowledged in the relevant literature, the question of women's access to and involvement in decision-making processes in the contaminant arena is critical, encompassing both reproductive health and environmental justice (83).

Some authors assert that, because indigenous women are not well-represented in high-profile leadership roles, they are denied access to decision-making roles and positions of influence (84). According to McIvor (85), this conclusion is reached by non-indigenous researchers who may inappropriately apply western concepts of gender equality. In fact, literature by indigenous researchers supports the claim that women do assume decision-making roles and hold positions of power at various levels within the community (86-88). In many communities, indigenous women act as respected advisors and their influence underpins vital decision and policy-

making processes (89-90). However, the degree to which women are able to assume these roles and positions varies both geographically and culturally and according to the specific resource-based sector. Further research is required particularly regarding the representation and participation of women in the management of natural resources as well as in emerging issues including climate change and contaminants.

At the grassroots level, women are prominent within social and environmental activism (91-92). The commitment of women to activism within the environmental justice movement is perhaps due in part to their roles of homemaker and nurturing mother (93-94). Environmental activism may be perceived as an extension of community life in which women have been traditionally involved. Within Canada, indigenous women have been active in this area. For example, Elizabeth Penashue and other members of the Innu Nation opposed low-level military flight training over Goose Bay, Labrador, Canada during the 1980s and 1990s (95).

Beyond the grassroots level, women are less visible in environmental politics. Men usually assume positions of responsibility and power in the public sphere and thus it is likely that environmental decision making itself is profoundly gendered. The contributions of women are valued less than the contributions of men in western, non-indigenous societies and women are less likely to attain decision-making positions (81, 91).

However, the international role of indigenous organizations in Canada including the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the Arctic Athabaskan Council, and Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association is increasing. Current President of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, Sheila Watt-Cloutier champions many contemporary issues including Arctic contaminants. Watt-Cloutier presented an Inuit carving of a mother and child to Klaus Töpfer, Executive Director of UNEP in 1999 and this powerful carving came to represent the conscience and heart of the negotiations that lead to the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants. During the various international meetings of this global convention, Sheila Watt-Cloutier and other female indigenous leaders, including Cindy Dickson of the Arctic Athabaskan Council, successfully brought Arctic persistent organic pollutants to the forefront of the world stage. While the impact of persistent organic pollutants has largely been constructed

by the media as an environmental issue, Watt-Cloutier and others identified the significant negative ramifications for indigenous cultures, health, and traditional ways of life.

In conclusion, gender is rarely highlighted in the contemporary discourse on environmental contaminants, but should be identified as a critical variable in decision and policy-making processes.

Focus on fisheries

Lindis Sloan and Joanna Kafarowski

Sustainable development in the Arctic depends on democracy in decision-making processes that affects diverse sectors including the management of natural resources. Fisheries are an increasingly significant economic activity in the circumpolar North. An Arctic Council Sustainable Development Working Group project has recently investigated gender and decision-making in Arctic fisheries (96). The aim has been to document and analyze women's roles in Arctic fisheries in order to promote and support their participation in decision-making processes in this sector.

A general observation is that women participate in the fisheries, but that their contributions and efforts are to a large degree rendered invisible. Because participation is often organized within the family, women's contributions to the economy of small-scale fisheries are often not officially recorded. Recent fieldwork indicates that "ground-crew efforts" constitute a major subsidy of the coastal small-scale fisheries. This work is kept out of the economic sphere by lack of formal recognition. In addition, many women do wage work outside the fisheries sector in order to provide the cash flow security that is lacking in the increasingly uncertain fisheries.

When women work directly with fisheries, they are seldom active fishers, and only as rare exceptions are they the bona fide owners or managers of plants or fishing boats. Instead, women often work in fisheries processing plants. Their levels of employment vary greatly from country to country. In the Nordic countries, increasing opportunities for education have given women a chance to seek professional careers in management or fisheries research, but only occasionally do they rise above mid-level positions. This also occurs in aquaculture, despite the more "modern" image of this sector of fisheries.

In the decision-making bodies that regulate quotas and their distribution, the fisheries

industry is generally well represented. Women are hard to find in these bodies, in many cases because they are not considered stakeholders, in direct contradiction of the recommendations of Agenda 21 and similar conventions on sustainable development. Women are more visible in governmental organizations at the community, regional and national levels although gender balance is rarely in evidence particularly in decision-making positions.

Key conclusions

This chapter does not provide an overall assessment of gender issues in the Arctic, therefore, it is difficult to draw any general conclusions. Nevertheless, several critical issues have been highlighted here.

There are many different starting points for an investigation of gender issues in the Arctic. These include defining power relationships based on the principles arising from various feminisms (western, non-western and indigenous alike), but also new analyses that take site-specific Arctic cultural contexts into account, including how colonial history and current trends of increased self-governance affect contemporary gender roles. It must additionally be acknowledged that the different feminist perspectives reflected in the Arctic experience are not reified products of one type of community versus another. Notions of western feminism are not shared amongst all those of western (or southern) origin, nor are notions of indigenous feminism shared amongst all indigenous communities. The examination of gender illustrates the complexity of communities in the differences of perspectives that abound within and among them.

There is a need to analyze men's changing roles in society and how this affects social problems such as suicide and violence towards others. Violence against women has been identified as a significant problem in the Arctic and has been attributed in part to male loss of identity and self-worth, societal tension as well as issues of power and control. This has also resulted in increased human trafficking and prostitution.

Female out-migration is significant in many rural areas of the Arctic. It primarily occurs as a result of diminishing job opportunities in small communities. This creates a gender imbalance that may affect community viability in the future. Education plays a pivotal role both as a factor pulling women away from the North and

as a potential strategy for reversing the trend of out-migration. In addition, women are poorly represented in many formal decision-making bodies, especially in natural resource management, which provides the socio-economic base for many Arctic communities.

Gaps in knowledge

Joanna Kafarowski

At the international and national levels, there is a paucity of data available that is disaggregated by gender and cultural group. Using disaggregated data means carefully examining data to ensure that analysts and policymakers understand the impact of any measure on various groups. This is particularly critical in the Arctic where the experiences of individuals and the impacts of policies and programs may vary dramatically according to whether one is female or male, old or young, claims kinship to one group or another and lives/works in the northern or southern regions of a circumpolar nation.

Collecting data that is sensitive to gender and cultural group goes beyond the simple disaggregation of data. Rather, it attempts to reflect the diverse and differentiated situation of women and men, their specific contributions and the consequences of their traditional roles in different socio-economic situations.

According to the Platform for Action in the Beijing Declaration (1995), insufficient mechanisms exist at all levels to promote the advancement of women. Modifications of the Platform for Action are worthy of further exploration.

Statistics should be collected, presented, and analyzed by sex, age, and cultural group and should reflect problems and questions related to women and men.

Women's studies and research organizations should be involved in developing and testing appropriate indicators and research methodologies to strengthen gender analysis.

Data collection methods should be improved to reflect the full contribution of women and men to traditional and market economies by making visible their participation in the informal sector.

Statistical systems should incorporate gender analysis into publications and research.

There is a need to work with statisticians to identify the areas in which the social and economic realities of women and men, and of individuals from different cultural groups are differ-

ent and need to be addressed. Developing institutional capacity to recognize and address gender issues is an important element in creating and sustaining enabling conditions to advance policy goals for women's participation.

In the Arctic, further research must be conducted into gender and natural resource management with special emphasis being placed on women's representation, participation and involvement in decision-making processes. Additionally, future research into emerging environmental management issues such as the impact of climate change and contaminants should incorporate gender-based analysis.

The relationships between gender and security have been under investigation for over a decade now (21). Recognizing the non-state centered features of what it means to be secure, such as through human security, and examining these securities through a gendered lens, opens up new avenues for exploration and research (20, 97). This is particularly true for the Arctic context, where there exists a dearth of data and analysis on both gender and securities, as well as the relationships between the two. Through a gendered securities approach it is possible to make visible the interconnectivity and interdependence between societies, genders and environments, both natural and constructed (98).

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