Pan-Arctic Report

GENDER EQUALITY IN THE ARCTIC
PHASE 3

April 2021

ARCTIC COUNCIL

Sustainable Development Working Group

Foreword

Gender equality is a fundamental component of sustainable development. As an area of emphasis for Iceland, both in terms of domestic and foreign policy, it was an obvious choice to include gender equality as one of the priority issues of Iceland's Chairmanship program in the Arctic Council in 2019-2021.

Under the auspices of the Arctic Council's Sustainable Development Working Group, Iceland has led the Gender Equality in the Arctic project from its inception in 2013. The first phase of the project produced the Gender Equality in the Arctic – Current Realities, Future Challenges conference in Akureyri, Iceland in 2014 and a conference report published in 2015. The second phase was focused on the development of a circumpolar network of experts and an online platform. I am proud to present this ambitious report as a result of the third phase of the GEA project.

The Arctic is going through rapid ecological, social and economic changes. However, it is by no means a uniform region and these changes affect the people of the Arctic in different ways depending on a variety of factors, including gender. The effects of climate change may affect an Indigenous woman in Fort Yukon, Alaska in a very different way than a non-Indigenous woman in Rovaniemi, Finland, or an Icelandic man in Akureyri.

The Arctic Council is in a key position to encourage research and action to improve knowledge about gender equality. Across all chapters of this report, the need for gender-based analysis and gender mainstreaming is identified as a necessary strategy to promote gender equality. Consistent and comparable data is required for understanding realities and inequalities across regions, countries, sectors, genders and peoples. Informed policymaking is a key element in a sustainable future for the Arctic.

I would like to thank the project partners and the Arctic Council's Sustainable Development Working Group, not least the Permanent Participants, for their support and cooperation. I would also like to thank the many authors, co-authors, reviewers and sponsors who have contributed to the report.

Guðlaugur Þór Þórðarson,
Minister for Foreign Affairs Iceland

Preface

Gender equality in the Arctic is highly relevant to the agenda and role of the Arctic Council (the Council) and its Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG), which have emphasised gender equality in previous projects and initiatives.

The importance of issues of gender and diversity has become increasingly evident, the latest example being Iceland's emphasis on gender issues during its Arctic Council Chairmanship. Examples of previous work and valuable input in this field under the Council's auspices include: the 2002 Taking Wing Conference in Inari that focused on the themes of women and work, gender and self-determination among Indigenous Peoples, and violence against women; the first edition of the Arctic Human Development Report (AHDR) in 2004, which included a chapter on gender; and the second edition of the AHDR, published in 2014, in which gender issues were mainstreamed into all chapters as appropriate.

This report is a product of Phase III of the Gender Equality in the Arctic (GEA) project

The GEA project is an international collaborative project dating back to 2013 that focuses on gender equality in the Arctic. GEA highlights the importance of recognising and appreciating diversity in terms of discourses, gender, Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples, governance, education, economies, social realities, sustainability, and balanced participation in leadership and decision making in the public and private sectors. From the beginning, the purpose and objective of GEA has been to raise visibility and understanding of the importance of gender issues in the Arctic, to identify priorities and concrete strategies for increased diversity and gender balance in policy- and decision-making processes, and to provide information to facilitate sustainable policy making for the future.

Phase I of the project (GEA I) was the international conference Gender Equality in the Arctic—Current Realities, Future Challenges, which took place in Akureyri in October 2014. It resulted in an eponymous conference report published in 2015 by the Icelandic Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Following the success of GEA I, Phase II (GEA II) was launched in 2017. GEA II involved building a network of experts in the field and creating a website for the purpose of: promoting and expanding the dialogue on gender equality in the Arctic, providing a formal network of groups and experts interested in the topic, encouraging cooperation with and amongst existing networks, and providing an online platform for material and events relevant to Arctic Gender Equality.

Phase III of the Gender Equality in the Arctic project (GEA III), which is an SDWG project and a Chairmanship project of the Icelandic Arctic Council Chairmanship 2019–2021, was launched in 2019.

GEA III consists of:

- continued development of the network and webpage created in GEA II;
- expanding the already considerable database of material on gender and diversity in the Arctic;
- the creation and publication of the project newsletter, The GEA times;
- maintaining various social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, VKontakte, and LinkedIn;
- organising and participating in various Arctic events; and
- publishing this report.

In the spirit of the purpose of the GEA project, this report aims at informing sustainable policymaking for the future and encouraging diversity, engagement, and collaboration in all aspects of Arctic governance.

Partners and Sponsors

Acknowledgements

The GEA project and the Icelandic Arctic Cooperation Network (IACN) are grateful for the continuous input, advice, and consultation from the Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG) and the SDWG Executive Secretary, as well as from our SDWG partners and other project partners. We are especially grateful to representatives from the Arctic Council Permanent Participants, whose advice and consultation has been invaluable at all stages.

We would like to thank the Editorial Committee for their guidance and direction throughout the process and the SDWG's Social, Economic, and Cultural Expert Group (SECEG) for the time and effort they have put into reviewing and advising at different stages of the process. We would also like to thank our Youth Advisory Group for their valuable input and reviews. There would be no report without our lead authors, to whom we are eternally grateful for their hard work in researching, coordinating, and writing the chapters and for their patience and engagement in endless meetings and consultations. Thank you also to all the many contributors to the chapters, without whom this report would not have been what it is.

We would like to thank our sponsors: the Nordic Council of Ministers, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Iceland, the Icelandic Gender Equality Fund, the Stefansson Arctic Institute, Directorate of Equality Iceland, and the Icelandic Prime Minister's Office; The Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs for funding the chapter on Law and Governance; The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for funding the chapter on Security; The Government of the Faroe Islands for funding the chapter on Migration and Mobility; The Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs for funding the chapter on Gender and Environment; Crown–Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, Government of Canada for funding the chapter on Indigeneity, Gender, Violence and Reconciliation; and the National Science Foundation, with facilitation from the U.S. State Department for funding the chapter on Empowerment and Fate Control. We thank our co-sponsors, the University of Akureyri, as well as the Institute for Arctic Studies at Dartmouth, the Polar Institute and Wilson Center and the UArctic and its Institute for Arctic Policy for their support, their collaboration in launching the report and for contributing to an open dialogue on gender in the Arctic.

Work on this report was managed and coordinated by the GEA Team at IACN in Akureyri which includes our excellent research assistants who were instrumental in gathering and processing data and information for the chapters and without whom this report would have been much poorer. We would also like to thank Jónas Þorbergsson at Fínlína for his work and collaboration in designing the report and Timothy Heleniak and Justine Ramage at Nordregio for providing the report with maps and data.

Last but not least, we would like to thank the Arctic Council Chairmanship team at the Icelandic Ministry for Foreign Affairs for their trust, guidance, and continued support throughout the whole project.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Summary Introduction

Gender Equality in the Arctic III (GEA III) is a project of the Arctic Council Sustainable Development Working Group, and Icelandic Chairmanship of the Arctic Council (2019-2021).

Gender equality in the Arctic is highly relevant to the agenda and role of the Arctic Council (the Council) and its Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG), which have emphasised gender equality in previous projects and initiatives. The importance of issues of gender and diversity has become increasingly evident, the latest example being Iceland's emphasis on gender issues during its Council Chairmanship.

GEA highlights the importance of recognising and appreciating diversity in terms of discourses, gender, Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, governance, education, economies, social realities, sustainability, and balanced participation in leadership and decision making, in both the public and private sectors.

A major component of GEA III has been to develop this report on gender. It pulls together material, information, and expertise to provide an overview of gender-related issues in the Arctic and contributes to filling knowledge gaps on this subject. The GEA III report seeks to identify emerging issues, priorities, and concrete strategies that support gender balance and increased diversity.

The primary intended audience for this report is policymakers in the Arctic region. It is a resource for those interested in gender issues in the Arctic, including Arctic inhabitants and researchers. We hope that a broader audience, including the private sector, will appreciate the relevance of the report to their work.

The report does not claim to be comprehensive, but it is a step forward in strengthening the knowledge base and understanding required for developing policies that foster resilient and thriving communities.

Summary of Engagement Process

A vital component of developing the GEA III report was the engagement process. Significant efforts were made to ensure inclusion and transparency during the process by actively soliciting feedback from peers and interested parties.

The Project Partners, the Editorial Committee, and the SDWG Social, Economic, and Cultural Expert Group (SECEG) were instrumental in providing ideas, knowledge, support, and in developing priority themes. Inclusion of Permanent Participants and other Indigenous representatives was a vital component of the engagement process. Through our discussions and with their guidance, we have inched closer to better understanding Indigenous perspectives on gender and related issues. A Youth Advisory Group (YAG) was established to advise the Editorial Committee and lead authors while the report was being written. Indigenous and youth engagement will continue to be a key outreach element for growing and strengthening the GEA network.

Broadly speaking, the report phases were as follows:

1. Identifying priority themes through one-on-one interviews with project partners, the Editorial Committee, and members of the SECEG. The YAG was consulted to gauge their perspectives on which themes to include in the report.

2. Development of chapters with lead authors and contributors through collection of material, research, analysis, and writing.

3. Feedback sessions for each chapter held in October and November 2020. These were public online sessions in which lead authors—along with colleagues, contributors, and Indigenous and youth representatives—presented and discussed each chapter theme.

4. Review and feedback on draft chapters was solicited from the project partners, the Editorial Committee, the YAG, all contributors, and additional relevant experts. Specific YAG reviewers were asked to review each chapter. Formal peer review of each chapter by external reviewers.

Themes and Lead Authors

The 10 lead authors worked with approximately 80 contributors from across the Arctic – including academics, researchers, youth, Indigenous representatives, and other experts and stakeholders—to pull together diverse materials and perspectives. Following are summaries of each chapter.

Law and Governance

Lead author: Eva-Maria Svensson, Professor, Department of Law, University of Gothenburg

Law and Governance examines formal obligations regarding gender equality in the public governance of the Arctic region, as expressed in political and legal documents, including special consideration of Indigenous Peoples. The objective is to explore the political and legal commitments for which public governing bodies are accountable, how these bodies express their ambitions regarding gender equality in the Arctic, and how the commitments are fulfilled. What emerges from the analysis is that governance in the Arctic does not prioritise gender equality and, more generally, that the goal of gender equality is not met within the region.

Security

Lead authors: Gunhild Hoogensen Gjørv, Research Professor, The Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO), Oslo, Norway; Sarah Seabrook Kendall, master's student in Environment and Natural Resources, University of Iceland.

Security examines the impacts of inequalities in the Arctic through a security lens and identifies trends in insecurity. Rather than arguing for Arctic exceptionalism, the chapter draws from global insights about insecurity that are relevant to the Arctic and identifies some challenges and insecurities within the Arctic region itself. The chapter addresses gendered and human insecurities associated with climate change and provides brief examples of some of the gender/human insecurities experienced across the Arctic today. The chapter concludes that gender security perspectives are crucial to improving Arctic societal well-being and stability and emphasises the need for a broader, research-based understanding of security. The chapter further highlights the tendency of inequalities and centre–periphery imbalances to lead to insecurities, because most Arctic regions are neglected or bypassed regarding services, support, and inclusion in broader political goals.

Gender and Environment

Lead authors: Malgorzata (Gosia) Smieszek, Women of the Arctic (WoA), UiT The Arctic University of Norway; Tahnee Prior, Women of the Arctic (WoA), Dalhousie University

Gender and Environment provides an overview of the gendered dimensions of issues connected to the broadly understood environment of the Arctic region, including climate, oceans, land, biodiversity, natural resources, and waste and pollution. The chapter pays attention to variations in how different genders relate to their environment, how they experience changes in that environment, and the gendered impacts of development and environmental change in the region. The chapter concludes that gender equality is integral for effective, efficient, and equitable environmental protection. Further, all regions of the Arctic exhibit only sporadic engagement with gender and gender analysis, and there is a dearth of sex- and gender-disaggregated data across the Circumpolar North. Finally, there is a lack of systematic engagement with gender-based analysis and gendered perspectives within the Arctic Council and across its Working Groups.

Migration and Mobility

Lead author: Erika Anne Hayfield, Associate Professor, Deputy Dean, University of the Faroe Islands.

Migration and Mobility discusses how migration and mobility in the Arctic are constructed through gender and why an understanding of migration and mobility requires a gendered approach. The chapter combines statistics with a qualitative context-based approach to understand space as gendered and the contextual nature of migration and mobility. The chapter emphasises how studies on migration and gender need to employ an intersectional research approach and do better at involving other social categories, most notably Indigenous perspectives and LGBTQIA2S+.

Indigeneity, Gender, Violence, and Reconciliation

Lead author: Karla Jessen Williamson, University of Saskatchewan.

Indigeneity, Gender, Violence, and Reconciliation seeks to take a step towards mapping the complex relations amongst violence; gender; the social, economic, political, and legal systems; human health and well-being; culture; and identities. The chapter addresses problems related to the imposition of Western binary perspectives on gender. Violence against Indigeneity, the consequent persistent inequalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, and the importance of truth and reconciliation processes are discussed. The connection between socioeconomic inequalities and violent crimes is explored. It emphasises how gendered violence continues to be a serious issue across the Arctic and how Indigenous women and girls face disproportionate violent victimisation in the context of ongoing settler colonial relations.

Empowerment and Fate Control

Lead authors: Marya Rozanova Smith, The George Washington University; Andrey Petrov, ARCTICenter, University of Northern Iowa; Varvara Korkina Williams, Independent Indigenous Scholar.

Empowerment and Fate Control seeks to identify concrete strategies for political, economic, and civic gender empowerment in order to facilitate sustainable policy making for the Arctic. Gender empowerment is defined as the capacity of all genders to exercise power in decision making and the process by which they, individually and collectively, can help themselves and others maximise the quality of their lives. The term is closely linked to fate control, which is defined as the ability to guide one's own destiny and refers to a process that creates power in individuals over their own lives, society, and their communities. The authors suggest moving gender empowerment and fate control from the periphery to the centre of public discourse and decision making, making sure to incorporate Indigenous Peoples' traditions and perspectives on gender and gender equality in the theoretical and practical framework of gender knowledge building and policy.

Recommendations

Gender mainstreaming

All chapters identified gender-based analysis and gender mainstreaming as necessary strategies for promoting and ensuring gender equality, including in social and economic development. Gender mainstreaming calls for evaluating the implications of actions, policies, or programmes on women and men across all levels of society to ensure equal benefits and prevent inequality. Further, it calls for gender-specific interventions, for men or for women, as necessary temporary measures to correct past and existing discrimination. Gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting are tools that should be used in Arctic governance. Strategic application of a gender-based analysis across the work of the Arctic Council would deepen understanding of Arctic regional dynamics and support the development of more tailored actions, plans, policies, and programmes for sustainable development.

> The Arctic Council should systematically engage with and mainstream gender-based analysis across its work and encourage Arctic States to set an example at national and regional levels. The Council could create a small group, composed of experts and representatives from Working Groups and subsidiary bodies to develop a set of guidelines for the systematic inclusion of gender and application of an intersectional approach across the Council's work.

Data challenges

Most chapter authors noted the paucity of data and the challenges this brings for analysis and comparisons, including in gauging social and economic inequalities. Existing data may perpetuate standardised and stereotypical reporting of gender. Persistent gaps in data availability and a lack of protocols for sharing data, has been flagged in previous reports, such as in the *Arctic Human Development* reports and the *Arctic Social Indicators* reports. This continued lack of gendered and intersectional data, including specific data on Indigenous populations and LGBTQIA2S+, severely impedes efforts to adequately understand the dynamics of gender across the Arctic. Consistent and comparable data is the very foundation for understanding realities and inequalities across regions, countries, sectors, genders, and peoples. Gender-disaggregated data is crucial for meaningful research and providing policymakers and decisionmakers with the knowledge and capacity to develop well-informed policies.

> The Arctic Council should encourage and facilitate the development of guidelines for consistent and comparable data and definitions throughout the Arctic. This would entail, at a minimum, gendered and ethnically disaggregated data. The SDWG could within the next iteration of its project work on gender seek collaboration with national agencies across its member states, Permanent Participant organisations, other Arctic Council Working Groups, and relevant Arctic Council Observers.

Policy relevant highlights

This report provides a list of policy relevant highlights and opportunities for action and research providing fertile grounds for concretely moving forward. While some are specifically linked to Arctic States, the Arctic Council and its Working Groups, in many cases these implicate a broader spectrum of potential actors. It is crucial to further elaborate concrete actions, drawing on the advice provided.

> Phase IV of the Gender Equality in the Arctic project, in cooperation with relevant Expert Groups, to analyse, refine, prioritise and operationalise policy relevant highlights, including opportunities for action and research.

Policy Relevant Highlights

The six central themes of the report are: Law and Governance; Security; Gender and Environment; Migration and Mobility; Indigeneity, Gender, Violence, and Reconciliation; and Empowerment and Fate Control. Lead authors have worked with various contributors to pull together diverse materials and perspectives, including academics, researchers, youth, Indigenous representatives, and other experts and stakeholders.

Policy-relevant highlights are provided with each chapter, along with opportunities for action and research. Whereas some are specifically linked to Arctic States, the Arctic Council and its Working Groups, in many cases these implicate a broad spectrum of potential actors. While these highlights provide fertile grounds for moving forward, further elaboration and refinement is needed to identify priorities and concrete steps for implementation.

Law and Governance

Shared gender equality commitments

Discrepancies regarding the scope for non-discrimination and promotion of gender equality in the various Arctic jurisdictions should be identified to form a comprehensive gender-equal regime applicable to all spheres of life. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women is applicable to all spheres of life.

Opportunities for action

- Arctic public governing bodies should form a comprehensive gender-equal regime applicable in all spheres of life.

- States Parties should in all fields take all appropriate measures to ensure the full enjoyment of human rights by women.

Opportunities for research

- Identify discrepancies regarding the scope for non-discrimination and promotion of gender equality in the various Arctic jurisdictions.

A gender equality policy for the Arctic Council

This report demonstrates that Arctic governance does not prioritise gender equality and, more generally, that the goal of gender equality is not fulfilled within the region. The Arctic Council and other collaborative bodies for governance of the Arctic are important promotors of gender equality in the region.

Opportunities for action

- Launch a gender equality policy for the Council to promote the Council's position on gender equality in the Arctic.

- Address the gendered nature of social institutions and structures in Arctic governance.

Opportunities for research

- Analyse how to use existing knowledge and further develop knowledge on processes for negotiating and implementing gender equality in the Arctic.

- Identify and further analyse controversial concepts imposed on the region and its population, such as individual rights, power, culture, and tradition.

An intersectional gender equality approach

Arctic States should address inequalities based on race, Indigeneity, disability, family, sexual and gender identity, and poverty, because those intersect with sex/gender.

Opportunities for action

- Public governing bodies in the Arctic should acknowledge and apply an intersectional approach

Gender equality in Arctic States strategies for the Arctic

Collaboration around gender equality in the development of new strategies is recommended, avoiding the tendency to only vaguely address gender equality and diversity.

Opportunities for action

Initiate a collaboration between Arctic States to mainstream gender in Arctic States' strategies for the region.

Arctic States should use gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting tools in Arctic governance.

Security

Broader research-grounded understanding of security. Support and integrate research into policy.

The concept of security continues to be reduced to a narrow and limited understanding, based on military might. This silences a comprehensive security outlook.

Opportunities for action

The Arctic Council needs to work with a civilian-centric and comprehensive understanding of security to tackle current and upcoming insecurities.

Opportunities for research

Apply a comprehensive security outlook that includes gender-aware environmental, human, and economic perspectives.

Analyse the way in which the above dimensions interact to either increase or decrease security and survival.

Climate change, insecurity, and society. Responsive climate change policy.

Climate change already exacerbates inequalities and will continue to do so. A more comprehensive way of understanding the ways in which climate change affects security is needed so we are able to mitigate or manage increasing insecurities over time.

Opportunities for research

Explore and understand the ways in which climate change affects security, to support its mitigation and manage increasing insecurities over time.

Explore differential impacts of climate change on societies and inequalities using an intersectional approach.

Inequalities and centre-periphery imbalances leading to insecurities. Reduce inequalities.

Most Arctic regions are neglected or bypassed regarding services, support, and inclusion in broader political goals.

Opportunities for action

To reduce tensions, Arctic States should foster greater inclusion of local and regional bodies in broader political goals.

Opportunities for research

Analyse how continued or increasing gender and other inequalities contribute to polarising peoples, potentially exacerbating destabilisation. Explore the way in which people are mobilising, with a particular focus on digital mobilisation.

Who are we?

We need to better understand the diversity of Arctic peoples, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, and how security/insecurity is perceived.

Opportunities for action

Foster research that provides a better overview of the diversity of Arctic peoples, the changing dynamics and composition of Arctic peoples, the challenges they confront, and the contributions they make, towards ensuring a more sustainable Arctic region.

Opportunities for research

Explore how people self-identify and how they experience both security and insecurity. Place emphasis on marginalised persons within the LGBTQIA2S+ communities.

Gender and Environment

Expansion of Arctic studies with a specific gender focus

While global scholarship on gender and the environment is growing, its primary focus has been on the Global South, which limits its applicability to studies of the Arctic.

Opportunities for action

Encourage cooperation between the subsidiary bodies of the Arctic Council and the UArctic on Arctic gender research projects.

Opportunities for research

Expand Arctic studies that include a specific gender focus to account for the region's particular traits and characteristics.

Gender statistics and sex-disaggregated data

To enhance adaptive capacity within the Arctic, and support policy making and decision making, new and existing data should be disaggregated by gender and sex.

Opportunities for action

Arctic States should encourage official registers and statistics to provide gender-disaggregated data, both for researchers, national agencies, businesses, and service providers.

Gender mainstreaming and intersectionality

The Arctic Council should systematically engage with and mainstream gender across its work and promote the application of an intersectional approach.

Opportunities for action

The Arctic Council should create a small group, composed of experts and representatives from all the Working Groups and subsidiary bodies, to develop a set of guidelines for the systematic inclusion of gender and application of an intersectional approach into its work.

Opportunities for research

National science foundations, research councils, and similar bodies, both in Arctic and non-Arctic countries, should promote and require through research calls and programs the inclusion of gender-sensitive approaches, gender-disaggregated data collection, and gender-based analysis.

Migration and Mobility

Gender and industry development in the Arctic

The discourse in industry and policy development is masculine, which reproduces a gender-segregated Arctic as the voices and concerns of women are excluded or marginalised. More diverse voices in planning and policy can contribute to transforming the gender-segregated labour market in the Arctic.

Opportunities for action

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

Opportunities for research

Analyse how industrial development, inward investments, and associated policies affect women.

Explore how women can be attracted to heavily masculinised industrial developments.

Research and knowledge on gender, migration, and mobility

The lack of knowledge on migration and mobility from a gender perspective is concerning. Most studies fail to include gender perspectives.

Opportunities for research

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

Immigration to the Arctic

Immigration to the Arctic has increased substantially in some regions, and a gendered pattern is clearly discernible for most regions. Most men immigrate to the Arctic for work reasons, and women are much more likely than men to immigrate with a partner or for a partner. Immigrant women are at risk for a double-earnings penalty and of being excluded or marginalised in the labour market.

Opportunities for action

Develop an overarching policy and specific strategies to address gendered inequalities amongst immigrant women and men.

Context-sensitive integration strategies acknowledging the diversity amongst immigrants and how place specificities impact integration, are needed in several of the Arctic regions.

Opportunities for research

Explore the causes and dynamics of inequality between migrants and local populations (double-earning penalty for women, exclusion or marginalisation in labour markets, opportunities for application of skills, access to social networks, marginalisation, stereotyping, stigmatisation, etc.).

Out-migration from the Arctic

The disproportionate out-migration of women has led to a skewed sex ratio in much of the Arctic. There is a need to better understand gendered push-and-pull factors and address place-relevant structures that result in more women than men leaving.

Opportunities for action

Women and young people should be included in defining problems and drawing up policies. Focus on developing, improving, and sustaining local opportunity structures from a gendered intersectional approach.

pportunities for research

Develop better understanding of the complex processes that lead to out-migration of young people, especially women.

Services, housing, and homelessness in the Arctic

Too little is known about homelessness in the Arctic. Causes of homelessness are gendered and frequently have roots in intergenerational trauma or physical, sexual, or substance abuse. There is a lack of support services in the Arctic for Indigenous People who suffer from intergenerational trauma and are especially at risk.

Opportunities for action

Establish and provide quality gender-sensitive support services in the Arctic.

Actively address homelessness and support and recovery services in social policy.

Opportunities for research

Conduct research and produce knowledge on homelessness and gender in the Arctic, including experiences and causes of homelessness.

Work mobility

Living in the Arctic requires people to be mobile, and commuting long distances is a reality in many regions. Actively promoting commuting and providing greater opportunities for pursuing careers and social mobility can prevent out-migration and attract people to the region.

Opportunities for action

Develop material and welfare infrastructures that enable Arctic residents to engage in work-related mobility, both long-distance working and more frequent commutes.

Actively promote flexible work arrangements and home working to enable those with long-distance working partners to arrange work around a partner's absences and times at home.

Promote and incentivise both men's and women's involvement in families, as a prerequisite for women to practice work mobility (e.g., paternity leave and affordable quality childcare services).

Urbanisation and migration of Indigenous Peoples

The Arctic is becoming increasingly urbanised. The process of urbanisation has not been straightforward for Indigenous People for several reasons. Men tend to have place-specific skills that are not readily transferred to urban living. Women in rural settlements are more tied to wage-earning labour, and their skills are more transferrable to urban life. There is a risk that Indigenous men and women lead spatially separate lives: men living in rural settlements and women in urban areas. The maintenance of cultural knowledge may be at risk.

Opportunities for action

Use a multifaceted approach, including a gendered analysis and Indigenous tradition-sensitive approach, in project and policy development. Include in policies local access to education and economic diversification in communities covering public sector and private sector employment. Use various incentives at national and regional levels to attract businesses and people to less populated areas.

Indigeneity, Gender, Violence, and Reconciliation

Gender-based violence

Gender-based violence continues to be of great concern throughout the Arctic. Women are over-represented as victims of violent crimes, such as sexual abuse, rape, and domestic violence. Indigenous women and girls face disproportionately violent victimisation.

Opportunities for action

The Arctic Council SDWG could initiate a project on sharing knowledge of best practices to prevent and raise awareness of gendered violence in the Arctic.

Address systemic inequalities

The United Nations Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2019) is relevant to all Arctic Council states. A better understanding of the inequalities faced by Indigenous populations is vital for effective policy making.

Opportunities for action

An Arctic Council task force or an SDWG expert group should be created to compile reports on the status of Indigenous Peoples within the Arctic countries. The task force/expert group could make recommendations to the Arctic States, e.g., on ways to address systemic inequalities.

Opportunities for research

Analyse the status of Indigenous Peoples within the Arctic States for a better understanding of inequalities faced by Indigenous populations.

Lack of gendered and intersectional data

The lack of gendered and intersectional data, including specific data on Indigenous and LGBTQIA2S+ populations, severely impedes efforts to adequately understand the dynamics of social and economic conditions, gender, violence, crime, income, and inequality.

Opportunities for action

The Arctic Council should encourage and facilitate the development of guidelines for consistent and comparable data and definitions throughout the Arctic. This would entail, at a minimum, gendered and ethnically disaggregated data.

Opportunities for research

Compile and analyse the different methods used to gather data and statistical information across the Arctic with the aim of finding similarities and differences.

Inclusive terminologies and gender mainstreaming

A culturally sensitive and inclusive approach to gender, sexuality, and diversity is needed to accommodate the many perceptions and realities in the Arctic. This is an important factor in achieving and maintaining equality.

Opportunities for action

The Arctic States and Permanent Participants should promote the use of inclusive terminologies and gender mainstreaming in the work of the Arctic Council.

Opportunities for research

Compile and analyse the many different terminologies used for gender, sexuality, and diversity in the Arctic for a better understanding of differences and commonalities.

Empowerment and Fate Control

There is no one-size-fits-all policy solution to gender empowerment gaps

The gendered landscape is becoming more complicated as different social, economic, ethnic, and gender groups become more distinct and recognised.

Opportunities for action

- Incorporate Indigenous Peoples' traditions and perspectives on gender and gender equality into legal, theoretical, and practical frameworks of gender knowledge for a comprehensive understanding of gender empowerment in the Arctic.

- Ensure access and participation of underrepresented genders in political, economic, and civic spheres.

Opportunities for research

- The analysis of empowerment must be more nuanced and account for various gender and other identities prevalent in diverse Arctic societies.

Continual patterns of gender-related clustering in government institutions and business

Men are overrepresented in governance and management in the most vital economy sectors. Less prestigious sectors of public governance, traditionally perceived as female domains, are often predominantly (or entirely) occupied by women, who are also underrepresented in business leadership positions.

Opportunities for action

- Develop a networking and action platform for female policymakers in the Arctic to share experiences, promote gender equality initiatives, and provide inspiration and training for new generations of female policymakers.

Opportunities for research

- Collect and analyse examples of best practices to combat gender segregation in politics and business throughout the Arctic.

Empowerment for all genders is essential to sustainable development

The ability of all genders to thrive contributes to community thrivability and also depends on it. Moving gender empowerment and fate control from the periphery to the centre of public policy discourse and decision making is vital to achieving Sustainable Development Goals in the Arctic.

Opportunities for action

SDWG/SECEG could:

- Draft a framework for a monitoring system by developing and implementing gender empowerment indicators and a gender empowerment index across Arctic jurisdictions.

- Encourage regular reporting on data, policy updates, and good practices in achieving all genders' political, economic, and civic empowerment.

- Create an Arctic gender empowerment initiatives hub to exchange knowledge and expertise to facilitate all genders' empowerment in political, economic, and civic spheres by sharing new ideas, perspectives, and good practices and by strengthening connections across Arctic communities so they can thrive through the challenges they face.

Opportunities for research

- Maintain and increase focus on gender empowerment and relevant research to improve the knowledge base across the Arctic.

- Improve gender-specific data collection and availability. These statistics should be comprehensive and track development over time.

- Allocate sufficient funding for assessment of gender empowerment in politics and public administration, emphasising data analysis and good practices.

- Support monitoring and research at all levels using a gender empowerment index that encompasses gender political empowerment, economic empowerment, and gender media indices.

Mainstreaming gender equality and empowerment at national, regional, and local levels plays an important role in attaining gender empowerment in the political, economic, and civic spheres

Given the diversity in political, legal, and sociocultural environments across the Arctic, there are no universal policies and mechanisms to fully guarantee equal access to all levels of power and across different sectors to all genders.

Opportunities for action

Include specific outcomes with timeframes in gender-oriented policies, concrete gender action programmes, and implementation plans.

Create or strengthen existing gender equality institutions and practices. This could include gender-oriented task forces and parliamentary committees on gender equality aimed at assessing barriers for genders' political empowerment; monitoring gender inequality trends, gender gaps, and compliance with national laws; and preparing recommendations.

Create regulations pertaining to recruitment and promotion policies, hiring procedures, and gender-sensitive language in vacancy descriptions.

Develop an effective, comprehensive system of awards and penalties for achieving or disregarding gender equality principles.

Opportunities for research

Analyse to what extent gender mainstreaming is being applied in Arctic governance on all levels.

Compile and analyse examples and positive or negative effects of policy measures such as quota systems, legislation, affirmative action, and support for training and education in the Arctic.

Persistent gender gaps in Arctic government institutions, education, politics, economy, media, and civic society

Women are taking the lead in educational attainment, especially in tertiary education. The Arctic faces an emerging reverse education gap where men tend to have lower educational attainment than women. Gender gaps in politics are observed, the higher the political stakes, the bigger the gap. In some Arctic communities, male underrepresentation needs to be addressed. In most Arctic regions, women earn less than men even though they are more educated. Women are less commonly employed in the more lucrative resource sector. Indigenous women play a significant role in the public sector. Civil society actors experience horizontal gender-based occupational segregation. Women dominate in the non-profit sector and men dominate in the media sector.

Opportunities for action

Ensure an inclusive approach to gender equality that considers all genders. Indigenous traditions can be considered in further research as good practices for achieving gender parity.

Strengthen civic–government cooperation. Strengthening and visualising ideas on gender diversity in leadership positions in politics, public administration, economics, and civil society may gradually contribute to creating or strengthening new social, political, and cultural norms and expectations.

Arctic Council/SDWG: Promote collaboration with the Arctic Economic Council and establish a joint working group on gender economic equality and empowerment.

Opportunities for research

Collect and analyse examples of best practices to combat gender segregation in education, politics, business, and civic society throughout the Arctic.

Examine opportunities to establish a system of gender equality in leadership positions in publicly funded media organisations (e.g., diversification of workforce, affirmative action policies, equitable promotion and recruitment practices, gender diversity in leadership positions, and gender quotas). This could be done as appropriate in specific national and regional contexts to advance gender equality in decision making in media organisations.

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INTRODUCTION

The GEA project continually strives to promote diversity and gender balance in the Arctic, in both the policy-making and decision-making processes, and to provide information to facilitate sustainable policymaking for the future. A major component of GEA Phase III has been developing a report on gender by pulling together material, information, and expertise to provide an overview of gender-related issues in the Arctic and contribute to filling the knowledge gaps on this subject in the region.

The GEA III report seeks to identify emerging issues, priorities, and concrete strategies to support gender balance and increased diversity. While official programmes promote gender equality and empowerment, prominent reports on Arctic development give little attention to gender perspectives. We hope that this report will be a useful tool for various actors interested in gender issues in the Arctic, especially policymakers. It does not claim to be comprehensive, but it is a step forward in strengthening the knowledge and understanding required to develop policies that foster resilient and thriving communities. GEA III was an Arctic Council Sustainable Development Working Group and a chairmanship project during the Icelandic Chairmanship 2019–2021.

Engagement and Review Process

A vital component of developing the GEA III report was the engagement process: identifying priority themes to include in the report, producing the text, and not least the reviewing and feedback process. Significant efforts were made to ensure inclusion and transparency during the process by actively soliciting feedback from peers and other interested parties. Of particular importance has been engagement with Indigenous Peoples' representatives and youth representatives.

As during previous phases of GEA, our project partners were instrumental in providing ideas, knowledge, and support. Additionally, the report's Editorial Committee contributed significantly to developing the themes as well as providing guidance throughout the process.

Inclusion of Permanent Participants and other Indigenous representatives was a vital component of the engagement process, both through our partners and the Editorial Committee. Through our discussions and with their guidance, we have moved an inch closer to better understanding Indigenous perspectives on gender and related issues. This is to some extent reflected in the chapters, although we recognise that we will have to do better in the future if we are to meaningfully include Indigenous perspectives and move even further away from token engagement.

With the support and facilitation of the Arctic Youth Network and the Saami Council, a Youth Advisory Group (YAG) was established. Its role was to advise the Editorial Committee and lead authors during the writing of the report. Two members of the YAG were also members of the Editorial Committee. The YAG was consulted during the process of identifying themes for the report and provided important advice on priority issues from a youth perspective. Throughout, the YAG participated in joint meetings and provided important input at the feedback sessions in addition to reviewing and providing feedback on draft chapters. We see this as a first important step towards a more inclusive processes and will strive to do better in future phases of the project. Youth engagement continues to be a key outreach element for growing and strengthening the GEA network for the future.

The SDWG SECEG expert group was approached during the early stages of theme development to obtain advice and feedback on priority themes.

The main project lead, in cooperation with project partners, GEA project lead country, co-lead countries, and the Editorial Committee, identified lead authors as priority themes emerged. In turn, each lead author identified and approached cocontributors and coordinated the collection of material from contributors for each chapter. Lead authors were then responsible for integrating contributions into their respective chapter thematic area. Contributions to chapters from experts across the Arctic were invaluable in providing knowledge and material from this vast and complex region.

Broadly speaking, the report phases were as follows:

Identifying priority themes through one-on-one interviews with project partners, the Editorial Committee, and members of SECEG. The YAG was consulted to gauge their perspectives on which themes to include in the report.

Development of chapters with lead authors and contributors through collection of material, research, analysis and writing.

Feedback sessions for each chapter were held in October and November 2020. These were public online sessions in which lead authors—along with colleagues, contributors, and Indigenous and youth representatives—presented and discussed each chapter theme. All feedback sessions were recorded, transcribed, and sent to lead authors for review and integration into chapters.

Review and feedback on draft chapters was solicited from the project partners, the Editorial Committee, the YAG, all contributors, and other additional and relevant experts. Specific YAG Reviewers were asked to review each chapter. Finally, a formal peer review took place through external reviewers for each chapter. The Law and Governance chapter, as well as legal sections in the chapters on Gender and Environment (environmental law) and Empowerment and Fate Control, were reviewed by legal scholars and experts.

Lessons learned

While significant efforts to include Indigenous and youth perspectives were indeed made, we may not always have been as successful as we would have liked. This may in part be because of lack of meaningful understanding, time constraints, or lack of resources. It is also important to note the lack of resources evident within Indigenous communities, where a relatively low number of individuals are spread very thin as they try to contribute to many different projects, usually by volunteering their time and energy without compensation. It is important to build a compensation plan into project development and cost analysis that includes contributions from Indigenous participants. This would further ensure opportunities for meaningful engagement throughout the process. This is true also of youth engagement.

Throughout this process, we have found that the timing of engagement with Indigenous or youth representatives is of crucial importance. While the project partners include Permanent Participants who were indeed crucial in deciding the way forward for GEA III, greater efforts for earlier inclusion of non-partner Indigenous representation should be made. In fact, inclusion from an early conception phase would be strongly recommended, though we also recognise that this may impact the time it takes to move from the concept to proposal development.

Moving forward

While all chapters attempt to engage with Indigenous perspectives or issues, the chapter on Indigeneity, Gender, Violence and Reconciliation, led by Karla Jessen Williamson, reached further in incorporating Indigenous perspectives by attempting to present Indigenous voices in parallel with Western scientific methods, in a way that makes sense to non-Indigenous audiences and policymakers.

It was noted that reports, including those of the Arctic Council, often fail to incorporate oral traditions and be inclusive of multiple worldviews. Therefore, as the GEA Project moves into concept development for GEA IV, we will reconfigure how we move forward, endeavouring to strive for even more inclusiveness and transparency in our work and offering the following recommendations:

- Indigenous representatives and youth representatives must be a part of the process from conception to the final product. It is vital to allow the time needed for meaningful dialogue to jointly reach consensus regarding themes, priorities, and approaches.
- Build into proposals resource and funding requirements that reflect compensation needs for meaningful engagement and contributions.
- Make sure adequate time is available for the compilation of this extensive work. Both the consultation and engagement process suffered from rushed timelines, potentially affecting the final outcome.

Dissemination

Efforts to disseminate information about the project, material collected, individuals, institutions, and organisations involved took place throughout the project period and through various channels such as web presence, social media, interviews, and events. This was, and always is, an important factor in increasing visibility of the important issues involved, as well as contributing to reaching out to those interested in the topic.

Of no less importance is continued emphasis on dissemination after the report is published. There is always a danger that outreach efforts dwindle in the aftermath of the significant project milestone of publishing. We will continue to make every effort to reach out to our potential audiences through further online dissemination and organisation of and participation in events, but also by directly approaching policymakers to introduce our findings.

Terminology, Data, and Intersectionality

During the process of developing the report and its themes, we found ourselves repeatedly discussing terminology and categories, definitions, and perceptions. The importance of cultural context, worldviews, and language was highlighted in the discussions within this international group composed of Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals, academics and non-academics, from various disciplines and walks of life. While we commonly recognised the importance of considering gender in the Circumpolar Arctic, our perceptions of what exactly that entails differed.

Although gender equality is at the core of this report the meanings of the terms "gender" and "gender equality" remain somewhat elusive. Binary conceptions of humans persist in dialogue and literature and in political and legal documents where biological sex is the primary identifier of human being; the main legal and human rights instruments are still grounded in the terms "sex" and "sex-based discrimination", understood as the biological categories of "men" and "women". However, modern conceptions and definitions of gender recognise that gender is a fluid concept, continuously being expanded, contested, and contextualised, transforming and

adapting to social and cultural changes over time. In some ways, modern conceptions, recognising the various forms of genders and sexuality, as the acronym LGBTQIA2S+ indicates, are closer to how many Indigenous cultures viewed gender and sexuality before binary concepts of gender were introduced in Indigenous communities through colonialisation and Western, Christian gender ideology.

However, regardless of how Arctic communities were introduced to binary views on gender, Arctic Indigenous Peoples have varying views on gender, based on both their traditional cultures and the dominant Western cultures with which they interact. Furthermore, the Arctic is inhabited by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples who may ascribe to definitions of gender ranging from ultrabinary—with exaggerated ideas of masculinity and femininity—to highly fluid non-binary understandings.

The concept of intersectionality was developed to critically assess the interplay and interaction between various categories of discrimination, such as ethnicity, gender, nationality, sexuality, environment, and race. By looking at discrimination through an intersectional lens, one becomes aware of its historical, social, and political context. The impacts of these intersecting forms of discrimination can last for generations. For instance, an intersectional lens highlights that various issue areas in the Arctic cannot be separated from colonialism, including the exploitation of Indigenous lands and bodies, particularly those of Indigenous women and girls.

It is therefore beyond the scope of this report to redefine gender in terms that would accommodate both binary and holistic understandings of gender. Nonetheless, we have tried to be as inclusive of a broad understanding of gender, gender identity and gender expressions as the scope of this report, available data, and information has allowed. We acknowledge that there is much more work to be done on that front and hope that this report will contribute to an intersectional discussion on gender and gender equality in the Arctic during GEA IV.

Challenges with data

Authors of most chapters identified the paucity of data and the challenges this brings for analysis and comparisons. In the Migration and Mobility chapter, the lack of data that coupled migration, the Arctic, and gender is particularly problematic. Further, too few studies are grounded in feminist, masculinity, intersectional, LGBTQIA2S+, and Indigenous gender perspectives. The chapter on Gender and Environment points to multiple issues with gendered data and emphasises how environment-related gender-disaggregated data is crucial for providing decision makers with the knowledge and capacity to develop well informed policies. They also remind us that gender statistics are more than data disaggregated by sex but rather are data reflecting differences and inequalities in the situation of women and men. The chapter on Empowerment and Fate Control reveals that it is critical to point out that gender equality analysis and indicators suffer from severe data limitations. This is perpetuated by standardised and stereotypical reporting of gender data. They suggest developing gender indicators and indexes to capture gender equality and empowerment processes across all sectors and at all levels of politics and government, economy, and civil society. The chapter on Indigeneity, Gender, Violence, and Reconciliation identifies the challenges with gauging social and economic inequalities, levels of gender violence, and impacts from processes of colonisation.

This lack of data and persistent gaps in data availability, in addition to a lack of protocols for sharing data, has been flagged in previous reports, such as in the Arctic Human Development Reports and the Arctic Social Indicators reports. This continued lack of gendered and intersectional data, including specific data on Indigenous populations and LGBTQIA2S+, severely impedes efforts to adequately understand the dynamics of gender across the Arctic. Consistent and comparable data is the very foundation for understanding realities and inequalities across regions, countries, sectors, genders, and peoples. This report contributes to identifying knowledge gaps and highlights the need for additional research.

Structure and Themes

The audience we have kept in mind throughout this process is primarily policymakers in the Arctic region but also more generally those interested in gender issues in the Arctic, including Arctic inhabitants and researchers. It is our hope that additional stakeholders from the private sector will appreciate the relevance of the report to their work. The report is not designed to be an academic report but has nonetheless gone through peer review through feedback sessions; review by the editorial board, contributors, and YAG reviewers; and external peer reviewers for each chapter.

The report is published in both printed and digital formats. An executive summary will be printed and published online. The online version will be complemented with additional thematic material.

The six central themes of the report are: Law and Governance; Security; Gender and Environment; Migration and Mobility; Indigeneity, Gender, Violence, and Reconciliation; and Empowerment and Fate Control. Lead authors have worked with various cocontributors to pull together diverse materials and perspectives, including those of academics, researchers, youth, Indigenous representatives, and other experts and stake-holders. The chapters reflect some differences in approaches, and we celebrate this diversity.

Policy-relevant material is provided with each chapter. The Executive Summary contains a condensed version of policy-relevant highlights, with recommendations and opportunities for action and research.

Law and Governance

Chapter 1 - Law and Governance examines formal obligations, expressed in political and legal documents, for the public governance of the Arctic region concerning gender equality, including a special consideration of Indigenous Peoples. Its objective is to explore the political and legal commitments for which public governing bodies are accountable, how these bodies express their ambitions regarding gender equality in the Arctic, and how the commitments are fulfilled. The degree to which they meet their international obligations is explored through comments made by the monitoring bodies of international legal instruments. To do so, main international, regional, and national political and

legal obligations regarding equality between men and women in states and territories are presented and thematically analysed, focusing on the formal, substantive, and transformative equality principle(s). An extended version of the chapter, with a more detailed review of those instruments, will be available online.

In addition, it explores the concept of gender equality within the context of the formal Arctic policy documents of the eight Arctic States and two Permanent Participant Organisations (ICC and Saami Council) and in the work of the Arctic Council. The political and legal obligations for the public governance of the Arctic region concerning gender equality are far reaching, but the analysis of cases, reports, and research shows that much remains to be done before equality is achieved. In conclusion, what emerges from the analysis is that governance in the Arctic does not prioritise gender equality and, more generally, that the goal of gender equality is not fulfilled within the region.

Based on these findings, the chapter provides policy-relevant highlights that are useful at all levels of public Arctic governance, including the launching of a gender equality policy for the Arctic Council, a collaboration among all parties to mainstream gender in Arctic States' strategies for the region, shared gender equality com-mitments, and the use of an expanded gender equality concept by all public governing bodies of the Arctic.

Security

Chapter 2 - Security examines the impacts of inequalities in the Arctic through a security lens and identifies trends of insecurity. Rather than arguing for Arctic exceptionalism, the chapter draws from global insights and commonalities of insecurity that are equally relevant to the Arctic and identifies some of the challenges and insecurities within the Arctic region itself. The chapter provides a definition of security, focusing on human security, and addresses important linkages between broader conceptions of security and narrower, state-centric, militarised ones. A focused discussion about a central human security threat—climate change—and its impact on security in the Arctic follows. Through this discussion, the chapter addresses gendered and human insecurities associated with climate change and the ways in which the increasing distrust of science has been used in disinformation campaigns designed to confuse

or create resistance to climate change mitigation measures. Additionally, the chapter provides brief examples of some of the gender/human insecurities experienced across the Arctic today. Although the chapter's focus is the Arctic, these inequalities and insecurities are linked to the broader UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), including gender equality (SDG #5) and peace and security (SDG #16). They cannot be seen in isolation from the SDGs.

The chapter concludes that gender security perspectives are crucial for improving Arctic societal well-being and stability. Towards that end, the chapter emphasises the need for a broader, research-based understanding of security, because current conceptions of security, including the one used by the Arctic Council, reduce it to a matter of military might. Doing so fails to account for environmental, gender, human, and economic perspectives and the ways in which these interact to either increase or decrease insecurity (and thereby survival). The chapter further highlights the tendency of inequalities and centre–periphery imbalances to lead to insecurities, because most Arctic regions are neglected or bypassed regarding services, support, and inclusion in broader political goals.

Based on this, the chapter provides policy-relevant highlights that include pointing to the need for the Arctic Council to consider a more civilian centric and comprehensive understanding of security to address future insecurities. Further, it points to the potential for exacerbation of potential tensions at all levels if inequalities and centre–periphery imbalances are not addressed. Finally, the need for intersectional analysis of the impacts of climate change is key to managing insecurities over time.

Gender and Environment

Chapter 3 - Gender and Environment provides an overview of the gendered dimensions of issues connected to the environment of the broadly understood Arctic region, including climate, oceans, land, biodiversity, natural resources, and waste and pollution. By examining these issues through a gendered lens, the chapter gives attention to the variations in how different genders relate to their environment, how they experience changes in that environment, and the gendered impacts of development and environmental change in the region. It does so by examining how major international frameworks and environmental conventions applicable to the

Arctic have engaged with gender. These frameworks are relevant to the chapter's subsequent analysis of the gendered dynamics of climate change in the region, including the role of gender in adaptation and mitigation efforts, observation of environmental changes, and the relationship between environmental change and human health and well-being. It then moves to the gendered dynamics of natural resource management in the region, including forestry, mining, energy resources extraction, and renewable energy extraction, all of which are significant given the vital importance of natural resources for all Arctic inhabitants.

Through these examples, as well as a section detailing the gendered dimensions of pollution in the region, the chapter demonstrates that everything is gendered and points to existing gaps in reports and assessments in the Arctic. In doing so, the chapter finds that gender equality is integral for effective, efficient, and equitable environmental protection, a finding that has also been increasingly understood by the international community.

It further concludes that systematic engagement with gender and gender-based analysis is needed in Arctic research, as well as in the Working Groups of the Arctic Council and Arctic States. Finally, regional statistics lack intersectional, gender, and sex aggregated data; addressing this will support additional Arctic-focused research into gender and environment, in which the region's particular characteristics would be considered.

Migration and Mobility

Chapter 4 - Migration and Mobility discusses how migration and mobility in the Arctic are constructed through gender and why an understanding of migration and mobility requires a gendered approach. It starts by defining migration and mobility as concepts and providing the Arctic context of gendered migration. The chapter combines statistics with a qualitative context-based approach to understanding space as gendered and the contextual nature of migration and mobility. Rather than telling one overarching story, it discusses key issues for understanding and acting on gender equality, migration, and mobility. It provides a circumpolar, pan-Arctic overview of gender equality, migration, and mobility with a section on each Arctic state. The chapter also addresses gendered

aspects of housing and homelessness, immigration, work-related mobility of Arctic residents, and migration and urbanisation of Indigenous Peoples.

The chapter emphasises how studies on migration and gender need to do better in involving other social categories in which gender is implicated, most notably Indigenous perspectives and sexuality (LGBTQIA2S+), that need to be approached from an intersectional research perspective. There is a need for a more interdisciplinary approach because though mobility and migration trends in the North are highly gendered, most research fails to include gender perspectives. Likewise, studies on gender in the Arctic rarely include significant life issues such as migration.

Included in policy-relevant highlights is the need to promote and sustain research on gender, migration, and mobility, including through an intersectional approach. Further, to address gendered out-migration and skewed sex ratios, policy development should focus on improving and sustaining local opportunity structures from a gendered intersectional approach and women should be actively involved in industrial policy making. Welfare infrastructures, such as housing, education, connectivity, and support services (e.g., for immigrants or victims of violence) must be robust, gender sensitive, and culturally sensitive.

Indigeneity, Gender, Violence, and Reconciliation

Chapter 5 - Indigeneity, Gender, Violence, and Reconciliation seeks to take a step towards mapping the complex relations among violence; gender; social, economic, political, and legal systems; human health and well-being; culture; and identities. The issue of violence has not yet been covered in a comparative fashion for the Arctic. Therefore, it is crucial to examine and understand relations among its people, between Indigenous and non-Indigenous, among genders, and among regions. The chapter addresses terminologies related to gender, sexuality, and diversity, emphasising Indigeneity and problems related to the imposition of Western binary perspectives on gender. It is followed by a discussion of violence against Indigeneity, the consequent persistent inequalities between Indigenous and

non-Indigenous populations, and the importance of truth and reconciliation processes. The chapter explores the connection between socioeconomic inequalities and violent crimes. It also emphasises how gendered violence continues to be a serious issue across the Arctic and how Indigenous women and girls face disproportionate, violent victimisation in the context of ongoing settler colonialism. Examples of responses to gendered violence are also presented in the chapter.

The chapter emphasises the serious gaps in consistent and comparable data at national and regional levels. The lack of gendered and intersectional data, including specific data on Indigenous populations or LGBTQIA2S+, severely impedes efforts to adequately understand the dynamics of social and economic conditions, violence, crime, and inequality.

Policy-relevant highlights include, first, the importance of a culturally sensitive and inclusive approach to gender, sexuality, and diversity as a path towards achieving and maintaining equality. Second, the creation of an Arctic Council Task Force or an SDWG Expert Group is suggested to generate reports and recommendations to Arctic States on how to address systemic inequalities. Third, to address the persistent lack of data, it is suggested that guidelines for consistent and comparable data and definitions across the Arctic be developed. Finally, it suggests the initiation of a project on sharing knowledge of best practices to prevent and raise awareness of gendered violence in the Arctic.

Empowerment and Fate Control

Chapter 6 - Empowerment and Fate Control has as its primary objective identifying concrete strategies for political, economic, and civic gender empowerment that can be used to facilitate sustainable policymaking for the Arctic. The authors define gender empowerment as the capacity of all genders to exercise power in decision making and the process by which they, individually and collectively, can help themselves and others maximise the quality of their lives. The term is closely linked to fate control, which is defined as the ability to guide one's own destiny and refers to the process that creates individuals' power over their own lives, society, and their

communities. Thus, fate control is the outcome of empowerment. It relies on people's and communities' capacity and resources to make and implement their own decisions. Moreover, empowerment and fate control involve social, economic, political, and cultural domains and are therefore both a vital constituent of and important measure for Arctic communities' sustainability and prosperity. To address existing knowledge gaps, the authors designed a system of key variables to provide a basis for analysing gender empowerment in the Arctic (the GEA indicators). This set of indicators is threefold— political, economic, and civic—and is designed to provide an in-depth, comprehensive analysis of the main spheres of gender empowerment. The system is limited to the available data but provides an assessment of gender empowerment from national to community levels.

The chapter emphasises the importance of all genders' political, economic, and civic empowerment for prosperous communities and sustainable development in the Arctic through gender-related political empowerment, addressing structural barriers to gender-based empowerment in narrowly and broadly defined senses. Further, the authors suggest moving gender empowerment and fate control from the periphery to the centre of public discourse and decision making. Moreover, it is vital to acknowledge human diversity in the Arctic and ensure culturally, economically, and politically relevant approaches in each Arctic region and community. Indigenous Peoples' traditions and perspectives on gender and gender equality should also be incorporated in the theoretical and practical framework of gender knowledge building and policy.

In conclusion, the chapter provides indications of overarching megatrends and trends related specifically to political, economic, and civic empowerment. Finally, policy-relevant highlights emphasise the need for an inclusive approach to gender equality and how maintaining a focus on empowerment is critical. Addressing gaps in data and improving gender-specific and intersectional data is urgently needed, as is the strengthening of gender equality institutions and practices. Integration of economic gender empowerment in sustainable development efforts is key to Arctic community thrivability.

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Introduction

This chapter explores the political and legal obligations for public governance of the Arctic region with respect to gender equality, including special consideration of the Indigenous populations that constitute a significant portion of the population in some areas of the Arctic. Here, the Arctic refers to the region subject to regional governance through various, partly overlapping, bodies (Einarsson et al., 2004; Keskitalo, 2004; Larsen & Fondahl, 2014; Nord, 2016a; Svensson, 2017; Young, 2010).

> Gender equality is one of the overarching sustainable development goals in the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDG) and equal rights between men and women is a legal principle in international legal instruments and in most jurisdictions all over the world.

A more pluralistic account of political and legal systems would ideally include self-government and the customary norms and laws of Indigenous Peoples (Watson Hamilton 2013; Webber 2013).[1] However, while these are of enormous importance, the scope of this chapter is limited to formal obligations expressed in political and legal documents. The objective of the chapter is to explore the political and legal commitments for which public governing bodies are accountable, how these bodies express their ambitions regarding gender equality in the Arctic, and how the commitments are fulfilled. The degree to which they meet their international obligations is explored through comments made by the monitoring bodies of international legal instruments.

To understand the complex dynamics of the governance structure in the Arctic, it is necessary to make clear the limitations and the assumptions underpinning the discussion in the chapter and to understand the key definitions and concepts.

> Central elements of good governance are the responsiveness of policies and public institutions to the needs of all citizens, the promotion of equal access to resources, rights and voice, as well as a commitment to leave no one behind. And human rights standards and principles, including gender equality, must underpin development. (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015).

A curious polar bear visits the Arctic Tipping Points project research vessel near Spitsbergen (Svalbard). *Agata Weydmann*

Public governance is informed by far-reaching legal and political responsibilities aimed at achieving gender equality and equal rights for women and men. This chapter is grounded in the following two definitions of public governance: a) the formal and informal arrangements that determine how public decisions are made and how public actions are carried out (Office of the High Commissioner for Human

Rights, n.d.) and b) the political systems – structures, processes, and actors involved in public decision making for a political community – that comprise geopolitics, the international relations among political communities (Poelzer & Wilson, 2014). Policies can take the form of political commitments, such as agreed and adopted plans for action at national or international levels—for example, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), gender equality policies, and action plans—and legislation binding actors at various levels of legislative power—for example, Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), national constitutions, acts, and case law promoting equal rights between men and women and prohibiting discrimination.

The legal systems of the Arctic are diverse (Einarsson et al., 2004; Larsen & Fondahl, 2014). The U.S. has a common law system characterised by a strong emphasis on judicial decisions as an independent source of law. Canada combines a common law system with civil law (in Quebec) and considers itself a mixed jurisdiction. Russia and the Nordic legal systems belong to the civil law tradition, although the Nordic jurisdictions are sometimes identified as a family of their own, the Nordic or the Scandinavian (Agell, 2001); these have comprehensive legislation as the primary source of law. The Nordic states' shared history explains the similarities among their legal systems.

The political systems within the Arctic region are also heterogenous (Einarsson et al., 2004; Larsen & Fondahl, 2014). There are parallel dynamic interactions between these normative systems as they operate within specific historical contexts and through institutions shaped by the political cultures of regions and countries (Larsen & Fondahl, 2014, p. 188). Political and legal systems interact in ways unique to each state even when they belong to the same political or legal family[2]. Most of the Arctic States have a tradition of participatory democracy, mixed economies, and the rule of law, while Russia has a tradition of totalitarian government and a centrally directed economy, relatively recently inter-rupted after the collapse of the Soviet Union by moves towards democratic governance and a market economy. These different traditions permeate citizens' conception of rights in relation to the state and affect how citizens use courts and seek justice. They influence our very ideas of the rule of law, legal argumentation, the relationship between the state and the individual, and the role of the state.

Global integration and a rights-based approach, with its point of departure in international legal instruments, may erode the fundamental distinction between civil and common law systems. However, although global trends draw towards convergence also in the Arctic, the legal systems in this region continue to exhibit considerable diversity (Einarsson et al., 2004; Larsen & Fondahl, 2014). Institutional and legal changes at the formal level do not change traditions overnight. The rule of law is a work in progress rather than a completed project (Einarsson et al., 2004, p. 103).

Arctic Council flags. *Arctic Council Secretariat*

The accountable subjects for fulfilment of political and legal obligations regarding gender equality in the Arctic are public governing bodies at several levels. The primary responsible subjects are the eight states that govern the region through international law and national jurisdictions: Canada, the Russian Federation, the United States, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. Three of these are federal states (Canada, Russia, the U.S.) with law-making powers devolved to varying degrees to their northern subunits. The remaining five are unitary states, one of which (Denmark) includes two auton-omous territories (Greenland and Faroe Islands). Both Greenland, having opted for self-government in 2009 (Bankes & Koivurova, 2014), and Faroe Islands have distinctive status as autonomous countries within the Kingdom of Denmark and have a high degree of self-government.

Bodies established by the states are accountable within the public governance structure at national levels. The principle of self-determination for Indigenous Peoples is acknowledged through the 2007 Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UN General Assembly, [UNDRIP], 2007), but Indigenous Peoples have limited agency in public governance of the Arctic. In the Arctic Council (the Council)[3], six Indigenous Peoples' organisations are Permanent Participants with full consultation rights in Council negotiations: Aleut International Association, Arctic Athabaskan Council, Gwich'in Council International, Inuit Circumpolar Council, Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North, and Saami Council.[4]

The first section of this chapter defines the central concepts. This is followed by a section examining gender equality in the formal Arctic policy documents of the eight Arctic States and two Indigenous Peoples' organisations, The Inuit Circumpolar Council and the Saami Council. The next section examines the work of the Council on gender equality issues. Thereafter, the political and legal instruments regarding gender equality that are relevant for the Arctic region are introduced and presented in a table.[5] The instruments are further analysed thematically. Another section considers the impact of global agendas and international legal instruments. Policy-relevant recommendations conclude the chapter.

Central Concepts

The central concepts referred to in this chapter have no single definition. Rather, they are fluid and their meaning is highly dependent on context. Meanings may at times be lost in translation or mutually misunderstood in communication. The linguistic aspect is, in addition to the conceptual, notably important because there is a patchwork of languages in the region: over 40 Indigenous languages and nine official national languages.

The ambiguity of concepts exists also in the political and legal domains, though the legal and political definitions are powerful and have practical consequences. The political and legal obligations addressed in this chapter implicitly or explicitly focus on men and women as sexes and/or genders. Gender identity and expression emerge in various guises and instruct us that not everyone is unambiguously female or male. Gender minorities include trans people, such as transsexual, non-binary gender (transgender) and transvestite people, and intersex people. Gender minorities are still often confused with sexual minorities. Although transgender and/or non-binary people have long been recognised as a third sex or gender in some societies, only relatively recently have they received formal legal recognition.

This section introduces concepts of note without attempting to define them conclusively, with a focus on working legal and political definitions. Gender equality is foremost a political concept, while equal rights between men and women is legal, even though they are closely connected. For example, the SDG goal on gender equality refers to legal concepts.[6]

Gender equality

The concept of gender equality is at the core of this report, but its meaning remains elusive. The concept as it is most often used in political documents can be understood as specific to women as well as to the relationship between men and women, often understood in terms of shared power and responsibility. Concerns regarding the situation of men are increasingly addressed, for example in the gender equality policies of the Nordic countries. How a gender-equal situation looks and which path leads to gender equality may vary, and it might be easier to identify what is not gender equality. The goal of achieving gender equality is mirrored in a situation of "persisting gender inequality" such as the underrepresentation of women in political leadership; lack of access to education, skills, and opportunities in the labour market; or higher injury mortality among men than women (Larsen & Fondahl, 2014). Gender equality, and in recent years also the empowerment of girls and women, are widely declared in political agendas and agreements. One example is the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the SDGs (United Nations General Assembly, 2015). While gender equality is not directly defined, there is an assumption of its correlation to power.

The European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) defines gender equality as "equal rights (sometimes expressed as treatments), responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys" not dependent on sex at birth. It implies that interests, needs, and priorities of women and men should be considered, recognising the diversity of different groups of women and men without meaning that women and men should become the same. Gender equality is not, according to EIGE, a "women's issue" but should concern and fully engage men. It is seen as a human rights issue and a precondition for, and indicator of, sustainable people-centred development.

As international and national commitments to gender equality have transformed over time and have become more far reaching, the pressure on states to commit has increased. One strategy for promoting gender equality, established in international policy through the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995, is gender mainstreaming. Most definitions of gender mainstreaming conform to the UN Economic and Social Council's formally defined concept:

> Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies, or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic, and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The goal is to achieve gender equality (United Nations, 1997, p. 24).

The concept used in political documents is obviously a very limited view of gender equality that does not account for an interest in equality for transgender, non-binary, or other gender identities.

Equality, equal rights, and non-discrimination

In a legal context, the corresponding (but not similar) concepts are 'equal rights of men and women' and 'non-discrimination' (see e.g., the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Arts. 3 and 26; CEDAW Art. 1). According to human rights instruments, all human beings are born equal in dignity and rights (e.g., Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Art. 1). The foundation of the body of human rights law is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), adopted in 1948.[7] All Arctic States support the fundamental principles set forth in the UDHR[8], a common standard of achievements for all peoples and all nations. Sometimes the name 'the international bill of rights' is given to the UDHR along with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), both of which entered into force 1976, though this is not a formal designation. These two treaties reflect the principles of the UDHR in binding form. All Arctic States are parties to ICCPR, and all but the United States are parties to ICESCR. ICCPR and ICESCR are monitored by the Human Rights Committee and Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, respectively. Each of the three instruments promises non-discrimination, and ICCPR and ICESCR also have a self-standing provision that promises equal enjoyment of the human rights in the treaties.

To some extent, questions of who should be equal to whom and in what respect remain, but the fundamental principle of equality can be interpreted as formal, substantive, or transformative based on perceptions of how equality should be achieved. Formal equality (de jure equality) means full equality before the law and protection against discrimination. Substantive equality (de facto equality or equality of outcome) requires appropriate measures be taken, including at times temporary special measures. Transformative equality addresses systemic and structural discrimination that may be embedded in laws (and policies) intended to reconsider and transform stereotypes and cultural practices and overcome structural discrimination (Holtmaat, 2013). Most jurisdictions and legal instruments embrace a combination of formal and substantive equality, while some instruments such as CEDAW have a transformative approach, at least to some extent (Hellum & Aasen, 2013a). Political agendas are more likely to embrace elements of transformation.

The non-discrimination principle is included in the constitutions of all the Arctic States, while the protected grounds may vary. Discrimination is however not always based on just one ground, such as sex (and/or gender). Intersectionality is a theoretical framework for understanding how a person's social and political identities combine to create different (sometimes overlapping) modes of discrimination and privileges (Crenshaw, 1989) and how different inequalities intersect, leading to complex forms of discrimination (Kantola & Nousiainen, 2009; Kriszan et al., 2012).

Iceberg in Scoresby Sund, East Greenland. *Thomas Reissnecker*

Intersectional discrimination has been addressed by the UN. A report by the Human Rights Council[9] considers multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination to be obstacles to the full enjoyment of human rights by women and girls. Similarly, in several general recommendations[10], such as the recommendation on rural women (including Indigenous women)[11], the CEDAW Committee has increasingly recognised that women may be subject to intersectional discrimination (Hellum & Aasen 2013b, p. 613).

Sex, gender, gender identity and expression

The earlier human rights instruments use the terms "sex" and "sex-based discrimination", understood as the biological categories of men and women. "Gender" did not appear until the 1990s in the international human rights discourse (Hellum & Aasen, 2013a; Kouvo, 2004). The term "gender", originating in the social sciences and understood as a social category[12], is rarely used in legal texts but today is used by all human rights treaty bodies without a uniform definition (Freeman et al., 2012; Hellum & Aasen, 2013a).

UN Women defines gender as referring to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as relationships between women and between men.[13] These attributes, opportunities, and relationships are socially constructed and are learned through socialisation processes. They are context- and time-specific and changeable. Gender determines what is expected of, allowed, and valued in a woman or a man in each context. In most societies, there are differences and inequalities between women and men in responsibilities assigned, activities undertaken, access to and control over resources, and decision-making opportunities. Gender is part of the broader sociocultural context. Other important criteria for sociocultural analysis include class, race, poverty level, ethnic group, (dis)ability, and age.[14] The same definition is used by EIGE, with the addition that gender-based assumptions and expectations generally place women at a disadvantage with respect to the substantive enjoyment of rights, such as freedom to act and be recognised as autonomous, fully capable adults; to participate fully in economic, social, and political development; and to make decisions concerning their circumstances and conditions. Gender is also an important term to understand in the context of gender identity.

Gender Equality in Arctic Policies

Arctic States, Indigenous Peoples' Organisations, non-Arctic states, and a variety of international organisations have issued Arctic policy documents, some of which include a focus on gender equality. There are several public and semipublic bodies that collaborate on the governance of the Arctic. The Council is the leading intergovernmental forum promoting cooperation in the Arctic[15] (Nord, 2016a, 2016b; Svensson, 2017). While most of the Arctic States have a gender equality policy in place, the Council's "rules of procedure contain no reference to gender and there is no gender policy for the Council as a whole. [Furthermore], while the secretariats are subject to gender regulations in accordance with the State in which they are located; there is no overall gender policy or guidelines which inform the Council's activities" (T. Barry, personal communication, October 16, 2020).

The Council has been criticised for not adequately prioritising gender equality, both internally and among Arctic States (Gunnarsson & Svensson, 2017; Lahey et al., 2014). A study published in 2017 concluded that gender equality seemed to be almost absent in the rhetoric, activities, and outcomes of governance (Svensson, 2017). When gender equality was present, it was mostly as statements about gaps in knowledge (Einarsson et al., 2004; Larsen & Fondahl, 2014) or bare figures without any in-depth analyses or strategies for action. The two Arctic Human Development Reports identified a serious lack of systemic knowledge about gender realities and needs

The gavel used by the Chairman of Senior Arctic Officials at Arctic Council meetings. *Linnea Nordström / Arctic Council Secretariat*

that should be addressed, something that was also pointed at in another study of the Council (Nord, 2016a, p. 84). Its conclusion was that the Arctic governance bodies, including the Council, had so far not given much attention to gender equality and the impacts of economics, policies, and governance on women. Governance in the Arctic was not "taking gender equality seriously".[16] Further, work regarding gender equality has tended to be reactive rather than proactive, and "gender equality, as well as equality between different ethnic groups, has not, so far, been prioritised...despite far-reaching obligations for the concerned states" (Svensson, 2017).

However, since 2013 the Council has been among the variety of supporters and cooperative partners in the Gender Equality in the Arctic Project. That project was initially submitted to the Council by MFA Iceland in cooperation with the Stefansson Arctic Institute and the Centre for Gender Equality. It aimed to promote a dialogue on gender equality in the Arctic region and to raise awareness of the situation of women and men in the Arctic. The project has resulted in a conference, a webpage presenting a wide network of researchers and other stakeholders, and a list of publications on gender equality in the Arctic. This report is a result of that project.[17]

Arctic strategies and policies

Included in this analysis are Arctic policies[18] issued by Arctic States and two of the Indigenous Peoples' organisations (IPO) that are Permanent Participants in the Council. The policies of Observer States and other bodies are not reviewed here. While European Union (EU) policy could be of relevance, as it involves five of the Arctic States, it does not contain explicit considerations of gender equality.[19]

The policies of Arctic States are of analytical relevance from the perspective of governance because they are the representations of governments responsible for international, federal, regional, and national legal and political obligations. While the IPOs are not parties to these obligations in the same sense, they are important agenda setters in the governance of the Arctic.

The Russian Federation, the U.S., and Finland do not address gender equality explicitly in their policies, while others include gender considerations in various forms. In the following, all references to gender, gender/sex equality, men, and women, are reviewed. The sparseness of reflections on and references to gender equality is interesting in and of itself, and confirms previous studies (Gunnarsson & Svensson, 2017; Lahey et al., 2014; Svensson, 2017).

Canada refers to the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development as a key international commitment that informs its Arctic and Northern Policy Framework and expresses its commitment to implementing and measuring progress towards these goals. Among them is the goal to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls. Specifically expressed are commitments to diversity and equality in policy and programming and to employing gender-based analysis to assess potential impacts on diverse groups of people.[20] One objective is to ensure that Arctic and Northern people, including youth

Parliament of Finland in Helsinki. *Ninara / Flickr*

and all genders, play a leading role in developing research and other knowledge-creation agendas.[21] Importantly, the document specifically addresses Indigenous women with the objective of addressing the systemic causes of all forms of violence against them.

The joint policy of Denmark, Greenland, and Faroe Islands for 2011-2020[22] barely addresses gender equality. In a section addressing the difficult social issues that some Arctic communities are facing, an emphasis on social coherence and integration is considered central. Denmark and Greenland are cooperating on projects and knowledge exchange in the social sector, and Greenland is sharing experience on family matters and gender equality with the Nunavut region of Canada.[23] The policy also mentions that the Nordic Council of Ministers has focused on changes in the Arctic from a gender perspective. What this means is, however, not explored.

Gender equality is not significantly addressed in the other states' Arctic policies either. The policy of Iceland vaguely refers to a commitment to promote education about and research on gender equality, as one of many issues to take note of in defining an Arctic policy.

Norwegian policy since 2017 is restricted to emphasising that the best guarantee of sustainable development in North Norway is a diverse labour market that allows women and men, both young and old, to participate in working life. One aim is to build local communities that can attract people of different ages and genders.

Parliament of Norway. *Dmitry Valberg*

Sweden launched a new strategy in October 2020.[24] The previous strategy, from 2011, was restricted to an ambition to "bring the gender perspective to the fore"[25] in Arctic-related cooperation bodies and a desire to support initiatives for increased participation of young people, women, and Indigenous Peoples[26]. The new strategy is more comprehensive and expresses a commitment that international cooperation in the Arctic be guided by basic principles of its foreign and security policy. Among these principles are gender equality and the goals of Agenda 2030. It refers to feminist foreign policy. Gender equality is mentioned as one of several matters of particular relevance to the Barents region (a part of the Arctic region), and the government expresses its intention to work for a gender-equality perspective throughout the activities of Arctic-related cooperation bodies. Moreover, the strategy addresses the problem of out-migration, especially of young women, and the need to create good living conditions to get people to stay, move to, or to move back to the region. A separate section is devoted to gender equality, which emphasises that the full enjoyment of human rights by all women and girls, men and boys is legally binding for all Arctic States.

Of note in this context is the 2009 Nordic Declaration of Solidarity, in which gender equality is one area of intensified cooperation and an integral part of the foreign policy of the Nordic countries, including in Arctic cooperation. The work of the Nordic Council of Ministers has also included a focus on Arctic change from a gender perspective.

The Sámi Arctic Strategy launched by the Saami Council in 2019 does not mention gender in its main part. However, an annex[27] pointing at knowledge gaps and research needs refers to gender under sections on health and well-being and under Duodji, art, and cultural expressions. There are concerns with the knowledge gap on domestic violence experienced by both Sámi men and women to a greater extent than in society at large.[28] The strategy also addresses gender stereotypes such as the strong woman and macho man and the impact such stereotypes may have on physical and mental health. Finally, it calls for discussion and examination of how gender and knowledge, land, and memories are connected to duodji (Sámi handicraft).

The 2010 Inuit Arctic Policy[29] is the only policy (of those studied here) that uses the term "sexual equality" and not "gender equality". Sexual equality refers to men and women and their changing roles. The section on Social Issues: Sexual Equality and the Changing Roles of Women and Men in the Arctic expresses a concern for the need to acknowledge ongoing transformation and its impact on the relationship between men and women. It states that "persons must be guaranteed equality and there shall be no discrimination based on sex. To realise equality of opportunity[30] and rights in Arctic communities, specific affirmative measures will be required in many cases." The policy contains the text of UNDRIP as an appendix. Article 22 of UNDRIP expresses the obligation of states to take effective measures and, where appropriate, special measures to ensure continuing improvement of their economic and social conditions. Particular attention should be paid to the rights and special needs of Indigenous elders, women, youth, children, and persons with disabilities.

The terminology in the policies varies to some extent. None of the policies refers explicitly to the legal principle of equal rights between men and women or elaborates on the options for interpreting this principle formally or substantively. The Swedish strategy refers to the achievement of full enjoyment of human rights as legally binding for the state. The Sámi strategy mentions the principle of equal treatment, not as a principle regarding the relationship between men and women but for the relationship between the Sámi population and the public. It is more common to use the political conceptual framework of gender equality, with some policies referring to Agenda 2030. The Inuit policy uses the concept of sexual equality. The Norwegian policy and the Sámi strategy do not use either of these terms.

References to CEDAW are rare, but there are many references to UNDRIP. The Inuit strategy refers to both CEDAW and UNDRIP.[31] It explicitly states that the policy should elaborate steps necessary to ensure equality of women and men in accordance with CEDAW. This convention brings far-reaching obligations in accordance with a substantive equality principle and even beyond, with a transformative equality principle when it comes to modifying gender stereotypes. The Canadian Policy Framework expresses the ambition to implement UNDRIP. Denmark calls for the principles of UNDRIP to be observed. Finland declares in their 2013 strategy the ambition to ratify ILO 169 but has still not done so, even though ratification is on the agenda of the current government along with renewal of the Sámi Act.

The strategy for achieving gender equality, gender mainstreaming, which was adopted worldwide in the Beijing Platform 1995 as well as in several countries, e.g., Sweden, in 1994, is not referred to at all. Mainstreaming is mentioned in the Sámi strategy in relation to Sámi peoples' rights.

It appears that with few and vague exceptions[32], the only genders addressed are men and women. When the Norwegian strategy uses genders, it is not clear whether other categories are included. Given that women and men are explicitly addressed in another related section in regard to the labour market and strengthening local communities, it is reasonable to conclude that gender is intended to mean men and women. The Canadian strategy explicitly includes all genders in ensuring that Arctic and Northern people play a leading role in developing research and other knowledge-creation agendas. It also expresses—although somewhat vaguely—a commitment to diversity. The Sámi strategy addresses non-heteronormative gender roles. Apart from these considerations, broader meanings of gender are not reflected.

The first Arctic Human Development Report (Einarsson et al., 2004) addressed changing gender roles as an important challenge to traditional Indigenous ways of living. Concerns regarding the dichotomy between Western and traditional ways of perceiving men's and women's roles and the relationship between them were raised. The report stated that the different gender roles displayed in many Arctic regions can be seen as complementary rather than opposing. It also considered that the Western feminist critique of paternalistic male bias inherent in Western ways of perceiving the relationship between men and women might be yet another vestige of postcolonialism or ongoing colonialism (Larsen & Fondahl, 2014). These themes might have been expected to be raised in the Arctic policies. However, the only policy that does so is the Inuit Arctic policy, which points at today's changing roles of women and men challenging traditional roles. The policy elaborates upon the ongoing transformation, expresses the importance of valuing both the traditional and modern roles of Inuit women, and acknowledges the need to share family tasks (for example) rather than emphasise separation of roles. It also states that the elimination of all forms of sexual discrimination, whether intentional or accidental, is the responsibility of both men and women. It is a good example of what is meant with the right to maintain, control, protect, and develop traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions as expressed in UNDRIP (Art. 31).

Sámi Parliament of Finland in Inari. *Ninara / Flickr*

The Sámi policy also addresses gender roles but not in the same elaborated way as the Inuit policy. Two objectives articulated in the policy are to study all Sámi gender roles including non-heteronormative gender roles; to investigate the links to language, mental well-being, position in society, and gender role patterns; and to study Sámi gender roles and the culturally based expectations for being a strong woman and a macho man and the impacts they have on physical and mental health. The other policies do not address the theme.

To conclude, it is noteworthy that the written policies rarely explicitly express or take as their starting points the political and legal obligations regarding gender equality and/or equal rights for men and women. The Canadian, Inuit, and Swedish policies are exceptions. The Swedish strategy launched in 2020 improved on this from the previous, but at the same time it could be more explicit about how to achieve the full enjoyment of human rights for all. Canada, ICC, and Sweden could promote an overall gender policy or guidelines for the activities of the Council, especially because several of the Arctic States are expected to launch new strategies soon. A collaboration around gender equality in the development of new strategies is recommended. It is also noteworthy that the policies addressing gender equality and diversity are scanty and vague.

Political and Legal Instruments

The political and legal obligations for the accountable subjects regarding equal rights between men and women and gender equality are extensive. The Arctic States are committed to following international as well as corresponding regional, federal, national, and territorial legal instruments and political agendas. The international legal instruments (treaties, conventions, or covenants) legally bind those states that choose to accept the obligations contained in them by becoming a party. States determine for themselves which instruments they will accept according to the principle of state sovereignty (Besson, 2011). Consequences of the acceptance of the legal instruments include obligations to certain conduct. In relation to the obligations inherent to acceptance of the ICESCR, Johnstone and Ámundadóttir (2013) have argued that the following obligations must be met: to prepare, follow, and update plans of action; to monitor performance; to take some substantive measures; and to eliminate discrimination.

A fundamental distinction is between federal states and unitary states in this respect. In a federal state, the national government has exclusive competence over international affairs (and alone has international personality), but the authority to make laws within the federation is distributed between the national government and the subunits of the federation. In unitary states, all law-making authority lies with the national government, while regions and municipalities have only delegated law-making powers. Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland are all unitary states. Canada, the Russian Federation, and the United States of America are federal states and have (at least) a dual-level system. The three territories of the Canadian North lack the status of provinces as subunits of the federation. The Russian federal system is distinctive because the federal government has broad concurrent powers to make laws and because of the large number and diversity of subunits of the federation (Larsen & Fondahl, 2014, p. 99).

Denmark (excluding Faroe Islands and Greenland), Sweden, and Finland are members of the European Union which, while not a federation, requires that members suspend some degree of sovereignty and recognise the law-making power of the EU institutions (Larsen & Fondahl, 2014, p. 100). As members of the European Economic Area (EEA), Norway and Iceland apply most EU norms, including most of the law on non-discrimination. The Arctic States have committed to follow many of the same legal instruments to a certain degree, but obligations, political cultures, and traditions differ at the national level. This leads to

Alþingi, Icelandic parliament in Reykjavík.
Truba7113 / Shutterstock

different levels of ambition to actively promote gender equality and equal rights for men and women.

A more detailed list of the political and legal instruments considered in this section is in the insert "Political and Legal Instruments at the International, Regional, Federal, National and Territorial levels" as well as in the appendix available online at arcticgenderequality.network. The tables show the international political and legal obligations, the regional political and legal obligations, and the national political and legal obligations regarding equality between men and women in states and territories. The appendix provides additional material for clarity and context.

The international level

The framework regarding gender equality, equal rights between men and women, and non-discrimination in the Arctic region imposes multiple obligations on states as part of the international community. Full participation and involvement of women in all aspects of life is a prerequisite for achieving global objectives for sustainable development. Table I on international political and legal obligations includes a list of important political and legal documents. It also includes a selection of UN human rights bodies monitoring international treaties. These bodies review reports from the states, as well as shadow-reports from NGOs, and guide states into full implementation of their respective conventions.

Table I – Overview of political and legal instruments at the international level.

The regional level

Table II provides an overview of relevant political and legal instruments at the regional level, such as the Council of Europe, the EU, the EEA[33], and the Organization of American States (OAS). The Nordic Council of Ministers is included in the part that addresses political agendas, given the extensive cooperation regarding gender equality.

Table II – Overview of political and legal instruments at the regional level.

The federal, national, and territorial level

Table III provides an overview of relevant political and legal instruments at the national and territorial level (Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut in Canada; Alaska in the U.S.; Kola, Arkhangelsk, Nenets, Yamal-Nenets, Taimyr-Turukhan, North Yakutia, and Chutkotka in the Russian federation; Greenland and Faroe Islands as parts of the Kingdom of Denmark; Finland; Iceland; Norway; and Sweden), and an overview of how gender equality politics is organised and monitored at the national and territorial level.

Table III – Overview of political and legal instruments at the federal, national, and territorial levels.

Open Political and Legal Instrument Tables	**Download** Political and Legal Instrument Tables
As attachment in this PDF document	Downloaded from the web
	dropbox.com/s/z1z0yxdlzvmc1ki/Pan-Arctic_Report-GEA3-2021-Political_Legal_Instruments.pdf?dl=1

Analysis of Political and Legal Instruments

The formal, substantive, transformative equality principle(s)

The legal principle of equal rights between men and women, established in most jurisdictions during the 20th century, has developed over time. Today it is accurate to talk about three variants: a formal, a substantive, and a transformative principle. At the same time, it is accurate to say that the substantive and the transformative variants build upon and also oppose the formal (Fredman, 2013). While formal equality means equal rights under the law and protection against discrimination, substantive equality requires appropriate measures be taken, at times including temporary special measures, to achieve de facto equality (equality of outcome). The transformative equality principle addresses systemic and structural discrimination embedded in laws (and policies) and means that stereotypes and practices are to be reconsidered and transformed to overcome structural discrimination (Holtmaat, 2013). Hence, the variants come with different expectations and levels of obligations for the accountable subjects. Special measures to change an unequal situation are sometimes viewed as discriminatory in themselves and colliding with the formal principle. However, temporary special measures are not considered discriminatory if they are appropriate measures to eliminate inequality and to promote equality, according to CEDAW (Art. 4) and the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights (Art. 23). Most policies and legal instruments in the Arctic region embrace a combination of formal and substantive equality principles.

Sandra Fredman has argued for a broadened perception of substantive equality. A more far-reaching equality concept should, according to Fredman, be regarded as having four different dimensions: redistributive, recognition, transformative, and participative. The redistributive dimension concentrates on remedying material and social disadvantages rather than achieving gender neutrality. The second dimension focuses on the need for respect, recognition, and dignity. Misrecognitions, such as stigma, stereotyping or humiliation, and violence on grounds of gender, can be experienced regardless of relative socioeconomic disadvantages. The transformative dimension requires transformation of existing male-oriented institutions and social structures. The last dimension recognises the importance of women's agency and voices. Substantive equality requires decision makers to hear and respond to the voice of women rather than imposing top-down decisions (Fredman, 2013). This rich perception of substantive equality can also be applied to other power structures, institutions, and social structures that impose the dominant or majority society on Indigenous Peoples.

The Constitution of the United States[34] does not contain a principle of equal rights between men and women at all. An Equal Rights Amendment[35] designed to guarantee equal legal rights for all American citizens regardless of sex was proposed in the beginning of the 20th century and approved by Congress for ratification by the states in 1972[36]. Alaska was one of the first states to ratify the amendment in 1972. The amendment, however, was not ratified by three quarters of states as required to become operative and hence failed. There is however federal law on equality that allows for appropriate affirmative action (Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964) and the Constitution of the State of Alaska of 1956 promises equal rights, opportunities, and protection under the law (Article 1, s.1).

The Constitution of the Russian Federation expresses that the state shall guarantee the equality of human and civil rights and freedoms regardless of sex. Men and women shall enjoy equal rights and freedoms and equal opportunities to exercise them (Art. 19).[37] However, there are some examples where the formal legal status of men and women differs, e.g., labour conditions and retirement benefits for women who reside and work in the High Northern regions and equivalent areas of Russia.[38]

Substantive equality is the overarching approach to equality under Canadian law. It focuses on the impact of laws on protected groups, considering social, political, economic, and historical contexts and recognising how differential treatment may be discriminatory because it has a prejudicial impact, results in negative stereotyping, or perpetuates historical disadvantage for a protected group. Differential treatment is sometimes required to ameliorate the situation of the claimant group.[39]

It is up to the courts to interpret guarantees of gender equality in Canada. Gender equality is not defined in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms or in federal, provincial, or territorial human rights legislation. Before the Charter took effect, the Canadian Bill of Rights (CBR) provided a legislative

guarantee of gender equality.[40] The CBR was interpreted very narrowly by the courts, as guaranteeing only formal equality.[41] The Charter has been interpreted by courts as protecting substantive equality. In two 2018 decisions, the Supreme Court of Canada recognised substantive sex equality in the context of pay equity, stating: "To provide no recourse for pay discrimination based on sex, denies substantive equality to working women, entrenching and perpetuating their pre-existing disadvantage".[42] In a 2020 decision, the Supreme Court recognised that facially neutral policies—such as those restricting benefits available to part-time workers—may also discriminate against women.[43] However, courts and human rights tribunals may also find that limits on women's equality are reasonable and justifiable in some circumstances.[44] Canadian law permits but does not require special measures (affirmative action) to promote substantive equality.

The Supreme Court of Canada Building. *Saffron Blaze*

The EEA states are obliged to follow the substantive principle expressed in the Treaties of European Union, and in their own legal systems they also incorporate formal commitments to non-discrimination. Sweden has been criticised by the CEDAW Committee for its gender-blind constitution that expresses a formal equality principle (Svensson & Gunnarsson, 2012). The Committee notes how striking it is that Sweden, characterised as one of the most gender equal countries in the world, is not more progressive in its constitution. The Committee called for CEDAW to be incorporated into domestic law, including the concept of substantive equality. However, the Committee did not take into account that Sweden is bound by the EU treaties expressing the substantive principle. There is also an exemption in the Constitution that permits special measures to promote equality.[45]

All Arctic States, except for the U.S., have ratified CEDAW, which implies that they are obliged to ensure full equality of women before the law, protection against discrimination in the public and the private spheres, improve the de facto position of women, and address gender-based stereotypes that uphold unequal gender relations.[46]

Altogether, the CEDAW provides a comprehensive framework for challenging the various forces that have created and sustained discrimination based upon sex. CEDAW is concerned with the impact of cultural factors on gender relations. The Convention enlarges the understanding of the concept of human rights, as it gives formal recognition to the influence of culture and tradition on restricting women's enjoyment of their fundamental rights. These forces take shape in stereotypes, customs, and norms, which give rise to a multitude of legal, political, and economic constraints on the advancement of women. The preamble of the Convention stresses "that a change in the traditional role of men as well as the role of women in society and in the family is needed to achieve full equality of men and women". States Parties are therefore obliged to work towards the modification of social and cultural patterns of individual conduct to eliminate "prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women" (Article 5). Article 10.c. mandates the revision of textbooks, school programmes, and teaching methods with a view to eliminating stereotyped concepts in the field of education. Finally, cultural

patterns that define the public realm as a man's world and the domestic sphere as women's domain are strongly targeted in the Convention's provisions that affirm the equal responsibilities of both sexes in family life and their equal rights regarding education and employment.

CEDAW's focus on the negative impacts of culture and tradition on women's enjoyment of human rights has been criticised, as has the work of the Committee in this regard. There is also critique concerning the tendency of exoticising culture, i.e., seeing culture as primarily located in non-Western societies. Certainly, culture is dynamic and could also have a positive potential (Schweitzer et al., 2014). There may be reason for such a critique, but on the other hand, the Convention and the Committee are aimed at responding to violations of women's human rights wherever they occur. It seems also that over time the Committee has directed its attention to all cultures and traditions, not only the non-Western (Byrnes, 2013).

The preamble of CEDAW envisions a transformative approach, while demanding substantive equality (Hellum & Aasen, 2013a). All Arctic States, except for the U.S., have also ratified the Optional Protocol to CEDAW that entered into force in 2000. This declares that individuals or groups of women can submit communications in which they perceive a breach of the convention that the monitoring committee then reviews.[47]

Hiking in the mining town of Kiruna, in the north of Sweden. *Alexander Farnsworth / iStock*

Political agendas, often explicitly referring to the legal principles of equal rights but expressed in terms of gender equality (e.g., SDG Agenda 2030), are more likely to embrace the substantive principle with elements of transformation. SDG 5 obliges states around the world to actively work to achieve gender equality and to empower all women and girls. Another example is the Swedish gender equality policy, which aims to bring a gender equality perspective into policymaking on a broad front, both national and international, and advocates equality between women and men, who should have the same oppor-tunities to shape society and their own lives. The policy area includes issues such as power (to shape society and their own lives), influence, finances, education, work, and physical integrity.

Formal equal rights between men and women are not sufficient to ensure equal rights in practice (Fredman, 2013; Zykina & Sazanova, 2017), and the recognition of this fact can be seen in EU case law. Formal equality has gradually been retooled towards substantive equality aims, redefining piecemeal the overarching purpose of EU equality law in the process (De Vos, 2020). It seems to be relatively uncontroversial to determine that an unequal situation exists regarding the distribution of resources or power (shown in various gender gap indexes). The controversies occur when something must be changed in order to achieve equality, such as the transformation of existing male-oriented institutions and social structures. These controversies, and those involving individual–collective, rights–respon-sibilities, coercion–voluntary, unequal power–different attitudes, etc., should be addressed and contextualised.

Non-discrimination to achieve equality

The principles of equality are several, as are the measures to achieve the goal of equal rights between men and women/gender equality. The choice of measures reflects the equality principle adhered to. A formal equality principle is fulfilled when and if legislation requires that men or women not be treated differently. Substantive and transformative principles put more demands on the state (or other accountable subjects) to act in some way to ensure the achievement of gender equality, including changed practices, processes, and distribution of power over society and people's own lives.

The primary legal measure is the non-discrimination principle. The 1950 ECHR expresses a formal discrimination principle in the following way: the enjoyment of any right set forth by law shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, etc. (Art. 14). The principle was expanded in 2000's Protocol No. 12 into a general prohibition of discrimination. The preamble to Protocol No. 12, though not legally binding, states "that the principle of non-discrimination does not prevent states from taking measures in order to promote full and effective equality, provided that there is an objective and reasonable justification for those measures". Even though the protocol has not been ratified by all European Arctic States, the same interpretation of the non-discrimination principle comes with ratifying CEDAW.

Father, mother, son, daughter. Caribou antler carvings by Lola. *Fiona Paton*

The principle addresses, to start with, the relationship between the individual and the state (as for example expressed in Art 1. of Protocol No.12 to the ECHR: no one shall be discriminated against by any public authority). It prohibits any illegal restriction of human rights established in international conventions and different treatment of men and women. Having different legal rights for men and women and treating men and women differently is thus not in accordance with the formal principle. However, the obligations following from the political and legal documents presented in this chapter have further implications. The states have committed themselves (in varying degree) to eliminating discrimination and to promoting equal rights between men and women (or gender equality) where such do not exist, going beyond mere non-discrimination. Furthermore, even the non-discrimination principle expressed in several legal documents does not hinder different treatment, at least temporarily, if the purpose is to achieve equality of outcome (e.g., CEDAW, EU Treaty, Protocol No. 12).

These obligations mean that the states are responsible for ensuring full equality of women before the law and in the public sphere. Moreover, they are also responsible for ensuring full protection against discrimination in the private sphere, to improve the de facto position of women, and to address gender-based stereotypes that uphold unequal gender relations. Non-discrimination therefore also addresses individual or group behaviour in relation to other individuals or groups. There is no doubt that states are expected to actively prevent discrimination between individuals and groups, for example in private housing or employment relationships. CEDAW requires States Parties to condemn discrimination against women in all its forms and to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women (Art. 2).

Not every constitution in the Arctic includes an explicit non-discrimination principle regarding sex. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Denmark (applying to Greenland and Faroe Islands) and the U.S. Constitution do not. However, both states have laws prohibiting discrimination and Denmark is also obliged to follow EU law on this matter.

The main scope of national legislative provisions on non-discrimination is the labour market and the workplace. All Arctic States have such provisions. The Canadian Federal Human Rights Act and Employment Equity Act (1995) and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in the U.S. are some examples. The Russian labour code provides for equality of labour rights and opportunities and from a formal and legal point of view there is no outright discrimination in terms of rights, although some examples of differences in the formal legal status of men and women do exist. These include regulations concerning labour conditions and retirement benefits for women who reside and work in the High Northern regions and equivalent areas of Russia.

Some of the states have legislation with an extended scope. Human Rights Acts in Nunavut, Yukon and The Northwest Territories prohibit discrimination by public and private sector actors in the areas of employment, tenancies, services, and facilities available to the public. In addition, the Yukon Act also includes the negotiation or performance of contracts.

National legislation on non-discrimination in the EEA countries has developed from the same focus on labour market, in line with the development of EU law. EU law has expanded the non-discrimination principle over time from a prohibition of sex discrimination in employment to a more general principle aimed at gender equality. In Finland, the Equality Act generally applies to all societal activities and all areas of life, except relationships between family members, other private relationships, or activities relating to religious practice. The Swedish Discrimination Act embraces the specified fields of working life, education, labour market policy activities, employment services not under public contract, starting or running a business, professional recognition, membership in certain organisations, goods, services and housing, health and medical care, social services, the social insurance system, unemployment insurance, financial aid for studies, national military service, and civilian service.

Icelandic and Norwegian legislation apply to all spheres of life. When it comes to special measures to promote gender equality and eliminate gender-based harassment and violence in addition to hiring quotas (not lower than 40%), the scope of the Icelandic Act is limited to workplaces, national and local committees, councils, and boards.

Measures to promote full and effective equality

In addition to international obligations and national constitutions, most Arctic States have national legislation embracing non-discrimination and other special measures to promote equality between men and women, such as affirmative action, positive action, or temporary special measures (CEDAW Art. 4[1]), measures taken to overcome disadvantages. As mentioned before, the legal principle of equality between men and women is normally expressed as a prohibition against differential treatment of anyone (discrimination) based on a protected characteristic, with exceptions for special measures that promote equality of outcomes. The CEDAW Committee has in its General Recommendation No. 25 affirmed substantive equality over formal equality, making it clear that affirmative action is by no means a breach of equality but may be necessary to achieve substantive equality (Fredman, 2013).

Finland and Sweden both explicitly permit special measures, and these are also recognised as lawful under EU law. The Finnish and Swedish Discrimination Acts prohibit discrimination based on sex/gender and other grounds and require special measures. The Swedish Act defines such measures as "prevention and promotion measures aimed at preventing discrimination and serving in other ways to promote equal rights and opportunities regardless of gender, transgender identity or expression, ethnicity, religion or other belief, disability, sexual orientation or age within a given establishment". The requirements are directed primarily towards public authorities but also apply to non-state actors such as employers and education providers.

The Icelandic Gender Equality Act includes articles on special measures to promote gender equality and eliminate gender-based harassment and violence. In employment cases where two applicants are equally qualified, the applicant of the sex underrepresented in the workplace is to be preferred. The

Act also puts much emphasis on eliminating gender stereotypes and practices that must be the focus of change to overcome structural discrimination (i.e., moving towards transformative equality). One of the explicitly expressed aims of the Act is "specifically improving the position of women and increasing their opportunities in society" (Art. 1).

Faroes children's choir in traditional dress in Torshavn, Faroe Islands. *Stockcam / iStock*

In the Russian Federation, there are no legal provisions on special measures. However, a first step is the National Strategy of Actions for Women for 2017–2022. It contains actions aimed at safeguarding the health of women of all ages, promoting economic advancement of women, fostering continuous improvement of their income and welfare, preventing social disadvantage and violence against women, enhancing women's participation in political and public life, and advancing official statistics related to matters of women's position in society.[48]

Gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting to achieve equality

Gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting are important political measures that promote gender equality.[49] They remind policy makers to consider the different implications of their decisions on different groups of men and women.[50]

Gender mainstreaming is obligatory in all public institutions and administration in Iceland and Sweden. Gender mainstreaming should be applied to all decision making, actions, and projects included in gender equality action plans. All workplaces (public and private) with a certain number of employees shall have current gender equality action plans, which the Directorate of Equality monitors periodically. The gender equality action plans may be used as tools to implement gender equality work in companies and institutions.

Gender budgeting is part of the implementation of the strategy on gender mainstreaming. It is used in several states and focuses on the tax-and-spend decisions of government institutions. It has been the central political strategy in Sweden since the 1990s[51], in Iceland since 2009, and mandatory at state level since 2016[52]. Several municipalities in Sweden have also implemented gender budgeting methodology. Canada implements Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+) across all federal departments and agencies. The process of applying GBA+ helps to ensure that the development of policies, programs and legislation includes the consideration of differential impacts on diverse groups of women, men and gender-diverse people.[53]

Other tools exist to promote gender equality. For example, STEM and Gender Advancement is a gender equality promotion instrument in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics designed to provide a gender-responsible view on climate change in the Arctic (Heikkinen et al., 2020). Gender mainstreaming also includes environmental impact legislation.

Sex and gender diversity

The political and legal obligations regarding equal rights between men and women and gender equality are based on a presumption that there exist two biological sexes: men and women. Even though the concept of gender opens for an understanding of a) the two categories as consisting of or restricted to more than biological sex and b) the existence of more than two categories, the legal approach historically and primarily addresses equality between men and women or the relationships between men and women. There is a sliding scale between sex/gender perceived as a question of individual identity and sex/gender conceptualised as an organisational principle and power structure of social stratification. The Swedish gender equality policy explicitly talks about equal shared power and responsibilities between men and women, while SDG 5 connects the goal of gender equality to human rights and the empowerment of women and girls. The most important legal document on an international level, CEDAW, is also women-specific: it addresses women as a disadvantaged group in comparison with men and only women can bring complaints under its optional protocol. This women-specific perspective has been problematic in Sweden because its policy addresses both men and women (as reflected upon when ratifying CEDAW, prop. 1979/80:147, 5). Legislation is neutral and can be used (and has been used) by both men and women to challenge discrimination.

Implementing equality in law a gender-blind format can "lead to inadequate protection of women against direct and indirect discrimination and hinder the achievement of substantive equality".[54] The CEDAW Committee hence argues that all legislation should be gender-sensitive instead of gender-neutral/gender-blind.[55]

Legal documents in Sweden, Norway, and the EU have over time wound up addressing the specific disadvantaged position women have and protecting both men and women from discrimination based on sex in non-discrimination acts. The Icelandic Act still acknowledges the lack of women's equality, while the Swedish Discrimination Act does not. In addition, other identity markers such as gender identity and sexual orientation have come under non-discrimination legislation. At a policy level, LGBTQ+ groups have been addressed and explicit actions have been taken to protect and promote their rights and to include them as protected through non-discrimination provisions. Still, the overview of the political and legal documents in this chapter shows that the focus is on men and women, and perhaps even more on women.

Iceland's government is committed to achieving gender equality through a policy agenda that combats inequality and inhibitive gender roles and structures. Men and boys must be involved in and invited to participate in gender equality work. Gender equality must be central to all decision making and resource allocation. The aim is clearly to transform the society.

Over time, most jurisdictions have extended the non-discrimination principle to include protection from discrimination based on gender identity and sexual orientation, as in Finland, Norway, and Sweden. The Equality Act in Finland prohibits discrimination based on gender identity and expression, and new provisions to that effect were included in the Act to clarify and broaden the scope of the protection of gender minorities. The premise behind the amendments is the notion of gender diversity and individual gender experience and expression. In the Equality Act, the phrase "gender identity" refers to an individual's experience of their own gender. The phrase "gender expression" refers to expressing one's gender through clothing, behaviour, or by other means. The antidiscrimination regulations of the Equality Act also apply to discrimination because an individual's physical gender-defining characteristics are not unambiguously female or male.

In Iceland, the Gender Equality Act has been limited to women and men since 1976. However, the recently adopted Gender Equality Act (150/2020[56]) also includes persons who do not align with the female or male gender binary. The Act on Gender Autonomy provides for the right of persons to define their own gender to guarantee the recognition of their gender identity. The objective of this Act is also to guard the rights of persons to physical integrity. Gender equality is viewed as a matter of unequal power of women and men and is informed by a structural understanding of equality.

Women singing in Arkhangelsk, one of the largest cities in the Russian Arctic. *Gargonia / iStock*

Canadian law provides protection against discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity/expression in addition to sex/gender. While rights are guaranteed to individuals, protected grounds such as sex relate to groups, allowing for some focus on structural and systemic discrimination rather than merely individual identity.[57] The courts for example recognise sexual harassment as a question of abuse of power rather than of femininity or masculinity.[58] The Canadian Charter leaves equality rights open ended to allow the inclusion of new groups, such as LGBTQIA2S+ people.[59] In Russia, same-sex sexual activity between consenting adults in private was decriminalised in 1993 but not declassified as a mental illness until 1999. Even today, same-sex couples and households headed by same-sex couples are ineligible for the legal protections available to opposite-sex couples.

Discrimination may occur on several grounds. Intersectional discrimination has been addressed by the UN. A report by the Human Rights Council[60] addresses multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination as an obstacle for the full enjoyment of human rights by women and girls. In several general recommendations, for example the recommendation on rural women (including Indigenous women)[61], the CEDAW Committee has recognised that different women may be subject to intersectional discrimination (Hellum & Aasen, 2013b, p. 613).

Canadian human rights law and policy recognises intersectional discrimination, i.e., gender inequality as it intersects with other grounds or modes of discrimination (Canadian Human Rights Act s. 3.1). This is seen as an important recognition for promoting gender equality in the Arctic, particularly for Indigenous women. In the *Kell* case[62], the CEDAW Committee expressly recognised intersectional discrimination by Canada, referring to its General Recommendation No. 28. Iceland and Sweden do not currently have provisions on intersectional discrimination in their legislation (Schömer, 2012). However, it is possible to combine several grounds of discrimination in the same case.

Simplified, there appear to be two contradictory or at least distinct ways of addressing sex/gender. One is as a question of identity based on sex (the bodily aspect) or gender (the social aspect), and the other is as a question of conditions and power inherent in belonging to a certain group. The former seems to come with (although it is not derived from) an idea of the state as passive, with a rights discourse (individual human rights), protection from discrimination on an individual basis, and a more explicit women-centred agenda. The second seems to come with an idea of an active state (or other subject), a structural understanding of the relationship between men and women on a group level, a redistributive and equalising discourse, sex/gender as having structural and practical implications, and addressing the importance of both men and women taking part in all spheres of life. Even though the various political and legal systems within the Arctic region (Einarsson et al., 2004; Larsen & Fondahl, 2014) have moved closer to each other through the global agendas and legal instruments, they are still different. The Nordic countries, and to some extent Canada, adhere to the second way of addressing sex/gender, while the U.S. aligns with the former. The Russian Federation is not clearly close to either of them.

The Importance of Global Agendas and Legal Obligations

Arctic States and Indigenous Peoples cooperate in several intergovernmental bodies, forming the geopolitics of the Arctic. Gender equality is a primary concern for the global community, one that is firmly emphasised, at least on a rhetorical level. A common concern for gender-unequal situations is expressed in global agendas that invoke a quest for measures to eliminate that inequality. The instruments for achieving the goal vary. Some are legally binding, others are voluntary. The importance of global normative instruments should be neither overly stressed nor underestimated. Some are expected to be implemented at a national level, and there are monitoring processes that facilitate such implementation. Gender equality might have been expected to be more pronounced in the Council, but this is not borne out in the evidence, as already discussed.

The UN Sustainable Development Goals

In 2015, the UN General Assembly, in which all UN Member States have a seat, adopted by consensus the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. At the core of this agenda is the 17 Sustainable Development Goals that aim to address present-day social, economic, and environmental challenges. Agenda 2030 recognises the central role that achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls plays in realising all 17 SDGs, beyond the stand-alone SDG 5 to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls. Agenda 2030 asserts that the full participation and involvement of women is necessary for achieving international community objectives on sustainable development and that it should serve as an instrument to review countries and to put pressure on them to take action. The voluntary national reviews database[63] shows that this is the case. A 2020 report in which 47 countries presented national reviews (Finland was the only one of the Arctic States that took part in this) stated:

> Although gender equality and women's empowerment are described as essential to achieving the 2030 Agenda, progress toward SDG 5 is slow and uneven, and challenges to gender inequality persist in nearly every area.... Violence against women and girls remains the most serious challenge, and more than half of reporting countries described measures and policies put in place to address these issues (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs & DESA's Office of Intergovernmental Support and Coordination for Sustainable Development, 2020, p. 11).

The same report specified that the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 negatively and disproportionately affected women, directly and indirectly, in relation to care responsibilities, domestic violence, restricted access to health service, etc. The Arctic region is not directly addressed; however, Finland refers to the Sami and explains that it lacks disaggregated statistics on Indigenous groups because it

considers it inappropriate to identify separate groups in statistics in an equal and democratic society. The Swedish national review submitted in 2017[64] explains that the Indigenous population (i.e., the Sámi People) risk being subjected to discrimination in everyday life.

The influence of Agenda 2030 can be identified in regional and national political agendas, such as the Nordic political agenda on gender equality for 2011–2014, preceding the adoption of Agenda 2030 (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2011). In 2019, Canada published its interim 2030 Agenda National Strategy for implementing Agenda 2030 domestically, including by setting out 30 concrete federal actions to advance progress on the Agenda 2030 framework and 30 national ambitions to achieve Agenda 2030 in Canada.[65] Though the interim strategy document does not have much substantive to say about measures to advance gender equity in Canada, it does explicitly recognise that realising the full suite of 17 SDGs, and not only SDG 5, "cannot be achieved if half of humanity continues to be left behind".[66] Moreover, it states that Agenda 2030 will be implemented in Canada with "full regard for the rights of Indigenous peoples by protecting and promoting these rights", a goal that may serve to further gender equality in the Arctic. Another example is Iceland's gender equality policy, which is explicitly linked to the SDG.[67]

Nenets women at a dancing ceremony, Pechora Delta, Nenets Autonomous Region, Russia. *Peter Prokosch / GRID-Arendal*

There are also examples of collaborations connected to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action that engage bodies at the regional and federal level. For example, the Council of Europe cooperates in a project, cofunded by the EU, around the implementation of the Russian Federation's National Action Strategy for Women 2017–2022.[68] It focuses on the exchange of best practices and experience in the areas of preventing and combating violence against women and increasing women's participation in public and political life.

What can be observed in many countries around the world, including the Arctic States, is that gender equality policies and legislation are challenged from conservative, nationalist, and fundamentalist views as well as from men's rights groups (Giritli Nygren et al., 2018; Köttig et al., 2017; Kováts, 2018; Lilja & Johansson, 2018). Some men's rights groups claim that gender equality is opposed to their rights and seek to undermine women's equality. The groups and individuals with a shared agenda of antifeminism and men's rights, in research referred to as the "manosphere" are global and takes place online (Holm, 2019).

In Russia, discrimination based on gender is unlawful, but challenges to gender stereotypes run into a conservative reaction from public institutions. There is active opposition to the formation of egalitarian ideas about the rights of women and men and a growing process of masculinisation in Russian society. Social and cultural norms often foster behaviour that perpetuates inequalities. Norms and a lack of power both have an impact on all forms of gender inequality, from violence against women to the glass ceiling. One example that confirms the gender glass ceiling concerns democratic participation: only 16.1% of seats in parliament were held by women in 2018.[69] Gender gaps persist in all spheres of people's lives and are seen in many areas of sociopolitical life, from women's lack of political rep-resentation to the experience of unprecedentedly high rates of domestic violence.

There are also strong patriarchal views of women's place in society and their role within families. These views are reinforced by the conservative ideology promoted by the state, with its traditional view of gender relations in which the family breadwinner is always assumed to be a male. This traditionalism

stifles the practical exercise of the rights provided for women by law. As a result, even though the equality of rights is supported and is not disputed in modern Russia in a legal sense, equality of opportunities for both sexes is disputable in practice.[70]

At the same time, gender equality is also questioned as homogenous, favouring White middle-class women (Crenshaw, 1989; hooks, 1984; Martinsson et al., 2016), and as imposing Western thoughts and conceptualisations onto an Indigenous context. Gender equality can be a controversial topic within some Indigenous groups, depending on their laws and traditions (Einarsson et al., 2004).

The discrepancy between the far-reaching ambitions and commitments on one side and the challenges gender equality regimes are exposed to on the other side calls for more engagement with gender equality and equal rights between men and women in global, regional, and national political and legal arenas. This invites a critique based on critical race feminism, postcolonial and queer theory, etc.

State compliance with international law

In most states, including the Arctic States, becoming a party to a treaty through accession or ratification does not make that treaty automatically binding under domestic law. The obligations vis á vis other states under international law are considered to exist, but they cannot be directly litigated before domestic courts. However, states are nonetheless expected to ensure that their international obligations are upheld, and they often do this through implementation of the provisions in domestic law. This is particularly common with human rights treaties in the Nordic countries.

Paragraph 4 of Art. 15 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation states that the generally recognised principles and norms of international law and international treaties of the Russian Federation are an integral part of its legal system and that international treaties can take precedence over ordinary Russian laws. However, the Russian Constitution takes precedence, meaning that if the Constitution conflicts with an international obligation, the Constitution will prevail.

House of the Government of the Russian Federation (White House), Moscow, Russia. *Viacheslav Lopatin / Shutterstock*

The legal system of Russia includes individual provisions of international laws, but not the norms of international law as a whole. For such norms of international law to enter the Russian legal system, they must be capable of regulating relations between the subjects of national legal systems. However, all this cannot objectively happen even if all states express their will. In this regard, it is more accurate to not interpret literally clause 4 of Article 15 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation in terms of the inclusion of generally recognised principles and norms of international law into the national legal system of the Russian Federation.[71] Russia is committed to all the legally binding and non-binding international documents regarding gender equality and human rights, including the Beijing Platform for Action, CEDAW, and the Millennium Development Goals. Implementation, however, is some way behind.

In Canada, the power to make a treaty lies with the executive in exercise of the royal prerogative.[72] International treaties do not automatically become part of Canadian law but must be implemented.[73] In accordance with Canada's Constitution, the implementation of international human rights treaties is a shared responsibility between the federal and provincial governments. The territorial governments have legislative responsibilities similar to that of the provinces. As such, a treaty concluded by the Canadian federal government binds Canada internationally, but the legislative competence to give effect to those commitments domestically may lie with the provincial or territorial governments. This asymmetry of powers may lead to differences in how treaties are implemented across the country and create difficulties for the smooth implementation of international law in Canada internally, though there are situations in which these problems may be mitigated.[74] According to the Government of Canada (2019) the multi-governance system serves as a vehicle for partnership wherein all governments can

work cooperatively to address common challenges in accordance with their respective areas of juris-diction. Canada's federal system, including the laws, policies and programs of its various governments, is a complex yet coordinated whole.

Monitoring through human rights bodies

Several of the international conventions are monitored by treaty bodies or committees[75] that review the implementation of the instrument by States Parties.[76] The two most relevant here are the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee), the Human Rights Committee (CCPR) and the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD Committee). In addition, there are special procedures with thematic mandates under the Human Rights Council. Of specific interest here are the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples[77], the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, Its Causes, and Consequences[78] and the Working Group on Discrimination Against Women and Girls[79]. Some examples of the reviews are presented here.

The implementation of the CEDAW Convention is monitored by the CEDAW Committee, and each State Party is required to submit a national report to the Committee at least every 4 years outlining measures taken to fulfil the Convention's provisions.[80] Reports are not always submitted on time and two reports are sometimes joined and submitted at the same time.

Sámi woman in traditional clothes. Magerøya Island, Finnmark, Norway. *O.C Ritz / Shutterstock*

The CEDAW Committee reviews the state reports and provides recommendations on issues covered by CEDAW in its concluding observations[81]. The comments to different states vary and relate to the specific conditions in each state and recent steps, such as the initiative to translate the CEDAW text into North Sámi in Norway.[82] The Committee pays attention to shadow reports submitted by women's organisations and women's lobbies, in addition to official government reports. These so-called shadow reports have a significant impact on the CEDAW Committee's observations to states. A study of the Canadian experience with the CEDAW says that the women's movement has an important role as a driving force for the implementation of the Convention (Lamarche, 2013). The involvement of women's organisations is a key factor in social and political legitimacy and the effectiveness of the state reporting procedure at the national level. The CEDAW's state reporting procedure is a means of holding national governments accountable for their duty to respect, protect, and fulfil the human rights of women (Hellum & Aasen, 2013b).

Previous studies of the state report procedure indicate gaps in the protection and promotion of women's human rights and gender equality in the multilevel governance of the Arctic (Burman & Svensson, 2018; Lahey et al., 2014; Svensson, 2017). While comments from the treaty monitoring bodies do not always address the Arctic region specifically, it is possible to gauge their relevance for the Arctic region,

such as comments regarding Northern communities of each country generally or Indigenous Peoples specifically. The CEDAW Committee has expressed concerns about the lack of awareness of CEDAW in all Arctic States that have ratified the convention (all but the United States).[83]

The Committee states that some groups of women in the Arctic are vulnerable[84], especially Indigenous and rural women, and Arctic States do not adequately uphold their rights, for example when it comes to exposure to violence, equal participation in governing bodies, and economic self-support.[85] The Committee has expressed concern about the low proportion of Sámi women in the Sámi Parliaments and in other political decision-making bodies in Finland, Norway, and Sweden. It has also identified lack of social services (also in Sámi languages) and the relatively high exposure to domestic violence that Sámi women suffer.[86] Similar concerns have been raised in Canada.

Two young Inuit throat singers perform at a vigil for missing and murdered Indigenous women. *Art Babych / Shutterstock*

The Human Rights Committee is the body of independent experts that monitors implementation of the ICCPR by its States Parties. All States Parties are obliged to submit regular reports to the Committee on how the rights are being implemented. States must report initially 1 year after acceding to the Covenant and then whenever the Committee requests (usually every 4 years). In the 2014 concluding observations on the fourth periodic report of the U.S., the Committee raised concerns about domestic violence that continues to be prevalent in the U.S., and that ethnic minorities, immigrants, and American Indian and Alaska Native women are at particular risk. Victims of such violence face obstacles to obtaining remedies, and law enforcement authorities are not legally required to act with due diligence to protect victims of domestic violence and thus often inadequately respond to such cases. The Committee recommends fully and effectively implementing the Violence against Women Act and the Family Violence Prevention and Services Act and ensuring that cases of domestic violence are effectively investigated and perpetrators prosecuted and sanctioned. The Committee has also urged the State to ensure remedies for all victims of domestic violence and take steps to improve the provision of emergency shelter, housing, childcare, rehabilitative services, and legal representation for women who are victims of domestic violence. Measures are also called for to assist tribal authorities in their efforts to address domestic violence against Native American women.[87]

The CERD Committee reviews, like the other bodies, country reports and publishes concluding observations.[88] Concerns were raised, in Concluding Observations 2019 on Norway's 23rd and 24th periodic reports, that Sami women in Norway have been subjected to physical, mental, or sexual violence; that sexual violence crimes may be underreported; and that perpetrators of such crimes remain unknown.[89] The themes brought up in discussions with the countries are listed in a separate document. One of the themes in relation to the 21st to 23rd periodic reports of Canada was updated information on measures, including their impact, taken to end violence against Indigenous women and to prevent, investigate, prosecute, and convict perpetrators for the high number of cases involving the disappearance or murder of Indigenous women and girls.[90]

The Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples carries out country visits.[91] Since 2001, when the rapporteur was first appointed, all Arctic States except Iceland and Greenland have been visited. Iceland has no Indigenous population, and the planned visit to Greenland in 2020 was postponed.

The rapporteur has repeatedly raised serious concerns about the situation of Indigenous women and girls in Canada. Two reports (2005 and 2014[92]) mention that the Native Women's Association of Canada and other institutions have reported that a large number of Aboriginal women have been murdered or reported missing. As of 2014, over 660 women and girls across Canada had gone missing or been murdered in the past 20 years, many of which remained unresolved, although the exact number of unresolved cases remains to be determined. Since 1996, there have been at least 29 official inquiries and reports dealing with aspects of this issue, which have resulted in over 500 recommendations for action. Aboriginal women are five times more likely to experience a violent death than other Canadian women. Disproportionate numbers of Aboriginal women are held in federal prisons. Although they account for only 3% of the female population of Canada, in 2003 they comprised 29% of the women in federal prisons. They are singled out for segregation more often than other inmates and suffer higher rates of inmate abuse. Many of the reports signal discriminatory and gender bias in policing, as well as overrepresentation of Native women in the prison system. The rapporteur concluded that there appears to be a need for an Aboriginal programme strategy for women sentenced at federal level.

The Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, Its Causes, and Consequences[93] also pays country visits. Sweden was visited in 2006 when the rapporteur addressed the gap of knowledge regarding violence against Sámi women and suggested a commission through a joint initiative with the other countries with a Sámi population.[94]

The last example here is the Working Group on Discrimination Against Women and Girls[95] that was established in 2010 to intensify efforts to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and girls throughout the world. This group also performs country visits; two of the Arctic States have been visited so far, Iceland and the U.S. The visit to the U.S. resulted in a series of recommendations, for example to ratify CEDAW and to adopt the Equal Rights Amendment.[96]

State responses to monitoring bodies

States' responses to the monitoring committees' observations are considered of great importance to domestic gender equality regimes (Hellum & Aasen, 2013b; Lamarche, 2013). The observations are not technically binding and some states do not make sincere efforts to implement the recommendations. However, where states act in good faith, CEDAW, one of the most important conventions in this context, makes its mark on national law, policy making, and judicial decision making (Hellum & Aasen, 2013b). The state reporting procedure is essential as a means of holding national governments accountable. However, the impact on a national level depends on several factors. The involvement of women's organisations is a key factor in social and political legitimacy and the effectiveness of the state reporting procedure at the national level. The national legal system has a constituent effect on the government's commitment patterns, as do historical, political, and economic contexts. The impact of CEDAW is greater if it is used in combination with other international and regional mechanisms that provide protection against sex and gender discrimination (Hellum & Aasen, 2013b), including regional instruments and other UN human rights instruments, such as ICCPR, ICESCR, and CERD[97].

In its ninth periodic report to the CEDAW Committee, submitted in 2019, the Russian Federation enumerates its legal provisions on gender equality and progress since the previous report. In accordance with the Constitution (Art. 19), the state guarantees equality of human and civil rights and freedoms, regardless of sex. However, restrictions of civil rights on the grounds of sex are not explicitly prohibited. Men and women have equal rights and freedoms and equal opportunities to exercise them. The wording is aimed at achieving the full enjoyment by women of their rights and freedoms and equality of outcome. The Constitution also guarantees the protection of maternity, paternity, and childhood. The principle of the equal rights of men and women is enshrined in family, labour, civil, and tax law. The provisions on discrimination incorporate both administrative liability (Code of Administrative Offences Art. 5.62) and criminal liability (Criminal Code Arts. 136 & 145).

As a tool and solution to the elimination of discrimination against women, the Russian Federation issued the 2017–2022 National Strategy for Women, which was adopted to advance women, guarantee their rights, and empower them. The strategy establishes the main areas of focus of state policy on women and is intended to give effect to the principle of equal rights and freedoms and to create equal opportunities for women's enjoyment of such rights and freedoms, in accordance with the Constitution, the generally recognised principles and standards of international law, and the international treaties to which the Russian Federation is a party.

When ratifying CEDAW, Finland started to work to reform legislation held to be contrary to CEDAW. The Act on Equality between Women and Men was the most visible legislative outcome following ratification. However, the Act adopted a symmetric and gender-neutral approach unlike the CEDAW, with an overall focus on discrimination in the labour market (Nousiainen & Pentikäinen, 2013). Finland is considered a very legalistic country, one that follows UN recommendations quite carefully.

For Denmark's 9th report to the CEDAW Committee, the Greenlandic government submitted a report on gender equality in Greenland. In this report, the Greenlandic government stated that this equality act should allegedly cover "gender equality in all areas"[98] However, the act does not in fact cover all areas. It is limited primarily to situations related to the workplace. This is seen in the initial proposal discussion[99] and in the wording of the legislation, as its aim and scope is limited to promoting equality "to the extent that similar or better rights do not result from a collective agreement".[100] The combined report on gender equality by the Danish Institute of Human Rights and Greenland Council on Human Rights confirms this.[101]

Yellowknife, capital city of Canada's Northwest Territories. *Willam Lee / Pixabay*

In Canada's most recent national report to the CEDAW Committee, submitted in 2015, the Canadian government did not address issues of gender equality in the Arctic to any great extent. However, it did include information on steps taken to advance equality in the Northwest Territories through emergency and long-term protection for victims of family violence and offering increased childcare spaces to allow mothers to return to work or school.[102] In 2011, non-governmental organisations initiated an inquiry under article 8 of the Optional Protocol to CEDAW, which resulted in the finding that Canada had committed a "grave violation" of the rights of Indigenous women by failing to promptly and thoroughly investigate the high levels of violence they suffer, including disappearances and murders.[103] Canada later implemented its own inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls.[104] Canada was also subject to an individual complaint on discrimination against Canada under Article 2 of the Optional Protocol. The complaint involved an Indigenous woman from the Northwest Territories, Cecilia Kell, who was a victim of domestic violence and was displaced from her housing by the local housing authority.[105] The CEDAW Committee found that the federal government had engaged in intersectional discrimination against Kell, in violation of several articles of CEDAW.[106]

A general analysis of the Canadian experience with the CEDAW demonstrates that CEDAW contributes to the development of a domestic gender equality regime (Lamarche, 2013). According to Lamarche, CEDAW's importance seems to be as a normative foundation used by the women's movement that over time has influenced the development of the gender equality regime on the domestic level.

Policy Relevant Highlights

A gender equality policy for the Arctic Council

The Council and other collaborative bodies for governance of the Arctic are important promotors of gender equality (based on enlarged gender and equality concepts) in the region. Launching an overall gender equality policy or guidelines for the activities of the body and the ambitions for improving the situation in the region is an important step. The gendered nature of social institutions and structures in the governance of the Arctic should be addressed.

❙ Launch a gender equality policy for the Arctic Council.

Gender equality in the Arctic States strategies for the Arctic

Several of the states are expected to launch new strategies in the near future. Collaboration around gender equality in the development of new strategies is recommended. Special attention should be paid to avoiding the tendency to scantily and vaguely address gender equality and diversity. Use the monitoring human rights bodies' reports when prioritising a focus on gender equality measures in the governance of the Arctic. Women's organisations, Indigenous organisations, and other NGOs must be involved in the implementation of gender equality in the Arctic region. The responsible subjects (states and state bodies) should guarantee the process for such work. Gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting are tools that should be used in the governance of the Arctic.

❙ Initiate a collaboration to mainstream gender in the Arctic States strategies for the region.

An enlarged gender equality concept

The international political and legal obligations (e.g., SDG and CEDAW) are open to this, and there are theoretical frameworks offering tools that can be used to implement a deeper understanding of equality. Through sharing best practices of gender equality on various dimensions requiring both political and legal instruments, the ambitions and outcomes of gender equality may be improved within the Arctic region. Controversies occurring when something must be changed in order to achieve equality, such as transformation of existing male-oriented institutions and social structures, should be addressed in dialogue with various stakeholders. Controversies among the lines of individual–collective, rights–responsibilities, coercion–voluntary, and unequal power–different attitudes should also be addressed and contextualised.

The public governing bodies of the Arctic should acknowledge and apply a more far-reaching gender equality concept.

An intersectional gender equality approach

The main focus for gender equality policies and legislation is on women (e.g., SDG and CEDAW,) or on men and women (e.g., EU treaties and the gender equality policies of the Nordic countries). Most non-discrimination legislation protects gender identity outside the female and male binary. The governance of the Arctic should apply a reflective inclusive strategy securing protection from discrimination on any grounds related to sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, or the like. The Arctic States should address inequalities experienced by women and girls and by men and boys based on race, Indigeneity, disability, family, sexual and gender identity, and poverty, as those grounds intersect with sex/gender.

The public governing bodies of the Arctic should acknowledge and apply an intersectional approach.

Shared gender equality commitments

The discrepancies regarding the scope for non-discrimination and promotion of gender equality in the various Arctic jurisdictions should be identified in order to form a comprehensive gender-equal regime applicable in all spheres of life. SDG 5 aims at ending all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere. CEDAW is applicable to all spheres of life. As stated in Art.3, States Parties shall take in all fields, in particular the political, social, economic, and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men. Most domestic legislation on gender equality or equal rights between men and women is limited to certain spheres of life.

> The public governing bodies of the Arctic should identify discrepancies regarding the scope for non-discrimination and promotion of gender equality in the various Arctic jurisdictions, in order to form a comprehensive gender equal regime applicable in all spheres of life.

Research initiatives

The political and legal obligations for public governance of the Arctic region concerning gender equality are far reaching, which is shown in the comprehensive, yet superficial, presentation in this chapter. The examples from cases, reports, and research show that much remains to be done before the goal is reached. The body of available knowledge is impressive, yet not always easy to find. In the UN system the Arctic is not a subject but is part of eight states. This means that a huge body of documents must be analysed in relation to the Arctic. Thus, what is acknowledged widely—that there is a lack of knowledge—is only partly correct. There are still gaps of knowledge regarding the everyday life of people living in the Arctic, but on a general level it is more a matter of how knowledge can be analysed in relation to the Arctic in order to elaborate how to address the challenges raised in the human rights body monitoring system or in research.

This report, referring to a rich body of documents of varying kind, demonstrates that the governance of the Arctic does not prioritise gender equality and, more generally, that the goal of gender equality is not fulfilled within the region. Only by wider dissemination of this knowledge is it possible to move towards implementation of gender equality in practice. At the same time, there are significant gaps in knowledge. For example, statistics limited to the Arctic region and empirical as well as desk studies of access to services and more generally of political processes in the Arctic are required. In addition, knowledge about and analysis of different processes used to negotiate and implement gender equality in different contexts are urgently needed.

> Compile available knowledge and identify areas of knowledge gaps

> Analyse how to use existing knowledge and further develop knowledge on processes for negotiating and implementing gender equality in the Arctic

> Identify and further analyse controversial concepts imposed on the region and its population, such as individual rights, power, culture, and tradition.

Endnotes

1. Saami Council (2019, p. 22) contains a short section about the Sámi traditional governance system.

2. The world's jurisdictions are often categorised in families (or systems) based upon certain criteria regarding origin, sources, and adjudication—e.g., civil law, common law, customary law, religious law, and mixed systems.

3. https://arctic-council.org/en/, The Arctic Council will be studied closer in the section focusing on the Arctic policies.

4. https://arctic-council.org/en/about/permanent-participants/

5. There will also be an appendix where this material is presented in more detail.

6. The working definitions in policies and law are still to a great extent binary. Even though 'equal rights for all genders' would be more accurate, the working definitions are still primarily binary.

7. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, UNGA Res 217A (III) (1948) UN Doc. A/810.

8. However, Russia abstained and Finland was not a member of the UN at the time.

9. A/HRC/35/10, Impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination and violence in the context of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related intolerance on the full enjoyment of all human rights by women and girls, 2017.

10. A resolution of a more general nature. The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women refers to their general comments as 'general recommendations'.

11. General recommendation No. 34 on the rights of rural women. The other GRs are 24, 25, 26, and 28.

12. The rich variety of perceptions of the concepts and their meaning is disregarded here.

13. It was only recently, in July 2019, that UN Women hosted the first high-level event on gender diversity and non-binary identities at UN headquarters. The event gave space to trans and gender non-conforming individuals to speak on their experiences and call for the UN and the global community to take action to protect their human rights. https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2019/7/news-event-gender-diversity-and-non-binary-identities

14. https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/conceptsandefinitions.htm

15. https://arctic-council.org/en/

16. The wording 'taking gender equality seriously' refers to the title of a 2006 United Nations Development Programme document with the objective of helping nations build democratic governance and fulfil the Millennium Development Goals, especially the third: 'to promote gender equality and empower women'.

17. https://arcticgenderequality.network/

18. Available at the webpage of the Icelandic Arctic Cooperation Network, https://www.arcticiceland.is/en/selected-material/arctic-policies. Several states are updating their Arctic policies as of 2020.

19. Prioritised areas in the EU policy are climate change and the environment, sustainable economic development, and international cooperation.

20. What this implies is not elaborated upon. https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1560523306861/1560523330587

21. It is not obvious what is meant by 'diversity and equality' and 'all genders'. It might imply a reference to gender identity and the inclusion of transgender and non-binary people. When inequality is addressed, it is as 'income inequality' (not addressed in relation to gender).

22. Denmark, Greenland and the Faroe Islands: Kingdom of Denmark Strategy for the Arctic 2011– 2020. A forthcoming strategy for 2021–2030 is expected to be launched in early 2021.

23. It is not elaborated what this implies, not family matter or why the experience sharing is with Nunavut, see the strategy p. 40.

24. https://www.government.se/4aaec5/contentassets/85de9103bbbe4373b55eddd7f71608da/swedens-strategy-for-the-arctic-region-2020.pdf

25. What this meant was not clarified.

26. Such an initiative has been taken with active contribution from The Sámi Parliament in 2016.

27. Annex 1 on Building Knowledge in Sápmi.

28. The Sámi Parliament has, according to the Swedish strategy, initiated an exchange of experience with Finland, Norway, and Russia on gender equality, men's violence against women, sexual harassment, and abuse.

29. https://secureservercdn.net/104.238.71.250/hh3.0e7.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/Inuit-Arctic-Policy.pdf

30. Equality of opportunity in this context refers to substantive equality or equality of outcome. In some contexts, equality of opportunity refers to formal equality.

31. Canada voted against the adoption of UNDRIP in 2007.

32. Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework.

33. The EEA includes the EU member states plus Iceland, Norway, and Liechtenstein.

34. https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/index.html; https://www.congress.gov/search?q=%7B%22source%22%3A%22legislation%22%2C%22search%22%3A%22equal%20rights%22%7D&searchResultViewType=expanded

35. https://www.equalrightsamendment.org/

36. The Constitution of the State of Alaska contains a declaration of rights in Article 1. Para. 3 states that 'No person is to be denied the enjoyment of any civil or political right because of race, color, creed, sex, or national origin'.

37. http://www.constitution.ru/en/10003000-03.htm

38. Trudovoi kodeks Rossiiskoi Federatsii [Labour Code of the Russian Federation], Federal Law No. 197-FZ, 2001, art. 320 and 327 [Labour Code] (Rus.); O trudovyh pensiyah v RossiskoiFedrasii [On labour pensions in the Russian Federation], Dec.17, 2001 Rossiiskaya Gazeta, Dec. 20, 2001 [On labour pensions in the RF], art.28.1 (Rus.).

39. Withler v. Canada (Attorney General), 2011 SCC 12 (CanLII), [2011] 1 SCR 396 at para 39.

40. Canadian Bill of Rights, SC 1960, c 44, http://canlii.ca/t/7vnh (CBR). While the Constitution Act, 1982 (including the Charter) came into effect in 1982, the equality rights provision, s 15, was delayed until 1985.

41. See e.g., Bliss v. Attorney General of Canada, [1979] 1 SCR 183, http://canlii.ca/t/1mm2s (holding that discrimination based on pregnancy was not sex discrimination) and Attorney General of Canada v. Lavell, [1974] SCR 1349, http://canlii.ca/t/1xv15 (holding that a distinction between Indian status for men and women based on marriage was not discriminatory). This issue later went to the Human Rights Committee under the Optional Protocol of the ICCPR and Canada's Indian Act was found to violate articles 3, 26, and 27 of the ICCPR. See Sandra Lovelace v. Canada, Communication No. 24/1977, http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/undocs/session36/6-24.htm; McIvor v Canada, Communication No. 2020/2010, https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CCPR/Shared%20Documents/CAN/CCPR_C_124_D_2020_2010_28073_E.pdf

42. Quebec (Attorney General) v. Alliance du personnel professionnel et technique de la santé et des services sociaux, 2018 SCC. See also Centrale des syndicats du Québec v. Quebec (Attorney General), 2018 SCC 18.

43. Fraser v Canada (Attorney General), 2020 SCC 28.

44. Section 1 of the Canadian Charter allows governments to place reasonable limits on Charter rights, including the right to equality.

45. See R. v. Kapp, [2008] 2 SCR 483, 2008 SCC 41, http://canlii.ca/t/1z476; CHRA, ss 15, 16; YHRA, s 13; NTHRA, s 67; NHRA, s 7(2); Alliance du personnel professionnel et technique de la santé et des services sociaux, supra at para 42.

46. General recommendation No. 25.

47. See the jurisprudence emanating from the United Nations Treaty Bodies, which receive and consider complaints from individuals, https://juris.ohchr.org/

48. Report of the Russian Federation on progress achieved and obstacles encountered in the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the outcomes of the Twenty-Third Special Session of the General Assembly, https://unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/RCM_Website/Russian_Federation__English_.pdf

49. See the table of national political and legal obligations.

50. Also of importance are general welfare measures and redistributive and equality-driven policies to promote equality between men and women. The connection between gender equality and welfare is often emphasised in the Nordic countries (extended Scandinavia; Bergqvist, 2015). This aspect is, however, left out of this chapter.

51. see https://www.regeringen.se/contentassets/49618bcb4fd94b6081d9696f55bc7f8d/forslag-till-statens-budget-for-2016-finansplan-och-skattefragor-kapitel-1-12-och-bilagor-1-16.pdf

52. see https://www.government.is/topics/economic-affairs-and-public-finances/gender-budgeting/

53. See Action Plan on Gender-based analysis (2016-2020), https://cfc-swc.gc.ca/gba-acs/plan-action-2016-en.html & What is GBA+, https://cfc-swc.gc.ca/gba-acs/index-en.html

54. CEDAW/C/NOR/CO/9 para. 12.

55. 22 November 2007 Concluding observation on the 9th periodic report of Norway, CEDAW/C/NOR/CO/9, para. 13(a) and 8 April 2008 Concluding observation on the 7th periodic review of Sweden, CEDAW/C/SWE/CO/7, para. 14.

56. With the Amendment Gender Pay Gap, 2017. The Act is complemented by the Gender Equality Administrative Act 151/2020. There are still no official translations of the Acts.

57. For a case recognising systemic sex discrimination against women in the employment context, see CN v. Canada (Canadian Human Rights Commission), [1987] 1 SCR 1114.

58. Janzen v. Platy Enterprises Ltd., [1989] 1 SCR 1252.

59. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, s 15(1).

60. A/HRC/35/10, Impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination and violence in the context of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related intolerance on the full enjoyment of all human rights by women and girls, 2017.

61. General recommendation No. 34 on the rights of rural women. The other GRs are 24, 25, 26, and 28.

62. CEDAW Communication No. 19/2008 (27 April 2012) UN Doc CEDAW/C/51/D/19/2008, Annex 'Views of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women under article 7, paragraph 3, of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (fifty-first session)'.

63. Voluntary National Reviews database: https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/vnrs/ See also Breu et al. (2021).

64. https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/16033Sweden.pdf

65. Government of Canada's Sustainable Development Goals Unit, 'Towards Canada's 2030 Agenda National Strategy', Annex I, https://www.canada.ca/en/employment-social-development/programs/agenda-2030/national-strategy.html

66. Ibid., 11.

67. https://www.government.is/library/01-Ministries/Prime-Ministrers-Office/Gender%20Equality%20Action%20Programme%20for%20the%20period%20of%2020202023.pdf

68. https://unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/RCM_Website/Russian_Federation__English_.pdf

69. The United Nations Report on Human Development for the Year 2019.

70. See: Russia_ELA November Issue_Gender Equality.pdf / https://www.ela.law/Templates/media/files/Newsletter_Articles_Clients/2019%20Client%20Newsletter/November/EU/Russia_ELA%20November%20Issue_Gender%20Equality.pdf?fbclid=IwAR2CY5FYf4lQFaaxTOn_sB4YMY9qLZi89DeE1peFkQIlabR9bbpj88eLCJE

71. In Russian, international organizations, international law, and national law. https://nbpublish.com/library_get_pdf.php?id=24597&fbclid=IwAR3Fm6WPDIL8mnsRm4CFDvBdDg9sYUzxXYa9Pn2emnUGmg4wJBdZ_MTK4qo. https://doi.org/10.7256/2226-6305.2013.2.7635

72. Labour Conventions Case Attorney General for Canada v Attorney General for Ontario, [1936] SCR 461. See also Canada (Prime Minister) v Khadr, 2010 SCC 3 at paras 34–37.

73. Labour Conventions Case Attorney General for Canada v Attorney General for Ontario, [1937] AC 326. See also Quebec (Attorney General) v. 9147-0732 Québec inc., 2020 SCC 32.

74. See further H. M. Kindred, P. M. Saunders, and R. J. Currie (eds), International Law Chiefly as Interpreted and Applied in Canada, 8th ed. (Emond Montgomery Publications 2014), 176-180.

75. The treaties use the term 'committee' throughout, but the committees are widely known as 'treaty bodies' because they are created in accordance with the provisions of the treaty they oversee. The committee consists of experts independent of the United Nations system, although they receive support from the United Nations Secretariat and report to the General Assembly. They are also sometimes called a 'treaty-monitoring body'.

76. The UN Treaty Body Database provides the concluding observations, see https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/TBSearch.aspx?Lang=en&TreatyID=3&DocTypeID=5

77. https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/IPeoples/SRIndigenousPeoples/Pages/SRIPeoplesIndex.aspx

78. https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Women/SRWomen/Pages/SRWomenIndex.aspx

79. https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Women/WGWomen/Pages/WGWomenIndex.aspx

80. CEDAW, article 18.

81. Concluding observations are the observations and recommendations issued by a treaty body after it has considered a State Party's report. They refer both to the positive aspects of a state's implementation of the treaty and to areas of concern, where the treaty body recommends that further action needs to be taken by the state.

82. CEDAW/C/NOR/CO/9

83. Why the US has not ratified CEDAW is in line with its general reluctance to ratify HT-instruments. According to Simmons (2009), governments in common-law settings are systematically more reluctant to ratify human rights treaties and tend to enter far more reservations than governments in civil-law jurisdictions, although this is not the case with Canada.

84. This statement could be criticised for imposing a certain view. Women in the Arctic are not inherently vulnerable; rather, they are made to be vulnerable through a series of unequal systems.

85. The table presenting the international political and legal obligations also includes—along with a list of important political and legal documents, signatures, and ratifications—recommendations from the Committee for Canada, the Russian Federation, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. Because the United States has signed but not ratified CEDAW, a comment from the Human Rights Committee with recommendations for the US is included.

86. CEDAW/C/FIN/CO/7; CEDAW/C/SWE/CO/8-9; CEDAW/C/NOR/CO/9

87. CCPR/C/US/CO/4

88. https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CERD/Pages/CERDIndex.aspx

89. CERD/C/NOR/CO/23-24

90. CERD/C/CAN/Q/21-23, with reference to CERD/C/CAN/21-23, paras. 64-94 and CERD/C/CAN/CO/19-20, para. 17.

91. https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/IPeoples/SRIndigenousPeoples/Pages/SRIPeoplesIndex.aspx

92. E/CN.4/2005/88/Add.3; A/HRC/27/52/Add.2

93. https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Women/SRWomen/Pages/SRWomenIndex.aspx

94. A/HRC/4/34/Add.3

95. https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Women/WGWomen/Pages/WGWomenIndex.aspx

96. A/HRC/32/44/Add.2

97. And two conventions that are not addressed in this chapter otherwise, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.

98. Denmark's Report to CEDAW for 9th periodic review (28th March 2019) Paragraph 2: Constitution and legislation.

99. Efterårssamling 2012, pkt. 112, Forelæggelsesnotat 1.beh. p.1-2.

100. Translation of the Danish words kollektiv overenskomst, which are mostly used in relation to employers and employee unions negotiating employment terms.

101. Danish Institute for Human Rights, "Ligebehandling – Status i Grønland 2019", p. 10.

102. Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDW), 'Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under article 18 of the Convention eighth and ninth periodic reports of States parties due in 2014 Canada' (28 April 2015) UN Doc CEDAW/C/CAN/8-9.

103. CEDAW, "Report of the inquiry concerning Canada of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women under article 8 of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women" (30 March 2015) UN Doc. Cf. also the report by the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, A/HRC/27/52/Add.2. CEDAW/C/OP.8/CAN/1.

104. "Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls" 2019, <https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/final-report/>

105. CEDAW Communication No. 19/2008 (27 April 2012) UN Doc CEDAW/C/51/D/19/2008, Annex "Views of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women under article 7, paragraph 3, of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (fifty-first session)".

106. CEDAW, articles 2(d) and (e), and 16(1)(h).

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Introduction

The Arctic is frequently identified as a region of the world devoid of conflict, or of "Arctic exception-alism". The majority of Arctic States are held up as examples of idealised peace and security and gender equality (Hoogensen Gjørv, 2021). Indeed, when it comes to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI) ranking, Arctic States are "on top of the world" regarding gender indicators (UNDP, 2019). Though the Arctic has been singled out as being exceptional regarding peace and security, these states' understanding of security has largely been one that is militarised, employing the use of military force to protect the state, and has been largely divorced from the perceptions of security of Arctic peoples (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) themselves. As noted by Vladimirova (2018), people do not generally think or talk about the concept of security as it applies to themselves. However, it can be useful as a tool and concept for analysis, and to point to trends regarding the hopes and fears of individuals and communities. Security is about what people and states believe is integral to their survival and well-being, and what they are willing to fight for. The first step towards acknowledging, respecting and at times reconciling different local perceptions of security with states and authorities is to, in fact, understand what informs these perceptions.

Þór, the flagship of the Icelandic coastguard secures the countries fishery interests. *Peter Prokosch / GRID-Arendal*

Security has been, over time, co-opted into a militarised term that invokes the use of violence, often at the behest of states against other states or peoples. However, it has a long history reflecting the well-being of people and their communities. Security in its broader (and more historically consistent) sense weaves together an intricate combination of five factors: actors, practices, values, survival, and future (Hoogensen Gjørv, 2017).

Perceptions of security alter depending on the actor who experiences it (or its absence) and claims that something is a security issue (Roe, 2008; Vaughn, 2009). The practices to ensure security often depend upon which actor has made a claim to a security perception. Such claims are rooted in values – the values that said actor feels are essential to the good life, to well-being, and to the existence of that person and their community. Survival depends on the continuation of those values. But security is not just survival – it is about the perpetuation of that which we value most, into the future.

In the first section of this chapter, we address what we mean by security, focusing on human secu-rity, and address important linkages between these broader conceptions of security, and narrower, state-centric, militarised conceptions. We discuss the ways in which security has been problematic and has been used for questionable state-based purposes that have perpetuated inequalities. We then explore how feminist approaches and an intersectional lens give us new insights into understanding security. Over the past 30 years, efforts within human and feminist security studies have called for a more equitable and inclusive approach to the field of security studies, and security-oriented policy. This understanding of security emphasises it as a concept that people need to define for themselves in relation to (or depending on) the values and ways of life they wish to protect. We end this section by recalling the commitments of Arctic States to global initiatives on gender, peace, and security, and what a feminist/gender aware security perspective means for the Arctic.

We thereafter move into the second section of the chapter with a focused discussion about one of the most important security threats to the Arctic and of our time – climate change. We highlight how climate change exacerbates human (particularly gendered) insecurities and how increasing mis/distrust of science and climate change research has been used in disinformation campaigns to confuse or create resistance to climate change mitigation measures, with resulting, gendered vulnerabilities in the Arctic.

In the last section, we discuss general trends with regard to insecurities in the Arctic and provide four additional examples of some of the gender/human insecurities experienced across the Arctic today. We conclude with how gender security perspectives are crucial to improve Arctic societal well-being and stability.

Security and the Good Life

At its core, the concept of security is about reducing or eliminating fear or worry. Cicero (106–43 BCE) coined the word "securitas" to reflect a state of calm, undisturbed by passions including fear, anger, and anxiety (Hamilton & Rathbun, 2013; Liotta & Owen, 2006). The concept focused on the individual, though Cicero recognised its relevance for larger political communities (Hamilton & Rathbun, 2013). Even after the creation of states within Europe through the Peace of Westphalia, (1648), Western political philosophers, including Thomas Hobbes, Jeremy Bentham, and Adam Smith, continued to theorise security from the standpoint of the individual, focusing on the tensions and responsibilities for security between the individual and the state (Hoogensen, 2005; Rothschild, 1995). Security was theorised as fundamental to the good life and its development has largely reflected the values and politics of a Western knowledge system.

People playing on a beach in Hovden, Norway. *Vidar Nordli Mathisen*

By the Napoleonic wars of the early 19th century, the central referent object of security— the individual— was replaced by the state (Rothschild, 1995) which not only entrenched a Westernised viewpoint of the concept but also embodied a politics of dominance (often reflected in colonialisms) where those who were in or took power determined the fates of the governed. The term security was therefore used less as a reflection of the good life, or well-being, but increasingly associated with state sovereignty and the militarised protection of borders, through a monopoly of force waged against external, but also internal, threats (including those resisting the power of those governing).

Throughout the 20th century, the idea of the state as the sole security actor, through a monopoly of violence (military) became increasingly prevalent, especially during the Cold War. In other words, the concept of security became largely synonymous with the use of military force to protect the state (Walt, 1991). In this vision of security, if the state was secure, it was assumed human beings were also secure

via a form of "trickle-down" security (Hoogensen & Rottem, 2004). Many have rejected the notion of trickle-down security, and some have argued for bottom-up approaches to security or as Dean Spade calls it, "trickle-up" social justice (Spade, 2015). This approach attempts to rectify injustices against marginalised peoples, including those of non-dominant/non-binary genders and non-dominant ethnic identities (including Indigenous), among others. Dissatisfaction with a narrow and often insufficient definition of security led to attempts to widen and deepen the concept of security continued through-out this period, with the focus broadening to include, among other things, environmental issues and concerns (Ullman, 1983). Attempts to introduce "new ideas and ways of looking at things" (Tuhiwai Smith, 2013, p. 40) into the concept of security were underway.

Human security

By the early 1990s, the security of the individual was reintroduced through the concept of human security. The concept of human security – often attributed to the United Nations Development Program's 1994 Human Development Report, though with roots in the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, US President Roosevelt's 1941 state of the union address (Roosevelt, 1941) and earlier developments in political theory (Hoogensen, 2005) – seeks to change the meaning of security from one committed to the survival and interests of states to one concerned for the survival and well-being of individual people (UNDP, 1994). It broadens security analysis to include potential insecurities other than armed force and military threat, and to deepen its perspective to include referent objects below the level of the sovereign state. Human security was defined broadly as "freedom from fear, freedom from want" and included seven categories of security: environmental, food, health, economic, political, personal, and community (or identity; UNDP, 1994). In other words, people's experiences of insecurity within and across these categories were understood to be relevant to an overall and comprehensive understanding of security. Additionally, ideas around human security were developing simultaneously with feminist security studies, which already had an extensive body of work focused on the experiences of individuals – in particular women – and the ways in which inequalities contributed to increased insecurity.

The human security agenda intended to increase the visibility of certain issues of security that traditional security failed to address, such as continuing poverty and human strife within failing or weak states, or in so-called secure, but non-democratic, states (Hampson et al., 2002; Thomas & Wilkin, 1999). It is not fully divorced from, nor uncomplicated by, state-based security concepts which, in turn, feed geopolitical power dynamics. Human security has been accused of using individual/everyday experiences of security to advance state and international security perspectives.

Port of Murmansk with military vessel and oil rig, Russia. *Peter Prokosch / GRID-Arendal*

It has been used as a tool to address select human insecurities among marginalised (usually Global South) populations to placate (usually dominant Global North) populations for the purposes of state security.

Critiques of the concept human security

A common critique of the human security agenda is its perpetuation of the superior–subordinate relationship, which can be characterised as "virtuous imperialism" (Hoogensen Gjørv, 2014): a one-way-feel-good concept for the global North to attend to insecurity in the Global South while serving as a way to protect the Global North from the Global South and its threats (not discounting the highly problematic racial and economic assumptions that are embodied by the terms Global North and Global South). This dichotomy arises from a view of human security not "as a concept that is relevant the world over [...] but as a service offered by the Global North to the Global South, defined by the Global North (scholarship and policymaking) and distributed by the Global North" (Hoogensen & Stuvøy 2006, p.

216). The assumption was that the Global North or Western world, or minority world has eradicated its own human security issues and was well placed to assist the South in doing the same (Shepherd, 2016). At the same time, if human security perspectives have no relevance in the Global North, not least in the Arctic regions that are often marginalised in relation to the dominance of non-Arctic governments, it serves to silence the voices of individuals and communities who recognise threats to their existence as they perceive it (Deiter & Rude, 2005). It is assumed that Northern and Arctic voices are fully represented and attended to by a (non-Arctic focused) state actor, and it disguises and prevents any possible acknowledgement of human insecurities in the High North or Arctic. Likewise, it assumes that everyone's security needs, regardless of gender, are addressed through assumptions linked to a masculinised and Westernised image of the universal man.

Such a perspective overlooks trans- and substate insecurities that exist within and across national boundaries, especially for marginalised groups within wealthy states with high security-provision capabilities. Ultimately, it relies on gendered characterisations of "secure" states exporting or promoting human security to "insecure" states and perpetuating power/knowledge relations that privilege Global North polities and (some of) their citizens, while obscuring insecurity within developed states, especially when the state itself is responsible for producing it. Critical human security analysis thus looks within states to examine the structures that generate human security threats for non-dominant populations, such as poor, racialised, or otherwise marginal groups (Greaves, 2012; Newman, 2010). Hoogensen and Stuvøy (2006) in Gender, Resistance and Human Security, argue that "relations of dominance and non-dominance determine who defines norms and practices and who must follow them; who is important and who is not; who defines the parameters of the debate and who does not; who is valuable and who is not" (p. 219).

An additional critique is that human security's freedoms from fear and want offers only the fulfilment of material needs and do not necessarily ensure the psychological security of individuals or communities as unique selves to exist with their own conditions. According to Shani (2017, p.3), a stable self interacts with others to establish relations of basic trust in order to live in freedom and dignity. Individuals belong to communities that have their own sets of customary rules or codes of social conduct in which they find their sense of self. This, at times, apparently creates conflicts with other cultures and identities outside of their own. As a result, the understanding of human security of those cultures and identities is undermined. Human security thus highlights the connections between material and non-material threats to Indigenous lands, livelihoods, cultures, and identities (Greaves, 2018). The role of human security, by addressing all these specificities, offers conditions in order to put all humans at a level with similar or equal basic fulfilments, allowing them to enjoy universal human rights meaningfully.

Feminist and intersectional approaches to human security

A comprehensive approach to Arctic security—one that includes people as much as regions or states—allows us to learn from the decades of research provided by feminist and gender security studies (Lobasz, 2014; Williams, 2017). These approaches assume that individuals and their communities are, and have always been, security actors, functioning alongside traditional tools of security such as states and their militaries. Research has also shown that individuals and communities are often security actors functioning in the state's absence, for example in weak or failed states (Baaz & Stern,

Nenets village, old military vehicle, Nenets Autonomous Region, Russia. *Peter Prokosch / GRID-Arendal*

2013) or Indigenous women's efforts to claim rights and protection in the face of systemic violence (Kuokkanen, 2012). Feminist security studies scholars have argued that narrow or state-based security narratives "limit how we can think about security, whose security matters, and how it might be achieved" (Wibben, 2011). Gender and feminist analyses take their starting point from the bottom

up, integrating an increased awareness of the impacts of gender on personal relations and how these shape understandings of security. Gender and feminist analyses question the terms used, including the notion of human– who is included (or not) and why in this category (Hudson, 2005).

The concept of *human* has operated as a concept of power, where certain peoples (often people of colour, Indigenous Peoples) were de-humanised or made unhuman to justify violent colonial practices (Tuhiwai Smith, 2013). The same has occurred with earlier uses of the concept of gender (see report introduction for further discussion on the gender concept). Though gender has often been conflated with a narrow and heteronormative understanding of *woman*, there are "a large number of different constellations of genders and sexualities that transgress traditional gender norms. These range from lesbian, gay and bisexual, to queer, trans and non-binary [often referred to as LGBTQIA2S+]" (Browne, 2019). In acknowledging that the personal is political, these analyses reach down to the individual's experience, claiming that personal experience is relevant to the security of the individual and the community, as well as to the security of the state and global order. By listening to security needs by those who are least secure or marginalised, security is reoriented away from elite or state interests. Increasingly empirical research has been conducted regarding the efforts of average or everyday people in identifying insecurity and expressing vulnerabilities and sources of fear, as well as doing what is within their own power to reduce fear and increase security.

This research has thus focused on capabilities and strengths people, societies, and groups command to ensure their security through a variety of means (Hoogensen & Stuvøy, 2006; Stern, 2006). This is particularly important as vulnerable and marginalised peoples are frequently characterised as helpless victims or as dependent on dominant (colonial, heteronormative, etc.) power holders to be integrated into dominant societal structures and norms. The dichotomies between the ways in which security is understood can be illustrated by the contrast between Indigenous and Western perspectives regarding the coloniser–Indigenous People relationship. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith notes, from a Western perspective, this relationship has been:

> theorized as a phased progression through: (1) initial discovery and contact, (2) population decline, (3) acculturation, (4) assimilation, (5) 'reinvention' as a hybrid, ethnic culture. While the terms may differ across various theoretical paradigms the historical descent into a state of nothingness and hopelessness has tended to persist. Indigenous perspectives also show a phased progression, more likely to be articulated as: (1) contact and invasion, (2) genocide and destruction, (3) resistance and survival, (4) recovery as Indigenous peoples (2013, p. 91).

The relationship between local and the state or authorities and how that evolves has also been captured by the concept of *social security* which is:

> understood both as formal institutional provisions at state level, as well as other cultural institutions and even efforts of individuals, groups, and organisations to overcome insecurities. ... Social security in this understanding emerges through diverse practices, relationships, ideologies, policies, and institutions (Vladimirova, 2018).

How people understand their stories and histories speaks directly to how security is understood from a community, bottom-up perspective. If dominant cultures and structures are unaware of, or reject, perspectives from below (individuals and communities), they will continue to work in opposition to creating/maintaining security.

It is therefore difficult to discuss gender equality and security without understanding the complex constellations of gender itself, and how these interact with additional power dynamics of race, ethnicity, class, urban/rural, centre/periphery, and other identity markers. A critical move contributing to this shift in feminist and gender security scholarship was the incorporation of the concept and practice of intersectionality, which recognises that universalising and homogenous methods and practices were often both inaccurate and harmful to research, as well as to the societies that were central to such research. Coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) in the late 1980s, the term intersectionality was designed to critically assess the intersection between race and gender, and at its core it has a "non-positivistic, non-essentialist understanding of differences among people as produced

in on-going, context-specific social processes" (Marfelt, 2016, p. 32). Indeed, intersectionality holds that even earlier definitions of gender equality and understanding of gender constructions for all societies were grossly inadequate because of their tendency to also universalise, even though they moved beyond realism to incorporate a liberal perspective of peace and human security. Intersectional analysis purports that the preceding waves of feminism were dominated by experiences by generally White, middle-class, European/Western women, and that these experiences did not speak to either the gendered norms, practices, or experiences of people of colour, Indigenous People, non-White-centric ethnicities and cultures, nor to those with differing experiences based on age, class, sexuality, and ability (Marfelt, 2016). Intersectionality is subject to opening and evolution as well, and still needs to be viewed in the context of structural barriers. As Rauna Kuokkanen observes:

> The exploitation faced by Indigenous women in Canada does not arise only from the intersections of gender and race but also from political, economic, and legal structures and practices that exclude women from the social rights of membership or citizenship in their own communities. Neoliberal policies play a role in creating or compounding existing vulnerability by impoverishing those who are already poor while cutting key social and health services, including shelters for victims of abuse. (2019, p. 185).

Child holding the Faroese flag in Torshavn, Faroe Islands. *Ólavur Frederiksen / Faroephoto*

In recent years, human security has become a concept in which people themselves are providing content. Testimonies from the long-awaited report on missing and murdered women in Canada were used to better understand what human security means for Indigenous women and LGBTQIA2S+: "Security is more than a physical condition; it is also a deeply felt experience of belonging, purpose, trust, connection, and harmony with the broader human, natural, and spiritual world" (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls [NIMMIWG], 2019, p. 508)

International commitments to gender and security

Arctic States have committed to integrating gender perspectives in their security policies. Arctic States not only have been generally praised for advances in gender equality but have also played a significant role in recognising the relevance of gender to understanding, creating, and maintaining security. 31 October 2020 marked the 20th anniversary of the landmark United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) (United Nations Security Council [UNSC], 2000). The resolution was groundbreaking as the most influential international body on peace and security – the United Nations Security Council – agreed that the experiences of women, as well as integrating gender perspectives, were crucial to understanding security, peace, and conflict, with a particular focus on gender-based violence as a threat to peace and security (Tryggestad, 2009). The resolution focused on prevention of conflict, the protection of women and girls from conflict-related sexual violence, the participation of women in security and peacebuilding, and the implementation of gender perspectives in all efforts to increase peace and security globally. Though the resolution focused upon the effects of large-scale violence upon women and their communities, it also offered an important

recognition of security understood in broader terms, that included political participation and the reduc-
tion of power inequalities (particularly between men and women, but more broadly speaking between
those who usually have held the reins of power, and those who have not). This resolution was adopted
unanimously by the UN Security Council's five permanent members, including the Russian Federation,
the United States of America (US) and China, and ten non-permanent members which at that time
included Canada (UNSC, 2000). With the exception of the Russian Federation, all the members of the
Arctic Council (the Council) have adopted national action plans for the implementation of UNSCR 1325
(Peace Women, 2020).

Non-Violence, also known as The Knotted Gun, is a bronze sculpture by Swedish artist Carl Fredrik
Reuterswärd. United Nations Headquarters, New York, USA. *Matthew TenBruggencate / Unsplash*

The adoption of UNSCR 1325 and its nine subsequent resolutions has had global significance for
women around the world (True, 2016). The resolutions emphasise the crucial role of civil society in
ensuring stability and security and highlight the importance of focusing on structural and institutional
problems that are often precursors to crisis and conflict. Though these resolutions recognise the
importance of including women in political and peacebuilding processes; call for the prevention
of sexual violence; and expect the inclusion of gender perspectives, including the role of gender
equality, into our understanding of societal stability, they nevertheless just scrape the surface of what
is needed. UNSCR 1325 generally equates "gender" with "women", reflecting a common use of the
term as awareness about gender perspectives has largely been promoted in women and feminist
studies research that focuses on the institutional and structural inequalities women have faced in most
societies (Hagen, 2016).

Understanding of gender and security has been further enhanced by research exposing how people of
various gender identities including LGBTQIA2S+, further exacerbated by inequalities of race, ethnicity,
and class (intersectional inequalities) are subjected to various threats because of their identities.
Despite the groundbreaking UNSC 1325 resolution, marginalised groups, including women, continue
to struggle to be represented in high-level negotiations regarding peace, conflict, and security. The
optimism generated by the 1325 resolution in 2000 has waned in the face of increasing efforts to
reduce gender security with regards to health services, gender equality, and human rights.

This is a global issue, and therefore logically, an Arctic issue. Permanent member states of the Council:
Russia, the US, and Canada – as well as Council Observer States – China, France, the United Kingdom,
and the Netherlands were part of the forefront initiative to unanimously pass UNSCR 1325 in 2000.
In 2015 all UN Member States adopted the 17 UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which
include gender equality, reduced inequalities, and peace, justice, and strong institutions (UN General
Assembly, 2015). As permanent members of the UN Security Council, the Russian Federation, the
United States, China, France, and the United Kingdom further contributed to the unanimous adoption of
UNSCR 2493 (2019) urging UN Member States to commit to the nine previously adopted resolutions on
WPS or gender and security (UNSC, 2019). By committing to the implementation of these resolutions,
the combination of which make up the current WPS Agenda, these states have committed to imple-
menting this agenda in their respective peace and security policies. By implication the WPS agenda

should also be reflected in the discourse on Arctic security. Applying such a perspective will increase our awareness of what sort of insecurities continue to be experienced across the circumpolar region. By so doing, the Council and the Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG) have the potential to increase gender equality, societal stability, and security.

Arctic security = Arctic human security?

The applicability of the human security concept to the Arctic has been debated (Griffiths, 2008; Hoogensen Gjørv, 2014). Most Arctic countries are considered to have relatively strong institutions for the promotion of equality and regulatory tools that offer equality in the formal sense whereby everybody is considered equal before law. Indeed, Arctic governance has been praised as being exceptional, albeit not without critique (Heininen et al., 2015; Hoogensen Gjørv & Hodgson, 2019). The argument promoting Arctic governance as exceptional points to local and regional initiatives such as Home Rule in Greenland and establishment of Samí parliaments/assemblies in the European Arctic (Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia), and national liberal democratic political cultures that "gave shared values of self-determination and pluralism an ability to translate into concrete policy" (Heininen et al., 2015). However, inequalities within societies often lie both within the structures of these same formal institutions, as well as in informal social practices and hidden inequalities. In the Arctic, women and girls, Indigenous Peoples, elders, and Two Spirit peoples are regarded as the most vulnerable (Larsen & Fondahl, 2014). As such, the concept of human security, using intersectional approaches, has the potential to evolve to be a useful framework for understanding the nature of security threats in the circumpolar Arctic, particularly with respect to the effects of anthropogenic climate change (Dalby, 2009; Greaves, 2012, 2016; Hoogensen Gjørv, 2014).

Inuit child carrying her doll like a mother would carry her child.
Peter Prokosch / GRID-Arendal

The changes to the environment and thus sources of food, health, and well-being for many different peoples of the Arctic are intimately linked to climate change, which are in turn influenced by social, political, and economic changes. Arctic environmental changes and extreme weather events due to climate change include: warmer sea and weather temperatures, changing precipitation patterns, changes in sea ice formation, unusual ice break up patterns on rivers and lakes, thawing permafrost, flooding and streamflow changes, coastal erosion, disease vectors, concentrated pollutants in animals and humans, and more frequent and intense storms, landslides, and wildfires (Vincent, 2019). Climate change further interacts with the trends of increasing urbanisation in the Arctic, the ongoing marginalisation of small-scale Indigenous and local economies, and expanding extractive industries. These patterns generate their own gender specifics regarding cultural expectations on divisions of labour, employment opportunities, and mobility, among others (Rozanova, 2019).

Environmental and climate changes have profound implications for human security in the Arctic but are mediated by the variables of geography (including urban/rural and centre/periphery) and Indigeneity, all of which are in turn conditioned by gender. Geography, or rather the spatial dynamics of the region, is an obvious but often overlooked factor in the production of human insecurity in the Arctic. Climate change is experienced at the regional level, with wide variation in rates of warming and changes to weather, agriculture, animal life, and other natural systems. It affects urban areas differently depending on their latitude, geography, topography, design, and demographics. Cities vulnerable to climate disruption and extreme weather events include those located on coasts and at high latitudes, which includes many cities in the Arctic. Though the urban/rural ratio differs considerably depending on which part of the Arctic one is focusing on, in general the Arctic is a significantly urbanised region, with around 40% of its population residing in its regional capitals, administrative centres, and population centres with more than 50,000 residents (Greaves, 2020; Heleniak, 2014). Environmental hazards can threaten the integrity and viability of urban environments, residents, and the provision of essential

services. Villages and towns can be more drastically affected, with fewer resources at their disposal not least due to trends towards the centralisation (urbanisation) of services by regional or national governments. Health, food access, water treatment, and not least internet services are often less accessible to people living in peripheries (northern and/or rural), and making them more vulnerable if they must additionally depend on inadequate transport systems subjected to increasingly unpredictable climate patterns. Climate change thus poses serious challenges to the integrity and viability of both Arctic cities and rural settlements and generates vital new questions about whether urbanisation facilitates or impedes human security for residents in a rapidly warming world. Urbanisation that is not designed through holistic, conscious, and just approaches often competes with or reduces non-urban local and/or traditional economies, many of which are predominately Indigenous.

A permafrost "thaw slump" on Herschel Island in Canada's Yukon territory. *Gonçalo Vieira / Nunataryuk / GRID-Arendal*

The Arctic's Biggest Security Challenge: Climate Change and Environmental Security

Changes in the Arctic are anthropogenic in origin, resulting in often significant insecurity and vulnerability of human and non-human ecosystems. These changes are rooted in the historical and contemporary colonisation, marginalisation, and continued oppression of Arctic Indigenous Peoples, as well as marginalisation of non-Indigenous populations in the north, based on a combination of negative stereotypes and low population numbers (Hellstad, 2010). Though Arctic States in general might boast higher than average human development rankings, including gender equality, these overall assessments do not accurately represent the status of their Arctic regions. Aside from Iceland (which does not have an Indigenous population), the Indigenous populations across the Arctic have all been subject to the effects of various forms of colonialism, from settler colonialism to internal colonialism (Barker, 2009; Kuokkanen, 2019; Short, 2005), which have disempowered and marginalised these segments of the Arctic population over extended periods of time.

In addition, northern populations (Indigenous and non-Indigenous combined) have been subjected to the tensions of centre–periphery governance whereby the interests and needs of smaller populations in the northern regions are dominated by the interests and needs of the more heavily populated southern region and centre of governance (Blakkisrud & Hønneland, 2000; Stein et al., 2019). At the same time, the Arctic regions have been playing increasingly prominent roles in the national economies of Arctic States, in particular regarding natural resources, including extractive industries which

continue to be male-dominated/masculinised types of work. The wealth distribution resulting from these resources nevertheless tends to flow south or to the governing centres. As Larsen and Petrov (2019, p. 84) point out "Although extractive activities deliver economic gains..., they often rest with the companies and other non-local actors, including national governments" and "benefit sharing presents a valuable way to ensure that more economic value stays in the Arctic."

These above dynamics are affected by climate change and the impacts of climate change across the globe are becoming increasingly apparent. The Arctic is warming two to three times faster than the rest of the planet, making the region a preview for what the whole planet will be dealing with if aggressive climate mitigation measures are not implemented (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [IPCC], 2018). The changes affecting the region include biodiversity impacts, increases in sea level, and shifts in weather patterns, all of which have policy implications for the region, and can be understood to impact its present and future security (Vincent, 2019). The IPCC's report, *Global Warming of 1.5°C* (2018), states that climate-related risks to health, livelihoods, food security, water supply, human security, and economic growth will increase with a temperature increase of 1.5°C, and will further increase if warming is allowed to reach 2°C. These impacts on societies are often differentiated by cultures (both various Indigenous and non-Indigenous) and gender, race, ethnicity, and other intersectional identity markers.

Ice hole for halibut fishing in Uummannaq, Greenland. *Lawrence Hislop / GRID-Arendal*

The physical impact of rising temperatures is visible through ice shelf collapse, sea ice loss, coastal erosion, and permafrost thawing, all of which already threaten communities and existing infrastructure in the region (Vincent, 2019). While these physical impacts affect the lives of those living in the region, some have also viewed the shifts occurring in the Arctic as a means of increased economic opportunity (Larsen & Petrov, 2019), in some respects benefitting the fishing industry (Fossheim et al., 2015) and leading to a longer shipping season, which can enhance local economic security. The melting of sea ice also impacts regional security (military and economic security) and geopolitics with international interest in the Arctic region increasing from China (Larsen & Petrov, 2019). Often these benefits accrue to male-dominated work opportunities.

The Arctic has seen a transition towards larger scale industry, with an associated trend of urban migration (Heleniak, 2020). Much of the region's economy is now dominated by various forms of extractive industries whose focus is accessing the region's abundant natural resources (Tolvanen et al., 2019). These economic changes and associated cultural and gender shifts including masculinised work environments, the draw for sexual labour for industry workers (including fly-in/fly-out temporary workers) and gendered impacts on families, among other factors, which predate our current level of concern over climate change. However, these extractive industries impacts are currently compounded by rapid climatic changes taking place throughout the Arctic (Alvarez et al., 2020). Measures to address increasing environmental insecurity are often at odds with measures designed to promote energy security. Energy security is significant as it guarantees the availability, certainty, and security of the

energy supply necessary for the maintenance of the system that individuals and communities depend on for their everyday functions and activities. Human security lies in the stable functioning of a society not only with its own norms and values upheld but also with the proper functioning of its supporting infrastructures. Energy and environmental security and the values they embody come into conflict, and this conflict can impact genders and Indigenous identities differently, increasing vulnerabilities for some while increasing security for others (Hoogensen Gjørv, 2017).

Tromsø, the largest city in Northern Norway. Home to over 70,000 people. *Dimitris Kiriakakis / Unsplash*

In their review article, Gender and Climate Change, Pearse (2017) identifies five areas where gender analysis is essential: (1) vulnerability and climate impacts; (2) adaptations in different contexts; (3) responsibility for greenhouse gas emissions; (4) inequalities in climate governance; and (5) knowledges and social action on climate change. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Secretariat released a report in 2019 entitled *Differentiated Impacts of Climate Change on Women and Men: The Integration of Gender Considerations in Climate Policies, Plans and Actions; and Progress in Enhancing Gender Balance in National Climate Delegations.* Not surprisingly, the report confirmed that, overall, climate change impacts men and women differently, and that its negative effects are especially prominent in Indigenous and poor communities.

The UNFCCC report identified three themes in how the impacts of climate change are differentiated: differences (either actual or perceived) in vulnerability between groups, individuals, and communities; how each gender is involved in decision making around climate change and its impacts; and who benefits from climate change action and policy. The report emphasised that women are not considered to be more vulnerable to the impacts of climate change based on sex, and that overly emphasising biological sex overlooks the importance of "structural and place-based causes of inequality" (UNFCCC, 2019). The way in which men and women are involved with decision making around climate change in communities is described as a product of existing gender roles within those communities. The gender dynamics are different depending on which communities one speaks of, and therefore knowledge of local norms and practices are essential to any gender analysis. Finally, the report notes that gender does not mean just women as the impacts of climate change can, in some cases, more significantly and negatively impact the gendered roles men are assumed to carry in their societies (UNFCCC, 2019). At the same time, however, impacts on and roles of non-conforming and/or non-binary genders continue to be unacknowledged.

Prior and Heinämäki (2017) describe how Indigenous women's rights (both in the Arctic and globally) have often been neglected at the international and local level, and how a human rights-based approach might help ensure women's participation and legal status in the international climate regime. Other studies specifically addressed the threat climate change poses to food security for Inuit women (Beaumier & Ford, 2010), as well as other health issues specific to women associated with climate change in the Russian Arctic (Kukarenko, 2011). Climate change threatens to significantly exacerbate already-existing chronic housing shortages due to the negative effects of permafrost thaw, coastal erosion and greater temperature fluctuations on housing infrastructure that is already under threat.

Due to significant interactions between food and housing security, any negative effects that climate change has on food security will in turn have an impact on overall housing security due to pressure on household income, mental and physical health, and family dynamics within both the home and the community.

Some of the world's first climate refugees are in the Arctic, such as the Alaska Native villagers who are being forced to relocate as their villages are destroyed by coastal erosion that has been exacerbated by climate change (Bronen & Chapin, 2013), which makes the gender associated impacts of climate induced migration particularly relevant in an Arctic context, as women and men do not have the same freedom of movement (responsibility for families often fall to women) or employment opportunities when forced to migrate. The impacts of environment-altering processes of climate change affect groups of people differently, where an intersectional human security lens exposes the relationships between various inequalities, including gender, race, and sexual orientation. The rectification of inequalities demands measures within the realms of both legal and social justice. Many legal justice frameworks treat citizens within assumptions of a universal man, making such frameworks impotent without referencing tools that address the intersectional nature of climate impacts. They do not, for example, situate environmental degradation in context of Indigenous Peoples roles and marginal-isation within global frameworks of conservation, women's groups, or community frameworks for managing climate change, which inform decisions about adaptation. Moreover, they do not account for the positioning of Indigenous interests within large frameworks of decisionmaking regarding development.

Houses collapsing due to coastal erosion in Shishmaref, Alaska. *Lawrence Hislop / GRID-Arendal*

Given the now well-documented impacts of climate change globally, and even more so on the Arctic, there have been increasing attempts to mitigate the rate of climate change. The Arctic region is fully dependent upon global initiatives to slow down the rate of change. International agreements such as The Paris Agreement (UNFCCC, 2015) attempt to curb the effects of climate change by keeping the global temperature rise to 2°C below pre-industrial levels (and ideally below 1.5°C above these levels). Such efforts demand technological innovation, close international collaboration and cooperation, political will, as well as a significant investment of financial resources. Fossil-fuel energy resources have been identified as playing a central role in human-induced climate change, and are targeted for reduction or eradication, to be replaced by green energy economies. However, such green initiatives are not without their problems. The introduction of green measures—such as windwills—have been characterised as a form of green colonialism. They destroy land and land -use for some Indigenous Peoples, and counter Indigenous approaches to sustainable lifestyles and traditions. While such a transition takes place, both big business as well as average people depending on these hydrocarbon energy resources fear the impacts.

Climate change and mis/disinformation

Climate change research and measures have been targeted in the development of mistrust between peoples and authorities. The spread of mis- and disinformation has been a steady feature of climate change politics and has a particular foothold in hydrocarbon-based fuel extracting states, that also exhibits gendered dynamics (for example, men preserving their industrial jobs contra women – who often move from the local community to pursue education – supporting green initiatives). By definition, misinformation is simply wrong information – usually shared or distributed because the sharer is not aware that the information is wrong. Disinformation, however, pertains to the purposeful distribution of wholly incorrect or even somewhat altered information to try to sow distrust and doubt in societies, often about important social and (human) security-related issues. Such distrust aims to polarise populations and exacerbate political discord. People spread both mis- and disinformation based on the ways in which such information triggers emotions, and in particular, fear.

The patterns around the targeting and spread of disinformation is often gendered (Freedman et al., 2021). Social media platforms have contributed to polarising average civilians where objective facts (indisputable and provable) are combined with misinformation (wrong information) and disinformation (purposefully misleading information), that tend to convince readers of particular political agendas, that are often controversial or not a part of mainstream consensus. This is frequently the case with climate change denials. A Yale University survey indicated that amongst American respondents, women were more fearful of climate change but were less informed about specific facts or got a number of facts wrong (Leiserowitz et al., 2018). Another study demonstrated that women were also more inclined (though marginally) to share mis- and disinformation than men (Chen et al., 2015). More important however were the social circumstances and motivations for people to share disinformation, demonstrating that an intersectional lens is important as well for understanding people's fears, motivations, and interest to mislead others. This trend is extremely important in relation to the potential impacts of climate change policy and convincing the larger, southern-based publics (who are the primary drivers of climate change due to larger populations) of supporting such policy.

A scientist sips freshwater from a melt pond on sea ice in the Arctic ocean. *Kathryn Hansen / NASA*

Through climate change, Arctic security is interconnected to global politics in ways that have not been previously experienced. The actions and behaviours of populations and governments in the rest of the world are central to the future of Arctic populations and environments. As such, today's attempts to increase distrust and sow doubt about climate change and the measures to reduce it, need to be better understood and resisted. In part due to economic and societal vulnerabilities, particularly in regions or states that are still heavily dependent upon fossil-fuel industries – either for producing such fuels or using them as a cheap source of energy – an influential campaign of disinformation about climate change and its drivers has been waged for more than a decade (Collomb, 2014). Disinformation targets existing vulnerabilities in societies, including those parts of society that may have a distrust

for, or doubt about, science. As climate change mitigation relies on global efforts, understanding the gendered and other social motivations for sharing disinformation is critical, even when these disinformation campaigns are happening in other parts of the world. The impact on the Arctic, and on Arctic peoples, is direct and devastating.

There are many reasons why people are distrustful of science, or of the authorities (including government) who endorse scientific findings in policy. In some cases, they distrust the science coming from official or government sources. Like the Yale survey above, attempts to gain more knowledge as to how people understand, process, and identify information as relevant for them and speaking to their values, is imperative. As noted in a survey conducted in remote settlements in the Arkhangelsk region, both women and men were aware of changes in the climate, but men somewhat more than women (as men spend more time out in the nature because of gender-based labour division). The sources of information on climate change and pollution were reported such that women relied upon newspapers (44%) and television (31%) as main sources of information, while men showed more trust in internet resources (36%) and their own observations (37%) (Kukarenko, 2019). At the same time, the respondents stated that they do not trust research and official or state-based information on the environment and on contaminants. Some respondents noted that official reports are written in the language that is difficult for non-specialists to understand. Communities or societies that already have a distrust of information, or at least of some sources over others, can be more vulnerable to both misinformation and disinformation.

Disinformation campaigns can have significant impact in both democratic and authoritarian societies, influencing the political trajectories of energy and environmental policies that in turn affect environmental and human security. This is especially true in the Arctic, where the consequences of climate change are being felt much faster than in any other part of the world. Transparency, open dialogue with citizens, and accessibility in research and policymaking, is imperative for mitigating the effects of mis- and disinformation. Without worldwide consensus on the existence of anthropogenically-induced climate change and what needs to be done to mitigate it, Arctic communities will experience even greater consequences than what they are enduring now. Arctic security – particularly environmental and human security – is therefore intimately linked to global political trends.

Additional Insecurities in the Arctic: A Selection of Cases

Within the Arctic regions, additional inequalities arise as the sparse populations tend to migrate towards the cities, making smaller town or village communities even more vulnerable to the reduced resources that generally result from such migrations (including for health, education and food). Migration patterns exhibit gendered and ethnic/cultural trends (Heleniak, 2014). Women tend to gravitate to urban centres where there are perceived to be better economic opportunities, not least due to the fact that natural resource industries continue to be male-dominated, and because women gravitate to opportunities linked to higher education. Likewise, non-Indigenous populations that are not part of traditional or Indigenous economic structures have also been drawn to urban centres. Thus, the small numbers of people within Arctic populations are frequently subjected to multiple inequalities resulting in greater insecurities than found in the southern regions. The insecurities experienced by Arctic populations are heavily dependent upon gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, and other identity markers that in combination can exacerbate centre–periphery divisions but also divisions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous, urban and district/countryside, and not least, between different genders.

The complex contexts of many different Arctics

There are often significant differences in human (in)securities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, even within the same geographic region. Changes to the physical landscape affect the subsistence practices of Indigenous Peoples on their traditional territories, undermine

multigenerational knowledge of weather and climate patterns, animal movements, and methods of hunting and gathering, as well as impacting transport systems, mobility of people, housing (threatened by melting permafrost), and sustainability of communities (Csonka & Schweitzer, 2004; Larsen & Fondahl, 2014). Indigenous identities and cultural practices are based on a close relationship to the natural environments of their traditional territories, to such a degree that "cultural survival, identity and the very existence of Indigenous societies depend to a considerable degree on the maintenance of environmental quality. The degradation of the environment is therefore inseparable from a loss of culture and hence identity" (Cocklin, 2002, p. 159).

Environmental degradation also directly threatens Indigenous lives, since increased incidents of death occurring in relation to land use are associated with changing ice conditions and unpredictable weather patterns. Facing both environmental change and majoritarian public policies, Arctic Indigenous communities generally experience lower life expectancies and limited access to culturally relevant and affordable medical care, and experience higher levels of depression, domestic violence, substance abuse, infant mortality, and suicide than communities in southern regions (Hild & Stordahl, 2004; Rautio et al., 2014). Non-Indigenous communities also experience the impacts of climate change albeit often in other ways. In some respects, it is argued that climate change creates increased opportunities in the Arctic, whereby access to the oceans and sea passages allow for increased transport of goods from different parts of the world and indeed increased access to oil and gas resources in the Arctic (Kristoffersen, 2015). While Arctic petroleum states continue to argue for green extraction and environmental protection within oil and gas dependent economies, there is an increasing move in some local Arctic communities (such as in Norway's Lofoten and Vesterålen regions) to argue for a post-petroleum future (Dale & Kristoffersen, 2018).

Poligone tundra with car traces, Prudhoe Bay oil field, Alaska. *Peter Prokosch / GRID-Arendal*

Human insecurities related to geography and Indigeneity are mediated by gender, as men, women, and other genders (LGBTQIA2S+) are affected differently based on gendered and racialised divisions of labour, access to social services, exposure to environmental phenomena, and gender-based violence (Deiter & Rude, 2005; Irlbacher-Fox et al., 2014; Stuvøy, 2010). For instance, Indigenous People typically live shorter lives than non-Indigenous People and Indigenous men on average die younger than Indigenous women. High rates of suicide among Inuit are "associated with a view of young males not seeing a future for themselves as hunters and contributors to their community and at the same time not fitting into the cash employment structures that are becoming the dominant lifestyle" (Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, 2004, p. 157). Trends occurring within some Arctic States, both within their Arctic regions as well as beyond, have become increasingly homo- and transphobic, often brought on by far-right populist trends within dominant White/settler populations, limiting acceptance of multiple and/or varying genders and subjecting people of non-heterosexual genders to various harms.

On average, in the Arctic women attain more formal schooling than men, targeting opportunities for waged employment in the services and administrative sector more than do men, many of whom instead pursue more volatile and distant work in land use, industrial resource extraction and natural resource sectors; this is not the case in all communities where , for example, Nunavut has a stable presence of women (Vladimirova & Habek, 2018). However, the prevalence of female flight from northern communities due to a lack of opportunities has been noted to create virtually all-male communities, in part resulting in lower life expectancies, higher rates of violence and alcoholism, and decreased population growth rates (Oddsdóttir et al., 2014). More research is needed on understanding possible linkages between various genders including non-binary persons and economic opportunities. Patriarchal, heteronormative societies generate norms which permeate workplaces and opportunities for employment, whereby masculinised norms are dominant in much of the resource industry, not least regarding types of labour and mobility (Romano & Papastefanaki, 2020; Saxinger, 2016), and creating man camps (NIMMIWG, 2019, p. 585).

In the Russian Arctic, workers in the extractive industry are often not local, but recruited from other regions, or from Central Asia. This often contributes to unbalanced distribution of Arctic resources, including employment, while mining and extraction damages local environments, natural resources, and limits Indigenous traditional economies, such as reindeer husbandry, fishing, and hunting. As such, shift workers recruited from dominant communities and state centres introduce further security issues to local culture, society, and values (Hirshberg & Petrov, 2014, p. 364; NIMMIWG, 2019; Vladimirova & Habeck, 2018). Resource extraction has been demonstrated to have significant impacts on the well-being of women, LGBTQIA2S+, and local communities in general, particularly Indigenous communities, including increased gender violence, impacts on already heavily colonised gender roles, potential job opportunities and education, and a future in their communities (Czyzewski et al., 2016; Hall, 2013; NIMMIWG, 2019).

Achieving human security requires an acknowledgement of the limitations and challenges experienced by different communities, as well as the resources available in communities, including cultural leverage that fosters human security. Human security thus speaks the language of resilience: a capability that equips individuals and communities with proper preparedness to respond effectively to any potential threats.

Human security does not essentially talk about a universal category of humans but rather humans with differentiated conditions and diverse needs, distinct challenges and varied ways of fulfilment of their aspirations, guided at the same time by prevalent values and norms in their societal surroundings.

Within the complex contexts we have outlined above, we draw attention to four additional cases, that, in addition to the overarching threat of climate change, illustrate just some of the challenges that continue to be faced in the Arctic.

Missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada

The extent of the violent acts committed against Indigenous women in Canada cannot be understated. Though not restricted to Arctic Indigenous experiences, *The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, Volume 1a* needs to be acknowledged as a comprehensive and relevant indictment of Canadian authorities' treatment of Indigenous women from south to north. It provides a careful, but still unfinished, mapping and analysis of women's and LGBTQIA2S+ experiences with violence in Canada, from assessing the role of colonial practices and the decimation of cultures, to the barriers to community-led health, justice, and security (NIMMIWG, 2019). As one of the many examples raised regarding the treatment of northern peoples, it was highlighted in this report that women's and LGBTQIA2S+ security are gravely impacted by regional economies and political and social structures.

One example of violence that results from this combination of forces (economic, political, social) is human trafficking, an issue area that is only now becoming more broadly acknowledged with regard to both the larger crisis of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls (MMIWG) in Canada and the United States, as well as in Northern Canada in particular (NIMMIWG, 2019). Perry (2018) notes that the notion that human trafficking has been a part of the dynamic of violence in the Arctic, and has been generally shrugged off or not taken seriously, is based on normative assumptions about

the law-and-order image of Canada. Such assumptions have ensured that the specific problem of human trafficking has not, until recently, been prioritised in the North, despite evidence that it not only exists, but disproportionately impacts, Indigenous women. The intersection of gendered violence, poor mental health, sexual abuse, and denial are all considered by Pauktuutit (2013), the national representative organisation for Inuit Women of Canada, to be risk factors for trafficking of Indigenous women and children.

This crisis in relation to Canada's Arctic was made abundantly clear in *The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls* through research and testimony provided by contributors/respondents that revealed the hardships and violent acts faced by women and LGBTQIA2S+ working and living in remote regions (NIMMIWG, 2019). These acts include sexual harassment and sexual assault, overt and institutional racism, isolation, and dependency. According to the President of the Native Women's Association of the Northwest Territories, Jane Weyallon, "There is unreported domestic violence and lateral violence happening in the communities... I can use my region, the Tlicho region, as an example" (Beers, 2019). Weyallon claims Indigenous women are "twelve times more likely to go missing or be murdered than their non-Indigenous counterparts, [reflecting] a vacuum in law and order in some northern, remote communities [that] exacerbates the problem" (Beers, 2019). Additionally, in remote locations and situations, women tend to become more financially dependent on their spouses, and therefore more vulnerable (Zingel, 2019). Job opportunities in the extractive economy see lower rates of female employment, reflecting significantly greater barriers to women working in the extractive sector, and further isolating of women who live in camps and extractive industry communities (Zingel, 2019).

Housing insecurity across the north American Arctic

Northern geographies often have a shortage of affordable, quality housing. The physical geography and remoteness complicate the availability of building supplies and, in some areas such as Nunavut, there is little or no private housing market. In both the Canadian North and Greenland, government housing may be the only option in many communities, particularly for Indigenous populations. The result is a lack of control over the home environment and fewer options for managing conflict situations in the home (Riva et al., 2014). A lack of appropriate and affordable housing can thus influence decisions for people in traumatic and dangerous situations (e.g., intimate partner violence). Compounding this situation is a lack of supportive services and geographical constraints that limit the availability of a continuum of supports (Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning, 2007).

Nuuk in Greenland has a severe housing shortage. *Peter Prokosch / GRID-Arendal*

Overcrowding and psychological distress are additional issues facing women in Alaska, the Canadian North and Greenland (Pepin et al., 2018; Perrault et al., 2020). This is particularly acute for the adolescent population and more prevalent among women, who are often burdened with greater domestic responsibilities. For example, the nature of the gender divides in northern and Indigenous societies results in women spending more time in the home. They can thus be more susceptible to the challenges presented by overcrowding. Riva et al. (2014) note that overcrowding is a significant issue

in Greenland, where Inuit men and women can experience this stress differently. Women are more likely to internalise this stress, resulting in mental health challenges such as depression and anxiety. Men, however, are more likely to experience addiction/substance abuse or behave aggressively. Pepin et al. (2018) argue that women in particular are more vulnerable to the consequences of overcrowding in this context as they can have fewer options for leaving a violent partner, substance abuse, and/or unhealthy relationships.

High mortality rates – The Russian case

The Indigenous Peoples of Russia have extremely high adult mortality rates. Just over one third of Indigenous men (37.8%) and less than two thirds of Indigenous women (62.2%) in Russia reach the age of 60 (Rohr, 2014, p. 32). For the Russian population at the national level, the figures are 54% for men and 83% for women. This has led Russian demographers to describe the state of the Indigenous Peoples as a demographic crisis. Thirty-six percent of AZRF (Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation) Indigenous People die prematurely from unnatural causes, more than double the national average of 15%. Infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, a typical indicator of extreme poverty, cause 60 deaths per 100,000, which is almost three times the national average of 23 per 100,000. Furthermore, maternal deaths and child mortality are significantly above the national average.

Nenets reindeer herders in Yamal, Siberia. *Evgenii Mitroshin / Shutterstock*

Alcoholism is a major factor in the Indigenous Peoples' acute health crisis, including women. The Russian Federation Council's Committee on Northern and Indigenous Affairs has established that, over the course of the 2000s, alcoholism has increased 20-fold, mostly due to increased alcohol consumption among women and children. This increase is, among other things, attributed to an uncontrolled flow of alcohol into the regions inhabited by Indigenous Peoples (Rohr, 2014, pp. 32–33).

The AZRF population has a higher suicide rate than average in the entire country. Between 1998 and 2002, the incidence of suicide among northern Indigenous Peoples came to over 100 per 100,000, more than double the national average of 38 per 100,000. In Koryak district in northern Kamchatka, this figure has been established as 133.6 per 100,000.

As some studies based on the Nenets Autonomous Okrug (NAO) data show, there were higher suicide rates in the Indigenous Nenets population compared with the non-Indigenous population. Suicides among Nenets and non-Indigenous populations in the NAO are associated with different sociodemographic characteristics. The strongest positive associations with the suicidal risk in the Nenets population were observed for age 20–29 years, male, urban residence, and high education level for both sexes, being divorced or a widower for males, and being married for females. These characteristics may have connections to a lack of a "sense of Indigenous belonging", lack of cultural identity, and problems of resilience or ability to adjust to shock and change.

In the non-Indigenous population, higher risks of suicide were observed for males, rural residence, having secondary school education, being an employer or employee, and being single. The highest suicides rates in this group were seen in males aged 20–29 years, and females aged 30–39 and 70 years and above.

As the result of the above negative processes, life expectancy at birth in Nordic countries is higher by 13.6 years for males and 7.6 years for females than in the Russian Arctic regions. In the Russian northern regions, life expectancy at birth is 65 years for males and 76 for females (Coates & Holroyd, 2020, p.48), although it tends to increase at a higher rate than in the Nordic countries.

Norway – levels of marginalisation in the periphery

Norway in general has enjoyed a reputation as being a country with one of the highest societal trust levels in the world, meaning that the Norwegian population has a very high amount of trust regarding decisions made by their central government (Bilgic et al., 2019). Norway is a unitary state, therefore national decisionmaking is located in the capital region of Oslo and supported through the county representative (county governor) structure that operates in the different counties across the country.

Tourist watching polar bear, Northwest Spitsbergen National Park, Svalbard. *Peter Prokosch / GRID-Arendal*

North Norway consists of just over a third of mainland Norway and covers 80% of the country's sea areas (Østhagen, 2020). In the last 60 years, the development and value creation in the region has largely outpaced the rest of the country and has been of great importance to the Norwegian economy in terms of maritime industries such as fishing, aquaculture, or industries such as oil and gas, construction, and tourism, though not yet reaching its full potential (Utenriksdepartementet, 2020). Recently, more emphasis has also been placed on the green shift and renewable resources. The region is not only important for both the people who live there, but many more who are dependent on work done in the region. This growth has necessarily led to an increased need for the transport of goods and people. The region is strategically important for both Norway and NATO, due to its border with Russia (Østhagen, 2020). The Norwegian government has recognised the importance of strengthening the military presence with preparedness and accessibility in northern Norway (Utenriksdepartementet, 2020).

At the same time, Norway exhibits some of the vulnerabilities identified as centre-periphery power dynamics (Stein et al., 2019). These dynamics include those between the majority population in the south (primarily Oslo, but also the surrounding regions, where the majority of the Norwegian population resides) and the far lesser populated north, where less than 10% of the Norwegian population live. Access to health education and social services is uneven and unequally divided in the region, where many must travel far to meet their needs. The population is small but diverse, and consists of many different groups that include Sámi, Norwegians and Kvens, as well as Russians and other immigrants. Those groups often have different interests and policies. The population is declining in the region— more are moving out than before, and fewer are moving to or back to northern Norway (Kjos, 2020).

Multiple layers of marginalisation are captured in North–South politics, whereby northerners in general were historically treated as different (less educated, backward, etc.) (Hellstad, 2010), wherein Indigenous populations (Sámi) have been consistently further marginalised and discriminated against, including through colonial practices such as assimilation measures even among the marginalised overall northern population (Smedsrud, 2016). Reduced or insufficient infrastructure in the north (transport in particular), fewer health services (particularly after centralisation of services to urban areas), and insufficient services to support Indigenous communities (provided in Sámi language) are among the few of the examples of neglect or lack of prioritisation of the peoples in the north.

However, even between people living in the region – between the Sámi populations and the north-ern-based Norwegian populations – the perceptions of their security can differ significantly. An example is the long argued for extension of the Norwegian rail system to the north, that would provide much needed transport services for the shipping of goods and transport of people (Bentzrød, 2019). This extension is hotly contested by the Sámi that see such infrastructure destroying their own liveli-hoods dependent upon reindeer herding (Verstad, 2019). Therefore, perceptions of future well-being can come into conflict and pit people, who already are in reduced positions of power in relation to the centre, against one another.

Reindeer herding (Rangifer Tarandus), Finnmark, Norway. *Lawrence Hislop / GRID-Arendal*

Amongst these tensions are those that can pit the senses of survival and livelihood of the oil and gas dependent employee (often male), against northern or southern urbanised women who have sought out educations outside of the extractive, and environmentally destructive, industries that are being challenged by different facets of climate change research in the universities. The flow of people from the country or district to the city is ever increasing, and from the northern cities to the southern cities, where opportunities appear more fruitful, but where other different ways of being may be more acceptable. Being LGBTQIA2S+ in small communities, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, can be challenging, excluding, and harmful to a person's sense of existence and well-being.

People living in Northern Norway experience inequalities just by virtue of location, let alone attendant issues including reduced job opportunities, reduced and continually colonised health services (little to no services in non-Norwegian languages like Sámi), fighting to maintain traditional livelihoods and economies, and the freedom to express genders without any resulting harms. These inequalities lead to insecurities, which are perpetuated so long as they continue to be ignored.

Concluding Remarks

Security in the Arctic cannot be reduced to military exercises and movement of troops and hardware. While governments play Risk based on narrower, geopolitical considerations that concern states but less so people, the people of the Arctic are usually more preoccupied with everyday security issues. These issues can and do impact the geopolitical, more so today than ever before. Different people and communities across the Arctic can communicate (in general) instantly, creating additional and alternative communities online, based on interests and identities that they share. Borders have less meaning as Indigenous Peoples from different reaches of the Arctic can provide support and gather momentum behind initiatives that ensure their own human security needs. People transcend borders to

connect with those with similar values regarding climate change and environmental security. What are originally small, isolated communities can be transformed into larger, mobile, and powerful communities fighting for what they value most, based on what "security" means to them.

How are these transformations affecting relationships between Arctic communities and the authorities that, in many cases, have at best disappointed and at worst betrayed many of the peoples living in the north? To what degree are Arctic peoples included in decisions about how to address security issues – from measures to combat climate change (that do not impact traditional territories and economies of Indigenous Peoples, for example) to the placement of military installations near northern cities? Some scholars and policy makers have resisted the use of the human security concept for Arctic contexts because of the assumptions that these are regions that are well-included in the welfare states of the Global North, or the West.

In reality however, gaps remain in health, housing, food, economy, environment, and personal and community violence. Can all Arctic peoples say that they feel confident about their own security – personal/individual and community – into the future? If not, what barriers remain in their way to fulfil human security? The answers to these questions continue to lie within communities themselves (though the barriers may be both within, as well as outside, of these same communities). As we have seen, understanding these security perspectives requires understanding how security is perceived and experienced. Intersectional analysis including gender and other identity markers is integral to moving forward towards a more comprehensive understanding of security.

It is fair to say that today's security dialogues still privilege male voices, especially those associated with hard state-centred security interests. Correcting this imbalance means recognition of the inherent rights of northerners to participate in their own security dialogues and the barriers that women face in doing so. Security has typically been male and the purview of militaries, police and the authorities' agencies of state. This has had a fundamental impact upon the subjects and subjectivities of security.

Today, however, even traditional masculine hard security agencies have been forced to address the fundamental shift in security and face the problem of positionality and the intersectional nature of agency. For example, climate change is now an important element of an expanded definition of security – not only because of extreme weather events and natural disasters, dangerous ice laden passages, or coastal erosion and landslides – all of which could inherently involve state response via security agencies – but also because of the differential impact of climate upon societal sectors.

It is not just state infrastructures but also communities that are threatened. Indeed, Furgal et al. (2014) note that:

> climate related changes and variability in the North have been associated with changes in animal, fish and plant population health and distribution, while changes in ice, snow, precipitation regimes, and other environmental factors have the potential to influence human travel and transportation in the North, and thus Inuit access to these wildlife resources.

In these ways, a broad and comprehensive approach to security is necessary to capture the nature and nuance of human insecurity in the Arctic. The most pressing human security threats in the region across the environmental, social, economic, and cultural dimensions can only be properly understood in collective terms. Consequently, far from being an inappropriate analytical framework, human security offers significant analytical traction through its capacity to capture physical and non-material security problems in the circumpolar Arctic that are scalable to smaller or larger communities, distinct peoples, or the region as a whole, and for its intersectional approach that understands the compounding and mitigating effects of distinct security issues and identities.

Why security? Reductions in security foster distrust and disaffection. Such disaffections are increasingly vulnerable today to discord and polarisation. In this chapter we use identity, through intersectional analysis, not to separate people into the minutest of groups, but instead to better understand their relationships to one another, based on social categories that have long existed to reduce the power of some to the benefit of others. The more we understand these power dynamics, the better we can work towards equality between peoples, and a sense of security for all, not just some.

Policy Relevant Highlights

Broader/research-grounded understanding of security.

Unresponsive and unchanging institutions in a changing world – institutions are not adequately listening to communities and research. The concept of security continues to be reduced to a narrow and limited understanding of security based on military might. It therefore silences a comprehensive security outlook, which includes gender-aware environmental, human, economic perspectives and the ways in which these interact to either increase or decrease insecurity (and thereby survival). The Council does not operate with a broader understanding of security, even though it purposefully avoids addressing military security.

> The Arctic Council needs to work with a more civilian-centric and comprehensive understanding of security to best tackle current and upcoming insecurities. Apply a comprehensive security outlook that includes gender-aware environmental, human, and economic perspectives. Analyse the way in which the above dimensions interact to either increase or decrease security and survival.

Inequalities and centre/periphery imbalances leading to insecurities.

Distancing between civilians and authorities due to feelings of marginalisation or not being heard – senses of marginalisation can be compounded (by virtue of identity power dynamics) and even conflictual, which in turn results in more power in the centre. Urban migration accompanied by urban/rural and centre/periphery divides exacerbated by neoliberal cost-cutting measures which further neglect smaller/marginal populations. As most Arctic regions are neglected or bypassed regarding services, support, and inclusion in broader political goals, the continued or increasing gender and other inequalities are central to the polarisation of peoples and exacerbation of destabilisation. We can no longer rely on assumptions that small Arctic populations cannot and do not mobilise, particularly digitally. Continued inequalities will exacerbate potential tension and conflict at local and regional levels, and possibly national.

> Reduce inequalities. To reduce tensions, Arctic States should foster greater inclusion of local and regional bodies in broader political goals. Analyse how continued or increasing gender and other inequalities contribute to polarising peoples, potentially exacerbating destabilisation. Explore the way in which people are mobilising, with a particular focus on digital mobilisation.

Climate change, insecurity, and society.

Climate change is today's most challenging security threat. The nature of this threat can only be understood through careful intersectional analyses that expose conflicting as well as cooperating value systems and norms. Climate change already does, and will continue, to exacerbate inequalities. A more comprehensive way of understanding the ways in which climate change affects security is needed, to be able to mitigate or manage increasing insecurities over time. As such effects will impact different peoples in different ways, we need to know how continued changes in the climate impact societies in general, and using intersectional analyses examine how climate change impact inequalities and demands a rethinking of what we even mean by security.

> Responsive climate change policy. Explore and understand the ways in which climate change affects security, to support its mitigation and manage increasing insecurities over time. Explore differential impacts of climate change on societies and inequalities using an intersectional approach.

Who are we?

More research is needed on understanding the diversity of Arctic peoples, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, how people self-identify and how they experience both security and insecurity (what they fear). This is particularly the case for marginalised persons within the LGBTQIA2S+ communities.

> Inclusive, comprehensive, people-centric understanding of Arctic security. Foster research that provides a better overview of the diversity of Arctic peoples, the changing dynamics and composition of Arctic peoples, the challenges they confront, and the contributions they make, towards ensuring a more sustainable Arctic region. Explore how people self-identify and how they experience both security and insecurity. Place emphasis on marginalised persons within the LGBTQIA2S+ communities.

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Introduction

Over the past decades, the state of the Arctic environment has garnered significant attention, both within and outside the Arctic. This is reflected in a growing number of reports and assessments on issues ranging from pollutants, to climate change, as well as the region's natural resources. However, we cannot fully understand the Arctic without also focusing on the importance of the connections between the environment and Arctic peoples.

The aim of this chapter on gender and environment in the Arctic is to provide an overview of issues connected to a broadly understood environment of the circumpolar North – including the climate, oceans, land, biodiversity, natural resources, waste and pollution, among others - and to look at them through a gender lens in order to focus attention on how persons of different genders relate to the environment around them and experience changes in their environment. The chapter also considers the gendered effects of developments in the region. In doing so, it seeks to fill gaps in existing reporting on, and assessments of, the Arctic environment to provide a more nuanced, holistic, and comprehensive understanding of community life and changes in the Arctic.

This chapter builds on the gender definition used in existing global frameworks (see section Gender and Gender Equality Definitions, p. 101). Where relevant, it includes findings beyond the binary distinction between women and men and employs an intersectional lens to provide a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which individuals can hold multiple identities related to gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, age, and ability, among other categories (see section Intersectionality, p. 102). The perspectives of Arctic Indigenous Peoples and Arctic youth, among others, form a central part of this chapter.

Pechora Delta, Nenets Autonomous Region, Russia. The Pechora River is the only European river of larger dimensions that is still largely untouched by human influences. *Peter Prokosch / GRID-Arendal*

While the Arctic Council (the Council) previously held two conferences dedicated to the themes of gender and gender equality in the Arctic (in 2002 in Saariselkä, Finland and in 2014 in Akureyri, Iceland) (Oddsdóttir et al., 2015), and specifically focused projects on women's participation in decision making in Arctic fisheries (2002–2004) (Sloan, 2004) and natural resource management in the rural North (2004–2006) (Sloan, 2006), the work of the Council and its Working Groups (WGs) has generally excluded a gender dimension or gender analysis (see the Arctic Council reports). Meanwhile, scholarship on gender and environment in the Arctic has steadily grown, along with a significant increase in the level of engagement of the international community in addressing the gender–environment nexus, the vast majority of which focuses on developing countries and those in the Global South.

Given that the mandate of the Council relates to sustainable development and environmental protection in the Arctic, and accounting for the central importance of gender equality and gender-related issues in the effective realisation of this mandate, this chapter seeks to highlight some of the

central dimensions of the gender–environment nexus in an Arctic context, thereby seeking to support a more systematic engagement with gender-related matters in the Council. This type of engagement, and the application of a gender lens to the work of the Council, aims to deepen the comprehension of various trends in the region, while also supporting the advancement of more tailored actions, plans, and policies, as well as more equitable and inclusive forms of sustainability.

The scope of this chapter and its primary focus on the environment covers a multitude of issue areas. It is thus important to briefly provide an overview of both the overall parameters and limitations of this chapter. First, this work is neither a scientific assessment[1] nor a report intended to present original or unpublished new research unless indicated otherwise. Second, the parameters and limitations of this chapter relate to the overall framework and time constraints of the Gender Equality in the Arctic - Phase 3 project, as well as to the broad scope of issue areas related to the environment theme. Furthermore, given both the size and diversity of Arctic countries, their subregions, and individual communities in the same area, an adequate and in-depth treatment of the gendered dimensions of these issues in the Arctic would necessitate a separate chapter, or even a separate project, for each of the topics. Consequently, the aim of this work is not to present an in-depth and comprehensive coverage, or a systematic comparison of different parts of the Arctic. Instead, this chapter seeks to highlight some recent, and leading, issues at the intersection of gender and environment in the Arctic through illustrative cases in the geographic areas where a given issue, sector, or development is most pronounced, visible, or central to peoples' livelihoods, and/or most relevant to local and national economies. The chapter also identifies avenues for future research and inquiry, as well as potential areas of engagement with various working and expert groups of the Council.

Melting glacier, Alpefjord, Northeast Greenland National Park. *Peter Prokosch / GRID-Arendal*

This chapter proceeds as follows. First, it introduces the theme of gender and environment as well as how major international frameworks and environmental conventions applicable to the Arctic have engaged with gender equality and gender issues, a development that has intensified significantly in recent years. Second, the chapter examines the gendered nature of climate change in the Arctic, including the effects of climate change and environmental changes, linkages between gender and adaptation efforts, as well as the complex, yet intricate, relationship between climate and environmental change and human health and well-being. Third, it moves on to the theme of gender and the management of natural resources, both on land and at sea, as seen in sectors such as forestry, mining, renewable energy, fisheries, and aquaculture. Given the vital importance of natural resources to the livelihoods of all Arctic peoples – both in terms of subsistence and economic prospects – and a steadily increasing interest in their exploitation, this discussion is important, timely and central to debates about sustainable development of the region. Next, the chapter focuses on the various facets and gender dimensions of pollution in the Arctic. It concludes with some of the main policy relevant highlights and issue areas for further action and research. Relevant definitions and common themes that emerge across different sectors and issue areas are highlighted in text boxes throughout this chapter.

Gender and Gender Equality Definitions

Gender refers to the socially constructed and learnt identities and attributes, that is, roles, rights, behaviours, responsibilities, expectations, activities and opportunities, associated with being male or female. In other words, gender is not based on sex or the biological differences between women and men; rather, it is shaped by culture and social norms. It is important to note that gender characteristics are context and time specific, and they can change over time. They also vary across cultures and, even though categories of masculinity and femininity are prevalent in many of them, they are not always the basis of gender. While the Western cultural paradigm recognises gender primarily in terms of masculine and feminine, throughout history multiple and fluid genders and gender roles were common, accepted and/or valued among many Indigenous Peoples (Kennedy Dalseg et al., 2018; Vinyeta et al., 2015). People who do not conform to socially assigned gender roles sometimes refer to themselves as gender non-conforming, gender variant, genderqueer, or transgender. Some Indigenous communities and individuals have adopted the term "two-spirit" in English to communicate numerous tribal traditions and social categories of gender outside dominant Western binaries. Presently, in both policy and practice, the consideration of gender is generally couched in terms of a binary sex variable, that is, two mutually exclusive and stable categories of men and women. Gender roles also differ by race/ethnicity, class/caste, religion, age, and economic circumstances (see text box on intersectionality).

Gender equality refers to the equal rights, responsibilities, and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys. Gender equality provides the potential for both women and men to shape their own lives and to contribute to society in all areas. Gender equality is not about transferring opportunities from men to women, but about creating conditions where each person, regardless of whether they are born male or female, has the right and ability to realise their human potential (Kabeer & Natali, 2013; United Nations OSAGI, 2001). Even though the term "gender" is still frequently used as a proxy for "women", it is important to underline that gender equality is not a womens' issue alone and should engage both men and women.

Gender and environment

Gender plays a central role in human–environment relations. It affects the way women and men interact with the environment, the activities in which they engage, and their observations of the environment. Gender plays a role in access to, participation in, and management of natural resources, and the effects of their exploitation. It also influences the results of conservation efforts and involvement in relevant decision-making bodies from local through regional, national and international levels. Finally, gender matters when it comes to the effects of climate change – the experiences of women and men, girls and boys, and those outside of the gender binary differ when faced with climate change, as they do during and after times of natural crises and disasters.

Today, the centrality of gender and gender equality to environmental protection and sustainable development is acknowledged and promoted in the increasing number of global environmental agreements and fora. There is an understanding that women and men are not only impacted differently by environmental change, but both have important roles to play in enabling environmental sustainability, which cannot be achieved unless women and men have the same ability to influence and shape political agendas and have equitable access to opportunities (Nuttall, 2002).

Using a gender-specific approach is an appropriate way to investigate the dynamic relationship between environmental change and gender equality. It is the basis for a more comprehensive view of environmental and related societal issues, which can lead to more effective policies (Alston & Whittenbury, 2013; United Nations Environment Programme [UNEP], 2016).

Gender norms and environmental changes affect each other. Social forces exert pressures on environmental conditions, and changes in those conditions can shape human relationships. Despite that recognition, most mainstream environmental policies and decision-making processes presently do not incorporate gender approaches or insights provided by a gender analysis. As reported by the Global Gender and Environment Outlook (GGEO), "to this extent, they do not fully serve environmental or social interests" (UNEP, 2016, p. 23). Ensuring that women's and men's unique perspectives, observations, capacities, needs, and ideas inform and are integrated into policies and initiatives at all levels is key for environmental protection and sustainable development, in the Arctic and elsewhere.

International Environmental Frameworks

Gender equality is integral to effective, efficient, and equitable environmental protection and sustainable development, a principle increasingly understood by the global community. There has been a clear shift in the commitment to gender equality and the recognition of gender in international environmental agreements and commitments over past decades (UNEP, 2016). International policy frameworks, global conferences, summits, and similar events have provided deliberately for this recognition and made the link between gender equality and the environment, including climate change, biodiversity, oceans, and sustainable development more broadly. This section provides a brief overview of some of them, beginning with the environment-related provisions of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.

In 1979 the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was adopted by the UN General Assembly to provide for the advancement of rights and non-discrimination through the obligations of governments to promote, protect, and fulfil the equal rights of women and men (United Nations General Assembly, 1979). Among its many provisions, the Convention contains several environment-related provisions that can contribute effectively to gender-responsive efforts in the management of natural resources and biodiversity conservation. Among others, the rights of rural women (Article 14), education and training (Article 10), employment (Article 12), social and economic development (Article 13), and participation in public life (Article 7) are all relevant. Moreover, Article 5 on the modification of sociocultural patterns of conduct and the elimination of stereotypes finds its application to women's roles in, responsibilities for, access to, and benefits from natural resources (United Nations Women, 2018). Finally, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women has also issued several recommendations that relate to women and the environment. The most recent one, General Recommendation Number 37 on the gender-related dimensions of disaster risk reduction in the context of climate change (CEDAW/C/GC/37), was published in 2018.

In 1992, the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, gave rise to three seminal Conventions: the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), and the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD). All three conventions include gender provisions in their Preambles which have subsequently been reinforced by each of their respective Conferences of the Parties (COPs). Of the three conventions, two are relevant to the Arctic, and will thus be examined below.

Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (Area K – Women and the Environment)

Soon after the 1992 UNCED, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action were adopted in 1995 at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China. They called for building on the progress made at the Rio Summit and put forward a comprehensive agenda for mainstreaming gender equality and women's empowerment across all areas of social development through a concrete set of actions. Among the 12 Critical Areas of Concern listed in the Declaration, Area K, "Women and the environment", focuses specifically on the nexus of gender equality, the environment, and sustainable development. It also establishes a number of strategic objectives, including the active involvement of women in environmental decision making at all levels (K.1.), the integration of gender concerns and perspectives in sustainable development policies and programmes (K.2.), and the strengthening or establishing of national, regional, and international mechanisms to assess the impact of development and environmental policies on women (K.3.), including compliance with relevant international obligations (Raczek et al., 2010; Tobin & Aguilar, 2007). Importantly, Indigenous women have criticised the Platform for its strong focus on gender discrimination and gender equality while disregarding the ongoing practices and effects of colonialism (Kuokkanen, 2012, p. 232). Moreover, at the celebration of the Beijing Declaration's 25th anniversary in September 2020, the UN Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres, observed that the Platforms' vision has only partially been realised to date and some of the advances made are today being reversed, including by the COVID-19 pandemic (Azcona et al., 2020; UN Women, 2020).

United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)

The CBD has three main objectives: the conservation of biological diversity; the sustainable use of the components of biodiversity; and the fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising out of the utilisation of genetic resources. Its preamble recognises the vital role of women in biodiversity conservation and sustainable use, as well as the importance of women's full participation at all levels of policymaking and implementation (The Convention on Biological Diversity, 1992).

Over the years, Parties to the CBD have made numerous decisions to address and advance gender equality and women's empowerment in biodiversity initiatives. Notably, the CBD became the first multilateral environmental agreement to have a Gender Plan of Action (GAP), adopted by Parties in 2008 and updated in 2014 to align with the Strategic Plan for Biodiversity 2011–2020. The 2015-2020 CBD Gender Plan of Action includes possible actions for Parties in implementing the Convention, as well as a framework for the Secretariat to integrate gender into its work. The GAP's four strategic objectives are: the integration of gender perspectives into the implementation of the Convention; the promotion of gender equality in achieving the objectives of the Convention, the Strategic Plan for Biodiversity 2011-2020, and the Aichi

United Nations Plaza, New York, USA. *Unsplash*

Biodiversity Targets; the demonstration of benefits of gender mainstreaming in measures towards the conservation of biodiversity; and increasing the effectiveness of the work under the CBD. Moreover, at COP14 of the CBD in Egypt in November 2018, Parties to the Convention agreed that the process to develop the post-2020 global biodiversity framework would be gender-responsive through the systematic integration of a gender perspective and ensuring appropriate representation, particularly of women and girls, in the process (CBD/DEC/COP/14/34, p. 4).

Of the potential actions identified for Parties in the CBD's Gender Action Plan, a crucial one includes the mainstreaming of gender considerations into National Biodiversity Strategies and Action Plans (NBSAPs), two principal instruments for the implementation of the Convention at the national level. A review of 254 plans conducted by the CBD and the International Union for Conservation of Nature's (IUCN) Environment and Gender Information (EGI) platform revealed that, when it comes to the characterisation of women, and women's participation, in NBSAPs, most countries (37% of the 174 Parties included in the analysis) indicated the inclusion of women as stakeholders, 17% referred to women as vulnerable, and the fewest, 4% (seven countries) characterised women as agents of change. From an Arctic perspective, it is important to note that the NBSAPs of OECD countries made the fewest mentions of gender and do not attend to the discussion of women when compared to the global average. As noted in the study, this lack of attention may be due to an already prevalent understanding of the linkages between gender and biodiversity among OECD countries, which appear to consider it more relevant and applicable to the countries of the Global South (Clabots & Gilligan, 2017).

Gender and Biodiversity

Biodiversity degradation can have notable impacts on the well-being of individuals and communities who depend on their environment for their basic needs. These impacts are felt differently based on gender, age, and culture, as well as other factors. Gender norms shape the interactions between, as well as knowledge and usage of, plant and animal species by men and women (UN Women, 2018, p. 11). Indigenous women, for instance, are considered to be custodians of traditional knowledge and cultural practices in the maintenance of biodiversity and environmental sustainability in many parts of the world, including in the Arctic (Dankelman, 2010, p. 146). A gender-differentiated understanding of biodiversity practices, knowledge acquisition and use, and control over resources is therefore crucial in achieving efficient and inclusive laws, policies, planning, and programming for biodiversity conservation, sustainable use, and benefit-sharing.

The Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF) is the biodiversity Working Group of the Council mandated to address the conservation of Arctic biodiversity, and to help to promote practices which ensure the sustainability of the Arctic's living resources.

United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)

Since the adoption of the UNFCCC in 1992, progress on the inclusion of gender issues within the Convention has been incremental, initially focusing on enhancing women's participation and the promotion of a gender balance in negotiating bodies, rather than on addressing broader issues related to gender and gender equality in the context of global climate change. However, this has changed over the last few years, as gender issues are increasingly considered across several important thematic areas, with particular progress made in adaptation, capacity building, and finance (Hemmati & Röhr, 2009).

The UNFCCC first addressed gender in 2001 at COP7 in Marrakech, where it mandated that national adaptation programs of action should be guided by a principle of gender equality. In 2012, COP18 in Doha adopted a decision to include gender and climate change as a standing item on the agenda of future COPs and to promote the goal of gender balance in bodies of, and delegations to, the UNFCCC. In 2014 in Lima, COP20 established the first Lima Work Program on Gender (LWPG) to advance gender balance and integrate gender considerations into the work of the Parties and the Secretariat in the implementation of the Convention; as well as to identify areas of progress, potential gaps, and spaces where further support and collaboration were needed. Subsequently, the first Gender Action Plan (GAP) under the UNFCCC was adopted at COP23 in 2017. Its purpose was three-fold: advancing women's full, equal, and meaningful participation; promoting gender-responsive climate policy; and mainstreaming a gender perspective into the work of the UNFCCC and the Paris Agreement. Activities under the plan were organised under five priority areas: capacity-building, knowledge sharing and communication; gender balance, participation, and women's leadership; coherence; and gender-responsive implementation and means of implementation; as well as monitoring and reporting.

Ultimately, the adoption of the first GAP gave concrete form to the work on gender under the UNFCCC and set up a framework for follow-up. At the same time, the implementation of activities in GAP was not compulsory and Parties and other stakeholders were invited to engage in putting a plan into practice "as appropriate". In 2019, COP25 in Madrid agreed to a 5-year enhanced Lima Work Program on Gender and its Gender Action Plan (FCCC/CP/2019/13/Add.1, 2020, p. 6). The UNFCCC GAP sets out objectives and activities under five priority areas (as outlined above) with the aim of advancing knowledge and an understanding of gender-responsive climate action and its coherent mainstreaming into the implementation of the UNFCCC and the work of the Parties, the Secretariat, United Nations entities, and stakeholders at all levels, as well as women's full, equal, and meaningful participation in the UNFCCC process (FCCC/CP/2019/13/Add.1, 2020, p. 9).

In the Paris Agreement, adopted in 2015, the intersection of climate change and gender equality is recognised as an overarching principle in its Preamble:

> (a)cknowledging that climate change is a common concern of humankind, Parties should, when taking action to address climate change, respect, promote and consider their respective obligations on human rights, the right to health, the rights of indigenous peoples, local communities, migrants, children, persons with disabilities and people in vulnerable situations and the right to development, as well as gender equality, empowerment of women and intergenerational equity.

Moreover, gender issues are also recognised in the context of adaptation and capacity building in the agreement. In Article 7, paragraph 5, the Parties acknowledge that climate change adaptation action should follow a country-driven, gender-responsive, participatory, and fully transparent approach, and in Article 11, paragraph 2, they reiterate that capacity-building should be an iterative, participatory, cross-cutting, and gender-responsive process (Paris Agreement, 2015).

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the United Nations body for assessing the science related to climate change, has engaged with gender issues more recently. In institutional terms, it was in March 2018 that the Panel decided to establish the Task Group on Gender, to develop a framework of goals and actions to improve gender balance and address gender-related issues within the IPCC. In February 2020,

Catherine McKenna, Canadian Minister of Climate and Environment, who was instrumental in drafting the Paris Agreement, speaking at Chatham House. *Chatham House, London*

based on the work of the Task Group, the IPCC adopted its Gender Policy and Implementation Plan, which will be overseen by the Gender Action Team (GAT). The GAT will aim to enhance gender equality in IPCC processes through monitoring and by accounting for gender in decision-making, including diversity in nominations and appointment.

Agenda 2030 and Sustainable Development Goals

In September 2015, all United Nations Member States adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) with a central pledge to leave no one behind (United Nations General Assembly, 2015). Among the 17 SDGs adopted, gender equality is enshrined as a goal in its own right (SDG 5). Moreover, gender equality cuts across all other goals and is reflected in 45 targets and 54 indicators (Morrow, 2018).

The potential for gender equality to advance the 2030 Agenda goes even beyond what is reflected in the SDGs and their specific targets. There is a growing recognition that gender equality can be a catalytic policy intervention – an accelerator – that triggers positive multiplier effects across the whole spectrum of development. As evidence shows, gender equality is central to achieving a wide range of sustainable development objectives, including reducing poverty, promoting economic growth, enhancing human capital through health and education, attaining food security, addressing climate change impacts, strengthening resilience to disasters, and ensuring more peaceful and inclusive communities (Dugarova, 2018). In other words, attaining gender equality is critical as a goal in and of itself and as an effective means of achieving sustainable development – globally and in the Arctic.

Agenda 2030 is also recognised in the Strategic Framework of the Council's Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG), adopted in 2017, where the linkages between SDWG's vision for the Arctic region and the global set of 17 SDGs, their sub-targets, and indicators are considered "an opportunity for the work of the SDWG to contribute to the implementation of Agenda 2030" (SDWG, 2017). More specifically, among the many opportunities listed in the Strategic Framework, that Framework recognises that "the SDWG will have continued opportunities to align itself with elements of these goals, targets, and indicators, which could result in a broader base of support for its work for the sustainable development and human dimension within the Arctic Council" (SDWG, 2017). It is clear, then, that SDWG acknowledges the centrality of gender in environmental issues.

Other international instruments

Other international instruments include the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030, which was adopted at the Third UN World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction (WCDRR) in Sendai, Japan, in March 2015 and subsequently endorsed by the UN General Assembly (United Nations, 2015, p. 23). The integration of a gender perspective in all policies and practices is listed among the guiding principles of the Framework, along with the promotion of women's and youth leadership. The Framework also talks about the critical importance of resourcing and implementing gender-sensitive disaster risk reduction policies, plans, and programmes (Article 36a (i)).

Also, in 2015, the Conferences of the Parties to the Basel, Rotterdam and Stockholm Conventions, committed to gender mainstreaming within their respective Secretariats and in their Secretariat's projects, programs, and training activities. The three conventions deal, respectively, with the control of transboundary movements of hazardous wastes and their disposal (Basel), the prior informed consent procedure for certain hazardous chemicals and pesticides in international trade (Rotterdam), and persistent organic pollutants (POPs) (Stockholm). As UNEP pointed out, "there is now greater recognition of the links between gender, poverty, and hazardous chemicals and wastes, as well as of the profound significance the gender/poverty nexus can have for both sensitivity and exposure over time – and thus on economic, social, and environmental well-being" (UNEP, 2016, p. 6). These Conferences demonstrate further international commitment to gender equality.

In May 2020, the Secretariat of the Minamata Convention on Mercury presented an overview of the activities planned under the Convention and based on a decision of the third Conference of the Parties. Among them, the Secretariat will encourage a gender balanced representation within the delegations and will advise of any potential gender impacts in proposals developed for consideration by the COP. Furthermore, as the UN has noted gender mainstreaming as an imperative in the support of capacity development and technical assistance, the Minamata Convention will give due considerations to the differential needs of men, women, and vulnerable populations in its implementation. Finally, the Secretariat of the Convention will develop a gender strategy with the objective of mainstreaming gender within its work programme.

In sum, the frameworks and environmental conventions discussed here, as well as Agenda 2030, work hand in hand and are mutually supportive and reinforcing; the implementation of one contributes to the achievement of the others. Along the same lines, gender equality and the systematic mainstreaming of gender perspectives in implementation of those instruments contributes to advancement and acceleration on the path towards sustainable development. Concurrently, Arctic States and other partners are active proponents in the listed instruments and frameworks that deal with matters directly relevant to the Arctic.

Global Gender and Environment Outlook (GGEO) (2016)

At the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20) in 2012, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) made a commitment to undertake the first *Global Gender and Environment Outlook (GGEO).* The aim of the GGEO was to review links between gender and the environment, and to inform policy decisions targeted at increasing gender equality and bringing gender issues to the centre of environmental assessment and decision-making.

The GGEO was the first large scale global environmental assessment to combine the more traditional approach of the Drivers-Pressures-State-Impacts-Responses (DPSIR) methodology with foundational gender-based frameworks. As a result, it asked new and different questions, emphasised different dimensions of human-environment relationships, and required different methodological tools and approaches.

One of the central contributions of GGEO was a review and assessment of available data at the intersection of gender and environment. It found that there is limited information available discussing the differences between women's and men's needs, resource uses, and responsibilities across all the subsectors under sustainable development, environment, and conservation. Consequently, due to the lack of comprehensive sex-disaggregated data and information, the contributions of different genders (more often women) often remain invisible. As a part of the effort to address this issue, GGEO drew attention to "lifting the roof of the household" to examine gender dynamics and relationships in a unit, household, where most of them take place, and to combine macro and micro data, when a smaller scale often provides the most appropriate and useful information (United Nations Environment Programme, 2016).

Gender and Climate Change

As a result of human-induced climate change, the Arctic has been warming at more than twice the global rate over the past 50 years; today, driven by quickly rising temperatures, it is shifting to a new, less frozen, and biologically changed state with a warmer, wetter, and more variable environment (Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme [AMAP], 2019; Thoman et al., 2020). The implications of Arctic change affect local and Indigenous communities in the region as well as societies worldwide (Arctic Climate Impact Assessment [ACIA], 2004; Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2018). Climate change also interacts with other environmental and health stressors, along with a range of social, cultural, economic, and political factors that profoundly alter the region, amplifying the impact on human health and well-being, and challenging the capacity of Arctic peoples to maintain resilience (Arctic Council, 2016; Einarsson et al., 2004; Forbes et al., 2009; Larsen & Fondahl, 2015). Furthermore, climate change is also emerging as a mental health challenge for those who live in the Arctic and are affected by changes to land, ice, snow, weather, sense of place, damage to infrastructure, indirect impacts via the influence of media, and the compounding of existing stress and hardship (Bunce et al., 2016; Cunsolo Willox et al., 2014; Dowsley, 2015). Indigenous Peoples are likely to be more sensitive to those changes given their intimate connection and interdependent relationship with the land, which provides necessary resources for their lifestyle and livelihoods, while also being a site of deep sociocultural and sociospiritual significance (Cunsolo Willox et al., 2014; Einarsson et al., 2004; Ford & Pearce, 2012; Poppel, 2015).

Gender and sociodemographic factors like age, wealth, and class are critical to the ways in which climate change is experienced (Vincent et al., 2014). The experiences of women and men, during and after times of climate and other natural crises, are different based on their work roles, sociocultural norms and practices, economic conditions, and access to resources (Alston & Whittenbury, 2013). Over the last decade, a growing body of evidence and scholarship has shown that globally women tend to be more affected by the impacts of climate change and natural disasters, including increased gender-based violence (Castañeda Carney et al., 2020). This is partly because women make up the majority of the poorest populations in many parts of the world and are further marginalised by many cultures and societal structures (Aguilar et al., 2015; UN Women, 2020). However, women are not inherently more vulnerable than men and they should not be stereotyped as such (United Nations General Assembly, 1979; Pearse, 2017). Gender remains marginal in the overall body of scholarship on climate change adaptation, resilience, and vulnerability (Bunce & Ford, 2015; Pearse, 2017; Santos et

al., 2020). Articles with a specific gender focus are predominantly rooted in the female experience and occupied with women as the understudied gender, while hardly any attention is paid to men's experience, and no attention is given to those outside the gender binary.

Climate change in the Arctic

Climate change in the Arctic is by far the most studied topic in the region today. The gravity of the impacts of climate change on the Arctic was first established by the Council in the 2004/2005 Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA).

However, the gendered nature of climate change in the Arctic has been studied less, even though the region is a harbinger of climate-related transformations around the world. As observed by Martello (2008, p. 371), gender was partly (in)visible in the representations of Indigenous Peoples' knowledge in ACIA, which resulted in a male bias in both the understanding of Indigenous Peoples' climate observations and the visual representations of the peoples. Consequently, the assessment tended to emphasise climate observations linked to traditionally male responsibilities like fishing, hunting, and travelling on land and ice.

Erosion of sand cliff at the edge of Shishmaref, Alaska. *Lawrence Hislop / GRID-Arendal*

The same tendency has also been reflected in other studies (Bunce & Ford, 2015; Dowsley, 2015; Vinokurova, 2017). Since men are the main hunters and navigators in their communities, they spend more time in direct contact with the physical environment, which has arguably dictated the male focus in gathering data on the impacts of climate change on landscape and primary subsistence activities.[2] However, this approach misses the fact that men and women continue to play distinct roles in the subsistence economy (Einarsson et al., 2004; Glomsrød et al., 2017; Larsen & Fondahl, 2015) and that the predominantly traditional division of labour between the two sexes results in different pathways through which women and men observe and assess environmental change (Dowsley et al., 2010). After all, women make their own observations during their travels on the land and on the water (in the case of freshwater fisheries) and acquire knowledge – through their work in preparing seal skins, sewing, picking berries, collecting seaweed and eggs, and processing fish – that contributes to a more nuanced and complete picture of environmental change and its impacts[3] (Bunce et al., 2016; Parlee et al., 2005; Robinson et al., 2009; Shannon, 2009). Where the research emphasize men's knowledge, it misses information embedded in women's activities as well as the frequently gendered patterns by which formal and informal knowledge passes from one person to another and across generations (Johnson et al., 2016; Robinson et al., 2009).

An increasing engagement with Indigenous and traditional ecological knowledge and community-based monitoring (CBM) has characterised Arctic science and research over the last two decades, but only two projects included in the Atlas of Community-Based Monitoring and Indigenous Knowledge in a Changing Arctic (www.arcticcbm.org), initiated within the Sustaining Arctic Observing Networks (SAON), have had a specific focus on women. However, these projects did not include a specific focus

on the monitoring of change.[4] This has implications for whose knowledge is ultimately documented and may result in men's observations playing a larger role in the canon of Arctic Indigenous Knowledge studies than women's knowledge (Dowsley, 2015; Dowsley et al., 2010; N. Johnson et al., 2016; Parlee & Wray, 2016). It is worth noting that such a gender bias is not deliberate, since the majority of CBM programs, as is true of most of climate change studies, approach communities as homogenous and do not have a specific gender focus. However, a lack of consideration of the gendered nature of knowledge means that the majority of observations of environmental change come from men and do not account for the internal diversity of communities.[5] Moreover, when examining local knowledge and seeking to build an understanding of the effects and impacts of climate and environmental change, researchers should consider not only gender differences, but also factors such as age and occupation (Begum, 2016, 2019).

Beyond the complementary observations made by women of the "primary effects" of climate change, women's observations are also vital to portraying and grasping the "secondary effects" of climate change that occur in Arctic communities and include the social consequences of environmental change (Dowsley et al., 2010). Among others, they include the availability of country products and a related sense of food security and identity (Beaumier & Ford, 2010; Beaumier et al., 2015; Hossain et al., 2020; Kuokkanen & Sweet, 2020; Quintal-Marineau & Wenzel, 2019; Sellers, 2018). Changing and unpredictable weather conditions, travel disruptions, and changing landscapes also mean that less time is spent on land with profound implications for women's and men's mental health and well-being. Men and women report elevated levels of stress, which is associated with the loss of traditional lifestyles and identity. Men specifically experience less flexibility in adapting to climate change, as observed across the circumpolar North (Russia, Greenland, Nunavut). Women, for their part, feel sadness and anxiety related to changes in nature, which indirectly affect their activities like sewing groups,[6] or directly influence women's access to and time spent on the land. Women also report stress and concern for their husbands, especially the effects that climate change has on them, and anxiety about their children spending time on the land in increasingly unpredictable and insecure conditions.

Today, women in many Inuit communities are often the primary wage earners who provide financial resources to support men's harvesting and subsistence practices (Quintal-Marineau & Wenzel, 2019; Rasmussen, 2009; Reedy-Maschner, 2009; Van Voorst, 2009). This role gives them a certain amount of leverage within their households and increases their flexibility in adapting to ongoing changes. At the same time, it reduces the amount of time that women have to engage in traditional activities, placing additional stress on them due to their dual role as caregivers and wage earners (Dowsley et al., 2010). Interestingly, this particular experience of Inuit women appears to be more closely aligned with the global narrative surrounding men and climate change, primarily shaped through the lens of the global South, where men tend to be the primary wage earners, migrating out from their villages, while women carry agricultural and food provision responsibilities (Bunce et al., 2016). This important observation points to potential differences in global scholarship on gender and the environment and its regional manifestation in the

Inuit woman carrying her child, Clyde River, Nunavut Canada. *Peter Prokosch / GRID-Arendal*

Arctic, underlining the need to expand studies in the Arctic to include a specific gender focus to account for the region's particular traits and characteristics.

Under conditions of rapid socioenvironmental change, women tend to suffer from more gender-based violence. In the Arctic, this trend has been relatively well-documented and, in part, attributed to a loss of identity and self-worth among men, social tension, issues of power and control, and frequently also to the ways in which extractive industries operate in the region (Castañeda Carney et al., 2020; Cox & Mills, 2015; Cunsolo Willox et al., 2014; Einarsson et al., 2004; Kennedy Dalseg et al., 2018; Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2002; Nightingale et al., 2017; Sweet, 2013, 2014). The consequences of climate and environmental change, the legacies of colonialism, and the sociocultural

transformation of the North may all contribute to increased levels of aggression, drug and alcohol use (Cunsolo Willox et al., 2014). A range of emotional states such as anxiety, fear, grief, and depression correlates with another trend in Arctic communities – significantly higher levels of suicide compared to southern parts of Arctic countries. Many of these suicides, especially among men, may be related to changes in traditional lifestyles due to climate change, further exacerbated by conflicts over land use. It is expected that conflicts over multiple land uses will continue as the demand to acquire land for activities like wind farming and mining grows, competing with traditional activities such as reindeer herding, farming, forestry, and fisheries. Infrastructure development, land fragmentation, and climate change are interconnected drivers of change and, in particular in the Barents area, they affect the livelihoods, health, well-being, and the overall adaptive capacity of Sámi peoples (AMAP, 2017a, p. xii). The research indicates that, in Sweden and Finland, resource use conflicts between reindeer herding and the forestry industry are potentially more detrimental to Sámi people than the impacts of climate change (Berg, 2010, as cited in Buchanan et al., 2016, Keskitalo 2008, Raitio, 2008).

The Deaths on the Climate Change Frontline
Per Jonas Partapuoli, Saami Council

The changing climate in the Arctic region is affecting how we can use the land. The ability and possibility for adaptation to this new environment are crucial for traditional livelihoods such as reindeer husbandry. But what if these possibilities for adaptation are limited due to competing land-users, such as exploiters? What happens to those living and working with reindeer on a daily basis, who are predominantly men? Suicide among the Sámi, particularly Sámi men, is linked to the difficulties of maintaining Sámi identities; since reindeer husbandry is central to Sámi culture, losing that livelihood is the same as losing Sámi identity. If nothing is done, there is a risk of losing an entire generation of male reindeer herders.

During the late 1900s and early 2000s, suicide among Arctic Indigenous Peoples rose dramatically (Young et al., 2015). However, in Sápmi (the land of the Sámi people), suicide rates in general have been moderate (Silviken et al., 2006); the Sámi enjoy better health along with the majority populations in Sweden, Norway, and Finland. Nevertheless, the Sámi people are still overrepresented in Nordic suicide statistics. Reindeer herding Sámi men have died more often by suicide than the majority populations in the Nordics, and 150% more compared to the majority population of Sweden (SMR =1.50; Stoor et al., 2017).

There is a clear gender difference in suicides and the sex-age pattern for the Sámi reindeer herding population than exists in the general Swedish population from 1980 to 2016. The literature has documented a skewed sex ratio across the globe, and Sweden varied between 2–3:1 (male:female) during that time period (Jiang et al., 2016). The ratio for the Sámi reindeer herders was even more skewed, 6:1 (Jacobsson et al., 2020).

Nils Torbjörn Nutti is a Sámi reindeer herder from Saarivuoma sameby, Arctic Sweden. *Susan Christianen*

Mainstream suicidology emphasises that suicide is associated with mental health issues, neglecting the impacts of culture and context. Critics, however, have proposed that we must understand suicide within the specific cultural context and location in order to develop suicide prevention strategies (Tatz, 2017). Suicide among the Sámi is linked to the difficulties of maintaining Sámi identities when the culture is under pressure (Stoor, 2020). The Sámi losing, or having lost, their identity is coherent when we see that those who have died in suicide are predominantly young reindeer herding men. Since reindeer herding is a part of the Sámi culture, the herders are deeply involved in the fight for the culture and would rather die than lose their Sámi identity.

Reindeer husbandry is under immense pressure in all Nordic countries due to competing land uses. Scenario modelling shows that this competition will increase with time. A recent study on the impacts of exploitation of natural resources on Sámi reindeer herding land found that pressure on

the reindeer pastures from mining and the wind energy in Sweden has significantly increased in the last 20 years (Österlin & Raitio, 2020). In 2000, about 10,000 hectares were used for mining purposes in traditional Sámi territories. In 2017, this figure had increased by 150%, to 25,000 hectares. Additionally, wind turbines in traditional Sámi territory went from fewer than 50 in 2003 to more than 1000 in 2017.

What is clear is that reindeer herders are facing the limit of resilience (Furberg et al., 2011). Reindeer herders experience severe and more rapidly shifting, unstable weather with associated changes in vegetation and alterations in the freeze-thaw cycle, all of which affect reindeer herding. The vulnerable situation of reindeer herders and the impact of climate change may have serious consequences. Reindeer herding communities around the Arctic, and the Sámi people, are trying to adapt in order to not transform their livelihoods. However, the diminishing space for adaptation due to predation and competing land use, in combination with the reindeer herders' lack of power to decide over the land, limits the possibilities (Löf, 2013). A recent study found that one of the main problems is that the authorities assume that mining and reindeer herding can coexist on the same land, which is not possible. Another issue is the weak recognition (in Sweden) of Sámi reindeer herding as a property right; this makes the permit review process, for competing land uses, unreasonably difficult (Raitio et al., 2020). Adaptation is also affected by sociocultural transitions (Ford, 2012).

Suicide among Sámi reindeer herders peaks (one out of six) during May (Jacobsson et al., 2020). Miesssemánnu (May in North Sámi translates to the month of the reindeer calf) is the month of rebirth when the reindeer herding cycle renews and when everything comes to life again. This is especially important due to the increasingly unpredictable and lethal weather conditions associated with climate change. Committing suicide during the month of rebirth signals an immeasurable level of desperation while also sending a message. Those Sámi men are understood as been living with incredible stress due to the attacks on their livelihood, i.e., identity, and are finally not able to live on. Sámi reindeer herders are fighting for survival but often face defeat due to power inequality. An illustrative parable imagines Sámi reindeer herders as lemmings, who are stubborn and known for their fiery behaviour, never deviating or fleeing when threatened, often exposing themselves to harm (Stoor et al., 2015).

The global phenomenon of skewed sex ratio in reindeer herding explains why Sámi men commit suicide more than women. Education might also be a factor, as women's higher education levels protect them by giving them access to a life outside reindeer husbandry. Harmful stereotypical norms misguiding young men on how a reindeer herder should act can also explain why men are over-represented in the statistics, but there is still something missing.

Reindeer blocking a road in northern Sweden. *Martin Kraut / Pixabay*

There is a lack of research regarding how climate change, and the ability to adapt to the changes, affect reindeer herders' mental health. My experiences tell me that climate change and the incapacity to adapt due to competing land use affects the mental health of reindeer herders, which can have devastating outcomes. The arguments brought before you on how entwined the herder is with reindeer and nature illustrate the connection between changing environment and mental health. And, since reindeer herders, again, most of whom are men, are on the front lines of climate change but cannot act, they are more at risk of mental illness and suicide than women.

There is a need for increased understanding of how environmental changes affect the mental health of those living squarely in the midst of climate change. Scientific efforts alone will not be enough; the struggle for survival demands political action to facilitate climate adaptation. This requires including the herders in decision-making processes for managing the land and accounting for existing effects on the traditional reindeer herding territories, as well as actively supporting the Sámi suicide prevention plan. Let us bear in mind that doing nothing is to risk losing an entire generation of male reindeer herders.

Adaptation, risk, and resilience

Understanding human adaptation to climate change is one of the most important research issues in the area of global environmental change (Adger & Kelly, 2000, p. 253; Smit et al., 2008, as cited in Van Voorst, 2009), emphasised by the increasing pace and scale of climate change, particularly in the Arctic. There is a need to deepen our comprehension of the vulnerabilities of Arctic peoples and communities so as to bolster necessary adaptation efforts (Vincent et al., 2014; Kelly & Adger, 2000). As shown by evaluations of adaptation investments in other parts of the world, approaches that are insensitive to gender and other drivers of social inequalities (age, ethnicity, and others) risk reinforcing existing vulnerabilities and can result in maladaptation or adaptation that, at best, has uneven impacts across genders (Bunce & Ford, 2015; Holmgren & Arora-Jonsson, 2015; Vincent et al., 2014).

Yukon Coast, Canada (Nunataryuk project). *Vincent Sasseville / Nunataryuk*

Understanding what supports or compromises adaptive capacity is essential for decision makers seeking to address climate change at all levels. It can also help empower communities to manage the risks posed by climate change (Alston & Whittenbury, 2013; Kelly & Adger, 2000; Smit & Wandel, 2006). In this context, it is vital to recognise that what makes people vulnerable to climate-related risks has little to do with the actual climate but is rather reflective of underlying social, cultural, and economic factors (Ford et al., 2014). As noted by Huntington et al. (2019), climate change is a major challenge to Arctic Indigenous Peoples and local inhabitants but not the only and often not the most pressing one. Accordingly, the treatment of, and adaptation to, climate change in Arctic research and policy should be reframed and expanded to account more systematically for issues like health, education, food security, and the prevailing character of Arctic economies, all areas which are simultaneously differentiated by gender.

Climate change is not a silo; it also varies in its effects across the Arctic (AMAP, 2017a, 2017b, 2018; Overland, 2020). Accordingly, local, place-specific, and detailed information is important to respond and to adapt to climate change. As emphasised in the Adaptation Actions for a Changing Arctic (AACA) study of the Council, women's knowledge is a key and underutilised asset (AMAP, 2017a, p. 167). In Nunavut, community-based institutions are particularly central to climate adaptation (Armitage, 2005; Dowsley et al., 2010). Women increasingly play a role in community, regional, and international institutions dealing with climate and environmental decision making, but their participation in institutional contexts remains uneven and is not adequately reflected in the literature (Prior & Heinämäki, 2017; Staples & Natcher, 2015a, 2015b; see also the section below on gender and natural resources).

Gender plays a role not only in shaping knowledge of environmental change but also in the social response to the effects of those changes. By examining women's perceptions of climate change and related environmental and social effects it is possible to draw attention to the contributions that different genders make to adaptation on local and community levels. Women can significantly shape social responses to climate change as primary wage earners, through their roles in maintaining subsistence and sharing systems, and through political engagement in institutions at various levels

(Kuokkanen & Sweet, 2020; Quintal-Marineau, 2016; Todd, 2014). However, the greater inclusion of women in decision-making processes only advances gender equality if women's other gender-defined responsibilities, such as caretaking, are adequately accounted for. Otherwise, policies and actions aimed to promote greater representation of women may create additional work and fail to address the conditions that limited their involvement in the first place ("Gender in conservation and climate policy," 2019).

Gender plays an important role in understanding the notion of risk, both from a societal and a decision-making perspective in the Arctic context. Vinokurova (2017) notes that, in Yakutia, there are significant gender differences between women and men in their perceptions of risk related to current and future impacts of climate change: men are concerned about the threat of extinction of traditional activities, while women worry about the safety of people's lives and the health of children and descendants. There is a need to conceptualise the notion of risk from a gender perspective to ensure risk reduction initiatives are developed and implemented in a holistic and realistic manner. Internationally recognised concepts, such as disaster risk reduction (DRR), as well as global initiatives, such as the Sendai Framework, discuss the need to better understand and conceptualise risk. However, risk is rarely framed and understood through a multifaceted lens at a global scale. Risk is perceived, interpreted, and reacted to based on individual experiences and preferences. Such narrow understandings and definitions of risk limit not only the collective ability to conceptualise risk, but, more importantly, the ability to provide adequate measures to address it. In the Arctic, risk reduction measures also fail to account for the gendered and intersectional components of risk.

Vilyuy River at Kyzyl-Syr, Sakha Republic (Yakutia), Russia. *Peter Prokosch / GRID-Arendal*

Developing an evidence base to inform adaptation policies and actions has been an important part of the work of the Council. Yet, despite increasing evidence that the impacts of climate change are not gender neutral, it is apparent that most Council assessments, projects, and frameworks are rarely, like the majority of Arctic studies, gender-sensitive. As previously asserted, the large majority of (the very few) Arctic studies that adopt an explicit gender perspective in relation to adaptation to climate change focus primarily on women and, specifically, on the experiences of Inuit women from Canada, with individual studies covering other geographic areas and the experiences of other Indigenous women. There is almost no scholarship examining vulnerabilities and adaptive capacities differentiated by gender in the context of the non-Indigenous population in the Arctic. This leaves significant gaps in our understanding of adaptation to climate change in the region situated at the forefront of global climate transformations. Applying a gender perspective and understanding gender differences in the experience of Arctic climate and environmental change is key to designing effective adaptation strategies (Alston & Whittenbury, 2013; Vincent et al., 2014; World Health Organization, 2012) and avoiding the exacerbation of existing inequalities and vulnerabilities. Accounting for gender differences in climate change actions has the potential to bring about local gender-positive impacts, creating a positive feedback loop contributing to sustainable, inclusive, and equitable development for all (Aguilar et al., 2015; Habtezion, 2013; UNEP & IUCN, 2018).

Simultaneously, adaptation strategies need to be considered not only in relation to climate change, but beyond it, in connection with other developments. Many Arctic communities rely on natural resources for income and, as a result, depend on global markets and fluctuating prices: the COVID-19 pandemic further exposed the vulnerability of some of those communities and their adaptation strategies (Forbes et al., 2009; Szymkowiak, 2020a).

Gender in Arctic Council Reports and Assessments
Text mining analysis of reports from the Arctic Council Working Groups

Given the centrality and importance of gender and gender equality to human–environment relationships and sustainable development, it is worth examining how they have been incorporated into the work of the the Council to date. The Council noted the importance of gender early on in its work with the conference and report "Taking Wing" in 2002; it has since followed up with several other projects with a specific gender focus, including the Gender Equality in the Arctic project, all initiated and conducted within the SDWG. However, most of the Council's work and scientific assessments is carried out in the Council's other Working Groups – AMAP, ACAP, CAFF, PAME, and EPPR – dedicated to monitoring the state of, as well as protecting, the Arctic environment. A preliminary study was conducted for this chapter in collaboration with GRID-Arendal to see how gender is reflected in the work of the Council Working Groups to date. Given the exploratory nature of the study, the results presented below are a starting, rather than an ending, point for further inquiry and actions.

In this analysis, the researchers used computational tools in several ways. First, a total of 216 reports and publications from the six Council Working Groups from 1998 to 2020 was selected based on their primary focus and connection with the themes of environment and sustainable development. The selection included all major assessments of the Council excluding, for example, technical reports from AMAP and documents from CAFF expert groups. Researchers read the report into the software RStudio for visualisation and analysis.

Based on that, the primary inquiry explored the number of references to gender in these 216 reports. It appears that very few reports included the word "gender" three times or more.

Subset and distribution of Council reports that included word "gender" minimum 3 times
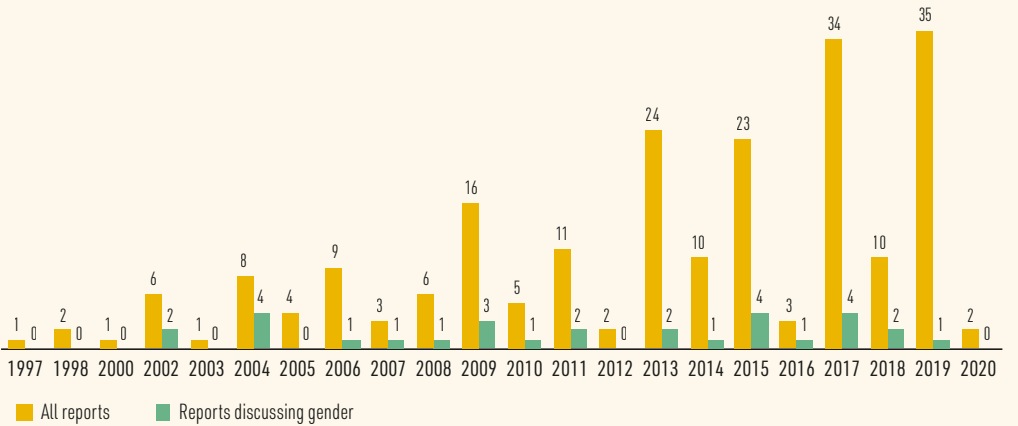
The number three was an arbitrary choice, low enough to include any publications that had a reference to gender but higher than only a single mention. It therefore does not indicate that a report discussed gender in depth, but, instead, shows how infrequently the term was used. As illustrated in Fig.1, only 30 reports out of 216 referenced gender a minimum of 3 times: 18 of those were from the SDWG, 11 from AMAP, and 1 from CAFF; there was no reference to gender at all in the products of other Working Groups. Furthermore, the number of times that the term appeared in text varied considerably depending on the focus of the reports. For example, while the 2011 AMAP and SWIPA reports referenced gender four times each, the SDWG's "Taking Wing Conference Report" (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2002), which had gender as its primary focus, used the term 1779 times.

Next, we drew on the same 216 reports to find and analyse the top six words correlating with "gender" and "women" respectively. The graph on the next page illustrates the top six word correlations found.

Pairwise correlation from dataset with all reports, with top six correlations
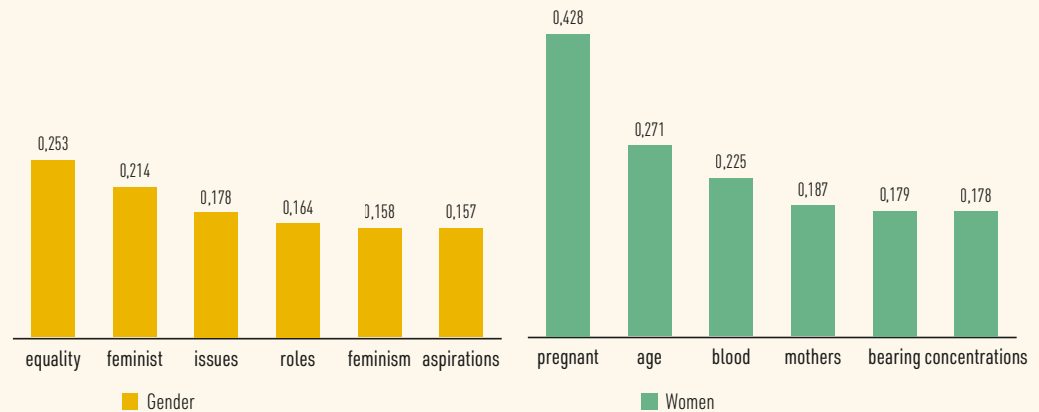
The word "gender" correlates with concepts like "equality", "roles", and "feminism". Meanwhile, the word "women" is most often correlated with concepts related to motherhood ("pregnant", "mothers") and contamination ("blood", "concentrations") which is explicable in part by the number of AMAP reports represented in the dataset (65%), many of which focus on pollution and human health. Interestingly, the analysis of these reports also found that neither the concepts of "gender" nor "women" were significantly correlated with words like "environment", "biodiversity", "climate", or "resources".

In sum, the analysis illustrates that, despite the centrality of the natural environment in the lives of Arctic peoples, and the recognition that changes in the environment and climate affect different genders differently, the inclusion of gender perspectives in the work of the Council, at least outside the SDWG, has been missing or sporadic at best. It is somewhat telling, from the perspective of the gender-and-environment nexus, that, even in the case of the Arctic Human Development Report II, where gender was intended to cut across all contributions to the report, the chapter on resource governance did not make a single mention of gender; it mentioned women only once with reference to forest owners (Hoogensen Gjørv, 2017; Larsen & Fondahl, 2015).

Gender and Management of Environmental Resources

Environmental resources are vital to the livelihoods of all Arctic peoples, irrespective of gender. Many Indigenous populations in the Arctic continue land-based lifestyles and experience a deep, inter-dependent relationship with the land, which is central to communities' health, well-being, identity, and cultural survival (Cunsolo Willox et al., 2013). Simultaneously, natural resource extraction and development are considered and promoted as a pathway to creating local employment, strengthening northern economies, and improving the living conditions of northern inhabitants (Glomsrød et al., 2017, Parlee, 2019; Southcott et al., 2019). In all Arctic regions, the primary sector makes important contributions to local employment as well as to the national GDPs of Arctic countries, albeit to a varying extent. While the interest in the exploitation of northern resources has paralleled the advance of climate change in the region, the effects of resource development on communities have often been mixed. Not only do they provide new economic opportunities and additional sources of income, but they also affect harvesting and subsistence activities, reshape relationships within families and communities, and exacerbate many previous social challenges.

There is a sizeable body of research on the effects of resource extraction on resource workers as well as those who live in communities that host the industry (Mills et al., 2019). Though the improvement of the material well-being of families is often cited as one of the benefits of resource projects, an increase in alcohol consumption, problematic substance abuse, gambling, family- and gender-based violence, and, in some cases, prostitution and sex trafficking often accompanies the projects (Czyzewski et al., 2016; Mills et al., 2019; Nightingale et al., 2017; Sweet, 2014). Moreover, even though the dependence

on traditional/country food varies across the Arctic, in many parts of the North, resource development is considered to be in conflict with, and threatening to, wildlife, water, fisheries, and the biodiversity uses valued by Indigenous and local peoples (Hossain et al., 2020; Parlee, 2019). Finally, the greater engagement of harvesters in the wage economy through the introduction of mines and other projects is another driver behind their declining participation in hunting, trapping, and fishing. This decline, in turn, has implications for northern peoples' diets and health, including an increase in lifestyle-related diseases such as chronic heart disease and Type II diabetes (Egeland et al., 2011, as cited in Parlee, 2019, p. 143).

Building in Vorkuta with a banner on the wall showing male miners.
Text translation: "We will not fail Vorkuta", Komi Republic, Russia. *Gregory Stein / Shutterstock*

At present, all resource-based industries in the North are heavily male dominated and the effects of natural resource development in the Arctic are strongly gendered (Walker et al., 2019). Men constitute a vast majority of employees in the extractive sectors in all Arctic countries and tend to profit more economically from new projects than women, while women tend to carry a greater proportion of the family and community burden associated with the projects. Studies show that women are less likely to be employed in resource work than men, there are fewer training opportunities for them, and, if they do find employment, it is often in positions that are low-waged, precarious, and not adequately reflected in the employment statistics. This last aspect contributes to perpetuating the image of male dominance across resource sectors. The exclusion is even starker in the case of Indigenous women who are not only excluded from male-dominated occupations but from female-dominated secretarial jobs as well. Instead, many Indigenous women find employment only in low-paying occupations like housekeeping, cleaning, and cooking. Studies from the Northwest Territories have found that native women face discriminatory hiring, inadequate training, and cultural barriers, in addition to more general problems like sexism and harassment experienced by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous women in resource work (Mills et al., 2013). This unbalanced participation in the resource-based wage economy also has implications for the subsistence economy, where the loss of one partner due to their employment schedule can result in a family's reduced ability to engage in harvesting. At the same time, the relationship between subsistence and wage economies is complex, since the income from wage sources allows households to purchase the necessary equipment to participate in subsistence production (Bodenhorn, 1990; Quintal-Marineau & Wenzel, 2019; Van Voorst, 2009). Still, Natcher et al. (2016) found that Indigenous men tend to have fewer constraints on their time to harvest wildlife resources than women, who must balance employment, childcare, and other domestic responsibilities. This, in turn, limits women's time spent on the land and on activities like berry picking that play an important role, not only in terms of harvesting, but also in supporting women's social networks and overall well-being (Boulanger-Lapointe et al., 2019; Parlee et al., 2005).

The management of environmental resources is also often affected by gender imbalance, reflected in systemic power relations (Natcher et al., 2020; Staples & Natcher, 2015b). To date, few studies in the global North have considered the differential effects of gender and environmental management (Reed et al., 2014). By considering the gendered dimensions of environmental management, institutions can

be made more gender-aware and craft policies that account for the unintended consequences of the gender-blind interventions of the past. Gender equity and inclusion have important multiplier effects in sustainable development by empowering women through tenure rights and by securing their access to environmental resources, thereby lessening gender-based vulnerabilities. This objective is consistent with the United Nations' commitment to promoting gender equality and empowering women and girls to drive progress in attaining the Sustainable Development Goals. What is thus required is to move beyond statements on equity, diversity, and inclusion to enact actual policies that ensure principles of inclusion that are not only respected but actually implemented. In other words, policies that move from being unconsciously exclusive to consciously inclusive of gender equality within environmental management institutions (Kuo, 2017).

Gender diversity within environmental management organisations can result in innovative outcomes. At the same time, gender homogeneity can undermine the quality and breadth of environmental research and may cast doubt on the motivations or agendas behind them (Natcher et al., 2020). Given the complexities, scale, and extremity of environmental challenges in the Arctic, the equitable inclusion of women and other underrepresented groups in management institutions is crucial if sustainable solutions to our environmental challenges are to be found. Work remains to be done: an inventory of the nominal representation of men and women on northern co-management boards in Canada (Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut) identified a total of 34 co-management boards. Of their total of 210 members, 176 (84%) were males and 34 (16%) were females. Nine boards were composed exclusively of men, and 18 boards had only a single female representative. The land and resource management regimes created through the settlement of comprehensive land claims have afforded Indigenous governments equitable representation in co-management but have not promoted gender equity in board membership. Staples and Natcher (2015b) found that, despite the paucity of female representation on co-management boards, male board members believe women make an important contribution through their knowledge, perspectives, and experience on the land. In some cases, the transition to more equitable gender representation is underway and, as one female board member stated in Staples and Natcher (2015a), "it has changed a little bit but not so much so that I would say that we're ... on equal grounds". These conditions may, in effect, perpetuate institutional inequality where men remain in the position of authority while women remain on the margins of formal decision making, with few opportunities to influence the scope of discussions. While the land and resource management regimes created through effective political opposition have afforded Indigenous governments equitable representation within environmental management institutions, they have not promoted gender equity in representation and decision making.

Similar observations have been made in Norwegian nature management, where women's perspectives are found to be largely absent from the management of nature conservations areas. This is despite the requirement for participation of at least 40% of women on the protected areas' boards, appointed by the Norwegian state (Lundberg, 2017). Closer examination revealed that, even though the boards were largely gender balanced, women's participation in them was unevenly distributed with women primarily representing county municipality areas, while men represented local authorities whose views were considered more legitimate as they, among others, carried out land use planning. Moreover, men constitute a much higher number of protected areas boards' leaders and a large majority in so-called counselling committees. Counselling committees are supposed to reflect the interests of local communities and they are comprised of representatives of tourist associations, travelling agencies, nature and environmental organisations, landowner associations, and others. As those committees are not appointed by the state, they are not obliged to follow specific gender legislation, and gender diverse representation is considered irrelevant to them. Despite the fact that women and men practice outdoor life in different ways, women's views may not be adequately reflected in the prevailing settings which can translate, in turn, into which measures, issues and agendas receive resources and priority (e.g. fishing, hunting, and snowmobiling) (Lundberg, 2017, 2018). A Norwegian study on nature management further reinforces the observation that reaching even numbers, in terms of gender participation, does not necessarily have wider implications for gender equality, which requires a much wider spectrum of measures and efforts as well as an accounting for sociocultural and historical, including colonial, contexts (Lundberg, 2018; Rozanova & Mikheev, 2020; UNEP, 2016).

As pointed out in the introduction, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to present in-depth and comprehensive coverage of each primary sector across the circumpolar North with a specific gender focus. Instead, the sections below serve to illustrate and highlight some of the noted and leading issues that characterise the intersection of gender and natural resources in the Arctic. Interestingly, many of the observations appear relevant across various sectors and, as such, they require further research and inquiry.

Mining

Like other extractive industries, mining has significant impacts on the environment and northern communities; while often promoted as a pathway to creating local opportunities, it is also a part of many and sometimes conflicting land uses in the North (Parlee, 2019; Rodon & Lévesque, 2019).

Series of old aerial tramways, Longyearbyen , Spitsbergen (Svalbard).
Relic of the town's history as a mining settlement. *Iñigo Garcia Zarandona*

Mining projects are typically subject to environmental impact assessments (EIAs) and all Arctic States have their respective EIA legislation, some of which require accounting for the intersection of gender and sex with other identity factors (SDWG, 2019; Walker et al., 2019).[7] However, studies on environmental assessments (EA) show that, while greater participation of women's organisations and Indigenous women can make a difference in EA processes, the narrow ways in which EAs are defined result in privileging men's activities and systematically exclude Indigenous women's voices and concerns (Archibald & Crnkovich, 1999; Cox & Mills, 2015; Czyzewski et al., 2016; Kennedy Dalseg et al., 2018; Koutouki et al., 2018; Manning et al., 2018; Nightingale et al., 2017; O'Faircheallaigh, 2013). Although assessments are designed to include socioeconomic impacts and address the concerns of different groups, the technical nature of EAs makes it difficult to incorporate women's perspectives into them. Those perspectives often reflect collective, as opposed to individual−centered approaches and values; women's views include a more comprehensive understanding of community life and a need to adopt holistic monitoring mechanisms. Consequently, the insufficient inclusion of women's voices can result in a failure to account "for the totality of northern livelihoods" (Kennedy Dalseg et al., 2018, p. 135) and the gendered and intersectional impacts of resource development. Since EA processes influence the trajectories of mining projects, the distribution of community benefits, and measures to mitigate adverse impacts, the importance of gender inclusion is clear (Hoogeveen et al., 2020; Kennedy Dalseg et al., 2018; Stienstra et al., 2016, p. 2). Finally, studies on the effects of mining on communities should capture how the effects vary throughout a full life cycle of a project, with a particular consideration of marginalised and disadvantaged groups (Aung & Strambo, 2020; Frederiksen & Kadenic, 2016).

Whereas the discussion of gender and mining in the North American Arctic revolves primarily around the gendered and intersectional effects on northern communities, with a focus on the experiences of Indigenous women, the conversation in the Scandinavian Arctic focuses predominantly on the advancement of gender equality in this traditionally male-dominated sector. Mining companies have

expressed an ambition to become more gender equal, especially as the recent boom in mining has led to shortages in the qualified workforce, encouraging companies to more actively recruit women as skilled labour. This was further encouraged by global trends requiring businesses to strengthen innovation and embrace diverse work environments (Abrahamsson et al., 2014). Accordingly, many mining companies have established numerical goals to monitor their progress on gender balance. However, such an approach risks the reduction of gender equality to an exclusively quantitative issue, without addressing the underlying structures and causes that led to inequality in the first place. Adopting a business case logic of promoting gender equality comes with important limitations. When gender equality is framed as a business strategy to secure the supply of desired skills and labour, as opposed to an intrinsic democratic value, important questions remain unanswered, such as how resources are allocated, decisions made, and norms upheld, ultimately making power relations invisible and effectively reiterating stereotypes assigned to women in resource-based industries (Johansson & Ringblom, 2017). Redressing those stereotypes and the perception of mining as men's work may lie in technological development such as digitalisation and automation; this, along with new organisational forms, types of work tasks, and new competence demands may reshape the gendered reality of mining (Abrahamsson & Johansson, 2020).

Forestry

Despite efforts to improve gender ratios in forestry, for example in the Nordic countries and in Canada (Vennesland et al., 2019), forestry-related activities are still run primarily by men. Women's representation in forest management remains low; there are few women leaders in the field, and the cultural shift in forestry has been reportedly slow (Vennesland et al., 2019). Even though the number of women in the industry has gradually risen, research in Sweden reveal that sexualised forms of male control and harassment, where women are predominantly viewed through their gender rather than their expertise, still prevail (Johansson et al., 2018).

Overall, the most prevalent trend in forestry is the invisibility of gender where female forest owners are "silent owners", invisible in most areas of the sector (Brandth & Haugen, 2000; Reed et al., 2014; Vainio & Paloniemi, 2013). Policy and practice have focused on owners more actively engaged in traditional forestry and timber production (predominantly men), therefore gender has rarely been acknowledged in studying forest ownership. This then leaves the impression that ownership and engagement in forest-related activities is gender neutral, despite evidence to the contrary. The gendered nature of forestry has implications for biodiversity conservation, sustainability of societies, and the effectiveness of adaptation efforts to address climate and environmental changes (Reed et al., 2014). It also manifests in prevailing inheritance practices as witnessed in many rural areas in Finland and Sweden, where land typically continues to be transferred

Trail through a forest landscape in Lapland, Finland. *Maria Vojtovicova / Unsplash*

from father to son; gender still shapes assumptions regarding which family members are more likely to engage in forestry, raise children, and so forth (Lidestav, 2010; Silvasti, 2003).

As observed in Finland, Norway, and Sweden, women in the forestry sector are often considered in relation to their male family members, for example as wives or daughters, and not as active forest owners (Brandth & Haugen, 2000; Silvasti, 2003; Vainio & Paloniemi, 2013). This does not reflect research that shows differences in male and female owners' harvesting and silvicultural activities, reflected in less extensive management of forestland owned by women (Kuuluvainen et al., 2014;

Lidestav & Berg Lejon, 2013), the greater propensity of women to think greener (that is, value benefits other than traditional timber production), and to engage in novel forestry activities such as tourist and health ventures. Similarly, women appear to be more inclined to consider ecological, recreational, and social values in their pursuit of business opportunities. This could translate into management choices reflecting a willingness to sacrifice profit for the benefit of ecological and landscape conservation values; women's choices toward green and more holistic solutions and approaches have been also observed in Iceland in the context of other primary extractive industries and in responses to climate change (Ingólfsdóttir, 2016).

The forestry industry is dynamic (Johansson & Ringblom, 2017) and technological developments, rationalisation and digitisation have generated new tasks and a need for new skills across forestry organisations (Johansson & Ringblom, 2017; Vennesland et al., 2019). At present "[k]ey activities associated with forestry take place in company boardrooms, government offices, computer labs, silvicultural experiments and across negotiating tables, as well as in the woods and in production plants" (Reed, 2008, p. 78). Concurrently, a study in Canada reveals that the official statistics do not reflect this diversity but continue to focus on industrial job classifications, resulting in lower visibility of occupations where women constitute a greater share of the workforce. Not only does reliance on such data reproduce an inaccurate and outdated image of the sector and of women in forestry, where they appear numerically, economically, and socially unimportant (Reed, 2008), but it may also be to women's disadvantage since government and industrial policy development, programs, and adaptation measures are often built on the basis of official statistics. Such an exclusion of women is not deliberate or intentional, but it stems from the unreflective perpetuation of long-held stereotypes about the primary industries, including forestry, as dominated by male workers. The ultimate result of it is, however, that as the industry changes, the contributions that women may make to it are not considered, land use planning and other policies do not account properly for the entire range of associated impacts across all social groups, and adequate support and adjustment measures for times of transition are not in place.[8] As illustrated in the Canadian context, understanding how gender influences vulnerabilities is equally critical for adaptive capacities for forestry communities faced with the challenges of climate change. This could improve through gender mainstreaming and by using gender based analysis in the design and implementation of policies related to the forestry sector (Daly, 2005, as cited in Reed et al., 2014; Reed et al., 2014).

Who's Counted as a Reindeer Herder? Gender and the Adaptive Capacity of Reindeer Herding Communities[9]

Today, reindeer herding is commonly regarded as a male activity despite the fact that, pre-colonisation, as was true in many other Indigenous societies in the world, women in Sámi society were regarded as equal to men and their roles and tasks were complementary and equally valued (Jessen Williamson et al., 2004). The male bias in introduced laws and ways of thinking altered those dynamics and marginalised women's role in reindeer herding, affecting their property rights, voting rights and membership status in herding collectives, and inheritance in reindeer herding communities (Beach & Rasmussen, 2015; Kuokkanen, 2009). In 2009, according to the Sámi Parliament in Sweden, 85% of all reindeer herders were men and 80% of all reindeer were owned by men (Sámi Parliament, 2009, as cited in Buchanan et al., 2016, p. 354). Those numbers, however, depend on which activities are counted as reindeer herding. While on the surface reindeer herding might appear to be male dominated, both women and men are active in reindeer husbandry and their respective roles are central to its success and sustainability (Buchanan et al., 2016). Without accounting for the gender differentiated roles within households and larger communities, "we may not fully understand the assets or capitals used to build adaptive capacity of reindeer herding communities or what members of those communities are best positioned to contribute to community resilience" (Buchanan et al., 2016, p. 352). A more detailed and comprehensive picture allows for tailored and specific recommendations to enhance adaptative capacities and resilience of communities (Smyth & Sweetman, 2015). Based on the results of their study, Buchanan et al. (2016) recommended that the resilience of Sámi reindeer herding communities in Sweden could be strengthened by generating more opportunities for men to achieve higher levels of human capital (typically indicated by educational attainment) and economic assets, particularly outside of herding activities, while encouraging women to more active participation in the formation and implementation of plans, policies and legislation.

Oil and gas extraction

On- and offshore oil and gas development constitutes a significant part of the economic backbone of many areas in the Arctic (Budzik, 2009; Gautier et al., 2009). As a consequence, its exploration, extraction, and delivery impact the Arctic environment and its people (AMAP, 2010; Chapin et al., 2006; D. A. Walker et al., 1987). Environmentally, oil and gas development has been found to contribute to the fragmentation of habitats through direct physical disturbances, the exposure of plants and animals to pollution from petroleum hydrocarbons which can, in turn, be introduced into the food web (AMAP, 2007), and greenhouse gas emissions that significantly contribute to the impacts, including the gendered impacts, of climate change. Oil and gas activity also continues to shape the social development, including the industrial and infrastructure development, of Arctic communities. However, the benefits and consequences of this development are not always evenly distributed, with some benefiting financially while others bear the burden of pollution or human trafficking. Many of these experiences are also gendered.

Globally, the oil and gas industry remain masculinised with women representing approximately one fifth of employees, and their number shrinking in higher levels of management (Rick et al., 2017). In Alaska and Russia, differences in the level of female employment are partly rooted in government policies related to women in the workforce (Urban and Poturaeva, forthcoming). In Alaska, where significant progress toward closing the gender pay gap has been made, women led the operations of three major oil companies – BP, ExxonMobil, and Royal Dutch Shell – between 2015 and 2016 (Medred, 2015). At the same time, women's representation in the broader workforce has not increased despite national affirmative action programs (Urban and Poturaeva, forthcoming). In Russia, the image of the oil and gas industry remains significantly masculine (Etkind, 2014; Kangasluoma, 2020), notwithstanding the Soviet legacy of gender equality politics and a high proportion of women working in technical fields. Discrimination in the petroleum labour market continues (Saxinger et al., 2016) as women are prevented from participating in the extractive industry workforce through Russia's list of Banned Occupations for Women (Urban and Poturaeva, forthcoming). Furthermore, it is notable to consider whether such gendered policies – that preclude women from participating in the sector – may shape the choices and career trajectories of youth and their ability to stay within their communities. In the Norwegian context, where oil and gas production occur offshore, the push for gender balance is particularly strong in the national oil discourse, even though the industry remains male-dominated (Kangasluoma, 2020). In recent years, changing conditions in global markets and falling oil prices contributed to the reduction of the largely male workforce within the Norwegian oil and gas sector, inadvertently also shifting conversations around traditional gender roles in Norway. Specifically, because job cuts had a disproportionately negative impact on men, underlying patterns of tension between men, as well as between men and women, became especially visible, raising questions about the stereotype of the dependable and responsible man offshore (Dockweiler et al., 2018).

Oil Tanker, Murmansk, Russia. *Peter Prokosch / GRID-Arendal*

Still, there is no comprehensive understanding of gender in the Arctic's oil and gas sector. Again, this is due to a lack of gender- and sex-disaggregated data; such data remain fragmented or absent at the national and regional level. More specifically, despite a notable shift to commuting in the industry (see text box), there is little gender and sex-disaggregated data on workers whose residence is not within the same region as their jobsite. A gender analysis of how living in a working community versus a residential community could highlight further gender dimensions within this sector while also deepening the understanding of community-related issues and the long-term viability of those communities.

Facilitating Access to the Oil and Gas Sector

A recent study by Urban and Poturaeva has noted two trends which may facilitate the greater integration of women in the oil and gas sector. First, employers are shifting work schedules within the modern extractive industry in the Arctic (Urban and Poturaeva, forthcoming; see also Eilmsteiner-Saxinger, 2011 cited in Larsen & Fondahl, 2015; Povoroznyuk et al., 2010) Second, more NGOs are seeking to attract, support, and promote women working in the natural resource sector. While workers were previously expected to reside in camps for months at a time, many workers now commute to their worksites from nearby settlements (for two to three weeks at a time) due to a change in scheduling practice; this allows women to balance their professional and personal lives, including caregiving. What is more, an increase in the number of NGOs like Women in STEM and the Society of Women Engineers in the United States, for example, has provided support for women seeking to sustain work-life-balance (work shifts, childcare) and has developed a network of women workers and supervisors that support the career development and promotion of women within the industry.

Renewable energy in the Arctic

The global transition from fossil fuels to alternative forms of energy production necessitates shifts in infrastructure and employment and entails a large-scale societal transformation (International Renewable Energy Agency, 2019), the implications of which are mediated by gender due to structural inequalities in the existing socio-cultural context (Johnson et al., 2020a. 2020b). To date, the renewable energy transition has been presented as a way to alleviate poverty and promote sustainable development, including greater gender equality (Habtezion, 2016). However, to accomplish this, the transition requires thoughtful execution so that it does not replicate or worsen inequalities within the wider power industry (Pearl-Martinez & Stephens, 2016).

Hellisheiði geothermal power plant owned by Reykjavík Energy, Iceland. *Carbfix*

Arctic populations have relatively high per capita energy consumption, a function of high energy needs related to the harsh environment and extra transportation costs associated with bringing fuel to remote parts of the region (SDWG, 2009). 40% of electricity currently generated in the region is produced from

hydropower and there is high potential both for wind and solar energy (De Witt et al., 2019). However, the Arctic remains highly dependent upon non-renewable energy, both as a source of electricity and fuel and for employment; extractive industries like oil production make up a significant portion of the economy (Larsen & Huskey, 2015). There is also significant diversity in energy usage and production across the Arctic. This can be seen in the contrast between the relatively high proportion of renewable energy used in Nordic countries to meet their domestic electricity needs and remote communities in the high-Arctic that are dependent upon diesel during harsh winters (SDWG, 2009; Poelzer et al., 2016). This local variation is important to consider when examining the gendered implications of renewable energy usage and generation and will impact how the transition is experienced in different places.

This transition will influence many facets of society given the scale of changes needed to switch to a more renewable energy system. Land use conflicts (see textbox by Per Jonas Partapuoli), outmigration, and labour transitions have been identified as impacts of renewable energy production that are experienced differently based on gender (Johnson et al., 2020a, 2020b) However, little research has been conducted on this topic in an Arctic context and virtually none of the recent publications on Arctic renewable energy address or mention gender matters (De Witt et al., 2019; Poelzer, 2016; SDWG, 2009; WWF, 2015). Further study ensuring that the renewable energy transition in the region is sustainable and fair from a gender perspective is needed.

Wind-power park near Kiruna, Sweden. *Peter Prokosch / GRID-Arendal*

In this respect, ongoing developments and projects provide important insights that can inform the implementation of future renewable energy solutions in communities. Among other things, they highlight the need to include diverse perspectives on various aspects of a project, accounting for differences between and within genders as well as different forms of knowledge, experience, and the contributions that women and men bring to the discussions and to community life. The Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation's Old Crow Solar Project in the Yukon Territory serves as a salient example, where accounting for women's and Elders' perspectives helped address community energy needs without compromising other activities central to food security and well-being (in this case, berry picking). While the location of solar panels remained the same, community input informed the design of the installation in a way that minimised its disturbance to local flora and did not exclude residents from accessing the site. To enable these kinds of processes, which embrace the totality of well-being and livelihoods of northern communities, consultation processes need to be planned and carried out in a manner that facilitates everyone's participation. Similarly, consultations on other renewable energy projects should allow for the definition of measures of success based not only on monetary and quantitative terms but also qualitative terms, values, and different forms of interrelationships with land.

Another issue addressed in the wider literature is that of gender representation and empowerment within power companies and other structures that govern or impact the renewable energy industry. Currently, women remain underrepresented in all levels of renewable energy companies, particularly in leadership roles (Pearl-Martinez & Stephens, 2016). While renewable energy production is more

gender diverse than fossil fuels, it still remains less diverse than other areas of the economy that require commensurate levels of training. Studies have shown that women's professional networks can drive increased participation within the industry (Emmons et al., 2019). Women-led non-profit organisations have also played a positive role through their contributions to the renewable energy transition.

> ## Women in Icelandic Energy: Gender Diversity in the Icelandic Energy Sector
>
> A study recently published by Women in Energy Iceland, Women in Icelandic Energy: Gender Diversity in the Icelandic Energy Sector (Konur í Orkumálum, 2019) describes the status of women within the energy industry and points to gains associated with more equal representation and power of women within local power companies. Reykjavík Energy, one of Iceland's largest energy companies, shared data showing that intentional gender empowerment measures coincided with improved financial performance, much in line with the findings from the Ernst & Young's (EY) Women in Power and Utilities report, which showed notably better performance for companies with equal gender division in boards of directors and management positions than companies where gender ratios were less equal (2016). Moreover, with the increase in women in leadership roles, the elimination of the gender pay-gap, and other decisions taken to address gender equality in the company, measures of job satisfaction and loyalty of employees in Reykjavík Energy have risen in the years from 2011 when the company decided to even the ratio of men and women in management positions as a part of their response to the financial crisis of 2008. Measures of job satisfaction reported in engagement surveys with a 95% participation rate shows 88% of employees satisfied or very satisfied in their jobs, with nearly 50% very satisfied. When job satisfaction is disaggregated by gender, the results shows that Reykjavik Energy has created a workplace that is very favourable for women. The results for men are also on the high end and the rise in job satisfaction through the years is overall higher for men than women. Nearly half (46%) of the men at Reykjavik Energy reported being very satisfied in their jobs in 2019, compared to 30% in the year 2011, providing a concrete example of how gains in gender equality can improve company performance and employee satisfaction. While the study does not necessarily address the limitations of advancing gender equality as a business case described above in the section on mining, it clearly demonstrates a wide positive range of effects and benefits of comprehensive advancement of gender equality for all genders, which can inform further development of the renewable energy sector in the Arctic.

Gender and Arctic Marine Resources

The 2017 declaration "Our Ocean, Our Future: Call to Action", of the first United Nations Ocean Conference, highlights "the importance of gender equality and the crucial role of women and youth in the conservation and sustainable use of oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development" (UNGA Resolution 71/312). Still, scholarship on the relationship between gender and ocean governance remains scarce. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), despite being one of the most comprehensive international conventions, does little to address gender inequality, the vulnerability and marginalisation of women at sea (Lijnzaad, 2019; Papanicolopulu, 2019, p. 7), or women's role in promoting sustainability in ocean governance.

Meanwhile, Agenda 2030 identifies regulatory and ocean governance systems as essential to advancing the ten targets of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Scholars and policy-makers increasingly recognise the importance of mainstreaming SDG 5, focused on gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls, across all other SDGs (Goettsche Wanli, 2019; UNGA Resolution 71/312; Williams et al., 2018). Despite that recognition, women's voices are rarely heard in the governance of ocean resources (Goettsch-Wanli, 2019).

Fisheries

Although there has been little significant change in women's inclusion in the UNCLOS over the past 25 years, women are present at sea, in shipping, fishing, extraction, and science (Gerrard & Kleiber, 2019; Sloan, 2004). Research on women in Arctic fisheries provides testimony to that (Frangoudes & Gerrard, 2018). In fact, the first project of the Council related to gender and natural resources focused specifically on participation of women in fisheries resource management to begin filling that gap (Sloan, 2004). Today, it is widely recognised that a sustainable ocean economy should stimulate inclusion and gender equity and prioritise equal access to resources (Österblom et al., 2020). Targeted efforts to promote greater gender equality need to complement a growth orientation to achieve equal access (Dugarova, 2018; Kabeer & Natali, 2013).

The importance of fisheries cannot be reduced only to economic dimensions and the provision of occupations and income, as vital as those are, especially in small and remote communities. In the Arctic, subsistence and commercial fisheries have been the backbone of Arctic peoples (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous) cultures, lifestyles, and livelihoods. In addition to providing economic diversification, fishing often makes an important contribution to food security and physical health; it sustains people's connection with the environment, and it supports the integrity and vitality of communities (Kafarowski, 2009b, 2009c, 2009d).

There are large differences in how the gender dimension of Arctic fisheries manifests across different communities. For instance, in coastal communities in Nunavut and the Northwest Territories, Inuit and Inuvialuit women historically have held equal positions to men in subsistence fishing (Kafarowski, 2009b, pp. 153, 169). Studies of contemporary commercial fisheries of the Aleut note that, there is a gendered division of labour in fishing: typically men fish, own boats and fishing permits, while women process fish, share wild foods, take care of children and administrative matters. However, both women and men cross those gendered lines and engage in a broad range of activities, depending on the

Yakuts woman holding freshly caught fish. Krasnogorsky District, Altai Krai, Russia. *Dmitry Sedakov / Shutterstock*

situation, family requirements, or community needs (Reedy-Maschner, 2009). The same principle is basically upheld in many other communities. There are also other patterns, though: the subsistence fisheries of the Athabaskan peoples are distinctly gendered with women and girls almost exclusively processing fish and preparing it for storage or eating. This, in turn, means that women are able to make often deeply detailed observations about the harvested species, as well as about the ecosystem as a whole, contributing to the overall body of knowledge about the systems undergoing rapid changes (Robinson et al., 2009)

Even though there are women involved in fisheries in all parts of the Arctic, as in other parts of the world, in general fisheries work is considered men's work, even though women contribute significantly to the field as the "shore crew". Still, women's patterns of participation vary significantly from those of men; as in many fields, women are not accurately recognised or accounted for as studies in Alaska, Canada, Iceland, and Norway, among others, illustrate (Gerrard, 2008, 2009; Gerrard & Kleiber, 2019; Szymkowiak, 2020b; Willson, 2014). The lack of gender-disaggregated data in fisheries is "the single biggest void in the literature", which limits our understanding of women's actual participation in fisheries (Frangoudes & Gerrard, 2008; Szymkowiak, 2020a; Willson, 2014). This understanding could be further enhanced by "lifting the roof of the household", as suggested by GGEO and as illustrated by study on the adaptive capacities of fishing families and communities in Labrador and in northern Norway (Neis et al., 2013). Researchers on gender and fisheries in industrialised countries observed that, in this time of economic and fisheries' crisis, the current lack of women in management and

policy-making positions may be compromising the development of fisheries that are sustainable for both communities and the environment, since women are more attuned to both the bioecological effects of fisheries policy and social and community concerns on the shore (Kafarowski, 2009b).

Gender Statistics and Sex-Disaggregated Data – Globally and in the Arctic

Gender statistics (statistics that adequately reflect differences and inequalities of women and men in all areas of life) (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2016) promote understanding of actual, diverse, and differentiated situations of women and men in society in different and changing socioeconomic situations. Producing gender statistics entails disaggregating data by sex and other characteristics to reveal differences or inequalities between women and men, as well as collecting data on specific issues that affect one sex more than the other. Gender statistics are meant to reflect questions, issues, and concerns related to all aspects of women's and men's lives, including their specific needs, opportunities, and contributions to society. Simultaneously, gender statistics serve a critical role in reducing gender stereotypes that misrepresent the roles and contributions of women and men to society. Ultimately, gender-disaggregated data is fundamental to gender-sensitive activities that can benefit all members and groups within society.

Environment-related gender-disaggregated data is crucial for providing decision makers and practitioners with the knowledge and capacity to develop and adopt well-informed and effective policies and actions at all levels ((UNEP, 2016; UNEP & IUCN, 2018). However, data concerning women's and men's roles in relation to biodiversity conservation and sustainable use of natural resources is lacking (Staples & Natcher, 2015a, 2015b; United Nations Women, 2018). Reliable evidence on the needs, priorities, knowledge, roles, and responsibilities of Indigenous women is especially inadequate (Kennedy Dalseg et al., 2018; Mills et al., 2019; United Nations Women, 2018). In the absence of gender-disaggregated information, including data and indicators, environmental analyses remain inadequate; as a result, establishing realistic baselines, monitoring progress, and assessing outcomes becomes impossible (UNEP & IUCN, 2018). The lack of gender-disaggregated data continues to be a major challenge for gender mainstreaming and ultimately gender equality.

In the Arctic, the first Arctic Human Development Report (Jessen Williamson et al., 2004) noted the paucity of data disaggregated by gender and cultural group; in fact, that dearth has prevailed. As reported in the Arctic Human Development Report II, there are persistent gaps in data availability, a lack of common data protocols and primary data collection (Larsen & Fondahl, 2015; Nilsson & Larsen, 2020). Beyond the improvement of ongoing data collection to include gender-disaggregated data, new data should be collected examining the multifaceted nature of women's engagement in sectors that traditionally have been viewed as male-dominated, e.g. fisheries, extractive industries, forestry, and others, to account for the full extent of women's contribution therein as well as for new and emerging professions. Such transition in data collection is absolutely critical to ensure that management of natural resources is sustainable and equitable (Szymkowiak & Rhodes-Reese, 2020).

The adaptive capacities of Arctic communities depend on decision makers' comprehensive understanding of changes unfolding in the Arctic and the impact of undertaken actions on various groups. Therefore, data should be collected and disaggregated by gender and other social categories, such as age, ethnicity, or cultural group. This would shed light on interconnected issues that can either undermine or accelerate progress toward sustainable development and consequently provide concrete practical tools to address those. Finally, it is key that Indigenous People fully participate in determining how and what data is collected (Parlee, 2019; Poppel, 2015).

Aquaculture

Aquaculture includes the cultivation of freshwater and saltwater animal and plant populations under controlled conditions; together with fisheries it makes up a significant part of the food sector, globally. Arctic aquaculture constitutes 2% of the global industry. Within the Arctic sector, Norway accounts for 93% of total aquaculture, primarily consisting of salmonid production, and significantly contributes to the country's rural economy and employment (Andreassen & Robertsen, 2014). Meanwhile, Iceland contributes the production of Atlantic salmon, rainbow trout, and Arctic char, Russia produces salmon, Finland and Sweden contribute small volumes of freshwater species, and Alaska farms mussels (Troell et al., 2017).

In terms of gender and advancing gender equality, the consideration of the sector in the Arctic is important because the employment of women in aquaculture has significantly contributed to their enhanced economic and social status globally (Goettsche-Wanli, 2019). While the role of gender, and specifically of women in fisheries in the Arctic, have been investigated to some degree (Gerrard, 1995, 2008, 2009; Proppé, 2003, Rafnsdóttir, 1998; Skaptadóttir, 2000), similar studies on gender in aquaculture have been few and far between, providing little empirical evidence of the gender dimension of environmental and social change in the Arctic. This gap reflects a larger trend observed across many environmental issues (e.g. biodiversity) and resource-based sectors, namely the pervasive gender-blindness and neglect of gender as a central axis of analysis in the vast majority of research, which stands in contrast to scholarship in many other parts of the world, where gender is one of the key axes of social differentiation and scrutinised inequality (Reed & Christie, 2009).

Fish farming in Hosnes, Norway. *Ludovic Charlet / Unsplash*

Another trend worth noting concerns how the trajectories of sector's development impact gender relations and influence within families and business, as demonstrated in studies of fish farming in Norway (Pettersen, 2019). Over the last decades, fish farming has been one of the fastest growing industries in Norway, growing from small, locally based and family-owned enterprises based on local informal knowledge and experience to a well-established, capital-intensive industry based on science and technology and operated by large corporations far from coastal communities (Pettersen & Alsos, 2007). This last development, along with fluctuations in the market and industry restructuring, has had an impact on the number and kinds of jobs offered, as well as the skills sought by companies. Since many fish farming employees were recruited from historically male-dominated fisheries early on, there have always been more men than women employed in the sector. However, women have also worked on fish farms, mostly participating in the slaughtering and processing and in clerical and administrative positions (Røst, 1986, as cited in Pettersen & Alsos, 2007). Women have played an important part in small family businesses, even if not always in paid roles. Similarly, their contributions have not always been reflected in the statistics. As the industry has grown and evolved, the structure of employment therein has also changed, with the number of employees especially reduced in seasonal and part-time positions which are predominantly occupied by women. However, professionalisation and technological developments within the sector have created other kinds of jobs, improved working conditions, and opened up more accessible and attractive career pathways for women (Alsos & Pettersen, 2001, as cited in Pettersen & Alsos, 2007). Still, the trajectory of the sector's development often is considered only from the perspective of national economies rather than from the viewpoint of the viability and livelihoods of smaller coastal communities, and the gendered dimensions of the latter rarely emerge.

The few studies that do provide insights into the role of gender in the industry, such as a previous study on women's participation in decision making in fisheries and arctic fisheries resource management in Iceland (Karlsdóttir, 2009; Sloan, 2004), are increasingly outdated in the face of a rapidly changing climate. Studies that include a comprehensive collection of gender- and sex-disaggregated data could help fill significant gaps in our understanding of this sector. It is especially urgent given the industry's

potential for growth and expansion, not only through increased production of seafood to address a growing global demand during conditions of accelerating climate change, but also through food innovation and the development of novel marine food resources.[10] In this context, observations from the Norwegian aquaculture industry may prove to be particularly salient. In Norway, Pettersen and Alsos (2007) noted that the development of a sector like fish farming necessitates adequate gender-sensitive planning for a context where work has traditionally been strongly gendered. In such conditions, "technological shifts and structural changes in work organization seem to adapt to the gendered division of labour rather than to change it" (p. 115), ultimately threatening the potential for delivering both gender equality and a more equitable development for all.

In its work, the Council already recognises the importance of aquaculture in the Arctic and, as a part of its plan to develop the first regional action plan on marine litter in the Arctic under the Icelandic Chairmanship (2019–2021), has noted that it will present a suite of strategic actions to address aquaculture operations (Arctic Council, 2020). Given that the Arctic is expected to continue to undergo multiple overlapping changes in its environment and economy as time goes on (Crépin et al., 2017), strategic actions should include and promote gender inclusive research on aquaculture and identify gender sensitive policies moving forward.

Female fish farm worker washing and packing freshly caught sturgeon. *Iakov Filimonov / Shutterstock*

The gendered dimension of whaling in the Arctic

Despite significant changes in the social organisation and economies of northern coastal communities over the 20th century, whales, like fish, seals, and walruses, continue to be important sources of nutrition and social well-being in Inuit, Iñupiaq, and Yupik communities. They are also essential to cultural identity. The gender dimensions of whaling across different Arctic communities provide insight into the relationships that shape community dynamics, both on water and on land.

Traditionally, men are primarily responsible for tasks including preparing firearms, killing the animal, and butchering it, while women perform a variety of other tasks, including the supply of hunting garments, meals, and childcare, all of which help ensure a successful hunt (Bodenhorn, 1990; Frink & Weedman, 2006). These hunting roles are often assigned from a young age (Kelkar, 2015). In this way, hunting becomes an activity in which married couples participate through complementary tasks.

However, traditional assumptions about what it means to hunt and to be married, as well as how individuals are gendered, including whether women are equated with the term hunter, are all contextual (Kafarowski, 2007, p. 40). For instance, the Iñupiat on the North Slope of Alaska define hunting to include attracting, killing, butchering, and transforming the animal into food and clothing, as well as following proper rituals needed to maintain amicable animal/human relations (Bodenhorn, 1990). Iñupiaq women, whose skills include sewing, butchering, and sharing, are thus integral to a successful hunt. In fact, the larger the animal, the more explicit the role of the wife, or woman. Anthropologist

Barbara Bodenhorn explains: "Without a wife, umialik [or captain] is unprepared to fulfil his role; without women to dress the umiaq (whaling boat), the crew cannot navigate the spring ice; without the male and female crew members to distribute the whale meat and maktak, the "whaling couple" cannot act as proper hosts which they must do to ensure the whales' return in coming years" (Bodenhorn, 1990, p. 64). In this way, the gendered interdependence of hunting also points to the rituals and practices that encompass relationships between fish, environment, and people (Todd, 2014).

Humpback Whale surfacing in the Greenland sea. *Vincent Legrand / Shutterstock*

Although for centuries men have traditionally acted as harpooners, this is slowly changing in some communities. While still rare, the Alaska North Slope has begun to see successful strikes by women in recent years, many of whom began hunting at an early age (Kelkar, 2015). Meanwhile, in the Faroe Islands, grindadráp, or Faroese whaling, may be becoming more egalitarian as there is a notable increase in the number of women participating (Singleton, 2016, p. 101).

Ultimately, there is a dearth of gender-disaggregated data. Furthermore, the context-specific nature of what constitutes a whale hunter, as well as shifts in traditional gender roles within communities, raise interesting questions about how to collect data.

Gender Equality in the Blue Bioeconomy of the Arctic

Since the Rio+20 UN Conference on Sustainable Development in 2012, the concept of a Blue Bioeconomy has been adopted in policies, government declarations, development policies, and investment programs, and at conferences focused on the marine environment (Voyer et al., 2018; Ocean Panel Secretariat, 2020), including in the Arctic (WWF, 2016). A Blue Bioeconomy specifically refers to the sustainable and intelligent use of renewable aquatic natural resources, with a focus on improving utilisation and creating higher-value products. Examples of such an economy include new and unconventional methods of extracting, refining, processing and transforming material considered waste into high-value products such as dietary supplements and animal feed, as well as non-food sector products like pharmaceuticals, cosmetics, and energy.

There is a concurrent risk that the Blue Bioeconomy might accelerate the over-exploitation of both the Arctic environment and its people through the commodification and valuation of nature (Voyer et al., 2018). In an effort to avoid these pitfalls, a blue bioeconomy must live up to three core criteria (WWF, 2016): first, it must provide social and economic benefits for both current and future generations; second, it must seek to restore, protect, and maintain marine ecosystems; third, it should be based on circular material flows, renewable energy, and clean technologies. Another particularly relevant core component is the principle of equity which includes the protection of human rights, access to resources, and a guarantee of an equitable share of costs and benefits (Cisneros-Montemayor, 2019). This takes on particular importance in relation to gender equality as well as to the local economies of Indigenous Peoples (WWF, 2016).

Gender and Pollution in the Arctic

Although much of the Arctic remains far from large, industrialised centres, traces of human-induced pollution, including persistent organic pollutants (POPs), mercury, black carbon, and plastics, among others, can be found. Some of these pollutants originate within the Arctic, while others are transported over vast distances through rivers, oceans, and the air, and often with far reaching consequences for the Arctic environment and northern communities, including threatening the strong tradition of a hunting culture that relies on wildlife populations (Downie & Fenge, 2003; Watt-Cloutier, 2015, pp. 134–135). Precisely because of this susceptibility, the issue of pollution has been central to Arctic cooperation since the 1990s. A significant part of the work of the Council, for instance, has been centred on the identification, reduction, and elimination of pollution in the Arctic (Selin & Selin, 2008, p. 77), which continues under the purview of AMAP, ACAP, PAME, and the SDWG today.

Discarded oil barrels rusting along the coast near an abandoned settlement, Russia. *Vladimir Melnik / Shutterstock*

Over the past decades, significant attention has been given to the issue of POPs and their health-related effects on Arctic Indigenous Peoples, especially contamination of traditional foods (Downie & Fenge, 2003), making this a salient public health issue. The work of AMAP was particularly instrumental in gathering both qualitative and quantitative data on the accumulation of POPs[11] in the Arctic environment and its people and in documenting the gendered impacts of POPs on Indigenous women. By now, numerous studies have documented how exposure to PCBs and mercury, and other toxic chemicals, can have adverse effects on women of childbearing age, foetuses, and small children (AMAP, 2009, 2015). Some of this data has also played a crucial role in the negotiation of international agreements, such as the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants (2001).

The issue of POPs has highlighted the importance of gender- and sex-disaggregated data as well as raised awareness of the degree to which an individual's exposure to pollutants, and the impact therefrom, is dependent on diverse factors including lifestyle choices, the capacity to cope, and access to primary health care (Rautio et al., 2021; Kafarowski, 2009a). Rautio et al. (2021) have argued that gender analysis of the health effects of various pollutants is crucial; not only should studies focus on gender and sex-disaggregated data but also emphasise the context within which individuals experience these issues. An intersectional lens may provide a critical assessment of the interplay and interaction between various categories to understand how different individuals experience these health effects. For instance, knowing that Indigenous men are the predominant consumers of traditional foods, it is important to gather data on women of childbearing age and small children, who are at risk from pollutants, as well as on Indigenous men who may be at even greater risk later in life (Rautio et al., 2021). A similar type of contextualisation is visible in the next textbox, which highlights the sex-based differences in the level of mercury in the Faroe Islands, where the response to gender-differentiated policy recommendations has resulted in distinctive trends between the mercury levels found in older Faroese men and younger Faroese women. It is cases like this which highlight the importance of a gender analysis and the importance of comprehensive and ongoing monitoring of the health impacts of pollutants on all genders.

Marine litter and plastic pollution

While the gendered impacts of POPs are now well-established in the Arctic, the issue of pollution also includes plastic pollution and waste management. Plastic materials are a pervasive, persistent, and increasingly growing global problem (Lau et al., 2020; Pew Charitable Trust, 2020). Because of their prevalence, marine plastics are now found on Arctic beaches, in surface and subsurface water, snow, sea ice, and the ocean seafloor (Bergmann & Klages, 2012; Bergmann et al., 2016; Bergmann et al., 2019; Blinovskaya & Gavrilo, 2020; Cózar et al., 2017; Kanhai et al., 2020; Lusher et al., 2015; Obbard et al., 2014; Peeken et al., 2018; Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment, 2019). In fact, the Arctic Ocean has one of the highest densities of surface microparticles in the world (Barrows et al., 2018).[12]

Based on the findings of the PAME Arctic Marine Litter Desktop Study (2019), much of this marine litter is derived from human activities on land (e.g., waste management, agriculture) and at sea (fishing, aquaculture, resource exploration and exploitation, shipping activities, tourism, and so forth), with most attributed to deficient waste management systems in Arctic communities, as well as fishing activity (nets, floats, and other debris). Researchers have also found that there can be significant gender differences in the experiences, knowledge, and impacts of marine plastic pollution (UNEP, 2016, p. 137). Men are more often active on the open sea – participating in commercial fishing, offshore oil and gas, and other sectors – while women participate in near-shore fishing and in waste management sectors (Lynn et al., 2016). As a consequence, the impacts associated with a loss in economic activity, damage to well-being, or a decline in mental health can be expected to be gendered. Women and men

also experience different health-related vulnerabilities from exposure, including the estrogen mimicry and endocrine disruption associated with plastics, as well as a significant link to breast cancer and reproductive disorders (McLachlan et al., 2006; Rochman et al., 2013).

Despite increasing knowledge on the impacts of plastic pollution globally, many countries still lack the necessary policies and monitoring programs to enable and enforce the prevention, reduction, and tracking of marine plastic pollution (Linnebjreg et al., 2020, p. 2). For instance, there have been no comprehensive studies of the socioeconomic impacts of marine litter in the Arctic to date (2019). Furthermore, when it comes to gender- and sex-disaggregated data on plastic pollution globally, there is limited information on the number of workers in the plastic industry, their exposure to hazardous chemicals, and the resulting health effects of plastic production, as well as the management of plastic waste (recycling and incineration) (Lynn et al., 2016). To gain a better understanding of the gendered dimension of marine litter, the issue of waste management necessitates collecting gender- and sex-disaggregated data. We also need significant research on the role of gender in recycling, landfills, and sewage treatment. The authors know of no studies on gender and plastic pollution or waste management in the Arctic to date. This significant dearth of data can compound the many health affects discussed above.

Fishing materials, like nets are a source of ocean debris. *Lawrence Hislop / GRID-Arendal*

Currently, there is no pan-Arctic framework to address marine plastic pollution, and none of the under-taken or proposed actions in any way account for the gendered dimension of marine plastic pollution. However, even without a comprehensive picture, the data that exist are sufficient to show that plastic pollution in the Arctic is serious and may have significant gendered impacts which require further study and analysis.

Concluding Remarks

The Arctic environment is central to its peoples' health, lifestyles, cultures, and livelihoods, and gender plays a central role in human–environment relations. The importance and centrality of gender and gender equality to environmental protection and sustainable development is now globally acknowl-edged and promoted and the Council has put the topic of gender equality on its agenda through the work of the SDWG. As shown through the discussion and analysis of numerous studies in this chapter, gender influences the ways in which people interact with the environment, impacts the activities in which they engage, and it shapes their observations and knowledge of the environment. Gender also affects access to natural resources, employment in resource-based industries, and participation in decision-making bodies responsible for land management, conservation, and more. Finally, gender matters in terms of vulnerability, perceptions of risk, and in experiencing the effects of climate change, which transforms the region and challenges the resilience of Arctic communities. There is an

understanding that women and men are not only differently affected by the primary and secondary effects of climate change and other socioeconomic transformations, but also have important and distinct roles to play in achieving environmental and social sustainability.

Despite that recognition, research sensitive to gender in the Arctic is still a fragmented field that has remained on the margins of a rapidly growing body of Arctic scholarship and policy-relevant science until now (Hoogensen Gjørv, 2017; Sinevaara-Niskanen, 2019; Vladimirova & Habeck, 2018). As demonstrated in this chapter, the research agenda on gender and climate change, extractive industries, renewable energy, marine resources, and pollution in the North is far from complete; large gaps remain in our knowledge which has, thus far, predominantly been based on individual case studies, which do not provide a comprehensive gender-sensitive overview of developments in the Arctic.

There are two major interconnected threads visible throughout this analysis. First is the paramount lack of sex- and gender-disaggregated data, or reliance on patchy, outdated ones, across all environment-related issue areas. In many instances, and particularly in historically male-dominated sectors, it results in underestimating women's roles and contributions to those areas, limiting the ability to understand the impacts of changes on gender diverse persons, compromising adaptation actions, and otherwise not accounting for contributions from all community members. This is particularly unfortunate in the context of small and remote communities, where adaptation choices are more bounded by geographic isolation, which makes everyone's unique skills and knowledge of even more important and salient. The inaccurate representations of various sectors may result in misguided policies, programs, and actions that do not account for a diversity of perspectives, experiences, and values; as such these policies, programs and actions may not support the totality of northern livelihoods.

A second trend, interconnected with the lack of gender-disaggregated data, is the overall gender blindness and lack of incorporation of gender-sensitive approaches or insights generated by gender analysis into most mainstream environmental, conservation, marine, and natural resource decision-making processes. To this extent, those processes, as noted in the first Global Gender and Environment Outlook (GGEO), do not fully serve environmental or social interests (UNEP, 2016, p. 23).

As the primary intergovernmental forum and a knowledge frontrunner, the Council can play a central role in addressing those issues and highlighting the importance of gender and gender-sensitive approaches in the Arctic context. The work and the products of the Council, including its scientific assessments and reports, play a vital role in shaping discourses concerning the Arctic and they influence actors both from within and from outside of the region. As such, they can help promote and advance the understanding that accounting for gender perspectives contributes to enhancing the quality and robustness of scientific research; in other words, gender perspectives are essential in increasing the effectiveness of adopted measures, policies, and programs.

Gender equality is considered a prerequisite and accelerator of progress towards sustainable development, both in the Arctic and globally. As the region undergoes rapid change and transformation, triggered both by climate change and other major socioeconomic trends, centring gender equality in efforts to respond to those changes can tap into underexplored potential and enable people's ability to become agents of change in facing the challenges ahead. Recovering from the COVID-19 pandemic, encouraging a transition toward renewable energy, developing the Arctic blue bioeconomy, and undertaking new forms of production and services across sectors present tremendous opportunities in advancing development that is sustainable, inclusive, and equitable, as well as cognisant of a broad range of values and perspectives. To harness them, however, it is imperative to recognise that these developments and technological trends occur in particular cultural contexts; they do not actively reshape them. It is through the active incorporation and promotion of gender-sensitive and intersectional approaches that the full potential of these developments and trends can be realised for the benefit of all.

Policy Relevant Highlights

Gender statistics and sex-disaggregated data

To enhance adaptive capacity within the Arctic, and support policy- and decision-making new data collections should be gender- and sex-disaggregated, while existing data collections should be improved and updated thereto. Special focus should be given to sectors where there is a significant dearth of gender and sex-disaggregated data – including fisheries, extractive industries, and forestry – and thus a limited understanding of the multifaceted nature of these industries, contributing to gender-blind, inaccurate, incomplete, and possibly outdated policy-making.

> Decision-makers should encourage official registers and statistics to provide gender-disaggregated data, both for researchers, national agencies, businesses, and service providers.

Gender mainstreaming and intersectionality

The strategic application of a gender lens to the work of the Council would deepen the comprehension of various developments and trends in and across the region, thereby also supporting the development of more tailored actions, plans, policies, and programs that support the central mandate of the Council through more equitable and inclusive forms of sustainability. The Council should systematically engage with and mainstream gender across its work. Particular attention should be paid to the accounting for and advancing of a greater diversity of gender perspectives regarding environmental observations and monitoring. Beyond gender, the Council should promote the application of an intersectional approach to research and policy development for all environmental issues in the Arctic. This is paramount in addressing overlapping forms of discrimination based on age, class, disability, ethnicity, gender, nationality, sexuality, and race.

> The Arctic Council should create a small group, comprised of experts and representatives from all the Working Groups and subsidiary bodies, to develop a set of guidelines for the systematic inclusion of gender and application of an intersectional approach into the work of the Council.

> Similarly, it is proposed that – as the main funders of Arctic science and research – national science foundations, research councils and similar respective bodies, both in Arctic and non-Arctic countries, promote and require gender-sensitive approaches, the collection of gender-disaggregated data, and gender-based analysis as a part of their research calls and programs.

Expansion of Arctic studies with a specific gender focus

While global scholarship on gender and the environment is growing, its primary focus has been on the global South, which limits its applicability to studies of the Arctic. In fact, as is evident in case studies of the gendered impacts of climate change in Nunavut and others, the experiences of Indigenous women in the Arctic appear to more relatable to the experiences of men in developing countries.

> Expand Arctic studies that include a specific gender focus to account for the region's particular traits and characteristics.

Endnotes

1. By 'scientific assessment' we mean a stock-taking and synthesis of all available knowledge pertaining to a given topic. In the case of gender and environment in the Arctic, such an endeavour is far beyond the scope of this work and its timeline.

2. Moreover, the overall male bias might be also due to the fact that most land/hunting research has been conducted by male researchers with Inuit men as the principal or only participants (Dowsley et al., 2010; Martello, 2008; Natcher et al., 2020).

3. The division of labour is not always rigid and, depending on family or community needs and structure, men sometimes take over women's tasks and vice versa (Robinson et al., 2009).

4. Both projects took place in the Sámi regions: Traditional knowledge and Education in Reindeer Husbandry and Transferring and using Traditional Ecological Knowledge among Sámi Reindeer Herding Women (N. Johnson et al., 2016).

5. In this context, it is also worth noting an often-overlooked fact: women take a central role in creating knowledge on environmental change by processing the information that they receive from hunters through the radio, satellite phones, or once hunters come home, discussing it and disseminating it to others – as observed in Nunavut (Dowsley et al., 2010).

6. Less availability of seals and seal skins translates into difficulties in producing handicrafts for sale, which has a negative economic effect in some communities (Ford et al., 2008; Oakes 1995 in Dowsley 2010) This also results in less time dedicated to sewing groups, which provide many important social functions beyond the training time for next generation of sewers, including peer and elder counselling.

7. Neither gender nor intersectional approaches have been considered or included in the SDWG (2019).

8. Gender is not the only point of exclusion and social difference, and in some cases not the most significant one. As shown in an analysis of forest advisory committees in Canada, Indigenous women may identify more with their male counterparts than with other women in the committees (Reed, 2010).

9. The title is paraphrased from the article by Buchanan et al. (2016) "What's counted as a reindeer herder? Gender and the adaptive capacity of Sami reindeer herding communities in Sweden."

10. The potential of the sector has been recognised in the work of the SDWG project 'Arctic Food Innovation Cluster', which was designed to pull together relevant people in the Arctic foods value chain for a cluster-based approach to food production and regional economic development.

11. POPs largely refer to synthetic chemicals used in pesticides, herbicides, industrial processes, and manufacturing.

12. The other basin is the Southern Ocean. See Barrows et al. (2008).

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MIGRATION AND MOBILITY

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Introduction

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

Henningsvær in Lofoten, Norway. *Jan Helmer Olsen*

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

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

Chapter approach and overview

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

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

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

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

Defining migration and mobility

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

> ### Use of Terms
>
> **Migration** is the movement of people from one place to another with the intention of settling.
>
> **Mobility** refers to movement in space. The focus here is on work-related mobility.
>
> **Immigration** refers to migrants who arrive from other countries. These are defined by citizenship; however, some stats classify immigration as foreign born or those who have resided in other countries two years previously.
>
> **Emigration** refers to migrants who move to other countries.
>
> **In-migration** refers to domestic migration. This is especially relevant for countries which have Arctic and non-Arctic regions.
>
> **Out-migration** refers to domestic out-migration. However, for succinctness, out-migration is also used throughout the chapter to refer to general out-migration from the Arctic, both emigration and domestic out-migration.

Migration and Sex Ratios

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

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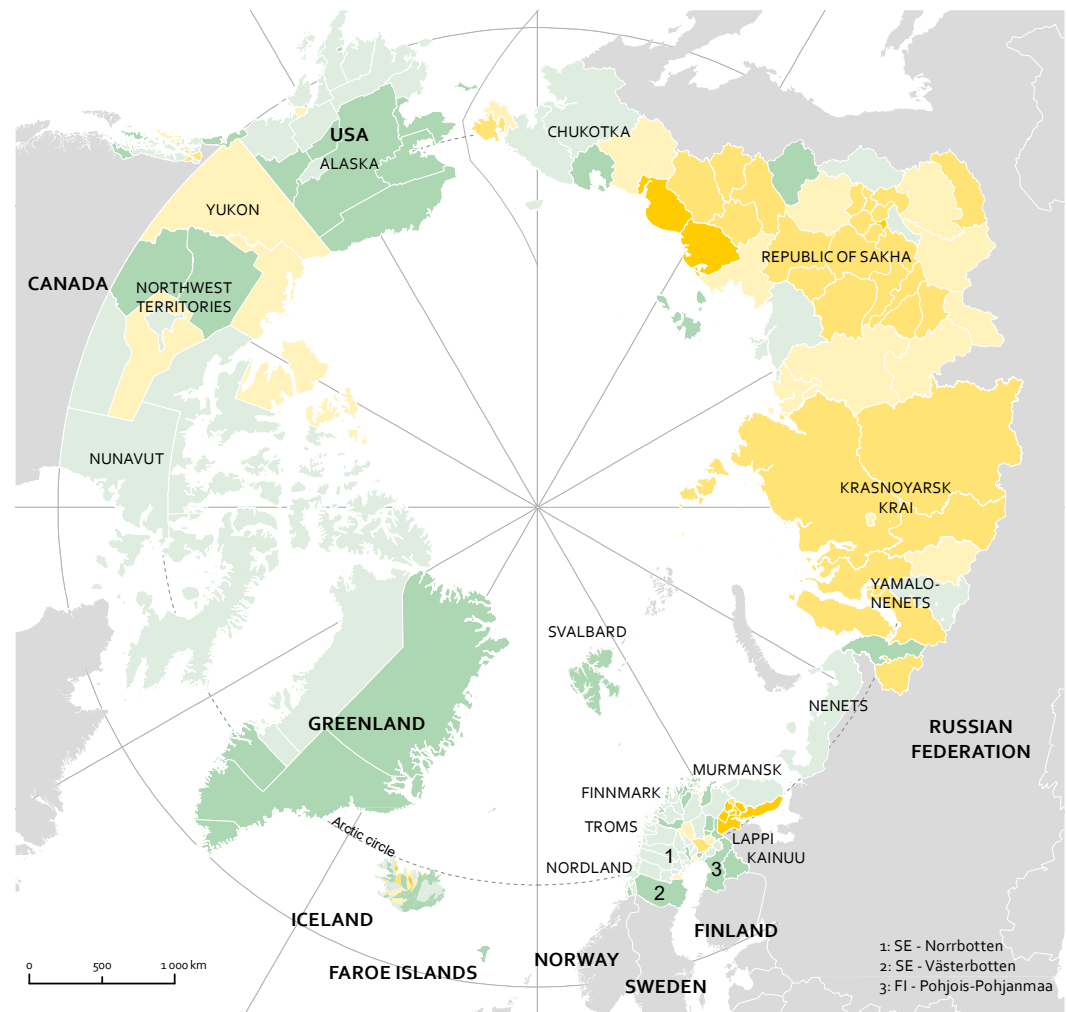
Total number of females per 100 males at the subregional level, 2017

| < 90 | 90 - 98 | 98 - 102 | 102 - 110 | > 110 |

Regions included:

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

Data sources:

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

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

Mobility, Materialities and Local Mobile Cultures

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

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

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

Local Mobile Cultures in East Greenland (Elixhauser, 2015)

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Arctic Context of Gendered Out-migration

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Changing gender roles and subsistence

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

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

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

- There are educational opportunities in the region with the Nunavut Arctic College, which is a mobile college in the sense that it rotates between communities. Furthermore a culture of migration in which families encourage out-migration for education is thought to be less prominent compared to some other regions, where youngsters essentially grow up "learning to leave" their communities (Corbett, 2007).

- The internet helps overcome distance and is a platform for endeavours such as the sale of locally produced skin and craft items.

- Jobs are scarce meaning one may have difficulty finding suitable employment post-education.

- Being able to participate in a subsistence economy is a valued activity.

- Compared to living in a large urban area, feelings of involvement and empowerment are much higher in Nunavut communities. Furthermore, close networks and the strong emotional attachment to land are features of Indigenous communities in Nunavut.

Gender ideologies, sexuality, and migration

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

Reindeer skin hiding, Siberia. *Yakovleva Yana*

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

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

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

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

Ruka ski area in Finland. *Max Topchii / Shutterstock*

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

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

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

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

Malan told her story in Faroese media recently.

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

Migration and trajectories of homelessness

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

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

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

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

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

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

Immigration to the Arctic

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

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

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

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

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

Gendered immigration

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

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

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

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

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

Inclusion, exclusion and constructing the other

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

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

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

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

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

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

Work Mobility

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

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

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

Long-distance working

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

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

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

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

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

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

Summarising Key Issues

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Regional Section

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

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

Selected demographic and migration factors, by sex

	Arctic Canada	Alaska	Arctic Russia	Arctic Finland	Arctic Sweden	Arctic Norway	Faroe Islands	Greenland	Iceland
Population overview	112,000	731,000	2,851,300	662,300	552,000	488,000	52,000	56,000	364,000
Territory	0.3% of Canadian population living in 40% of Canadian territory	0.2% of US population living in 16% of US territory	1.9% of population living in 28% of Russian territory	11% of Finnish population living in 47% of Finnish territory	9% of Swedish population living in 34% of Swedish territory	9% of Norwegian population living in 41% of Norwegian territory	Population living on 18 islands, which are compact and connected	Population living on coast, 85% of land area is covered by ice	Population predominantly living in coastal areas. 80% of region is uninhabitable
Regional subdivision belonging to Arctic	Territories of Nunavut, Northwest Territories (NWT) and Yukon	Whole region	See note 7	Provinces of North Ostrobothnia, Lapland and Kainuu	Counties of Norrbotten and Västerbotten	Counties of Nordland and Troms og Finnmark	Whole region	Whole region	Whole region
Sex ratio male/female	103:100	109:100	92:100	101:100	104:100	104:100	107:100	111:100	106:100
Indigenous People ratio[1]	53%	15%	4%	2%	4%	10%	0%	90%	NA
Education, male/female[2]	University certificate, diploma, bachelor or above, ages 25–64 Females 28% Males 19%	Graduate, professional, bachelor's or associate degree, ages 25+ Females 42% Males 33%	Share of persons with tertiary level education, ages 15+ Females 18% Males 14%	Share of persons with tertiary level education, ages 15+ Females 33% Males 24%	Share of persons with postsecondary education, ages 16–74 Females 38% Males 25%	Share of persons with tertiary level education, ages 16+ Females 37% Males 28%	Share of persons with tertiary level education, ages 20–74 Females 28% Males 34%[3]	Share of persons with tertiary level education, ages 16–74 Females 15% Males 9%	Share of persons with tertiary level education, ages 20–74 Females 33% Males 24%[3]
Population pattern	Between 2011–2016: Nunavut +13%, NWT +1%, Yukon 6%	2000–16: Population growth 17%, 2017–19 population decline.	20% population decline post Soviet Union	2000–15: slight population growth. 2015–19 population decline	2000–19: 2% population growth	2000–2019: 5% population growth	2000–19: 8% population growth	2000–19: 0.1% population decline	2000–19: 30% population growth
Migration highlights	NWT and Nunavut out-migration, but growth due to high natural increase. Yukon positive net-migration.	Net out-migration between 2000–2019, especially since 2012. Natural increase too low to offset out-migration	Population decline due to high mortality rates among men and large scale out-migration	Out-migration of Finnish citizens, population growth between 2000–2015 due to immigration	For 15–35 age group, higher immigration of men and higher out-migration of women	Out-migration of Norwegian population, especially of 20–29 age group. Growth through immigration	Return migration of Faroese represents 75% of growth, immigration 25%	Out-migration and population maintained through high birth rates. Birth rates now in decline	Out-migration of Icelanders in 20–29 age group, especially young women. High levels of immigration
Immigrant population (by sex as percentage of male/female population)[4]	Females 8% Males 8%	Females 9% Males 7%	Not available	Females 4% Males 4%	Females 13% Males 12%	Females 11% Males 12%	Females 4% Males 4%	Females 8% Males 13%[5]	Females 11% Males 16%

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

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

Arctic Canada

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

Patterns of migration

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Arctic Canadian context of migration and mobility

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Immigration

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

Alaska

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

Patterns of migration

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Work and subsistence mobility

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

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

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

Immigration

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

Arctic Russia

Arctic Russia is a highly diverse region permitting only a limited overview of migration dynamics within the region. However, histories of migration shed some light on migration in Arctic Russia today. In the 1930s, Arctic Russia grew dramatically as the Soviet state used forced labour and sent millions of people to the region to secure rapid industrialisation. Later a system of wage increments was developed alongside other benefits, to entice people to migrate to and work in the region. This resulted in a much larger population than would have been possible under free market conditions

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

(Heleniak, 2020). In the wake of the Soviet Union breakdown and the Russian transition to a market economy, subsidies and enticements were reduced significantly. A so-called "flight from the North" followed, and the population declined by 20% (Heleniak, 2019). Intensive out-migration in the 1990s was mostly driven by the deteriorated well-being of northern populations. The fast expansion of cities in Arctic Russia also led to pressures on utilities, which resulted in highly contaminated water supplies (Khoreva et al., 2018), one factor impacting well-being in Arctic Russia. Most out-migrants were younger or working age individuals, while older cohorts of residents remained, leading to a rapidly ageing Arctic Russia (Vlasova & Petrov, 2010).

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

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

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

Russian Sámi migration and mobility

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

Looking at official statistics, Sámi, like other Indigenous groups in Russia, show stable population numbers during the20th century. Since 1989 the population has grown from 1,615 to 1,878 in 2010 (Census, 2010; Vinogradova, 2005). At the same time, Russian demographers warn of lower birth rates and negative natural growth among Sámi in contrast to other Indigenous groups (Bogoiavlenskii, 2004). Thus, contemporary numbers can only be explained from the political and cultural revival of Indigenous People in Russia accompanied with the introduction of special economic rights. Local scholars interpret this process as an "increased Sámi identity" (Gutsol et al., 2004).

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

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

Reindeer migration in Finmark Norway. *Jan Helmer Olsen*

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

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

A Youth Focus on Migration in Nenets (NAO) and Yamalo-Nenets (YaNAO) Autonomous Regions
Unpublished data from recent field research with 400 youths and professionals
by Marya Rozanova-Smith

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Immigration

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

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

Arctic Finland

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

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

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

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

Patterns of migration

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

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

Net migration between Arctic Finland and rest of Finland, 2000–2019, women and men, 15–34 years
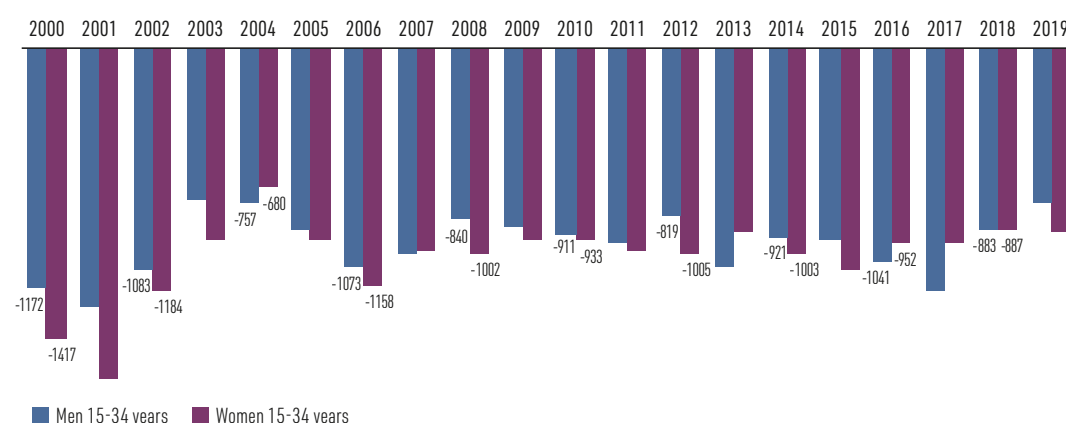
From the figure we observe that young people out-migrate over the whole period. When considered in the context of all ages, the 15–34 year age group represents as much as 87% of net out-migration. Furthermore, women are more likely to out-migrate in this age group: for every 100 women who out-migrate, there are 94 men who out-migrate (Statistics Finland, 2020b). Overall out-migration is related both to gender and urbanisation.

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

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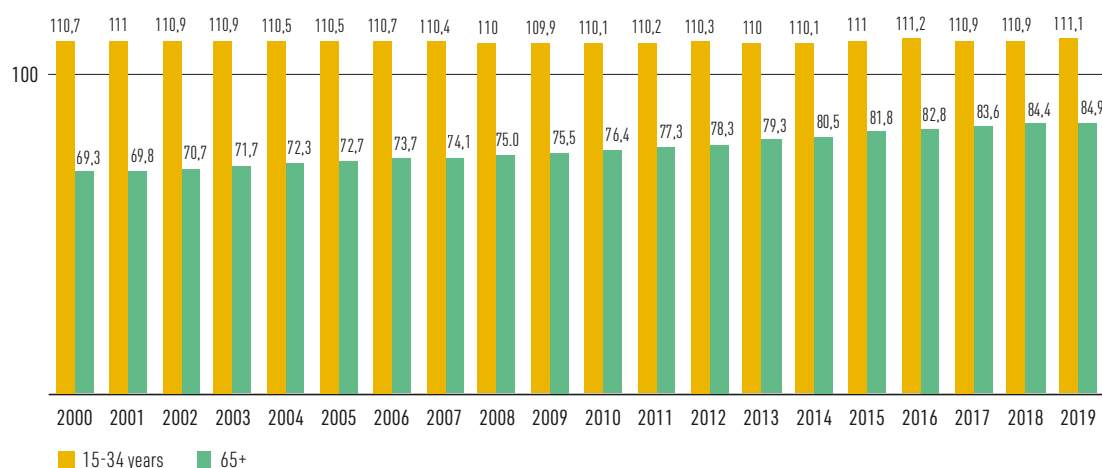
Interestingly, the figure indicates that the gender imbalance in the 65+ age group gradually reduced over the period of 2000–2019, most likely because men are living longer (though their life expectancy remains lower than women in the same age group). In contrast, in the 15–34 age group there is a consistent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

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

Immigration

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

Arctic Sweden

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

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

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

Gender ratio for Arctic Sweden, 2000–2019, for age groups 15–34 years and 65+ years
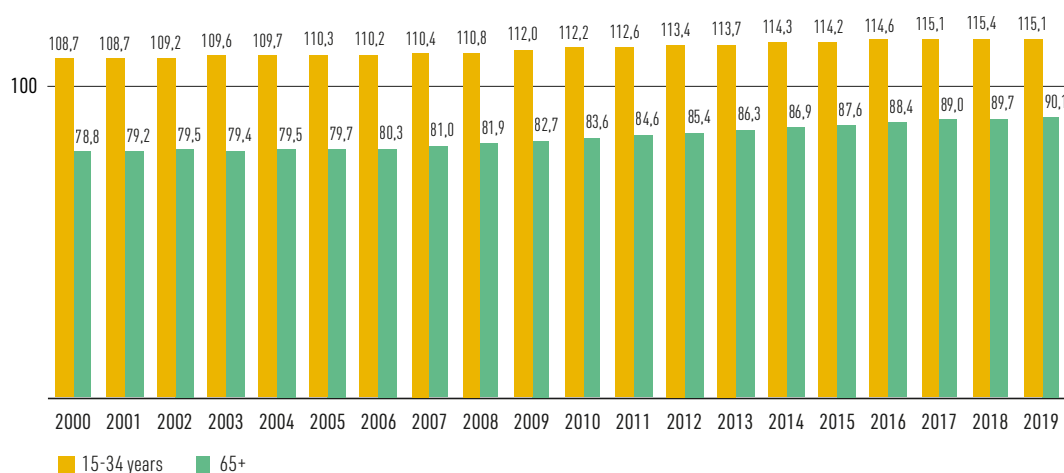
There is an unequal gender balance in both age groups. For the 15–34 year age group the sex ratio is highly skewed which can be explained through migration activity. For the 65+ age group there are fewer men than women. However, the figure indicates an upward trend, partly explained by the life expectancy of men increasing more than for women.

Patterns of migration

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

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

For Arctic Sweden, overall figures for migration indicate that since 2011, there has been a steady positive net in-migration of young men. Västerbotten has experienced population growth and Norrbotten population decline over

Net effect on population from migration: 2000–2019

	Västerbotten	Norrbotten
Men 15–24 years	9,364	2,218
Women 15–24 years	7,115	-4,079
Cumulative gender effect 15–24 years	2,249 (+males)	6,297 (+males)
Men 25–34 years	-4,927	-2,609
Women 25–34 years	-5,399	384
Cumulative gender effect 25–34 years	472 (+males)	2.218 (-males)

the period 2000–2019. However, the sex ratio shows an uneven balance of men and women in Arctic Sweden generally. Given that migration activity for the two counties diverges somewhat, it is pertinent to examine the sex ratio for each county as illustrated in the figure below (Statistics Sweden, 2020e).

Gender ratio for Norbotten and Västerbotten, 2000-2019, for 15-34 age group, 2000-2019
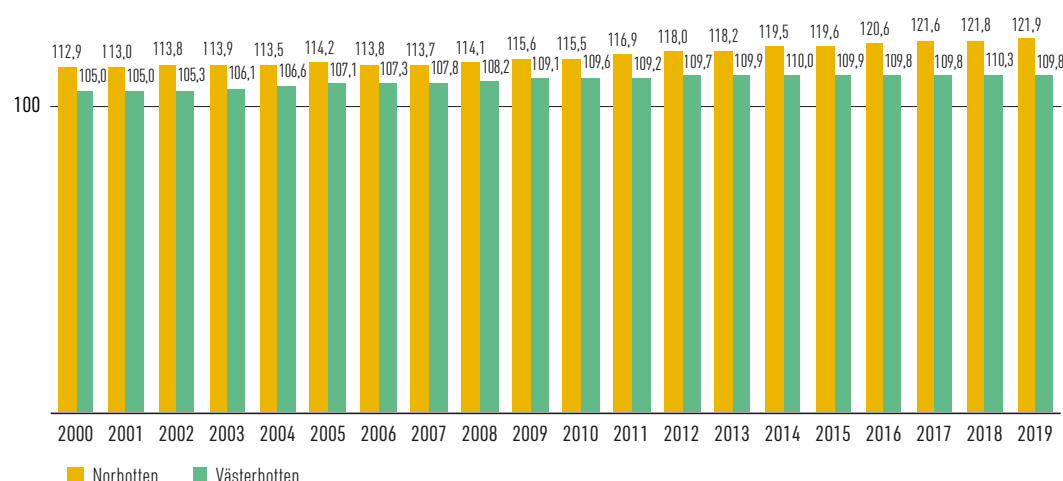
From the figure, the trend for both counties is towards an increasingly skewed sex ratio. For Norrbotten, however, the situation is much worse, with almost 122 men for every 100 women by 2019.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Immigration

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

Arctic Norway

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

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

Hurtigruten Norwegian, public coastal route. *Jan Helmer Olsen*

Pattern of migration

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

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

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

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

Net migration by gender 2004-2019
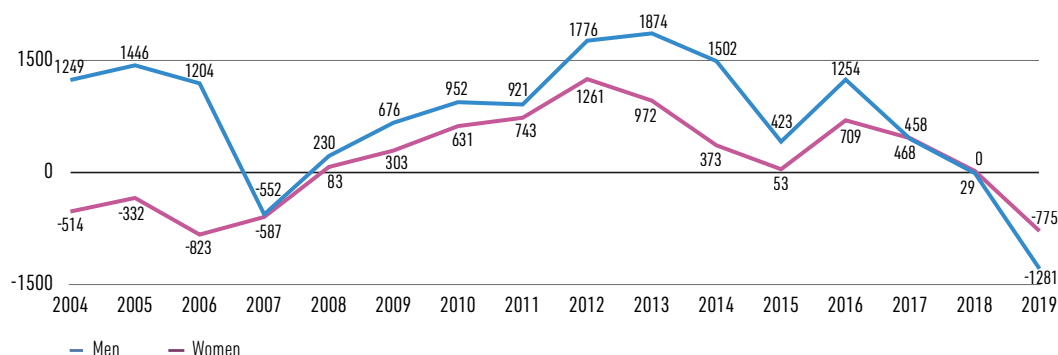
However, when examining net-migration figures by age, the net effect of migration is especially between the ages 16–39. By breaking the 16–39 group down further, it becomes apparent that from the age of 16–19, men are much more likely to in-migrate and women to out-migrate. For the age group of 20–29 years, both women and men out-migrate, although women at a greater rate. For the age group of 30–39 years, there is a positive net-migration of women and men (possibly also including return-migration), although the net effect for the period is that fewer women than men in the 30–39 age group in-migrate. It should also be added that for those aged 60+, both women and men have out-migrated over the period, though more women than men, at a rate of 134 women for every 100 men out-migrating (Statistics Norway, 2020a). We can conclude from these figures, that migration in Arctic Norway is highly gendered, and the impact of migration on the sex ratio varies with age.

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

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

Immigration

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

Faroe Islands

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

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

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

Patterns of migration

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

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

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

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

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

Work mobility

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

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

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

Immigration

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

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

Greenland

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

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

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

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

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

Patterns of migration

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

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

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

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

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Women	519	538	548	523	527	582	584
Men	161	163	194	182	182	188	196

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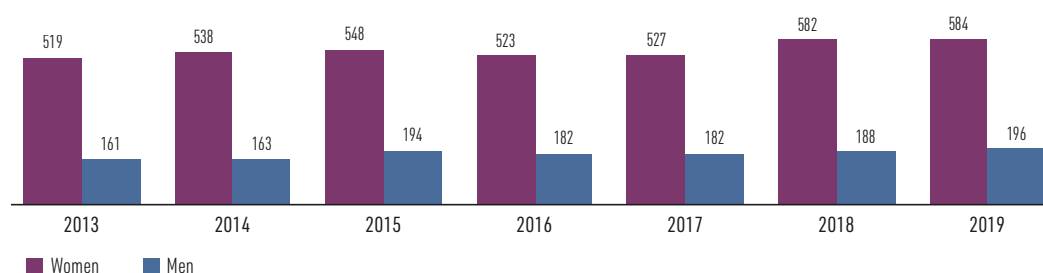
In 2019, at the University of Greenland, almost 60% of women were undertaking a degree in a welfare-oriented field such as teaching, social work, or nursing. Men who undertake university education are, however, more likely than women to do so in Denmark. This may in part be explained by the types of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

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

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

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

Housing and homelessness

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

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

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

Immigration

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

Iceland

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

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

Sex ratio for all citizens and foreign citizens 2000-2020

- Gender ratio total population — Gender ratio foreign born population
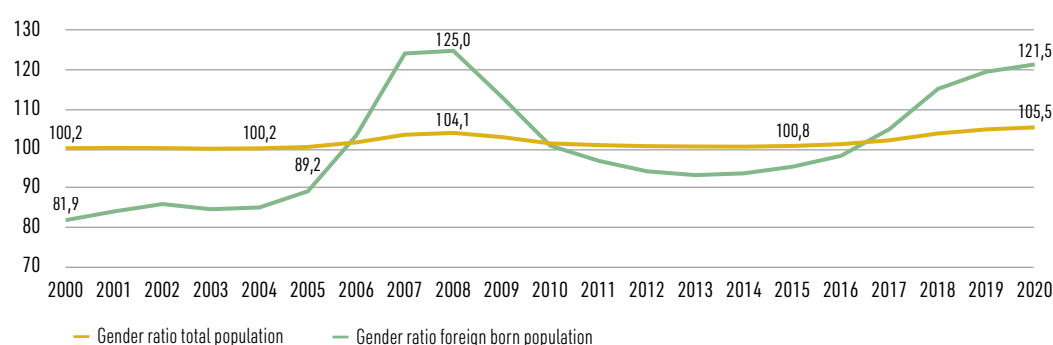
Patterns of migration

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

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

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

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

Out-migration from rural areas

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

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

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

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

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

Immigration

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

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

Policy Relevant Highlights

Research and knowledge on gender, migration, and mobility

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

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

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

Out-migration from the Arctic

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

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

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

Gender and industry development in the Arctic

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

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

Services, housing, and homelessness in the Arctic

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

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

Immigration to the Arctic

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

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

Work mobility

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

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

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

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

Urbanisation and migration of Indigenous People

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

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

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INDIGENEITY, GENDER, VIOLENCE AND RECONCILIATION

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Introduction

The Arctic Human Development Reports (Einarsson et al., 2004; J. N. Larsen & Fondahl, 2015) outlined common features and trends across the Arctic, listing differences in areas of economic, political, and legal systems; human health and well-being; culture and identities; Indigenous Peoples; gender, education, and population patterns; and migration trends in the Arctic. The reports provided a comprehensive assessment of human well-being across the vast Arctic regions, highlighting common challenges and disparities, and paving the way for a comparative human analysis in the Arctic aimed at enhancing people's lives in the region. Violence is an issue that has not yet been covered in a comparative fashion for the Arctic.

This chapter addresses terminology related to gender, sexuality, and diversity. As much as possible, each topic describes the realities of various parts of the Arctic, using Inuit oral stories to tease out the binary perspectives on gender that for so long have been the foundation on which policies were developed by many states. The diversity of human sexuality is brought into light, and the evolving terminology reflecting existing variations of genders is introduced.

This section is followed by a discussion on violence against Indigeneity and truth and reconciliation processes. States have tended to view gender and violence through a binary lens, and prevention of gendered violence is often organised through policies that do not adequately consider diversity or context. Definitions of violence thus far lack consideration of violence against Indigenous Peoples. Worldviews and value systems of Western states have encroached upon Indigenous worldviews and value systems through processes of colonisation. These processes have impacted most aspects of Indigenous lives, from the physical and material to the cultural and spiritual, reflected in the persistent inequalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations.

Existing research indicates a connection between violence and socioeconomic inequalities. The linkage seems particularly evident when violent crimes are considered alongside factors such as income, social conditions, and economic conditions.

Dwarf shrubs in Kobbefjorden, Greenland (close by Nuuk). *Allan Buras*

Gender violence continues to be a serious issue across the Arctic, but Indigenous women and girls face disproportionate violent victimisation in the context of ongoing settler–colonial relations and a long history of targeted colonial violence against Indigenous Peoples. Examples of regions' responses to gendered violence are presented.

We invested considerable time in pursuing a comparative statistical approach across the Arctic through national statistical databases. What emerged was that numbers of crimes and victims could not be presented in a comparative fashion as they proved to be misleading and only partially usable. In addition to the methodological problems, there are issues regarding differences in statistical traditions. The lack

of gendered and intersectional data, including specific data on Indigenous populations or LGBTQIA2S+ populations, severely impedes efforts to understand the dynamics of social and economic conditions, violence, crime, and inequality.

But first, the story of arfeq natoralillu niviarsiarannguillu marluk: The whale, the eagle, and two little Inuit girls, which is the introduction and conclusion of this chapter.

> ## Arfeq Natoralillu Niviarsiarannguillu Marluk
>
> A long time ago, two little girls were playing house and at being moms for a long time on the beach, and since they did not have husbands, they sought for potential suitors and one of the girls saw an eagle flying by and announced to her playmate: way up there, there is an eagle. That one will do for my husband!
>
> The other little girl continued her search and came across a skull of a whale, so old, it was bleached white. "That one is going to be my husband!" she exclaimed to her friend.
>
> As soon as the first one proclaimed the eagle to be her husband, the eagle swept down, picked up the girl and flew away with her screaming.
>
> While this was happening, the bleached, white skull of a whale on the beach, started to come to life, and became a full-fledged, living whale; took the little girl who desired to marry him and sailed off to an island (Olsen, 2015).

Gender, Sexualities and Diversity

Studies on gender as a discipline are recent in academia and may have been strengthened by feminist scholars in the 1960s, who called for equality among genders and other forms of human diversity (hooks, 1986; Lorber, 2006; Wiegman, 2002). Analysis of human sexuality came about from such discourses, and increased attention was given to female sexuality that had been neglected under the assumed priority of male sexual needs. Later, as human diversity became more recognised, studies were undertaken to examine power structures regarding gender, sexuality, and race.

Gender

The definition of gender has changed in recent times, from referring to sex at birth (Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, 1882) to being "a concept that refers to the social differences between women and men that have been learned, are changeable over time and have wide variations both within and between cultures" (United Nations Terminology Database, 2020). In linguistics, gender is also "a classification by which nouns, and pronouns are grouped and inflicted or changed in form, in relation to sex or their lack of it" (Webster, 1979, p. 762). Webster's 1979 definition goes on to explain how some languages use gender to categorise objects, while others distinguish between animate or inanimate objects. In all of this, the dictionary claims that the English language is "neutral".

Much of the present discourse on gender comes from a binary definition of gender, where men and women are sharply separated through sexuality and seen as disparate beings. Indigenous perspectives on gender, which often bring a holistic perspective on human beings, challenge the binary perspective on many levels. Although sex and gender of individuals are recognised and appreciated, many Indigenous Peoples avoid categorising individual community members using sexuality. Men and women are, first and foremost, appreciated as neutral" human beings. Each member is born with an innate spirit that cannot be discouraged nor disrespected. Instead, the community members deeply appreciate the innate sense of purpose. These measures are taken to discourage conflict with the physical as well as spiritual aspects of the self. Categorisations, depending on the cultural group, may be defined by roles and responsibilities of persons in their relationship with all the creation and the land. In other groups, it may be in reference to spiritual uniqueness, where in First Nations communities in Canada there is a notion of "two-spirited" people. In 2019, the Arctic Athabaskan Council – in a workshop related to gender – defined gender identity as referring to "how someone feels about themselves, in terms of being a "woman", "man", or outside of the gender binary".

Holistic Human Beings

The Kalaallit (Greenland Inuit) saw kalaaleq with no indication of gender. As a "neutral" being (timi), three spheres are thought to make the body into a human being. An Inuk (human being) then consists of the body, divided into biological division by sex; and the name/soul (anersaaq), which prior to Christianity were thought to be a genderless life force and therefore unisex. The third sphere is that of the spirit (tarneq), which saw the human being as part of the whole, sacred, and ever enlarging creation. As a human being, Inuit/Kalaallit have access to communication between the human being, the land, the animal spirits, and intelligence (Jessen Williamson, 2011). Each of the three spheres, while distinct, make a holistic human being endowed with potential and possibilities, which are invested into roles and responsibilities. Sexuality is secondary to the sanctity of a person, whose holistic identity includes multiple layers. Sexuality, as mentioned, is not used as a qualifying categorisation as we see in the binary-oriented societies.

Confident teenager with an important message. *Shutterstock*

Cultural differences of Arctic peoples are significant, and the above categorisations are markedly different from the binary perspective. Gender equality, or the desire to achieve equity, runs deep in Indigenous communities and stems from time immemorial. Equality starts by understanding cate-gorisations of human beings and the social constructions of gender, in order to drive policies that are uniquely suited to diverse populations in the Arctic.

Incipiency and Gender

In the Kalaallit context, gender and sex are, like many other cultural understandings, interchange-able, but both have their incipiency in the form of a human egg and its potentials. Suak is an egg, and suiaassuseq (Language Secretariat of Greenland, 2020) gives an image of an incipiency that speaks to many others in creation who began life in forms of eggs or seeds. Birds, fish, seals, flowers, seaweed, trees, and any plants start from that stage, and just like any other in this creation, the human being starts off as an egg.

The above discussion contributes to the discourses on gender and sex and provides the reader a chance to contrast and compare, and to start formulating ideas on equality across gender, sexuality, and human potentials outside the binary understanding of gender. In the following section we discuss the notion of gender, which will be expanded upon as the diversity of human sexuality is introduced.

Sexuality

The binary division of human beings may appear simplistic and dismissive of those who do not fit the binary mould. Understanding of human diversity-based sexuality has grown exponentially, and this new understanding is a positive addition to the complex matter of equality. The term *sexuality* is hard to define. According to McBride (2010), it broadly refers to how people experience and express themselves as sexual beings and includes:

> Sex, sexual identities and roles, sexual orientation, eroticism, pleasure, intimacy and reproduction. Sexuality is experienced through thoughts, fantasies, desires, beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviours, practices, roles and relationships [and] is influenced by the interaction of biological, physiological, social, economic, political, cultural, ethical, legal, historical, religious and spiritual factors (McBride, 2010, p. 384).

The above is a descriptive explanation that goes beyond the binary perspective and is useful in discussing sexuality across time and cultures. For example, in Greenland, prior to Christian values and a governing structure inherited from the Danes, the lead author's maternal, monolingual kalaallisut-speaking grandmother used terms like "arnaasiaq" (should really have been a woman) for gay men, and "angutaasiaq" (should really have been a man) for lesbian women. The two terms, while recognising the uniqueness of the individuals, are not intended to be derogatory but rather intended to directly associate the social responsibilities of the individuals to the land, animals, and society. Presently, terms like "arnanoortoq" for lesbians, and "angutinoortoq" for homosexual men are used. These terms are directly translated from western languages and cultures, applying the binary perspective where heterosexuality is the norm.

Previously, some Indigenous cultures allowed for both men and women to have multiple partners, wives, or husbands. However, due to Christian values that were introduced in recent history, multiple-partner unions were strongly discouraged by law and religion and have been eradicated over the last three to four generations. It is in such settings that are strongly influenced by the assimilation forces of colonialisation, that Indigenous terms and terminology on sexuality-based categorisations are lost in many First Nations and Inuit communities. To understand the Indigenous categorisations one must reconnect with the oral traditions like the following story of Qarliingajooq.

Memoryscapes

Qarliingajooq, roughly translates into "that of pulling pants down". An island north of Maniitsoq, West Greenland, was given that name, and the story is that at one time, there was a strikingly beautiful, strong, young woman. Many men travelled extensively to propose marriage, and each and every one she refused. Observations, though, were made that she was known to hike up to the top of the island where there is a lake. On the lakeside, she would pull down her pants, and look at her genital area mirrored on the lake, slap her genitals and repeatedly ask aloud "whoever were these for?" She never married, but the island is named, thusly (G. Skifte, personal communication, 2019). As a renowned hunter Skifte travelled the area extensively, and recites the stories of islands, fjords, mountains, mainlands, and rivers evoking what Nuttall (2001, p. 63) termed "memoryscape" whereby Inuit tell stories of places, reminding themselves of events on places.

In the binary system, where the male perspective is the norm, women and their sexuality are secondary. The 1960s, with its upheaval over social injustices, engendered the women's liberation movement. It was this movement that brought women's sexuality to the attention of the public, illuminating women's sexuality for their own sake. Previously, the understanding of human sexuality was based on males' needs and purposes. It is important to understand how any society draws on gendered perspectives like patriarchy or matriarchy as each gives a lens to thoughts and actions. For a long time, births, menstruations, female life cycles, and female biology and physiology were compared with the male experience.

Previous practices related to Inuit menstruation allowed Inuit women to use that time to collect their holism as a person, aligning the three spheres, and to use the days of menstruation to collect thoughts to empower themselves holistically (Jessen Williamson, 2011). Arctic Athabaskans also viewed

menstruation as a time when women could empower themselves. According to Cruikshank (1990), female individuals who excelled at spending time on their own on the land, were greatly admired in previous generations, indicating great respect for matriarchy.

In Western societies, new understandings of female sexuality paved the way for diverse perspectives on human beings based on diverse sexuality. In the following section we address relatively recent definitions of human diversity that go beyond heterosexuality.

Diversity

The terminology used to denote human diversity along the lines of sexuality is currently evolving. A widely accepted term for the vast diversity in sexuality and gender identity is LGBTQIA2S+. The labels stand for: Lesbian, Bisexual, Gay, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, Asexual, and Two Spirit. The "+" stands for the many identities, not least those many "culturally-specific identities that exist outside of Western understandings of gender and sexuality" (Sostar, n.d.), that are not included in the acronym. According to the narrative therapist Tiffany Sostar, self-identification is the most important thing and, although the labels are valuable for that purpose – seeing your identity reflected in others who identify with the same label as you – they "are a lot like boxes and cats: there's a world of difference between the box you choose to sit in, and the box someone is trying to stuff you into" (Sostar, n.d.).

People participating in the smallest Gay Pride in Europe during Trænafestival, on the small island of Træna, Norway. *Shutterstock*

The acronym LGBTQIA2S+ includes sexual orientations (Lesbian, Bisexual, Gay, Queer and Asexual), gender identities (Transgender and Two Spirit), and biological sex characteristics (Intersex). Two Spirit stands out in that it:

> [is] an Indigenous-created word for traditionally recognized identities. It means different things in each nation and to each person who holds that identity, and it is an identity that is culturally specific, meaning that it belongs to Indigenous communities and cannot be used by non-Indigenous (Sostar, n.d.).

A recent sign of the evolving terminology is the term *womxn*, which:

> stems from the orthographic "woman", which is rooted in the patriarchal power structure that still systematically excludes womxn. Womxn is an intersectional concept that seeks to include transgender womxn, womxn of color, womxn of Third World countries, and every personal identity of womxn (Kunz, 2019, p. 2).

Thus, beyond the prevalent binary rhetoric, there is a growing trend toward greater inclusivity of people who identify with the LGBTQIA2S+ community and outside the binary understanding of gender, as well as a move toward representation and allyship. The growing LGBTQIA2S+ community in Iceland is an example of that development.

We have learnt that languages can be gendered, and the Icelandic language is an example that has three genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter, where "hann", "hún", and "það" indicate the "he", "she", and "it" used on objects (Kvaran, 2005). Even though discussions and attitudes on gender have changed in Iceland, perceptions of gender remain mostly binary. However, although Icelandic grammar offers a gender-neutral option for personal pronouns, it is often not suitable for non-binary people and Icelanders therefore introduced new personal pronouns in addition to hann or hún. The most frequently used today are "hán", "hé", and "hín". Moreover, last year, Iceland's parliament passed a new law that changed the registered gender at the National Registry, adding the third gender option marked as "X". Icelanders now have the option of selecting a non-binary gender and can register gender beyond the terms of male or female. Transgender individuals can now register their unique gender without having to endure a difficult journey through the healthcare system involving a lengthy diagnostic process. Nevertheless, the Icelandic fight for equality for everyone, regardless of gender identity, sex characteristics, or gender expression, is far from over (Kalyanova, 2019).

National Queer Organisation of Iceland

More and more people in Iceland are openly identifying as, for example, pansexual, heteroflexible, or gray asexual. However, terms for some sexual orientations are not yet well established in everyday Icelandic language. For example, the Icelandic term for pansexual was initially the literal translation "pansexúal". Now the Icelandic words "alkynhneigð" or "pankynhneigð" are used more often.

There is special support for queer people in Iceland, and the National Queer Association of Iceland "Samtökin '78" is highly active and visible. The association offers free social counselling and free legal assistance for all queer persons regardless of sexual orientation, gender identity, sex characteristics, or gender expression. People who face discrimination or violence based on their sexual orientation, gender identity, or expression can also seek help and guidance at the Samtökin '78 (National Queer Organisation of Iceland, 2020). Additionally, LGBTQI+ youth can seek support at the "Bergið headspace", where all young people (up to 25 years old) can come in with all kinds of issues or problems. It is low threshold support where young people come on their own accord (Bergið Headspace, 2020).

A main street in Reykjavík has been permanently painted in rainbow colors to celebrate Reykjavík Pride. *Ludovic Charlet / Unsplash*

Every human being matters in an equal world, and at this point we have presented a greater understanding of notions of gender and sexuality through the use of landscapes, spirituality, and philosophies.

Violence

The Arctic Human Development Reports (Einarsson et al., 2004; J. N. Larsen & Fondahl, 2015) provided a comprehensive assessment of human well-being across the vast Arctic regions and paved the way for a comparative human analysis in the Arctic aimed at enhancing people's lives in the region.

A Typology of Violence

According to the World Health Organization's definition and typology of violence from the World Report on Violence and Health (WRVH; World Health Organization, 2002, p. 4) violence is defined as the "intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation". The WRVH also presents a typology of violence that, while not uniformly accepted, can be useful in understanding the contexts in which violence occurs and the interactions between types of violence. This typology distinguishes four modes in which violence may be inflicted: physical, sexual, psychological attack, and deprivation.

Violence on Indigeneity

States have tended to view gender and violence through a binary lens, and prevention of gendered violence is often organised through policies that do not adequately consider diversity or context. Significant advances have been made to reduce individual, domestic, or workplace violence against women and minorities (including non-heteronormative individuals). However, definitions of violence so far lack consideration of violence toward Indigenous Peoples. Worldviews and value systems of Western states have encroached upon Indigenous worldviews and value systems through processes of colonisation. Each Indigenous nation has stories about the severe impacts of assimilation and incorporation into state citizenry, resulting in significant loss at all levels, including extensive loss of lands; loss of benefits from natural and non-renewable resources; and loss of languages, spirituality, knowledge, education, oral traditions, and health.

On the Definition of Indigenous Peoples

"In the forty-year history of indigenous issues at the United Nations, and its even longer history at the ILO, considerable thinking and debate have been devoted to the question of the definition or understanding of "indigenous peoples". But no such definition has ever been adopted by any United Nations-system body.

One of the most cited descriptions of the concept of "indigenous" was outlined in the José R. Martínez Cobo's Study on the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations [(Cobo, 1986, p. 29)]. After long consideration of the issues involved, Martínez Cobo offered a working definition of "indigenous communities, peoples and nations". In doing so, he expressed a number of basic ideas forming the intellectual framework for this effort, including the right of indigenous peoples themselves to define what and who indigenous peoples are. The working definition reads as follows:

'Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system.

This historical continuity may consist of the continuation, for an extended period reaching into the present of one or more of the following factors:

    a. Occupation of ancestral lands, or at least of part of them

    b. Common ancestry with the original occupants of these lands

c. Culture in general, or in specific manifestations (such as religion, living under a tribal system, membership of an indigenous community, dress, means of livelihood, lifestyle, etc.)

   d. Language (whether used as the only language, as mother-tongue, as the habitual means of communication at home or in the family, or as the main, preferred, habitual, general or normal language)

   e. Residence in certain parts of the country, or in certain regions of the world

   f. Other relevant factors.

On an individual basis, an indigenous person is one who belongs to these indigenous populations through self-identification as indigenous (group consciousness) and is recognized and accepted by these populations as one of its members (acceptance by the group).

This preserves for these communities the sovereign right and power to decide who belongs to them, without external interference.'"

(United Nations, 2009, pp. 4-5)

State and Indigenous Peoples' negotiations designed to defend and protect Indigenous rights to continue being part of their respective lands and protect themselves against stringent colonial and assimilationist policies, have often been in exchange of foregoing the rights to massive areas of lands, waters, and seas in the Arctic regions.

Demography of Indigenous Peoples of the Arctic based on linguistic groups

Hugo Ahlenius / GRID-Arendal / CAFF

Many Indigenous languages in Alaska and Canada are facing decline rather than flourishing, even with self-governing structures in place. The kalaallisut (the Greenland Inuktut language) is an anomaly as the majority of Kalaallit users claim to be able to use the language daily, with generational transmission taking place. This is not the case for many other Indigenous Peoples who face language losses and require extensive actions to reverse that process, with varying levels of success (Schweitzer et al., 2015; Seredkina & Koptzeva, 2018). The urgency to reclaim these losses is felt by Indigenous Peoples every day. One account from a Dene woman, upon losing her grandparents who carried their language, states

> my grandparents passed away when I was a teenager before I could even speak a Tlicho sentence. When they became yak'e got'ine, "heaven's people," I not only grieved the loss of a family member, I grieved the loss of the conversation I would never have, the knowledge I would never learn, the stories I would never hear, and that special grand-parent relationship I would never get. I still feel that pain today (Scott-Enns, 2019, p. 21).

Most agreements require that Indigenous Peoples live their lives bilingually or even trilingually, leaving little support to the remaining monolingual Indigenous individuals. Indigenous self-governments were negotiated on premises of states' constitutions. Across the Arctic, top level civil servants who work in these institutions are mostly non-Indigenous, unable to use Indigenous languages, lack the capacity to make use of Indigenous oral traditions, and forgo Indigenous knowledge systems in policymaking.

In terms of spirituality, regardless of location, place, and Indigenous cultural group, the christening of Indigenous Peoples was what Battiste & Barman (1995) called *cognitive assimilation*, through which Indigenous philosophies and belief systems were made obsolete and assimilated into the Christian belief systems.

Marching the streets of Tromsø in 2011 to protest the city council decision not to apply for incorporating Tromsø into Saami language region. *Berit Kristofferson*

Indigenous Knowledge (IK) is holistic in nature, connecting the individual with souls and spirits. IK is firmly grounded in Indigenous lands and languages. Knowledge is transferred through oral tradition from generation to generation. The unique, multifaceted and deeply gender-based knowledge is poorly captured in the binary system and understanding of its value has been severely lacking among civil servants in governing systems, even Indigenous government systems. There are examples of signifi-cant efforts being made to use IK and Western science equally in policy making, such as in the Canadian federal government agreements with Nunavut. However, this has not been applied in the context of Greenland where the validity of Kalaallit knowledge is questioned. The rapid loss of IK has been termed *epistemicide* in academia, "the systematic destruction of rival forms of knowledge" (Bennett, 2007, p. 3). The term "refers to the killing of knowledge systems" (Hall & Tandon, 2017, p. 6). The shift away from traditional knowledge may contribute to negative impacts on the economic and overall well-being

of Indigenous populations; as Redvers et al. (2020) explained, "the coercion of Indigenous peoples to believe in the superiority of Western ways of both knowing and practice was applied through systematic dispossession, oppression, violence, ethnocide, and epistemicide" (p. 1087). As IK is deeply grounded in place, mass relocations and the lightning-speed of changes Indigenous Peoples have had to endure through Western development have also exacerbated the situation. IK, both in its oral and tacit forms, needs to be passed on to new generations to secure a strong sense of identity that will enable youth to foster the necessary resilience to endure and adapt to social and ecological changes.

As explained in the chapter on Migration and Mobility, many Indigenous People migrate to urban or rural areas in southern parts of their respective countries. In the context of the Arctic, such dramatic changes present challenges, especially for men whose traditional hunting and fishing skills are not easily transferable to modern labour markets (C. V. Larsen et al., 2013). International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (2020b) looked at institutional practices in Danish municipal offices and concluded that Kalaallit living in Denmark experience severe difficulties due to language and worldview discrepancies. Greenlanders/Kalaallit in Denmark describe their experiences facing discrimination, prejudice, and external pressure to assimilate into Danish society. Greenlanders face lack of recognition and reluctance to discuss the sensitive parts of the colonial history of Denmark and Greenland. This results in a sense of alienation and growing distant from their original culture and identity, with detrimental effects on their well-being (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2020a). Greenlanders who migrate to Denmark face the same challenges as immigrants from other countries, such as lower socioeconomic status and marginalisation (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2020b). Greenlanders in Denmark miss out on support provided for other immigrants (Lysemose, 2015). Moreover, cultural differences, language, and power relations pose fundamental challenges in providing social services for Greenlanders in Denmark requiring support (Kjær-Rasmussen et al., 2019).

A seal hunter collects his catch in the frozen waters of Disko Bay, Ilulissat, Greenland. *Shutterstock*

Additionally, as noted in the chapter on Empowerment, the disconnection from culture and the assimilation and Westernisation of economic activities are exacerbated, as Indigenous youth out-migrate from their home communities to larger settlements (Kjær-Rasmussen et al., 2019). A study of 341 adult Inuit residents in Ottawa (estimated population of Inuit residents in Ottawa is 3,361), found that compared to the general population, Indigenous People living in urban settings are more likely to experience socioeconomic hardships such as poverty, unemployment, household crowding, and food insecurity, in addition to health problems and limited access to healthcare. The study concluded that Canada's health information systems fail to provide quality "demographic and population-based health assessment for urban Inuit" and thus fail to design and implement appropriate healthcare service systems for that group (Smylie et al., 2018, p. 663).

Indigenous individuals in the Arctic face discrimination vis-à-vis access to fewer government services than non-Indigenous citizens who live outside of the Arctic. The process of absorbing Indigenous Peoples into the states has been swift and systematically organised, directly employing the binary world view into the lives of Indigenous Peoples. This process is at times escalated by modern Indigenous government systems. Systemic violence against Arctic Indigenous Peoples is rendered through various government departments, and inequalities persist. As the table below indicates, Indigenous Peoples have a minority status in their respective states. Each Arctic state embraces democratic systems whereby majority voting largely determines policy development. This has direct implications for Indigenous sense of belonging within the national setting and quality of life in Indigenous communities; the inherent marginalisation of Indigenous Peoples means that Indigenous interests may not be aligned with the rest of the population.

Indigenous Peoples vs non-Indigenous in the Arctic States

	Canada[1]	USA[2]	Sweden	Norway	Finland	Denmark	Russia[3]
Overall population	35,151,728	330,656,950	10,380,245	5,295,619	5,535,605	5,946,057	145,934,462
Indigenous Peoples	1,673,785	6,945,552	20,000	50,000	8,000	68,500[4]	260,000
Indigenous Peoples in %	4.7%	2.1%	0.19%	0.94%	0.14%	0.84%	0.2%

1. Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: 1.673.785; Inuit single identity: 65.025; Métis single identity: 587.545; First Nations single identity: 977.230

2. In the United States Indigenous groups consist of 6.945.552 in 2019, that number includes American Indian and Alaska Native, Race Alone or in Combination Group, and equals 2,1% of American population. Population in Alaska is 138.516; American Indian/Alaska Native 106.660; 15% (Statewide Services Division Criminal Records & Identification Bureau & Purinton, 2018).

3. Ethnic Russians account for 78%, and other peoples, such as the five million Tatars, are not officially considered Indigenous Peoples; their self-identification varies.

4. It is estimated that approx. 50.000 Inuit live in Greenland and 18.500 in Denmark.

Source: Statistics Canada, U.S Census Bureau, Saami Parliament, Minority Rights Group, IWGIA.

Indigenous versus Non-Indigenous Data

In 2019 American Indian/Alaska Native in Alaska represented only approx. 15,6 % of the total population (United States Census Bureau, 2021). In Canada, the proportion of Indigenous Peoples varies among the territories considered, with 23%, 51%, and 86% in Yukon, North West Territories, and Nunavut, respectively (Statistics Canada, 2021).

In some cases, paucity of data along Indigenous/non-Indigenous lines presents challenges for comparative analysis. While Canada and Alaska present Aboriginal People (CAN) and Native Alaskan and American Indian (Alaska) in their statistics, Greenland, which was a colony of Denmark, has adopted the same approach as Denmark where ethnicity is not indicated in data collection; they only differentiate between those born in Greenland or Denmark. The IWGIA (2020b) estimates that there are 50.000 Inuit living in Greenland, approx. 89% of Greenland's population. In the continental Nordic region, there are only estimations of Indigenous populations. In Russia, Chukotka Autonomous Okrug has the highest Indigenous population (33,42%), followed by Republic of Sakha (22,66%), Nenets Autonomous Okrug (17,83%), Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (7,93%), Krasnoyarsk Krai (2,3%), Komi Republic (0,42%), and Murmansk Oblast (0,23%) (Tishkov et al., 2016, p. 9).

Duhaime and Caron (2008) found that where:

> ethnic and indigenous populations are strongest […] economic and social condition of minorities shows inequities in the form of lower incomes, lower education levels, lower female proportions, and lower life expectancies, higher infant mortality, and higher dependency ratios. Although they live in developed countries, nothing guarantees that the minorities enjoy the benefits (p. 22).

In 2014, the Arctic Social Indicators – through regional case studies (Sakha Republic, Northwest Territories, West-Nordic region, Inuit regions of Alaska, Inuit Worlds) – revealed "several types of inequalities, such as in urban or rural areas or in the indigenous or total population" (Duhaime et al., 2015, p. 11).

As can be seen in the chapter on Gender Empowerment and Fate Control, an income gap continues to exist between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples in the Arctic (Lévesque & Duhaime, 2016). For instance, relative income for North America reveals disparities in income between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations. For example, Nunavut shows the significant disparity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, where the latter earn on average $101,494 (2016) as opposed to $22.912 for Indigenous (2016). Importantly, in Greenland in 2019, disposable income for Danish citizens born in Denmark was approximately double that of Danish citizens born in Greenland (Statistics Greenland, private communication, January 15, 2021).

Life expectancy at birth in the Arctic continues to vary considerably across regions, ranging from 60,33 in 2017 for males born in Chukotka Autonomous Okrug (Federal State Statistics Service, 2018), to a maximum of 85 years for women born in Iceland or Finland (Statistics Finland, 2021; Statistics Iceland, 2021). Life expectancy for men in all Arctic regions is considerably lower than for women. Alaska, Nunavut, NWT, and Yukon clearly show an age gap between male and female life expectancy. Life expectancy in Nunavut, where 86% of the population is Indigenous, is considerably lower than in the other Canadian northern territories and the Canadian average (Statistics Canada, 2021). Among the West Nordic countries, in 2019, Greenland, where 89.74% are listed as born in Greenland, clearly showed the lowest life expectancy at birth, particularly for men (67,7). Life expectancy is almost 13,3 years less for men in comparison to Iceland in the same year (non-Indigenous). In stark contrast, the life expectancy of men in Västerbotten (Sweden) and Iceland is 80,49 and 81, respectively. Life expectancy for women in Greenland is 12,9 years lower compared to Iceland and the Faroe Islands (Statistics Faroe Islands, 2021; Statistics Greenland, private communication, January 15, 2021; Statistics Iceland, 2021; Statistics Sweden, 2021). Life expectancy in the Arctic regions of the continental Nordic countries is one of the highest in the world with the tendency of lower life expectancy for males than females. However, data does not distinguish between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations in Sweden, Norway and Finland.

Reindeer drive in Yamal Peninsula, Siberia. *Shutterstock*

While non-Indigenous suicides are mostly related to individual suffering, suicides among Indigenous populations are to a greater extent considered a consequence of collective social suffering rooted in colonial history and social, economic, and health inequalities (Affleck et al., 2020; Wexler & Gone, 2012). Multiple studies have confirmed the relationship between intergenerational trauma, mental illnesses, and suicide rates in the Arctic (Lehti et al., 2009). Moreover, worldwide, variability in prevalence in suicide rates among Indigenous Peoples can be traced to regions based on how severely the residents were impacted by colonisation (Pollock et al., 2018), confirming the severe effects of systematic violence against Indigenous People. This is also the case in the Arctic, where the highest prevalence of suicides within each Arctic state is in regions with the largest Indigenous populations (Young et al., 2015). Suicide rates among men are substantially higher than among women (Pollock et al., 2018). Nordregio provides a relatively holistic picture of regional/national suicide rates in the Arctic (Wang, 2019).

Greenland has the highest suicide rate in the world per capita, with a yearly rate around 80 deaths per 100.000 over the last decade (Vahl & Kleeman, 2019). While the Canadian national average is decreasing, Nunavut has growing suicide rates reaching 82,9 deaths per 100.000 in 2019 (Statistics Canada, 2020). During 1993–2009, suicide rates in Labrador were three times higher than the national rate in Canada; rates were 10–15 times higher in Indigenous communities (Pollock et al., 2016). For the Russian Arctic available numbers are scarce, and not divided by gender or ethnicity. However, the region with the largest Indigenous population, Chukotka, has by far the highest suicide rates, with 61,7 per 100.000 in 2016. In 2019, the suicide rate in Alaska was 28,7 per 100.000 with indications of especially high rates in the northern and southwestern part of the state (Farr et al., 2019, p. 42), where the Indigenous populations range from 50–75% of the whole population (Wang & Roto, 2019). In Sweden, Finland, and Norway, the statistics are not divided by ethnicity, but studies have indicated that suicide rates are significantly higher in Arctic regions, with the highest rates in reindeer-herding Sámi populations (Jacobsson et al., 2020). Although the health status of Sámi is generally similar to that of non-Indigenous residents, suicides are an exception; suicide rates among Sámi men are significantly higher than among non-Sámi, especially in Northern Finland (Pollock et al., 2018; Young et al., 2015). In Iceland, which has no Indigenous population, the suicide rate in 2018 was 9,7 deaths per 100.000 (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2019) and in Faroe Islands, also with no Indigenous population, the rate was 4,8 deaths per 100.000 (Statistics Faroe Islands, 2021; calculated average 2010–2018).

As addressed in the chapter on Migration and Mobility, homelessness is a serious issue, although it is hard to determine due to a lack of data. Homelessness is not only a consequence of severe housing shortages or migration, whether in the rural or urban regions, but also the result of various intertwined social and health issues such as intergenerational trauma, violence, and substance abuse. Statistical information on gender among the Indigenous population is lacking. Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and Nunavut face different challenges than the rest of Canada, including infrastructure barriers, and Indigenous Peoples are overrepresented in the number of homeless people. In Alaska in 2019, nearly 2.000 people were estimated to be experiencing homelessness, of which 45% were Alaskan Natives. In Greenland, a qualified estimation indicates 878 unhoused persons (Christensen & Arnfjord, 2020, p. 162). Available data on homelessness for the Arctic Russian regions shows a general increase in the years 2002–2010. A decrease is only seen in two Russian Arctic regions, the Murmansk Oblast and the Komi Republic; however, information on the proportion of Indigenous Peoples is not available (Federal State Statistics Service, 2010). While homeless people as a group are a vulnerable population, Indigenous People are at especially high risk of being victims of violence (Thistle, 2017).

Reconciliation in the Arctic

Truth and reconciliation commissions originated in the 1980s in Latin America (such as in Argentina, Chile, and Guatemala) and have since been used in various contexts. Perhaps the most widely known is the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Parmentier & Aciru, 2016, p. 1). Broadly speaking, these commissions formed to investigate human rights abuses by engaging with affected populations and attempting to "clarify the national narrative of affected populations", "clear the muddy waters of the past", and "establish a set of facts as a basis of the truth about the history and evolution of a given conflict, to devise a new and more acceptable national narrative" (Sarkin, 2019, p. 1). While truth and reconciliation processes are subject to debate, they have become an important mechanism, an "opportunity to tell their story, promote accountability and the rule of law, produce an authoritative account of state crimes, recommend institutional reforms, and promote reconciliation" (Ferrara, 2019, p. 1).

Reconciliation commissions have been established in the Arctic, including Canada, Greenland, and the Sámi Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

In Canada, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was initiated by the First Nations, Métis, and Inuit with the Federal Government of Canada. The call for TRC came about to address the omission in Canadian history of experiences of the First Nations and to ensure that Canadians learnt about:

> what happened in Indian Residential Schools (IRS). The Commission will document the truth of survivours, families, communities and anyone personally affected by the IRS experience (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, n.d.).

Residential school survivors included First Nations, Inuit, and Métis children who were removed by force from their families and communities to attend federal schools run by Christian churches.

Kalaallit in Greenland created the Saammaasseqatigiinnisaq/ Forsonings Kommissionen (Greenland Commission for Reconciliation, or GCR) but

Reconciliation committees in the Arctic

Reconciliation	Name	Commencement	Ending
Canada	Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC)	2008	2015
Greenland	Saammaaseqatigiinnissaq / Forsonings Komissionen	2013	2017
Norway		2017	
Finland	Truth and Reconciliation	2019	
Sweden[1]	Truth and Reconciliation	2020	
Russia	N/A	N/A	

1. In Sweden, funds were established in 2020 to conduct a process whereby trust is built among the Sámi population for Swedish/Sámi Truth and Reconciliation Commission and to make sure that the Sámi premises are put on the table by March 2021.

were denied partnership by the Government of Denmark. One of the purposes of the GCR is to question the validity of the history of Greenland that excluded the Kalaallit's (Greenland Inuit) input in favour of Danish colonial activities. The commission was also formed to shed light on how Kalaallit themselves contributed to the stringent assimilation processes of the Danification of the Kalaallit society. In both the Canadian and Greenlandic contexts, reconciliation involves unravelling the truth as perceived by Indigenous Peoples by applying oral traditions to contest the truth, as seen through the colonial, written documentation of history.

The Sámi express deep-seated scepticism towards truth and reconciliation commissions:

> We have a long history of mistrust on the governments. This is combined with a very strong Sámi ethics where difficult issues become taboo so as not to burden anyone with one's personal troubles. And many in our communities wonder what the use is of such a commission and if such a process will change the Sámi life […] in any way (Johansen, 2020).

However, when looking at Norwegian experiences, where the reconciliation process has come the furthest, some elders want and need to talk about their experiences. Whenever the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on the Norwegian side has meetings with the Sámi population, culturally competent health staff are present and ready to support and talk to those who need it. This has been important in establishing trust between the Commission and the Sámi population (Johansen, 2020).

The outcomes of truth and reconciliation commissions vary a great deal. The South African commission made inroads to creating a "rainbow nation". Black South Africans who were identified as victims of gross human rights violations were invited to give statements about their experiences, and some were

A woman's face in the snow. *Karla Jessen Williamson*

selected for public hearings (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, n.d.). The Greenland Reconciliation Commission report, delivered in 2017 (Therkildsen et al., 2017), was mostly ignored by the Greenland Government. The Government of Denmark, which was not involved in processes of the Greenland Commission for Reconciliation, made their own apology to a surviving group of Kalaallit children. Children had been forcefully removed from families and communities in Greenland and sent to Denmark in the 1950s to undergo processes of becoming "elite Greenlanders" under Danish premises (Otzen, 2015). The Canadian Truth and Reconciliation has received significant attention across most sectors of Canadian society and educational material, resulting in a proliferation of material with the inclusion of experiences of the First Nations, Metis and Inuit children of residential schools.

We are Not a Violent People

" Sámi academics have argued that a shift in power within the genders is a direct result of the nation-states' assimilation politics and poor legal management of reindeer husbandry. This is quite ironic because the Fenno-Scandinavian states are internationally recognised as countries with progressive equality policies:

When it comes to looking at the Commission gender lens we see that there is a need for the Sámi society to look at how gender roles have changed since colonisation began. For example, early in the 1900s, when the majority of women in the Fenno-Scandinavian countries didn't even have voting rights, Sámi women had a much stronger position within our communities. Sámi women were independent, both men and women owned separate properties and managed their own loans and inherited equally, and in reindeer herding families women were very often the head of the economy. Today, the situation is quite different, particularly in the reindeer herding communities where Sámi women have lost their power, property and position and are seen as second-class citizens within our community.

The violence and sexual violence that so many women experience at a higher rate than the majority of women within the states do. And we wonder how come this is the case and we want to know who the perpetrator of the violence is. These are big questions, and they have major societal problems that are affecting our whole society, and by keeping on suppressing Sámi women in this way we are also robbing our communities of strong female voices as the women are often just surviving. We need to know why Sámi women are experiencing such high rates of violence and sexual abuse, and we need to know why some Sámi men are using violence against women. We are not a violent people. This is not our culture, but we are still dealing with this almost paralysing issue and we see that it is time that the dots between colonisation and gender violence are drawn.

As the results and recommendations from the Sámi Truth and Reconciliation Commission is yet to come, we can only hope that the work of the Commission will begin a process within our own community of rethinking and rebuilding our gender roles in a healing process where Sámi women

Sámi reindeer herder looking after her herd, Norway. *Jan Helmer Olsen*

and Sámi men will come out with a stronger mental health, where violence does not need to be present and that we also have a stronger, more gentle, respectful and loving relation between the genders" (Johansen, 2020).

Gender-based violence

Criminology studies suggest a high prevalence of violent crimes among Indigenous communities worldwide, partly due to the breakdown of Indigenous informal social controls as a result of colonisation and dispossession. Colonisation processes involved "[i]mposition of foreign law, institutions, peoples, economies and beliefs" (Behrendt et al., 2014, p. 33), many of which created trauma for Indigenous Peoples on physical, social, mental, and spiritual levels. When discussing gender in the Arctic, one must be aware of the imposition of a foreign understanding of gender – one that is binary and patriarchal – forced on Indigenous Peoples through colonisation.

The connection between violence and socioeconomic inequalities has been researched in criminology for a long time, highlighting a correlation between the two elements. The linkage seems particularly evident when violent crimes are considered (Kelly, 2000). Factors such as income, social and economic conditions, and other elements have been considered in criminology as pivotal for reading and understanding (violent) crime data.

Despite the focus on inequality as one of the fundamental lenses for understanding criminal behaviour, it was not until the mid-1970s that a gender perspective was introduced to the discussion by feminist criminology theorists (Carrabine et al., 2020). Until then, women had been neglected in the analysis, both as perpetrators and targeted victims, with crime and criminology depicting a man's world and generally ignoring how inequality and social control in the Western world has been carried out primarily along the axes of gender.

The UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women offered the first official definition of the term "Gender-Based Violence" (GBV) as:

> any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life (United Nations, 1993).

Sweden's Government Agency for Development Cooperation (SIDA) to Preventing and Responding to Gender Based Violence (GBV) provides an expanded, more inclusive understanding of GBV as:

> the most extreme expression of unequal gender relations in society. It is first and foremost a violation of human rights, and a global health issue that cuts across boundaries of economic wealth, culture, religion, age, and sexual orientation. While GBV is disproportionately affecting women and girls, it also affects men and boys. Wherever GBV occurs, it is a major obstacle for the achievement of gender justice, posing a serious threat to democratic development and public health, and is a critical barrier to achieving sustainable development, economic growth and peace. If women, girls, men and boys are not safe, they cannot be full citizens nor fully participate in the development of their own society (Onyango, 2015, p. 5).

GBV highlights the violence that is specifically geared towards women and points to the social norms that maintain power of men in great disadvantage to women (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2020; United Nations Women, n.d.). Specific population groups can be more vulnerable, such as minorities, Indigenous women, and LGBTQIA2S+ persons. Indeed, one of the most common forms of GBV worldwide is intimate partner violence (IPV), according to the World Health Organization (2013). However, research has indicated that violence against Indigenous women and girls in Canada is often more brutal than in other cases of violence, and that it more often comes from the hands of strangers (Calí Tzay, 2017), which could indicate that the violence is racially motivated.

> Women and girls who are either lesbian, perceived to be lesbian, or both, can be subject to so-called 'corrective rapes', including gang rapes and forced marriages. The UN Special Rapporteur on extra-judicial, summary, or arbitrary executions has regularly drawn attention to persons killed because of their sexual orientation and/or gender identity and highlighted transgender persons as a particularly vulnerable group. Most cases of violence against LGBTI people are not reported due to fear of secondary victimisation, which results in survivors avoiding or delaying accessing healthcare, criminal justice services, and psychosocial support (Onyango, 2015, p. 13).

Indigenous women and girls face disproportionate violent victimisation in the context of ongoing settler-colonial relations and a long history of targeted colonial violence against Indigenous Peoples in Canada. This includes state violence, such as the targeted removal of Indigenous children from their communities into residential schools, as well as a general failure of police and others in the criminal justice system to adequately respond to, or provide for, the needs of Indigenous women and girls (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women [CEDAW], 2015; García-Del Moral, 2018). CEDAW (2015) indicates that perpetrators of violence against Indigenous women "may count

on the insufficient response of the police and justice system and continue to operate in an environment conducive to impunity in which aboriginal [sic] women continue to suffer high levels of violence with insufficient criminal liability and without adequate access to justice" (Dawson et al., 2018).

Another dimension worth mentioning is access to service infrastructures, such as the geographical challenges faced by many Arctic communities. In Canada, a CBC news analysis of 2016 census data showed that one in three people in Canada's Arctic territories – Nunavut, Northwest Territories, and Yukon – lived more than 100km from a domestic violence shelter. For Canada as a whole, this figure is only 1% (Kyle & Carman, 2020). The difficulty of seeking help in remote circumstances has been addressed in the academic literature as well. With its title alone, Shepherd's "Where do you go when it's 40 below? Domestic Violence Among Rural Alaska Native Women" (2001) conveyed how one of the key challenges facing Arctic women seeking relief from domestic violence is the harsh environment. Twenty years later, domestic violence remains a significant issue where, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2014), intimate partner violence in Alaska is the third highest rate in United States. In more recent times, due to the COVID-19 pandemic and lockdowns, results show increased reports of domestic violence where many victims may have been trapped with the victimisers. This may lead to an "epidemic of violence" (Schreiber, 2020). A 2020 briefing document on the impact of COVID-19 in the Arctic for Arctic Council (the Council) Senior Arctic Officials flags domestic violence as a concern:

The Sky-Eagle Collection brings awareness to the issue of MMIWG. *Dante Biss-Grayson*

> Emerging data across the world indicates that restrictive measures – with increased stress, anxiety, loss of jobs and financial strain, coupled with cramped and confined living conditions – may be leading to an escalation in violence in terms of frequency and severity. Of particular concern is domestic violence, including coercive control, sexual violence and for children and youth as co-victims and witnesses to violence. At the same time, due to restrictive measures, essential services may be in a compromised state and unable to adequately provide for individual needs. Rural and remote populations, including in the Arctic, may be disproportionally affected due to lack of access to essential services during lockdown (Arctic Council, 2020, p. 49).

This concern is validated by preliminary data from the United States, where the National Domestic Violence hotline reported that many of the callers said their abusers were taking advantage of COVID-19 precautions and limiting their ability to access help (Anurudran et al., 2020).

In Canada, a woman or girl is killed every second or third day. This trend has been consistent for the past four decades (Dawson et al., 2018), and the highest rate of this phenomenon is in Nunavut, followed by the Yukon. Approximately 34% of female murders were committed in rural areas where only about 16% of the Canadian population lives (Dawson et al., 2018). Indigenous women and girls are overrepresented as victims, comprising about 5% of the population in Canada but representing 36% of murder victims (Dawson et al., 2018). According to Brant (2017), the relative impunity for crimes against Indigenous women and girls compared to crimes against non-Indigenous victims is a well-documented and problematic fact in Canada.

The American Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported that murder is the third leading cause of death among American Indian and Alaska Native women, and the rates of violence on reservations can be up to 10 times higher than the national average. However, no research has been conducted on rates of such violence among American Indian and Alaska Native women living in urban areas, although close to 71% of American Indian and Alaska Natives live in urban areas (Lucchesi & Echo-Hawk, 2018).

Gender Based Violence in the Nordic Countries

According to the 2013 WHO Report on Intimate Partner Violence and Non-Partner Violence Against Women:

> nearly one third of all women who have been in a relationship have experienced violence by their intimate partner, and as many as 38% of all murders of women are committed by intimate partners [...] and most women who experience violence never seek help or report. Data from 30 countries shows that only 4 in 10 seeks help at all, and only 6% from authorities (Onyango, 2015, p. 8).

According to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (2018), Nordic countries are the most gender-equal countries in the world. The Global Gender Gap Index shows that by 2019, Iceland had reduced its overall gender gap to 87.7%, holding the top spot for 11 years in a row (World Economic Forum, 2020). However, the prevalence of GBV against women in Nordic countries is remarkably high. The highest rates of partner violence in Europe, ranging from 30%–32% of women, are found in Finland, Denmark, and Latvia, and highest rates for non-partner violence, accounting for 34%–40% of women, are in Sweden, the Netherlands, and Denmark (Aebi et al., 2014; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014). High prevalence of GBV and high levels of gender equality would appear contradictory; and Gracia & Merlo (2016) have termed this the "Nordic paradox".

Research and several surveys conducted in recent years on violence against both women and children in Iceland have increased knowledge on the nature, extent, and consequences of gender-based violence. This has provided the Icelandic government and municipalities with the opportunity to fight violence systematically. Findings from a survey on violence in 2010 showed that around 42% of women in Iceland from the age of 16 experienced threats, violence, or sexual harassment that caused them distress. Judging from the results of this study, the violence was often serious. The survey revealed that 22% of the women experienced violence in intimate relationships; of this group, 26% said that their life had been in danger during the last violent incident, and 41% said that they had suffered physical harm. We see similar numbers from the Icelandic SAGA cohort, a unique nationwide study on the impact of trauma on women's health. A total of 31.811 women residing in Iceland participated in the study (the data was gathered from February 2018 to June 2019), and preliminary results showed that 40% of these women had experienced either physical and/or sexual violence in their lifetimes (Saga Cohort, 2020).

As a result, projects were developed with the aim to send a clear message that domestic violence will not be tolerated; to improve the municipalities' services for both the victim and the perpetrator of domestic violence; and to strengthen cooperation between the police, social services, and non-governmental organisations that work in this field.

Emphasis is placed on taking appropriate measures as soon as violence in intimate relationships is detected. If there is a child registered at the home where domestic violence is reported a psychologist, on the behalf of the municipalities' Child Protection Departments, and social workers on the behalf of the Welfare Departments, accompany police officers to the scene. This is followed by a phone call within a few days and by a visit by the police and the Welfare Department/social worker as well. If there are no children on the scene people have been offered the services of a social worker.

In one of these projects 'Together against violence', which took part in Reykjavik, a special focus was placed on people of foreign origin, people with disabilities, and LGBTQIA+ people. Workgroups, with the relevant stakeholders, were founded to analyse the situation and make suggestions concerning how to improve services for these groups. The number of call outs due to domestic violence has gone up following these projects. This rise is due to better documentation, but it is also thought to be due to increased faith in service providers.

Indigenous responses to gender violence

Indigenous Peoples' priority across the Arctic is to ensure that each of their members find meaningful lives and contribute to society, and to maintain the well-being of the lands, the rivers, and the waters. Various philosophies speak to the autonomous rights of the persons coming from the incipient creation, mentioned earlier in this chapter. Each of these societies ensured and highly regarded gender equality practices.

In recent history in Arctic regions, the egalitarian principled peoples were met with governing institutions that disregarded the Indigenous Peoples and put in place structures of governance that stem from a paternalistic, binary system. It is within the new self-governing structures that egalitarian principles meet the binary structure and attempts are made to recover lost values. This is due to the continuous and progressive acknowledgment by states of Indigenous Peoples' right to self-determination, by virtue of which "they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966, Art. 1).

Nunavut flag.

The outcomes of such processes vary across the Arctic, ranging from the establishment of national and international organisations to the creation of self-governing territories such as in Canada and Greenland. Although levels of capacity vary, different Arctic Indigenous Peoples address and develop their own responses to gender-based violence within Indigenous communities.

Self-governance and Indigenous organisations

In many ways, movements toward Indigenous rights and Indigenous self-government are a result of women's emancipatory movements in the 1960s (hooks, 1986; Lorber, 2006; Wiegman, 2002). These movements, in combination with the decolonisation efforts by the UN after WWII, led to changes in governance structures in the Arctic, negotiated between Indigenous Peoples and their states to defend and protect Indigenous rights. Indigenous Peoples claimed their rights to continue being part of their respective lands and protect themselves against stringent colonial and assimilationist policies that encroach upon every aspect of their lives. These negotiations often included foregoing the rights to massive areas of lands, waters, and seas in the Arctic regions in exchange for reclaiming space and places that otherwise would have been lost to the unquenchable colonial thirst for lands and resources. Indigenous Peoples' desire was to continue their ancient role as custodians of the lands, animals, and spirits (Jessen Williamson, 2011). This was a sacred commitment of everyone across gender, sexuality, and age. New governance structures are rapidly evolving as responsibilities are transferred from states to the Indigenous Peoples amidst calls for decolonisation, self-determination, and devolution efforts. However, not all Indigenous groups enjoy the same degree of self-determination across the Arctic.

One of the successful outcomes of this process was the formation and acknowledgment of six organisations that coordinate efforts, and represent and promote rights and interests of different peoples across the Arctic States and/or provincial, territorial, and municipal jurisdictions. These organisations are the Aleut International Association, the Arctic Athabaskan Council, the Gwich'in Council International, the Inuit Circumpolar Council, the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North, and the Saami Council. These organisations are Permanent Participants in the Council where they have a consultative role and can influence decision making within the Council. They also play a pivotal role in coordinating efforts and maintaining the cultural identities of Indigenous groups within and across the Arctic States' borders.

The degree of territorial autonomy of Indigenous Peoples varies greatly depending on the agreement reached with the states. Not all Indigenous Peoples in the Arctic have achieved self-governance, and the scopes and outlines of self-government depend on each individual agreement. Where self-government has been achieved, jurisdiction over selected issues is transferred to the relevant Indigenous government.

Subnational territories that experience Indigenous self-governance are Nunavut (1999) and Greenland (1979 Home Rule, 2009 Self-Government). Additionally, some forms of autonomy have been achieved by individual groups' agreements with states. These agreements include the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, 1971; Nunavik, 1975; Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 1984; Nunatsiavut, 2005; and the Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement, 1992.

Sametinget i Karasjok, Norway. *Jan Helmer Olsen*

In Canada, Athabaskans reclaimed their lands using federal legislation, including bands created under the Indian Act, self-governing First Nations as mandated through negotiated settlement agreements, and regional umbrella organisations (Arctic Athabaskan Council, n.d.). The Yukon First Nations Land Claims Settlement Act in Canada was finalised in 1994. Currently there are 25 self-government agreements across Canada involving 43 Indigenous communities (Government of Canada, 2020).

In Scandinavia, Sámi people are represented by their Saami Parliaments in Norway (1989), Sweden (1993), and Finland (1996), which are elected by the Sámi. As these are based in three different countries, there are national variations regarding the scope of each parliament. In general terms, the Saami Parliaments are the primary political body for Sámi, dealing with matters concerning Sámi people with the overall scope of improving Sámi`s political position and promoting Sámi interests.

The Aleut in Alaska are, culturally speaking, part of the Inuit and are members of the Aleut International Association, one of the six Permanent Participants in the Council. The lands of the Aleut have experienced a tense atmosphere in the past, as the lands and seas are close to the Russia-United States border.

The following section describes a few examples of responses to gender-based violence against Indigenous Peoples.

Greenland

Greenland adopted self-government in 2009, after a referendum that led to the Danish constitutional amendment and the Act on Greenland Self-Government no. 473 of 12 June 2009. Despite self-government, justice affairs are still under Danish jurisdiction. However, Greenland has its own criminal code and follows the structure of the Danish Code; the former includes provisions related to cultural and traditional principles and the concept of "resocialisation" of the offender rather than punitive action

as in Danish law (CEDAW/C/DNK/RQ/9, s. 67). Furthermore, the Greenlandic Criminal Code does not establish a minimum or maximum penalty; rather, the judge applies the offender-focused policing principle, whereby the sentence is commensurate with the general and personal conditions of the offender.

The Greenlandic Criminal Code contains a provision prohibiting violence against women. It covers all acts committed in Greenland committed by people above the age of 15. Rape is prohibited as a sexual criminal act under §77 of the Greenlandic Criminal Code. In accordance with the legislative change of 2019, rape now includes all sexual interactions, not solely sexual intercourse. Further, the caveat "outside of marriage" was removed from *inter alia* the definition of rape, meaning that the law now also prohibits marital rape (Amendment Act to the Administration of Justice Act and the Criminal Code No. 168 of 27/02/2019). Moreover, Act No. 250 on Residence, Ban on Residence, and Expulsion, came into force on 25 March 2017. The Act allows for restraining orders and the removal of violent offenders from their homes to protect others in the household.

The Greenlandic criminal justice system has been exceptional in its approach by ensuring access to the people by its people. It originated as part of the equalising progress of Greenland within the Danish Realm in the 1950s. A challenge for this new legal system was to ensure access to courts. The solution was to implement local personnel who spoke the Indigenous language and had local knowledge and were thus able to navigate local and basic legal norms (United Nations for Indigenous Peoples, 2015). After a small alteration in the 2000s, this system still exists. Knowledge of local norms and customs among judges is still vital, and the legal language is Greenlandic, alongside Danish. This is stated by law in article 12(4) and article 95 in the Greenlandic Administration of Justice Act.

The Greenlandic legislative body on gender equality includes the Danish Constitution and acts of the Greenlandic Parliament, Inatsisartut, devoted to regulating the matters that directly or indirectly affect the achievement of equal enjoyment of rights between men and women. Parliamentary Act No. 3 of 29 November 2013 on equality between men and women (replacing Act No.7 of 11th of April 2003 on Equality between Women and Men and Act No. 5 of 20th of May 1998 on the Greenland Gender Equality Council) is the main legislation governing gender equality in Greenland. The new Act is primarily focused on the labour market. It promotes gender equality by:

- mandating integration and promotion of gender equality in all planning and administration for public and private employers;
- prohibition of discrimination based on gender;
- equal pay for men and women;
- prescribing gender balanced governmental commissions, councils, representations etc. that are appointed by a Naalakkersuisut, as far as possible;
- parental leave, giving all employees the right to be absent from work in connection with pregnancy, childbirth and postpartum;
- the right to compensation for redundancies based on discriminatory treatment.

A mural in Nuuk, Greenland. *Roberto De Lorenzo*

In its 2019 report to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, the Greenland government highlighted its efforts against violence (CEDAW/C/DNK/RQ/9). Among the efforts listed is the Killiliisa, Naalakkersuisut's Strategy on Sexual Assault 2018–2022, in which the government has recognised that sexual violence is a current problem in Greenland and "aims to reduce the number of sexual assaults and ensure the best possible help and support for all citizens affected by sexual abuse" (CEDAW/C/DNK/9, p. 33). Other efforts include:

- the establishment of Illernit, a nationwide crisis and treatment centre for battered women to get away from their abusers;
- the establishment of Alliaq treatment options for perpetrators offering men and women treatment for aggression and violence problems;
- the establishment of Kattunneq, a Danish–Greenlandic collaboration aiming at improving the standards of Greenlandic shelters and increasing cooperation between the shelters and other professionals working with victims of violence;
- the establishment of male groups to create a voluntary discussion forum, where men have the opportunity to talk about their challenges, including violence and aggression problems.

In 2019, Greenland requested for help from Denmark to address the high prevalence of childhood sexual abuse (Sorensen, 2019). The outcome was a set of 16 recommendations from a Danish-Greenlandic working group that emphasised the importance of early intervention and prevention, more robust case processing at the municipal level, more services for vulnerable children throughout Greenland, and more legal security for child victims of sexual abuse (Quinn, 2020).

Reporting regarding the impact of COVID-19 has further addressed the problem, as evidenced in the Guardian (Agence France-Presse in Copenhagen, 2020) and Arctic Today (George, 2020), describing how Greenland temporarily banned the sale of alcohol in some communities, including Nuuk (the capital city), during lockdown to prevent domestic violence and child sexual abuse. Childhood sexual abuse is higher than average in all Arctic regions, including within the Scandinavian states (Kvernmo, 2018). The additional measure for COVID-19 lockdowns, such as those in Greenland, are therefore appropriate and necessary.

Alaska

American Indian/Alaska Native women experience some of the highest rates for domestic violence, sexual assault, stalking, sex trafficking, and homicide at the hands of an intimate partner, and some of the highest rates of missing & murdered individuals (National Indigenous Women's Resource Center, 2011). The state of Alaska responded to this emergency by increasing support for prevention and reception centres for Indigenous women - such as the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), for the health of the American Indian Alaska Native (AIAN) people - and the Missing or Murdered Indigenous Peoples Initiative (MMIP).

In 2013, the Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act (VAWA) allowed tribes to exercise their sovereign power to investigate and prosecute both Indians and non-Indians who assault Indian spouses or dating partners or violate a protection order in Indian country. VAWA 2013 also clarified tribes' sovereign power to issue and enforce civil protection orders against Indians and non-Indians.

VAWA 2013, as originally enacted, included an improvement to the law called Special Violence Court Jurisdiction (SDVCJ), which is the recognition of a tribe's inherent authority to prosecute non-Indian perpetrators with ties to a Native community who commit domestic and dating violence against an Indian/Alaska Native woman in Indian country (Alaska Native Women's Resource Center [AKNWRC], 2019).

The Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act 2019 was passed by the House of Representatives on April 4th, 2019, but did not pass in the United States Senate (Tracking the United States Congress, 2019). The 2019 reform of the law would have given tribes greater competence in prosecuting many more offenses than in 2013, such as sexual assault, sex trafficking, stalking, and assault by law enforcement or correctional officers. Moreover, the bill included:

provisions for a pilot project for up to 5 Alaska Native communities to exercise special domestic violence court jurisdiction, which will provide tribes, within certain parameters, to prosecute non-Indian domestic violence perpetrators who commit domestic violence, dating violence and violation of protection order crimes within Indian Country (AKNWRC, 2019).

This new legislative provision was met with some scepticism from some of the more than 200 ethnic communities in Alaska. They found the list of crimes transferred to Indigenous jurisdiction to be too limited and the jurisdictional power conferred on the five Indigenous communities at a risk of being too discriminatory (Calí Tzay, 2020).

Canada

Under Section 35 of the Constitution Act of 1985, the Canadian government acknowledges the existence of Indigenous Peoples in three categories: Métis, Inuit, and First Nations. The categorisation came about in 1982 for the lack of legalistic differentiation. Terms like Indian and Native, as well as many others, are in fact discriminatory or problematic from a juridical and legal point of view.

Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, Canada. *Bridget Larocque*

While about 47% of First Nations members in Canada live on reserve land created following the Indian Act of 1876, provision of reservations was not applied to the Council Permanent Participants. The reservations, where the First Nations have a certain level of independence, were created to allow the encroachment of settlers.

A report released in June 2019 states that since 1980 at least 1,200 Indigenous women have been killed or disappeared. Canadian Aboriginal Peoples' rights associations have reacted with perplexity to the extension of the work, stressing that they have already presented clear requests to the commission. The first Canadian senator of Aboriginal descent, Lillian Dyck, proposed tougher penalties as a solution.

The criminal justice system struggles to respond effectively to cases of sexualised violence and intimate partner violence. Many Indigenous women, girls, and LGBTQIA2S+ people who have been subjected to sexualised violence and intimate partner violence do not report the violence to the police. The current laws and criminal justice system responses to sexualised violence and intimate partner violence are failing to protect Indigenous women, girls, and LGBTQIA2S+ people.

The Canadian procedural system has tried to introduce alternative methods of conflict resolution, considering the possibility of a process regulated by Indigenous customs and traditions. The goal is to include the Indigenous perspective within national law and procedural manoeuvres. The sentencing circle is a process directed by the local community, with which members involve the parties, the offender, and the victim in a peaceful manner according to Indigenous laws and rites. Usually, the process is to absorb the offense, those who provoke it, and those who suffer from it within the social balance of the community. This type of process is structured according to local customs and its composition includes the parties, a judge, a prosecutor, and supporters of the parties. The sentencing circle only applies to Aboriginal offenders, so that he or she will be able to rely on the recommendations of their community during the official trial.

Sámi context

Norway, Sweden, and Finland have ratified the CEDAW and recognised the risk that exists among Indigenous women and girls. In 2019, the Saami Council launched The Sámi Arctic Strategy, which recognises in ANNEX I that Sámi women experience far more domestic violence compared to society in general (Saami Council, 2019). As noted above, the Sámi Parliaments are not self-governing bodies of the Sápmi with legislative functions, but rather provide the Sámi with a voice when decisions affecting their interests and lands are being taken, representing Sámi interests both nationally and internationally.

The Sámi parliament in Karasjok, Norway. *Jan Helmer Olsen*

The Sámi parliaments and nation-state governments have acknowledged the problem and developed a national strategy and reports to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. The Sámi parliaments have expressed themselves explicitly on this problem, addressing the CEDAW committee directly to describe the increasingly complex situation.

According to the report from the Sámi Parliament in Norway, the justice system is not equipped to deal with cases of sexual violence (Sametinget, 2020). Many of Sámi backgrounds still do not trust the majority society because of the nationalisation of policies. Experience indicates that there may be special challenges inherent in encountering individuals from Sámi backgrounds, especially when deal-ing with taboo topics such as violence and abuse, which may have a bearing on encounters between those affected by violence who are of Sámi background and non-Sámi service providers. The report suggested that more Sámi language and cultural competence on the part of the police and support services might help improve trust and understanding. Moreover, the topics of violence and abuse are not talked about openly and are kept quiet within the family in Sámi communities, especially in small local communities where "everyone knows everyone". This can also have an impact on employees who work with violence and abuse within the same close-knit community to which they themselves belong.

> The BBC (Pressly, 2018), the Guardian (Agence France-Presse, 2017), and CBS News (AP, 2017) published a Norwegian police report describing how in a community in Nordland county, Norway, over 151 instances of sexual abuse were reported between 1953–2017. The population of Nordland is around 2.000 people consisting roughly of 50% Sámi. Sámi make up two thirds of victims and perpe-trators. The victims' ages ranged from 4–75, and the 43 rape charges included three children (Agence France-Presse, 2017). The publication details included descriptions from adults of their own expe-rience of abuse as children. 20 Sámi families communicated with a Sámi minister in the Lutheran church on sexual exploitation of Sámi children, and called for action (Pressly, 2018). According to Kvernmo (2018), childhood sexual and physical violence greatly affect mental and physical health issues in childhood and in adulthood.

In Sweden, the Sámi community has promoted various initiatives and action plans to support victims. The Swedish Sámi National Association opened a specific helpline for Sámi victims that, despite its initial success, was abandoned. The Gender Equality Program women's shelter for Sámi women offers temporary accommodation for Sámi victims.

Data challenges

To effectively analyse and understand the intersection of violence against Indigeneity, inequality and social-economic contexts, and gendered violence in the Arctic, disaggregated data on violence, gender, and Indigeneity, including crime statistics for each Arctic country and region, would be required. The rationale for such an approach would be to see, through statistics, if any group could be identified as overrepresented either as victims or perpetrators. Importantly, this approach would need to include additional information from socioeconomic data, to provide meaningful context.

We invested considerable time in pursuing this approach by searching national statistical data-bases. What emerged was that numbers of crimes and victims were misleading and only partially usable. However, the process unveiled insightful information on pressing issues that need to be addressed.

Comparative international analysis of crime presents several methodological challenges. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes, which has compiled and compared selected international data on crime worldwide sorted by state, raises at least three methodological difficulties acknowledged by criminology experts: 1) different definitions for specific crime types in different countries, 2) different levels of reporting and traditions of policing, and 3) different social, economic and political contexts (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, n.d.). In an Arctic context, these difficulties take on specific meanings.

Happy International Women's Day.
Megan Hunt

The Arctic region encompasses several states, each with its own constitution from which internal laws are developed. Some of the Arctic States have negotiated self-governments with Indigenous Peoples based on the sovereign constitutions. With these realities, data on crime is based on different legislations, concepts, and definitions. For example, the legal definitions of sexual offences and rape significantly differ between the states. Where most Arctic States follow a sexual definition of rape, involving forced penetration as a distinctive feature, Canada classifies any sexual assault as an assault committed "in circumstances of a sexual nature such that the sexual integrity of the victim is violated" (Government of Canada, Department of Justice, 2016), and forgo rape as a distinct category. Sexual assault is classified at three different levels, disregarding "forced penetrations". Another example is domestic or intimate partner violence, because different legal traditions may or may not make a distinction between generic violence against individuals and violence against an intimate partner or relative. In Finland, for instance, "there is no specific criminalization of domestic violence or intimate partner violence" (Jeney et al., 2020). Likewise, Greenland, which does not criminalise domestic violence, considers the offence as "violence against individuals" without any mention to the relation with the victim. Canada acknowledges in its Criminal Code that intimate partnership between a victim and their perpetrator "must be considered an aggravating factor in sentencing in assault cases. The Code has only made a few aggravating factors mandatory, thus giving particular significance to a spousal relationship" (Dostaler, n.d.).

Different levels of reporting and different traditions of policing have further implications for crime data. For instance, issues of trust can impact reporting. This is perhaps of particular relevance when assessing data for Indigenous individuals and minorities. Furthermore, different concepts of justice and ways of handling justice could lead to less reporting. This is further compounded by the fact that presenting and interpreting statistical data is a subjective endeavour.

Different social, economic, and political contexts can further impact levels of reporting data. This seems to particularly affect the reporting of sexual crimes, where context may or may not encourage sexual crime reporting. Sweden, for instance, which has long adopted policies encouraging victims of sexual crimes to report to the police, may show disproportionately high cases in comparison to other countries, which in turn may be due to underreporting.

In addition to the methodological problems raised by UNODC, in the Arctic context there are also issues regarding differences in statistical traditions. For instance, the Nordic countries do not collect and present data reflecting Indigeneity. The lack of gendered and intersectional data, including specific data on Indigenous populations or LGBTQIA2S+ populations, severely impedes efforts to adequately understand the dynamics of social and economic conditions, violence, and inequality.

> It is worth noting that although the majority of GBV data at the national level is geared towards women in most parts of the world (Agerberg & Kreft, 2020; Saltzmann, 2004), recent studies in Iceland indicate that violence against men, where men or women are the offenders, is common, and that men suffering from violence are at great risk of health problems, addiction, and criminal behaviour (Sigurdardottir et al., 2012, 2014; Tryggvadottir et al., 2019).
>
> Too little is known about men as victims of sexual violence, and gender-neutral definitions of rape are a relatively recent development. In Alaska, for instance, from 1927 the FBI's Uniform Crime Report (UCR) Summary Reporting System (SRS) defined forcible rape as 'the carnal knowledge of a female, forcibly and against her will' (United States Department of Justice, 2012). It was not until 2011 that a new definition was adopted where rape was defined as 'the penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with any body part or object, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim' (United States Department of Justice, 2012).

Concluding Remarks

The Arctic Human Development Reports (Einarsson et al., 2004; J. N. Larsen & Fondahl, 2015) outlined common features and trends across the Arctic. However, violence is an issue that has not yet been covered in a comparative fashion for the Arctic. This chapter may be considered a first step in that direction.

Sealskin. Subsistence activities are important for well-being. *Sarah Cox*

Data indicates socioeconomic disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals in the Arctic. At the same time, Indigenous Peoples carry collective trauma from alienation and marginalisation created by the different processes of colonisation and stringent assimilation policies. To some extent, this may be addressed through the Truth and Reconciliation processes to improve the relationship between the colonisers and the colonised, confronting previous colonisation practices. Fueled by different perspectives this chapter contribution implies that some of the social inequalities may be addressed and acknowledged, and for both parties some reconciling could be made for a better future.

Women are overrepresented as victims of violent crimes, inclusive of acts such as sexual abuse, rape, and domestic violence. Indigenous women and girls face disproportionate violent victimisation in the context of ongoing settler–colonial relations and a long history of targeted colonial violence against Indigenous Peoples. States, self-governments, and communities strive to find ways of handling this serious ongoing concern.

Gendered and intersectional data, including specific data on Indigenous and LGBTQIA2S+ populations are severely lacking. To effectively analyse and understand the intersection of violence against Indigeneity, inequality and social-economic contexts, and gendered violence in the Arctic, disaggregated and meaningful data is required for comparison.

Policy Relevant Highlights

Inclusive terminologies and gender mainstreaming

A culturally sensitive and inclusive approach to gender, sexuality, and diversity is needed to accommodate the many perceptions and realities in the Arctic. This is an important factor in achieving and maintaining equality.

> Arctic Council and Permanent Participants should promote the use of inclusive terminologies and gender mainstreaming.

Address systemic inequalities

The United Nations Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2019) is relevant to all Council states. A better understanding of inequalities faced by Indigenous populations is vital for effective policy making.

> Arctic Council task force or an SDWG expert group should be created to compile reports on the status of Indigenous Peoples within the Arctic States. The taskforce could make recommendations to the Arctic States, e.g., on ways to address systemic inequalities.

Lack of gendered and intersectional data

The lack of gendered and intersectional data, including specific data on Indigenous and LGBTQIA2S+ populations, severely impedes efforts to adequately understand the dynamics of social and economic conditions, gender, violence, crime, income, and inequality.

> The Arctic Council to encourage and facilitate the development of guidelines for consistent and comparable data and definitions throughout the Arctic. This would entail, at a minimum, gendered and ethnically disaggregated data.

Gender based violence

Gender based violence continues to be of great concern throughout the Arctic. Women are overrepresented as victims of violent crimes, such as sexual abuse, rape, and domestic violence. Indigenous women and girls face disproportionate violent victimisation. States, self-governments, and communities strive to find ways of handling this serious ongoing concern.

> The SDWG could initiate a project on sharing knowledge of best practices to prevent and raise awareness of gendered violence in the Arctic.

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Introduction

Enabling gender equality by empowering all genders to effectively participate in modern society is one of the most important advances towards sustainable development, encompassing equal representation in the political office, labour market, and civil society (United Nations General Assembly, 2015, SDG5). The goal of this chapter is to improve understanding of gender empowerment issues in the Arctic at the national, regional, and local levels, and to identify concrete strategies for political, economic, and civic gender empowerment, and thereby facilitate sustainable policy making for the Arctic.

Recent studies demonstrate that, despite an increasing global trend towards gender equality in general, and women's empowerment in particular, it varies dramatically across countries, regions, and communities, as well as across spheres of engagement (Alexander et al., 2018; Sachs et al., 2019; United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, 2016; World Economic Forum, 2019). Gender empowerment processes are particularly important in the Arctic, which is experiencing unprecedented climate-induced environmental change (AMAP 2017a, 2017b, 2017c; Larsen et al., 2014). Simultaneously, divergent social, economic, and institutional changes are observed in many Arctic regions (Larsen & Fondahl, 2014; Rasmussen, 2011). These changes require novel approaches to understanding gender equality and empowerment in the Arctic that accounts for socioeconomic, political, cultural, and ethnic diversity.

Nuuk mural woman and bear. *Roberto De Lorenzo*

General gender issues have been highlighted in multiple reports for the Arctic Council (the Council) (Einarsson et al., 2004; Larsen et al., 2014; Oddsdóttir et al., 2015), yet the theme of gender empowerment in the Arctic regions has received limited attention. Most reports still only analyse female participation in national legislative institutions and female appointments in top national ministerial positions, thus providing only a generalised portrait of women as being underrepresented in Arctic governing regional legislative and administrative bodies and businesses. These studies do not indicate a strong trend towards increasing female leadership and women's deeper involvement into regional economic and political affairs, local self-government institutions, and civic initiatives in the Arctic.

In the academic literature, changing gender roles, in Indigenous communities particularly, have received more attention, predominantly in the light of ongoing decolonisation in the Arctic regions (Vladimirova & Habeck, 2018). These processes have been studied in Alaska (e.g., Bodenhorn, 1990; Carson et al., 2011; Fogel-Chance, 1993; Hamilton et al., 2018), Canada (e.g., Dowsley & Southcott, 2017; Hamilton, 2010; Irlbacher-Fox, 2015; Janovicek, 2003; Norris et al., 2013; Rasmussen, 2007; Taylor, 2011; Jessen Williamson, 2011), Greenland (e.g., Dahl, 2010; Hamilton & Rasmussen, 2010; Hamilton et al., 2018; Poppel, 2015), Russia (e.g., Khakhovskaya, 2016; Lyarskaya, 2010; Povoroznyuk et al., 2010; Rozanova, 2019), and other Arctic jurisdictions (e.g., Kuokkanen, 2019; Oddsdóttir et al.,

2015). The recent research also revealed an alarming new trend of a reverse gender disparity and lowering levels of male social capital (Rasmussen, 2015) and males' political and social marginalisation (Heleniak, 2019) that predominantly negatively affect the resilience and development of Arctic rural communities.

Recent Indigenous feminisms scholarship emphasises that mainstream approaches to gender equality and empowerment are insufficient to support the well-being of Indigenous Peoples and address equity and justice concerns (Hunt, 2015; Radcliffe & Radhuber, 2020). Arctic Indigenous Peoples are diverse. The history of colonisation has had dramatic impacts on Indigenous communities throughout the Arctic and often has resulted in a collective historical trauma and disempowerment (Oddsdóttir et al., 2015). Today, while sharing common holistic ontologies, Arctic Indigenous Peoples have varying views on gender and empowerment based on their traditional cultures; they also are influenced by dominant Western cultures, with which they interact.

"Indigenous worldviews see the whole person" (Cull et al., n.d., p. 20): This holistic view interconnects the physical, emotional, spiritual, and intellectual domains and also "land in relationship to others (family, communities, nations, and ecology)" (Cull et al., n.d., p. 68). There is considerable diversity in how individuals and groups understand, experience, and express gender through the roles they take on, the expectations placed on them, their relations with others, and the complex ways that gender is institutionalised in society. Gender identity is not necessarily confined to a binary category (girl/woman, boy/man) nor is it static; it exists along a continuum and can change over time. For example, some Indigenous scholars point to genderlessness based on the language structure of the Inuit, where gender is absent from sentences and there is no distinction between he or she (Jessen Williamson, 2011, pp. 40–41). In these cases, gender is viewed through the prism of a gender fluidity concept (d'Anglure, 2005), and gender roles are perceived as complementary rather than divergent. Therefore, we need to note that in our discussions of power, gender, and gender empowerment, we are drawing on Western concepts that do not necessarily fit Indigenous definitions.

Terms and Definitions: Gender, Empowerment, Fate Control, and Sustainability

Gender empowerment is broadly understood as the capacity of all genders to exercise power in decision making and the process by which, individually and collectively, all genders are able to help themselves and others to maximise the quality of their lives (Adams, 2008, p. xvi). The concept of empowerment refers to the process of achieving the capacity to "make choices and then to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes" (Alsop et al., 2002, p. 10). Empowerment is the act or acts of empowering someone or oneself, that

Tukumminngiaq Nykjær Olsen. *Arny Koor Mogensen*

is, the granting of, or taking, the power, right, or authority to perform various acts or duties, the state of being empowered to do something, and the power, right, or authority to do something. Empowerment is understood to give a human being the authority or power to do something which may make a human being stronger and more confident, especially in controlling their own life and claiming or reclaiming their rights.

Empowerment is closely linked to fate control, which is defined as the ability to guide one's own destiny. Fate control is the process that creates power in individuals over their own lives, society, and in their communities. Fate control is an outcome of empowerment. To possess fate control, a group or

an individual must have the capacity to make their own decisions; they must also have the resources to implement them (Dahl et al., 2010). A community needs both the internal capacity and resources as well as a lack of external barriers to make and implement decisions (Ibrahim & Alkire, 2007, p. 11). Fate control does not imply being empowered by some other authority and is not directly linked to power. It may better suit Indigenous understandings, as many Indigenous "communities don't have [the term] power, but rather … responsibility for our people" (Isaac & Maloughney, 1992, p. 456).

Fate control is a foundation for sustainability and, more importantly, the thrivability of Arctic communities. It is a future-oriented concept, as it constitutes an ability to determine the trajectory of self-development. Secondly, fate control is an integrative concept that brings together elements from social, economic, political, and cultural domains. Both thrivability and sustainability are contingent on attaining fate control, and the level of empowerment and fate control is an important measure of sustainability.
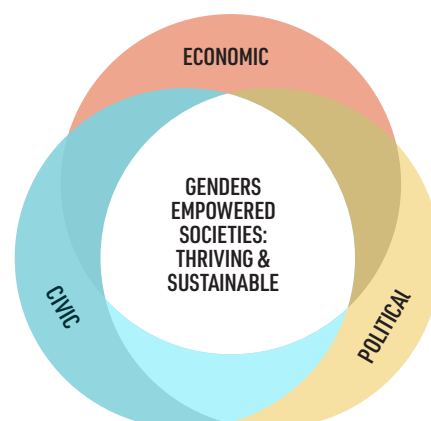
The Arctic Social Indicators Report (Dahl et al., 2010) suggested a useful approach for looking at fate control at a community level by distinguishing between four forms of fate control, namely political control, economic self-reliance, control over resources, and control over knowledge construction (culture, language, media, public life, etc.). In our view, the last domain could be viewed through the prism of civic engagement. Bringing together this conceptualisation with more conventional representations of empowerment and considering the availability of relevant information and data, in this chapter we deal with three interrelated domains of empowerment: political, economic, and civic (Figure 1). All domains of gender empowerment are equally important and when all of them are supporting high fate control, the community becomes sustainable and thriving.

Sustainable development in the Arctic can be described as development that improves well-being, health, and security of Arctic communities and residents while maintaining ecosystem functions, structures, and resources (Graybill & Petrov, 2020). We frame community development by emphasising thrivability, that is, an ability of systems (and communities) to thrive. Thrivability transcends sustainability by creating "an upward spiral of greater possibilities" (Delaney & Madigan, 2014) and creates a trajectory that leads to improving human well-being while sustaining the environment. In other words, a thriving community is the ultimate goal of sustainable development.

FIGURE 1: **Key areas of gender empowerment in the Arctic**

Thriving communities are dependent on the social and environmental systems they encompass. If one element of such a system lacks thrivability, the entire system will suffer. In this chapter, we pursue the idea that all social, economic, ethnic, demographic, and gender groups must have an ability to thrive, in order to ensure the communities', regions', and nation's sustainable future. Gender empowerment is one of the most important elements of such thrivability, as it encapsulates the ability of all genders to possess fate control and pursue their individual and collective goals and aspirations as a part of a community.

Despite the importance of the topic of gender empowerment and fate control, there is a significant gap in both public information sources and academic knowledge about the current state and emerging trends of political, economic, and civic gender empowerment in the Arctic. This chapter presents results of collaborative work involving contributing academics, representatives of Arctic stakeholders and rights holders (e.g., Indigenous organisations, including the Council's Permanent Participants and gender-oriented NGOs in the Arctic), Indigenous knowledge holders, and public officials. The chapter includes case studies from Arctic regions to illustrate examples of gender equality policies and outcomes from different countries, and policy relevant highlights.

Methodology

Data collection

This research is based on an open, transdisciplinary, inclusive, and collaborative synthesis of knowledge with respect to gender empowerment in the Arctic. In addition to expertise provided by the diverse group of contributing authors, we relied on a variety of expert communities under the auspice of the Council's Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG) (including Permanent Participants and SDWG Expert Groups), as well as networks such as the Gender Equality in the Arctic Network, the International Arctic Social Sciences Association (IASSA), UArctic, Arctic-FROST, and Arctic-COAST/ Young Arctic Leaders in Research and Policy (YALReP).

The chapter assimilates datasets, documents, and relevant case studies, including published socio-economic data (compiled by national and regional statistical agencies), international databases (e.g., ArcticStat), other datasets produced by scholars and collaborators, and relevant legal, government, non-governmental, and research documents.

Gender equality analysis, and indicators in particular suffer from severe data limitations perpetuated by standardised and stereotypical reporting of gender data using the female/male binary, omitting other gender identities. The Gender Empowerment in the Arctic (GEA) indicators discussed below are not an exception, as they follow existing data collection and reporting practices. This, however, does not imply that such information is sufficient to describe gender equality in the Arctic. Gender identity can be non-binary, fluid, and dynamic, characteristics recognised historically by many Arctic Indigenous communities. This report uses the first draft of the GEA indicator system that relies on the male/ female binary designation; most of the indicators measure women's empowerment. As we develop this system, GEA indicators must be expanded to include all genders through both improved quantitative data collection and qualitative research.

Gender empowerment indicators

Gender indicators and indices are instrumental in capturing gender equality and empowerment processes across all sectors and at all levels of politics and government, economy, and civil society. Existing gender empowerment-related indices (for instance, The Global Gender Gap Report, The United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) Gender Parity Index (GPI), and the Women's Leadership Index by the George Washington University's (GWU) Gender Equality Initiative in International Affairs) focus on indicators at the national level, such as female presidency, the proportion of seats held by women in legislative institutions, the percentage of women in top national positions in public administration and in leadership positions in businesses, educational attainment and pay gaps, and so forth. These global indices are mostly limited to political, economic, and educational aspects and do not shed the light on gender empowerment at the subnational, municipal, and local levels. The UNDP's Gender Equality in Public Administration (GEPA) index attempted to introduce subnational and local levels but was limited to analysing a few non-Arctic States.

To narrow the existing knowledge gaps on gender empowerment across Circumpolar regions, we created a system of key variables to provide a basic framework for analysing gender empowerment in the Arctic (GEA indicators). This new approach includes an assessment of gender empowerment at different levels relevant to the Arctic countries — national/quasi-national (for Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and Greenland), subnational (regional), municipal, and local (community) levels. It also includes an important and often overlooked sphere of civic empowerment. Although developed to be applied in the Arctic, the system, with appropriate modifications, could be useful for examining gender empowerment in other regions.

As presented in Table 1, the proposed set of GEA (Gender Empowerment in the Arctic) indicators is explicitly designed for an in-depth, comprehensive analysis of the main spheres of gender empowerment—political (and public administration), economic, and civic. Selected indicators also reflect specific features of the Arctic social systems.

TABLE 1: Selected indicators of gender empowerment in the Arctic[1]

POLITICAL/PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION				ECONOMIC	CIVIC
REGIONAL LEVEL[2] Legislative Body	REGIONAL LEVEL[2] Executive Bodies	CITY LEVEL	LOCAL MUNICIPAL (COMMUNITY) LEVEL	REGIONAL LEVEL[2]	REGIONAL LEVEL[2]
Female chair in the legislative body (Y/N)	Female head of the government (Governor) (Y/N)	Female Mayor (Y/N)	Female head of administration (Y/N)	Gender earnings gap	Percentage of female executive directors of NGOs[3]
Percentage of women elected to the legislative body	Percentage of female heads at the (sub)national ministerial level	Elected female chair of City Council (Y/N)	Elected female chair of Municipal Council (Y/N)	Gender wealth gap[3]	Percentage of women in academic leadership positions at Universities (rectors, chancellors, presidents)[3]
Percentage of women in the legislative committee on industry and economic development	Female Head of regional department on industries and economic development (Y/N)	Percentage of women elected to City Council	Percentage of women elected to Municipal Council	Percentage of female CEOs of the largest companies[3]	Percentage of women in academic leadership positions at colleges (rectors, chancellors, presidents)[3]
Percentage of women in the committee on natural resource management	Female head of regional department on natural resource management (Y/N)			Percentage of women on the boards of the largest companies	Percentage of women in leadership positions in social media and mass media (CEOs, chief editors, bloggers, etc.)[3]
Percentage of women in the committee on education	Female head of regional department on education (Y/N)			Percentage of women in STEM professions[3]	
Percentage of women in the committee on social policies	Female head of regional department on social policies (Y/N)			Percentage of female small business owners[3]	
Percentage of women in the committee on health care	Female head of regional department on health care (Y/N)			Gender differences in labour force participation	
Percentage of women in regional committee on culture	Female head of regional department on culture (Y/N)				

Y – Yes   N – No

1. Given limited data for all genders, indicators are designed as female-to-male ratios.
2. Given the complexity of the Arctic government system, the term regional is broadly understood, and includes the national (Iceland), quasi-national (Greenland and the Faroe Islands), subnational (regional) (Canada, Finland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, USA) levels of governance.
3. The data for these variables are not readily available and require additional research.

Suggested GEA indicators allow the identification of both glass ceilings (structural barriers in leadership positions for certain genders) and glass walls (gender-related clustering). Some indicators are designed to assess gender gaps in leadership positions, while others reflect gendered occupational segregation by measuring institutionalised sectoral segregations at the decision-making level in politics, government administration, and labour markets.

Political and Public Administration indicators are identified at different levels as following:

At the national (Iceland), quasi-national (Greenland and the Faroe Islands), subnational (regional) (Canada, Finland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, USA) level:

- Arctic female governors (elected or appointed).
- Female chairs of legislative bodies.
- The percentage of elected legislators who are female (females with seats in legislative bodies).
- Percentage of those appointed to leadership positions at ministerial level (e.g., regional ministries, committees, departments) who are female.
- Percentage of members of committees responsible for natural resources, industries, education, healthcare, social policies, culture, and family policies, in legislative bodies, who are female.
- Female chairs of committees responsible for natural resources, industries, education, healthcare, social policies, culture, family policies in legislative bodies.
- Female heads of departments (or equivalent executive bodies) responsible for natural resources, industries, education, healthcare, social policies, culture, family policies in executive bodies.

At the city level:

- Arctic female Mayors (elected or appointed) in major cities.
- Elected female chairs of City Councils in major cities.
- Percentage of elected members of City Councils who are female.

At the local (community) level:

- Female heads of community administration.
- Elected female chairs at local Municipal Councils.
- Percentage of elected members of local Municipal Councils who are female.[3]

Economic indicators (the data variables to be collected at the regional level only):

- Gender earnings gap, or the average difference between the remuneration for men and women who are working. This could be measured as a ratio between female and male estimated earned income.
- Gender wealth gap[3] defined as is a ratio between cumulative net assets of women vs. men. (assets include personal real estate property, bank savings accounts, investments in stocks, retirement plans, etc. minus loans, etc.). Gender wealth gap reflects gender-based economic inequality more accurately than gender pay gap (Examining the Racial and Gender Wealth Gap in America, 2019; Institute for Policy Studies, 2020; Ruel & Hauser, 2013; Torres, 2019).
- Gender differences in labour force participation.
- Percentage of chief executive officers (CEO) in selected largest companies who are female.[3]
- Percentage of women in STEM professions (occupations in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics).[3]
- Percentage of small business owners who are female.[3]

Civic indicators (the data variables to be collected at the regional level only):

- Percentage of executive directors of NGOs[3] who are female.
- Percentage of those in academic leadership positions at universities (rectors, chancellors, presidents)[3] who are female.
- Percentage of those in academic leadership positions at colleges (rectors, chancellors, presidents)[3] who are female.
- Percentage of those in leadership positions in social media and mass media (CEOs, chief editors, bloggers, etc.)[3] who are female.

The walls of Stuðlagil canyon, northeast Iceland. *Kostiantyn Mazur*

This set of indicators will help to monitor and compare the current state of gender empowerment across Arctic regions and communities and to identify key patterns over time. Data for indicators can be collected from primary and secondary sources of information and include national, regional, and municipal statistical datasets, official websites of subnational and local authorities, and municipal reports. Although data availability varies across Arctic regions, indicators allow us to better understand and evaluate the current state of affairs in the gender empowerment sphere. The system of indicators will also contribute to identifying existing gaps in statistics and data necessary in gender-related policymaking.

Given limited time, resources, and data availability, in this chapter, we present only selected indicators pertaining to political and economic empowerment (see the parts of this chapter entitled Political Empowerment and Economic Empowerment). Future studies will build the GEA Index that will integrate the system of GEA indicators with commonly used gender index methodologies (e.g., The Global Gender Gap Index) and thus will permit interested individuals and organisations to monitor changes and identify major trends over time.

Data gaps

It is important to highlight that our understanding of gender empowerment and its intersectional aspects (for example, when applied to social, demographic, ethnic, economic, professional, and other gender groups) is severely impeded by the lack of adequate data across the Arctic. The official gender statistics across Arctic countries and regions are often not comparable, adequate, or readily available. In addition, there are no official statistics for all genders nor an established system for gender self-identification for individuals in leadership positions. Based on existing (often raw) data, the gender empowerment analysis is limited to the traditional binary gender concept, basing gender on biological sex. This gender binary does not present a holistic overview reflecting the current situation with all genders and does not fully accommodate Indigenous perspectives on gender and gender equality. However, the system of indicators could be applied to other gender groups should such data become available.

Political Empowerment

Achieving gender equality in political representation and political power is one of the greatest challenges modern democracies face (Barnes & Holman, 2020). Gender diversity gaps pose risks for the quality of democratic decision-making processes, equal rights representation, accountability to constituents, and perceptions of political legitimacy in general (Arnesen & Peters, 2018; Kanthak & Woon, 2015). The explicit inclusion of all genders can be achieved through a political process of gender-related political empowerment, defined here as the enhancement of capabilities of all genders to engage and influence local, regional (subnational), and national government institutions that serve the needs of their communities/constituencies (Bennett, 2002; Narayan, 2002). It also refers to equal and meaningful participation in political decision making and responsibility sharing in all spheres and at all levels.

Shared international efforts in launching the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the Beijing Platform for Action (United Nations 1995) resulted in many countries around the world demonstrating progress in gender parity at all levels of governance (see The Global Gender Gap Report (2006–2020), UNDP's Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), UNESCO's Gender Parity Index (GPI), GWU's GEIA Women's Leadership Index; UNDP's Gender Equality in Public Administration (GEPA) index). In many Arctic regions, the Beijing Platform's target of a minimum of 30% of each gender in leadership positions in national and subnational legislative and executive bodies has been surpassed. Yet gender inequality in the political process and public governance at all levels and in all spheres remains an issue across the circumpolar North. Although gender has become a central theme of many Arctic studies in the past decades (e.g., Bodenhorn, 1990; Boschini & Gunnarsson, 2018; Deonandan et al., 2016; Dowsley & Southcott, 2017; Eikjok, 2007; Hamilton & Rasmussen, 2010; Heleniak, 2019; Kennedy Dalseg et al., 2018; Kulmala, 2010; Kuokkanen, 2011, 2019; Lahey et al., 2014; Lyarskaya, 2010; Poppel, 2015; Povoroznyuk et al., 2010; Svensson, 2017; Thorsdottir, 2014; Vladimirova & Habeck, 2018), little research exists on gendered political empowerment (e.g., Irlbacher-Fox, 2015; Kulmala, 2010; Kuokkanen, 2019; Poppel, 2015; Rozanova & Mikheev, 2020; Sivertsen & Larsen, 2020). This chapter attempts to shed light on this knowledge gap and to identify and examine significant themes, trends, and patterns in gender empowerment in the Arctic.

National legal and political frameworks and institutional mechanisms for gender empowerment

In the Arctic, the empowerment of all genders in national legal systems continues to exhibit significant heterogeneity bearing the imprint of the political, ideological, and sociocultural divides of the 20th century (Bankes, 2004). The recent historical development of gender-relevant aspects of legal systems in Arctic States reveals elements of both convergence and divergence. The set of basic legal and political indicators contributing to gender empowerment in the Arctic (Table 2) plays a defining role in shaping and bolstering gender policies and influencing social gender norms and relations.

TABLE 2: **Legal and political indicators contributing to gender empowerment in the Arctic**

	Canada	Denmark	Greenland	The Faroe Islands	Finland	Iceland	Norway	Russia	Sweden	USA
Women's Suffrage (first granted at national/Arctic regional level)	●1917–1919[1]	●1908/1915[2]	●1948	●1915	●1906	●1915	●1913	●1917–1918	●1919	●1920/1965[3]
Ratification of CEDAW	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	s[4]
Principle of Gender Equality under Constitution	●	○	○	○	●	●	●	●	●	●[5]
Principle of Gender Equality in Labour Laws	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●[6]	●	●
Government Institution on Gender Equality	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	○	●	●
Gender Quota in Public Administration	○	●40%	●	●	●40%	●	●40%	○	○	○
Gender Quota in Businesses (Board of Directors)	○	●soft 50%	●soft 50%	●soft 50%	●40%	●40%	●40%	○	○	○
Gender Quota for Candidates on Lists in Local Elections	○	○	○	○	○	○	●40%	○	○	○
Gender-targeted Public Funding of Political Parties	○	○	○	○	●	○	○	○	○	○
Voluntary Political Party Gender Quota in National Elections	●	○	○	○	○	●	●	○	●	○
Equal Retirement Age for Both Genders	v	v	v	v	v	●	v	○	v	v
Legalisation of Same-Sex Marriage	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	○	●	●

● Ratified or passed   ○ Not ratified or not passed   v Variable   s Signed (partial implementation without ratification)

1. 1917–1919 (with limitations); 1950 for Inuit women; 1950 for Aboriginal women.
2. 1908 at local elections; 1915 at national parliamentary elections.
3. 1920 with limitations; 1965 for Native Alaskan.
4. In the U.S., the dominant political concept of protecting the private sphere from state interference causes the non-acceptance of the very idea that the government has a legitimate right "to modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women" (Art. 5, CEDAW))
5. The Constitution of the State of Alaska (1956), Article I, s.1 specifies that "all persons are equal and entitled to equal rights, opportunities, and protection under the law."
6. With exceptions.

Sources: Based on Databases and eResources of the Law Library of the Law Library of Congress; GEIA Women's Leadership Index (The George Washington University, www.balanceupleadership.org); International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA); The Finnish Centre for Pensions (www.etk.fi).

Seven Arctic States are parties to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and the other one has signed the treaty, indicating its support for the treaty's object and purpose. All have expressed support for the Beijing Platform for Action (for more details, see the chapter in this volume entitled Law and Governance). However, such convergence at international level is not always reflected in living laws, public policies, and everyday practices of Arctic States. Despite far-reaching obligations, gender equality principles have not been equally prioritised or meaningfully implemented within the public governance across the Circumpolar North (Svensson, 2017).

As Table 2 demonstrates, national legal systems are based on vastly different gender policies and regulations. Those following the social constructionist approach describe gender as a social identity, something that is done and not ascribed at birth (for instance, Butler, 2007). For example, the Nordic countries, Canada and the United States, to a greater or lesser extent, react accordingly to sociocultural transformations and a changing spectrum of gender identity and therefore are inclined to recognise greater gender diversity, as well as gender flexibility, and work toward more equitable gender inclusion. In most cases, these countries are at the vanguard of the global process of gender empowerment by "constantly pushing the edges of governance innovation" (Poelzer & Wilson, 2014, p. 185) towards achieving gender equality. In Russia, legal doctrine partially rests on interpretations of gender in terms of "primordialism" (Muro, 2015; Weinreich et al., 2003) and biological reductivism (Diquinzio, 1993), and confines the definition of gender to biological sex, assuming that it is nature-given and not subject to change.

In North America, the growing interest in gender issues is positively changing the contours of domestic legislation, emphasising the adoption of antidiscrimination legislation to eliminate gender discrimination and to support various educational, social, and civic initiatives. In 2016, Canada presented an Act to amend the Canadian Human Rights Act and the Criminal Code (Bill C-16) making criminal the incitement or promotion of hate propaganda on the basis of gender identity or gender expression (Walker, 2016). Two years later, Canada's recognition of gender equality was symbolically introduced in its revised gender-neutral version of its National Anthem. In addition to its adherence to fundamental norms on gender in national policies and practices, Canada is also one of the greatest contributors to the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women. In Alaska, the State Commission for Human Rights is charged with effective implementation of the Alaska Human Rights Law (AS 18.80) which condemns discrimination, including "sex, sexual orientation/gender identity or expression" in its non-discrimination list. To ensure wide dissemination of gender equality approaches in public, the State also launched mandated gender training courses on Gender and Race Equity to teach educators how to identify gender and race inequities, evaluate gender and race policies and procedures, and remedy discrimination in Alaska.

Nordic countries strengthened institutional mechanisms for gender empowerment due in part to the legal and political dynamism of the Nordic countries. They mainstreamed gender equality into public policies, institutions, and practices at all levels and in all spheres. These initiatives included the institutionalisation of gender equality in the system of government (in Finland, via a Gender Equality Unit within the Ministry for Social Affairs and Health, an Ombudsman for Equality, and a National Non-Discrimination and Equality Tribunal; in Norway, via an Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ministry, the Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud, and the Norwegian Anti-Discrimination Tribunal; in Sweden, via a Minister for Gender Equality, and the Swedish Gender Equality Agency led by the Equality Ombudsman; in Iceland, via a highly multifaceted system that includes the Directorate of Equality (see section The Directorate of Equality in Iceland, below), a Gender Equality Council, an Equality Complaints Committee, and Gender Equality Officers in each ministry, and a Ministerial Committee on Gender Equality, a system of the local authority's equality committees; in Greenland, a Council of Gender Equality). Furthermore, some Arctic States have gender quotas in public administration (Norway, Finland) and in businesses (e.g., for Boards of Directors) (Norway, Finland, Iceland); quotas for women representatives on candidate lists in local elections (Norway); gender-targeted public funding of political parties (Finland) (Ohman, 2018); and voluntary Political Party Quota for Women in National Elections (Iceland, Sweden, Norway). These countries have also been forerunners in implementing legally mandated and voluntary gender quotas to eradicate gender inequality and increase female representation in government institutions and business organisations (specifically, participation in boards of directors). The Nordic governments officially proclaimed gender equality and gender mainstreaming as one of their critical policy priorities and made substantial investments in this sphere not only domestically (for example, strengthening multifaceted regulatory mechanisms that promote and reinforce gender empowerment, including quota systems, high public investments in educational programs, and gender pedagogy, among others), but also across the Circumpolar region and globally (for instance, Iceland has strongly promoted gender equality in the Council during the Icelandic Chairmanship (2019–2021). Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden are among the top ten

government strategic partners and the largest financial supporters of the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women. In 2018, Sweden launched a Strategy for global gender equality and women's and girls' rights (2018–2022) with a budget of SEK 1 billion).

The Directorate of Equality in Iceland

The Directorate of Equality (former Centre for Gender Equality) opened in September 2000 and is located in Akureyri. It specifically focuses on gender equality in Iceland. The Prime Minister's Office is in charge of implementing the Gender Equality Act in Iceland, and the Directorate of Equality is responsible for its administration. The Prime Minister's Office appoints a Gender Equality Council and a Complaints Committee on Gender Equality. Within the Ministry, a special department is in charge of Gender Equality. The Directorate of Equality, the Gender Equality Council, and the Complaints Committee operate independently. The Directorate of Equality provides counselling and education in the field of gender equality.

Gender mainstreaming is obligatory in all public institutions and administration in Iceland. Gender mainstreaming is to be used in all decision-making issues, policy decisions, actions, and projects included in gender equality action plans. All workplaces (public and private) with 25 or more employees must have valid gender equality action plans, which the Directorate of Equality monitors regularly. The gender equality action plans are good tools for implementing gender equality work in companies and institutions.

The Directorate of Equality also helps, when needed, with preparing complaints to the Complaints Committee. The Gender Equality Complaints Committee examines cases and delivers written rulings on whether provisions of the Act have been violated. The rulings of the Complaints Committee are binding. The parties may appeal the Committee's rulings to the courts.

Despite growing legal empowerment of Indigenous Peoples (Poelzer & Wilson, 2014) and the increasing importance of the idea of "restructuring of the political systems in the Arctic in response to decolonisation and increased Indigenous participation in political processes in Arctic issues" (Broderstad, 2004), national political and legal systems do not fully embrace legal pluralism (the existence of multiple legal systems within one geographic area) to facilitate different regulatory and judicial approaches. In the Arctic, Indigenous Peoples bring a variety of perspectives on how to achieve and maintain gender equity (with special attention to queer and two-spirited gender identities) (for instance, see section below on Yellowknife Gender Workshop, Canada). Given the sheer diversity of Indigenous legal traditions and social conceptions of gender, equality cannot be fully implemented and enforced within existing legal frameworks without greater integration of Indigenous epistemologies.

Yellowknife Gender Workshop, Canada

The Gender Workshop (Yellowknife, Northwest Territories (NWT), March 2019) presented the following points of forming gender-related agenda:

- Gender should be collective. No one should be left out.
- All aspects of communities are thoroughly gendered.
- More women and gender-diverse people should be in leadership positions (in organisations, in higher levels of politics).
- There should be no discrimination.
- Leadership should be decentralised.
- People and institutions should work together collaboratively (and not in silos).

The Workshop was organised by the Arctic Athabaskan Council (AAC) for Indigenous Peoples of Yukon and NWT (Canada), and Northerners.

In many aspects, legal pluralism is only a portion of the solution. To address the needs of all genders' empowerment (and thrivability) of those Indigenous Peoples who share alternative gender approaches to mainstream gender ideologies, a profound transformation of modern political self-government institutions in the Arctic is crucial.

Political empowerment indicators: A circumpolar overview

Gender empowerment variables designed in the GEA system of indicators (see the part of this chapter entitled Methodology) measure gender empowerment at different levels – national/quasi-national (for Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and Greenland), subnational (regional), municipal, and local (community) levels in the Arctic.

Most global gender indices (The Global Gender Gap Report, UNDP's Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), UNESCO's Gender Parity Index (GPI), GWU's GEIA Women's Leadership Index) measure political empowerment based on the proportion of seats held by men and women in legislative institutions and the percentage of men and women in top positions in public administration.

This approach does not reveal the genders' equal participation in decision-making processes in most critical areas of public governance across the Arctic. Designed to address this shortcoming, a set of GEA indicators of gender political and public administration empowerment allowed us to examine vertical clustering (gender imbalances in leadership positions) and horizontal clustering (gender-related segregation in different spheres of governance).
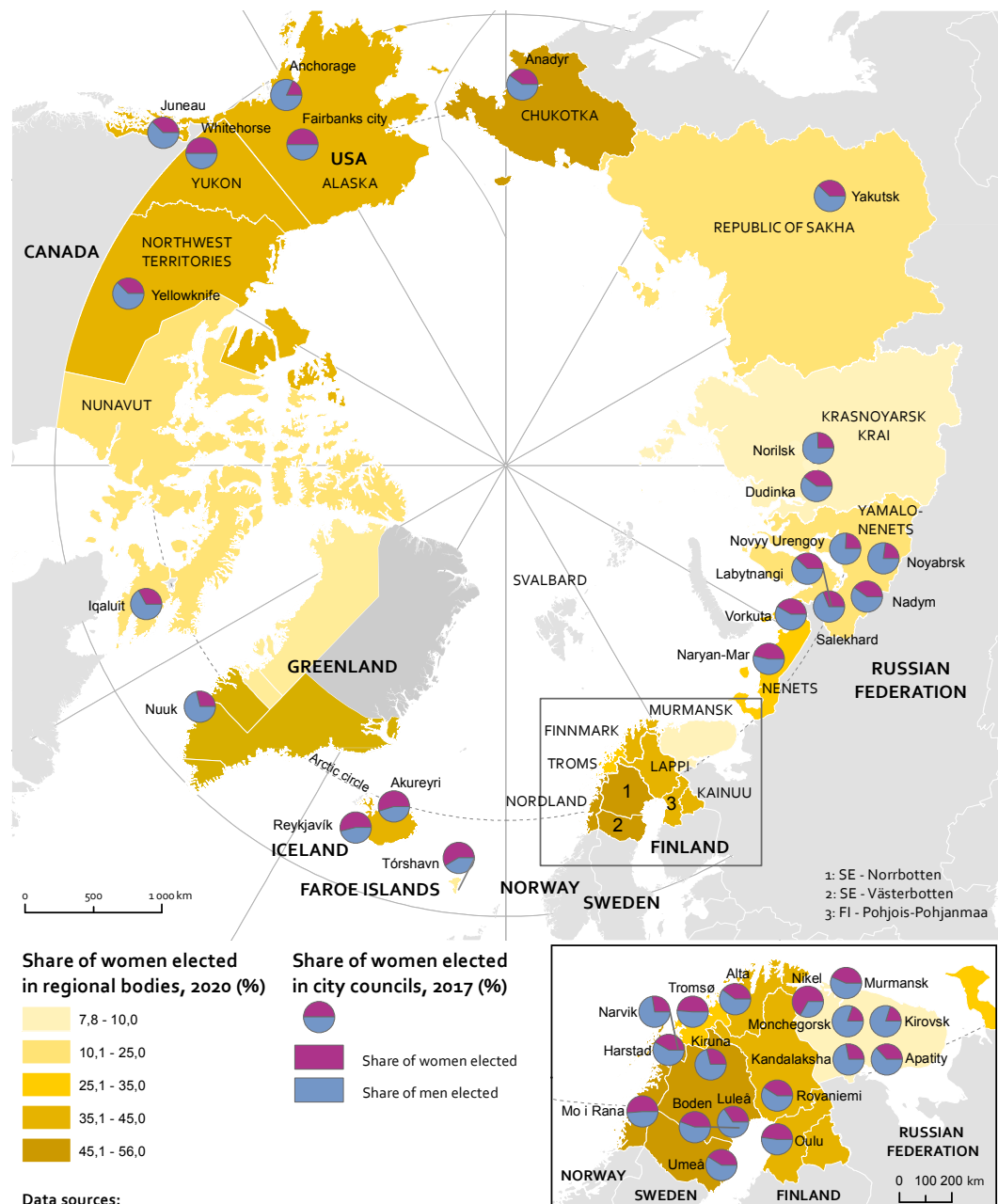

Karasjok, Norway. *Jan Helmer Olsen*

The GEA indicators are not fully applicable to assess gender empowerment in northern Indigenous societies due to the differences in interpretations of the notions of gender, power, and empowerment. For many Indigenous Peoples, the existing public institutions are critically viewed as deeply rooted in the construct of gendering that "refers to a multiplicity of interacting processes shaped by the distinction between male and female, … which creates and conceptualizes social structures and privileges certain groups over others" (Kuokkanen, 2019, p. 141). Western legal and political norms reflect a deficit model of personhood and citizenship, where people lack agency and need empowerment (Hunt, 2015; Radcliffe & Radhuber, 2020). Thus, power is conceived as a thing to give or control, suggesting those who should be doing the empowering are best found in the governmental sector (Ahlborg & Nightingale, 2018). As Sharon Mclvor stated about the concept of power: "As Indigenous communities, we don't have power. What we have, and what we have had traditionally, is responsibility. In Indigenous communities, we don't have one person speaking for the community without consulting the community. That's the difference between power and responsibility" (quoted in Isaac & Maloughney, 1992, p. 456).

Gender representation in politics and public administration

At the regional and (sub)national level, despite vast differences in legal and political systems as well as sociocultural norms, the gender gap in the Arctic legislative and public administration bodies across the Circumpolar region persists to a greater or lesser extent in the numeric representation of different genders, gender differences in leadership positions, and gender-related clustering.

A GEA indicator of political representation in elective regional and (sub)national bodies demonstrates that, except for the Chukotka Region in Russia and Nordic regions of Västerbotten, Norrbotten (Sweden) and Nordland (Norway), women remain less likely to participate in the political sphere than men across the Arctic regions (Figure 2).

FIGURE 2: Women's representation in elected regional, (sub)national elective bodies, and city councils (%)

Share of women elected in regional bodies, 2020 (%)

- 7,8 - 10,0
- 10,1 - 25,0
- 25,1 - 35,0
- 35,1 - 45,0
- 45,1 - 56,0

Share of women elected in city councils, 2017 (%)

- Share of women elected
- Share of men elected

1: SE - Norrbotten
2: SE - Västerbotten
3: FI - Pohjois-Pohjanmaa

Data sources:

Share of women elected in regional bodies from national statistical institutes and National and Regional Parliaments member lists (2020);
share of women elected in city councils from the PIRE dataset (2017-2020): https://blogs.gwu.edu/arcticpire/project-publications/data/

Regions included:

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

With an average level of 26.3% of female representatives in the Arctic elective bodies, the gender gap varies significantly across Arctic countries and across the regions/subnational entities. Today, there is just one region with full gender parity achieved–Chukotka Autonomous Okrug in Russia. A great difference in gender composition is observed in elective bodies not only across the entire Circumpolar North but also across the country's regions, from the highest proportion of women's representation (50% elected deputies of both genders in Chukotka) to the lowest one (7.8% of female legislators in Krasnoyarsk Krai) (Figure 3).

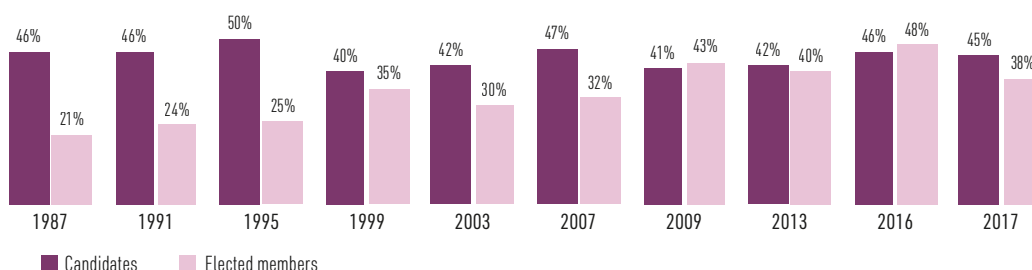**Share of male and female legislators in regional elective bodies in the Russian arctic, 2020**

Nenets Autonomous Okrug	74%	26%
Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	50%	50%
Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	77%	23%
Krasnoyarsk Krai	92%	8%
Murmansk Oblast	91%	9%
Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	84%	16%

■ Male Legislators ■ Female Legislators
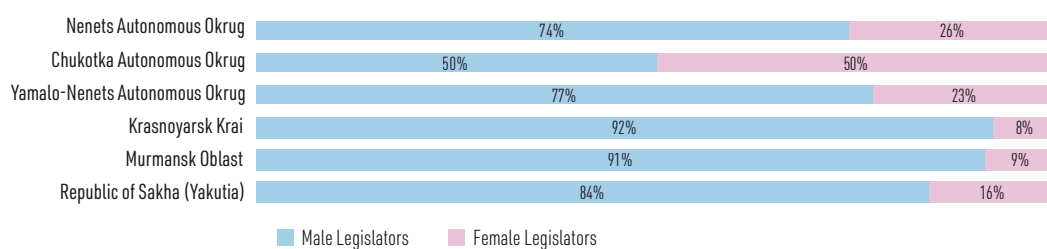
Source: Regional Elective Bodies member lists (Russia) (2020).

Iceland became a world leader in closing most gender gaps (World Economic Forum, 2020) as a result of grassroots political activism (e.g., the Association of Women [see section Women's Day Off in Iceland, p. 257]) and the country's priorities concentrating on different comprehensive policies and programmes aimed at improving gender equality in such critical areas as education, political participation, and women's participation in the labour force. While Iceland has created long-standing improvements in gender-balanced representation in the parliament (Althingi), election dynamics highlight a common pattern in the Arctic: there are consistent but not always sustainable trends in narrowing the gender gap in legislative institutions. In the case of Iceland, the first setback took place in the first decade of the 21st century when the proportion of men in two parliamentary elections of 2003 and 2007 increased despite female candidates' active participation: women won slightly over 30% of parliamentary seats. The 2017 elections demonstrated another decrease in the number of female legislators from 47.6% to 38% (see Figure 4) – the worrisome results that require more research for better understanding the underlying causes.
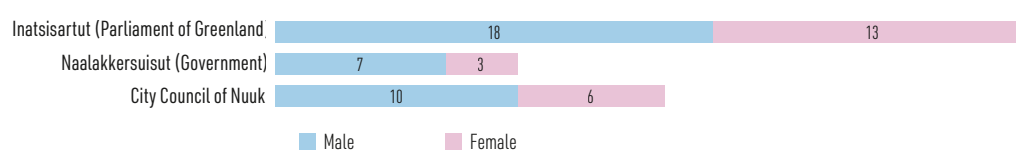
FIGURE 4: **Women as percentage of candidates and elected members in Icelandic parliamentary elections, 1987–2017**

	1987	1991	1995	1999	2003	2007	2009	2013	2016	2017
Candidates	46%	46%	50%	40%	42%	47%	41%	42%	46%	45%
Elected members	21%	24%	25%	35%	30%	32%	43%	40%	48%	38%

■ Candidates ■ Elected members

Source: Statistics Iceland. (2020). hagstofa.is/talnaefni/samfelag/laun-og-tekjur/laun

In Greenland, although the political norms are gradually changing towards more gender-equal representation in institutions of political power (Figure 5), elements of patriarchal structures are still dominant in the public domain (Poppel, 2015, pp. 309–310; Tróndheim, 2010). The system was designed according to patterns of the "standard Western parliamentary system" and inherited "the Western gender equality ideology and standard equality of opportunity model rather than drafting legislation that reflects Inuit conceptions of gender and traditional gender egalitarianism" (Kuokkanen, 2019, p. 148). The current political system does not fully guarantee equal access to all levels of power, across different sectors, or meaningful participation in political discussions to all genders. According to a recent study, a power elite in Greenland consists of 123 people: 38% are women and 62% are men (Sivertsen & Larsen, 2020).

FIGURE 5: **Gender political representation in Greenland**

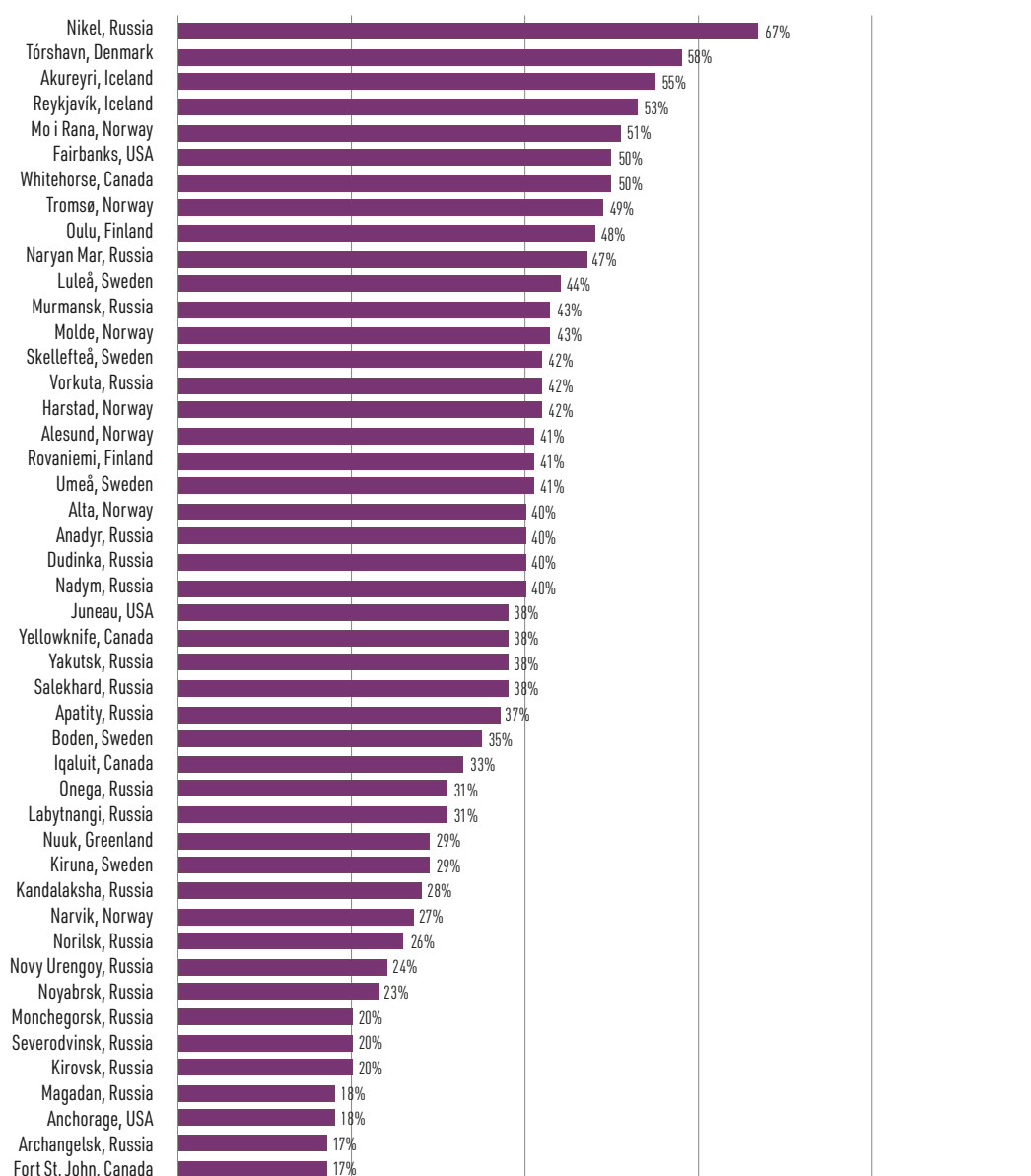|		
Inatsisartut (Parliament of Greenland)	18	13
Naalakkersuisut (Government)	7	3
City Council of Nuuk	10	6

■ Male ■ Female

Source: Based on Sivertsen, Morten Fischer & Larsen, Anton Grau (2020). Magteliten i Grønland. Grønlands Kultur og Samfundsforskning, Grønlands Universitet Ilisimatusarfik. Retrieved, July 25, 2020, from: magtelite.dk/bogudgivelser/magteliten-i-gronland (Translation: The Power Elite in Greenland).

Despite achieving approximate parity in numbers in Parliament, gender gaps still exist at political leadership positions: the female President leads the Inatsisartut, but all the political parties' leaders are men, and male parliamentarians lead eight out of 13 committees.

At the city level, where the political stakes are not that high, the general pattern shows greater gender equality across city councils in all Arctic countries than in regional legislative bodies. Although the top leadership positions of city mayors remain mainly male dominated in the Circumpolar region, in North America, three out of six major cities–Juneau, Yellowknife, and Whitehorse–are led by female mayors. With an average level of 37.8% of elected female seat holders' in city councils, women's representation in most regions is higher than in regional legislative bodies (26.3%) (see Figure 2). This is especially true in Russia, where women are typically much better represented in city governance. However, the share of elected female council members varies considerably not only from country to country and region to region, but also from city to city within administrative-political territories (Figure 6). For instance, in the Murmansk Region of Russia, women occupy 20% of city council seats in Monchegorsk and 43% in Murmansk to 66% in Nikel; in Alaska (the U.S.), women hold 18% of city council seats in Anchorage, 38% in Juneau, and 50% in Fairbanks. The causes of cross-regional and intraregional disparities leading to existing imbalances require additional research to be adequately understood and addressed.

FIGURE 6: **Share of women elected to city councils**

City	Share
Nikel, Russia	67%
Tórshavn, Denmark	58%
Akureyri, Iceland	55%
Reykjavík, Iceland	53%
Mo i Rana, Norway	51%
Fairbanks, USA	50%
Whitehorse, Canada	50%
Tromsø, Norway	49%
Oulu, Finland	48%
Naryan Mar, Russia	47%
Luleå, Sweden	44%
Murmansk, Russia	43%
Molde, Norway	43%
Skellefteå, Sweden	42%
Vorkuta, Russia	42%
Harstad, Norway	42%
Alesund, Norway	41%
Rovaniemi, Finland	41%
Umeå, Sweden	41%
Alta, Norway	40%
Anadyr, Russia	40%
Dudinka, Russia	40%
Nadym, Russia	40%
Juneau, USA	38%
Yellowknife, Canada	38%
Yakutsk, Russia	38%
Salekhard, Russia	38%
Apatity, Russia	37%
Boden, Sweden	35%
Iqaluit, Canada	33%
Onega, Russia	31%
Labytnangi, Russia	31%
Nuuk, Greenland	29%
Kiruna, Sweden	29%
Kandalaksha, Russia	28%
Narvik, Norway	27%
Norilsk, Russia	26%
Novy Urengoy, Russia	24%
Noyabrsk, Russia	23%
Monchegorsk, Russia	20%
Severodvinsk, Russia	20%
Kirovsk, Russia	20%
Magadan, Russia	18%
Anchorage, USA	18%
Archangelsk, Russia	17%
Fort St. John, Canada	17%

Source: Program for International Research and Education project "Promoting Urban Sustainability in the Arctic" (PIRE), 2020.

At the local level, despite different and, in some cases, opposite patterns observed in gender compo-sition in local elective bodies, the gender gap in political empowerment is less profound throughout Arctic communities (Kuokkanen, 2019; Rozanova & Mikheev, 2020; Jessen Williamson et al., 2004). In Iceland, for instance, there is a sustainable trend towards achieving full gender parity: In 2018, it has almost been achieved at the municipal level (Figure 7). Notably, the number of elected women was proportionally higher in larger municipalities than in smaller ones.

FIGURE 7: **Share of elected male and female deputies at municipal elections in Iceland, 1978–2018**
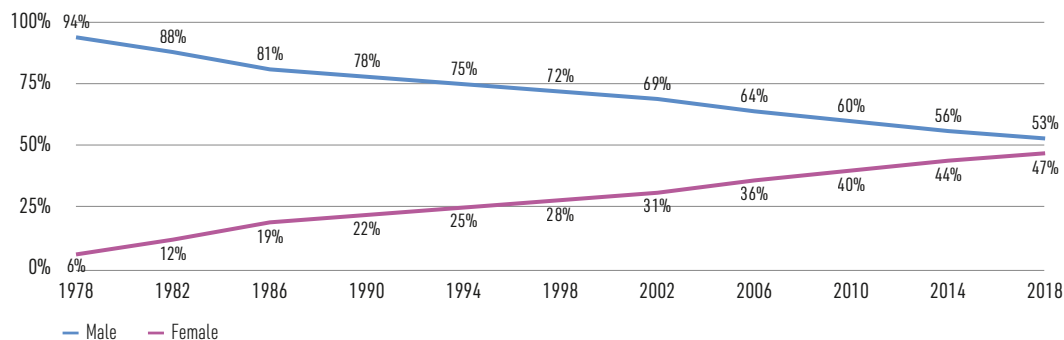
Despite numerical parity, the presented numbers do not say everything about women's level of influence at the local government level. Studies have repeatedly shown a worrisome trend: Men are more likely to get re-elected than women, and the last local elections are no exception. About half of the male deputies were re-elected, compared to 32% of women.

A relatively new emerging phenomenon of reversed gender disparity related to male underrep-resentation, is also indicated in the North, especially in predominantly Indigenous communities. For instance, in the Russian Arctic, local political and civic empowerment of women is particularly visible in remote communities where women play a substantial role and have an overwhelming majority in local governance institutions.

As an example, in Nenets Autonomous Okrug, the recent local elections of 2016–2018 brought into power women majorities in eight out of nine predominantly Indigenous municipalities (Figure 8) revealing a significant gender gap in favour of female elected representatives. Overall, women got 48 seats (71%) and men only 20 (29%).

FIGURE 8: **Gender disparity in selected Nenets municipal councils (Russia):
elected female and male deputies, by percentage (elections of 2016–2018)**
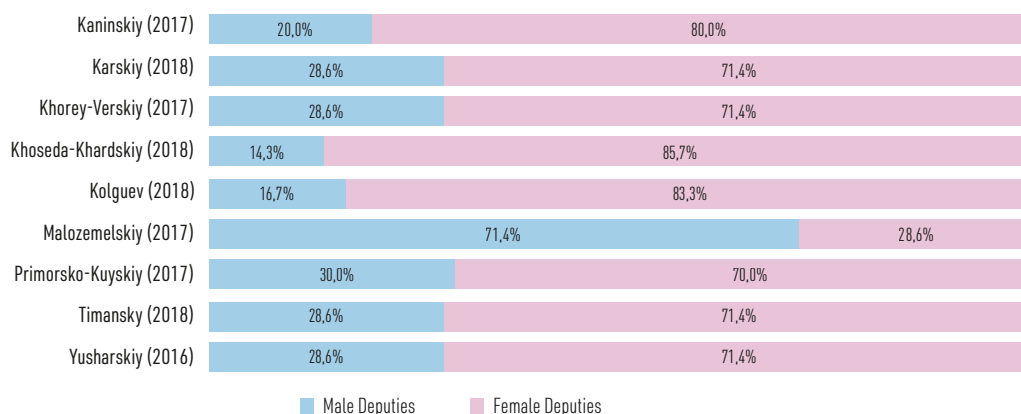
In smaller communities, men "appear to have been socialised into a path dependency and consequently have difficulties accepting alternative paths and changes" (Rasmussen, 2015, p. 38). By prioritising subsistence over local politics and other activities, men often find themselves in a situation where they

are "stuck, without options for mobility both geographically and socially" (Rasmussen, 2015, p. 38). Women, by obtaining a higher social status over time, gradually become involved in political leadership in their communities and beyond (Rozanova & Mikheev, 2020). This phenomenon can be observed in many communities across the Arctic: In Greenland, men's identities are strongly attached to defined notions and visual representations of hunting and fishing (Oddsdóttir et al., 2015). Males are socialised into maintaining traditional work activities that no longer enable them to secure success in the current political system. Despite holding formal political leadership by having an overwhelming majority in municipal councils, men often feel disempowered (as an example, see section Nuuk Men's Group, p. 256).

Another theme that requires more attention is the urban and rural disparity and its role in gender political empowerment processes at the local level. For instance, in Greenland, although "there has been a noticeable increase of women participating in politics", the gender composition varies significantly in different types of settlements: For example, in the municipal council of Kommuneqarfik Sermersooq where Nuuk is located, the share of female deputies is 47% while in a more remote community of Qaasuitsup it is less than 10% (Kuokkanen, 2019, p. 201).

The local level of gender political empowerment needs to be understood better and monitored more closely (Sundström & Wängnerud, 2018). For instance, in Alaska and Canada, there is no systematic tracking of the gender makeup of local governments, including Indigenous governments. Women's involvement and leadership are key to activism and public organisations' functioning in remote Northern communities (Kuokkanen, 2019). It is crucial to note the role of Indigenous informal institutions that often are both decision-shaping and decision-making bodies and drivers of change.

Separate but equal? Persistent patterns of gender-related clustering

Across the Circumpolar North, the uneven distribution of political power across genders appears in vertical and horizontal clustering and persists at all levels and all spheres of politics and public administration. Gender-related vertical clustering occurs when genders are disproportionately presented at the top and the bottom of leadership hierarchies. This pattern mirrors existing traditional social attitudes and cultural norms in political institutions that contribute to the reproduction of patriarchal power structures in politics (Kuokkanen, 2019, p. 174).

The GEA indicators analysis reveals a vertical clustering pattern in the form of unequal access for men and women to top leadership positions in government institutions, both legislative and executive. Arctic countries top ranked on gender equality are also no exception when it comes to government bodies. For instance, in Iceland, although numerical gender parity in political representation has almost been reached in the parliament (Althingi), the political traditions and political system's institutionalised practices still do not guarantee equal access for all to leadership positions, so that in the latest 2017 election, only three out of eight standing committees are chaired by female elected representatives.

Horizontal clustering remains profound in the Arctic regions' public institutions. It corresponds to the collective gender division of labour in Arctic resource-based economies (see the part of this chapter entitled Economic Empowerment) and reflects remaining stereotypes about gender roles in traditional gender domains. Even where numeric gender parity is achieved in government institutions as a whole, the institutionalised gender-exclusive practices present barriers (glass walls) restricting women from entering the non-traditional gender domains. As a result, men are overrepresented in committees/departments/units that are in charge of the most vital and lucrative sectors of the regional economy, which traditionally are considered male domains (for example, extractive industries, infrastructure, transportation, fisheries, military, homeland security, and law enforcement, etc.). Less prestigious segments of public governance that are traditionally perceived as female domains where the stakes are believed to be less significant (e.g., culture, family policies, gender equality, education, social services, health and tourism, climate change, NGOs, etc.), are often predominantly (or entirely) occupied by women. This pattern is observed in the spheres of politics and public administration across all Arctic regions. For example, in the Government of Greenland (Naalakkersuisut), which consists of nine ministries, the majority are male ministers (66%), who are in charge of labour, science, finance, energy, foreign affairs, industry, and mineral resources. In contrast, female ministers (33%) are responsible for the traditional women's domains of education, culture, health, social affairs, and family.

Mechanisms for gender political empowerment: there is no one-size-fits-all solution

The difference in political, legal, and sociocultural environments in Arctic States contributes to the divergent political discourses on gender policies and measures for promoting political empowerment. Among them are the system of gender quotas and gender affirmative action programmes.

Gender quotas in politics and/or public administration are legally mandated in the Nordic countries (Table 2). Quotas are considered to be the most effective measures as they guarantee a particular proportion of political candidates in elective bodies or government officials in the public administration in a short time (Hughes, 2011). Nevertheless, there is an ongoing debate on whether gender quotas can succeed in other Arctic countries and what kind of quotas these might be (for instance,

Meritocracy may accentuate biases and stereotypes. *Carlos Tovar (Carlín)*

see Brechenmacher, 2018; Zetterberg 2009, p. 715). A recent study found that the effectiveness of gender quotas and affirmative action programmes in different political contexts correlates with the degree to which cultures have "strong norms and a low tolerance for deviance" (Toh & Leonardelli, 2013, p. 193). In Nordic countries, although social norms and cultural traditions are more entrenched, acceptance of and strict adherence to legal regulations influence people's greater receptiveness to "top-down approaches for implementing change" (Toh & Leonardelli, 2013, p. 193).

Nordic countries, which continuously mainstream gender into different policies and programmes, demonstrate higher gender equality in public governance and occupy the top places in the international gender rankings (e.g., Global Gender Gap Index).

In the U.S., Canada, and Russia, while social norms tend to be more susceptible to changes, people can be either more sensitive to central planning or are likely to resist meaningful implementation of gender-related regulations mandated by the authorities. Particularly in the U.S., and to a certain degree in Canada, gender quotas are more likely to be negatively perceived as a form of unwarranted governmental interference. For example, in the U.S., there is a strong political movement for small government and non-interference that could lead to resistance to quotas, which might face legal challenge (e.g., Alstott, 2014, p. 40). In Russia, quota policies may also come into conflict with the current norms of the federal electoral law (for an analogous case of Indigenous quotas elimination in Nenets Okrug, see Rozanova, 2019, p. 81).

Gender-based quotas may also have an adverse effect on public acceptance of the legitimacy of the women elected as based "not on ability alone" – the women being perceived as less competitive and less qualified irrespective of their actual qualifications and experience (Franceschet et al., 2012) – or being viewed as token appointments. In some political cultures, an alternative concept of political targets (soft quotas) or recommendations can be more acceptable. A recent study on female representation in the U.S. Congress found that the low share of women resulted from barriers to entering politics (Anastasopoulos, 2016). In this context, gender-targeted public funding for political parties could be an effective measure to improve access for all underrepresented genders to the resources needed to successfully stand in an election. In this context, Nordic experience might be useful, such as in Finland, where parties must spend no less than five percent of received public funding for activities to promote women to leadership positions and thus enhance gender equality (Ohman, 2018).

In some cases, instead of binding quotas – or even in addition to them—training programmes, outreach efforts, and other initiatives can be more effective in achieving sustained improvement in gender equality. Especially in situations when female candidates, including potentially high-performing ones, may choose not to apply for certain competitive elective positions, special training may encourage

them to do so. Good examples of successful positive policy initiatives are the political leadership training programmes "Campaign School for Women" and "She Can", launched by the Government of the Northwest Territories in 2018 and 2019. These have engaged female leaders who contributed to a significant increase of women in leadership positions at the federal, regional, and municipal levels (see section Campaign School for Women and "She Can" Campaign in the Northwest Territories, Canada, below).

Campaign School for Women and "She Can" Campaign in the Northwest Territories, Canada

In prior years, the Status of Women Council of the NWT offered workshops for women in the months leading up to the Territorial elections. The Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) allocated funds in 2018 for the development of a 'made in the North' Campaign School for Women curriculum. This included the development of a Participant Workbook and an Instructor's Guide along with corresponding presentations and videos. The Campaign School for Women workshops provided support and relevant information about elections and campaigning to prospective female candidates who were considering running for an elected office. In 2019, the Government of Canada announced a joint investment to empower women in the NWT by providing funds to expand pilot testing of the Campaign School curriculum in NWT communities.

The GNWT worked with the Status of Women Council and the Native Women's Association of the NWT to pilot the curriculum in a number of communities. In total, workshops were held in nine communities. The feedback indicated that the participants found the workshops informative and helpful and favoured the modular approach.

The Campaign School for Women has resulted in more women running for elected office.

The GNWT hired a communications firm to develop a Strategic Communications Plan aimed at promoting the Campaign Schools and increasing the participation of women in politics. The "She Can" social marketing campaign was launched in August 2019. The "She Can" campaign is intended to encourage women across the NWT to consider running for elected positions. Four prominent women in the NWT, who held an elected position at one time or another, agreed to participate as role models in this campaign. The posters that were developed for the marketing campaign were posted in the territorial newspapers in English and French and are also available online. The posters are currently being translated into the nine Official Indigenous languages of the NWT. The GNWT also worked with a territorial firm on the design and development of the Women in Leadership online portal, shecannwt.ca

Outcomes: In 2019, a number of women who ran for elected office were past participants of the Campaign School for Women workshops.

Overall, the number of women being elected and running for elections has also increased significantly: Before 2019, only three women, of 19 members, was the largest number of female representatives elected at one time to the NWT Legislative Assembly; during the 17th and 18th Legislative Assemblies only two women held seats, which is 10% of the elected members. In 2019, the number of female elected members in 19th Legislative Assembly was nine of 19, which is 47.4%.

In 2019, NWT women were also very active in municipal and Indigenous governments elections. Nine municipal elections had 31 women running, and 22 women were elected. There were three Indigenous government elections held in 2019, and, of the 12 women running for office, nine won their seats.

Economic Empowerment

Feminist economic scholarship has long argued that women's access to monetary resources and wage employment is a path to empowerment. In particular, access to paid work increases women's agency and shifts the balance of power (Boserup, 1970). Although this view has been criticised for its reductionist understanding of empowerment, economic self-reliance is critical to gender empowerment and fate control exercised by individuals and communities (Larsen et al., 2010). A sustainable, and, ultimately, thriving society is characterised by equitable distribution of wealth, where all genders have equal access to economic assets and means of economic success. Agency of women and other less empowered genders as professionals, experts, and knowledgeable individuals in the field where they are active on a day-to-day basis is an important power dimension related to gender and empowerment.

The Arctic economy has three main pillars, resource, subsistence, and public sectors (Larsen & Petrov, 2020), with emerging "other economies" increasing their role in the last few decades (Petrov 2016). Indeed, many Arctic communities, in particular Indigenous communities, demonstrate a mixed economy, where subsistence and other sectors are intertwined (Kuokkanen, 2011; Usher, 1982). Opportunities to gain employment, earn wages, develop human capital, and pursue personal goals vary across different sectors. Some are driven by entrenched path dependencies and long-embedded inequalities; others are propelled by quickly changing markets, social relations, and even climatic conditions. Yet our knowledge of the emerging and transforming roles of various genders in the economy is still rudimentary (Quintal-Marineau, 2017). Notably, most of the recent reports examining economic development in the Arctic have a limited discussion of gender issues, even while emphasising their importance (Larsen & Fondahl, 2014).

Reindeer in the twilight, Finmark, Norway. *Jan Helmer Olsen*

While official programmes promote gender equality and empowerment, and in spite of the limited gender perspective in prominent reports on Arctic development, we know that across sectors and professions women in the Arctic have made a considerable difference to innovation and entrepreneurship (Kuokkanen, 2019; Oddsdóttir et al., 2015). They hold jobs requiring competencies and higher education, they are active in creative industries and tourism, and are prominent in the new, emerging sectors complementing the dominating primary and secondary industries (Larsen & Fondahl, 2014; Rasmussen, 2011; Sigfússon, 2019). Through means of education, they have formed gender-based stakeholder organisations, including in male-dominated sectors (i.e., Icelandic women in fisheries).

Many Arctic Indigenous communities have undergone deep-seated changes in the last 20–30 years. There are diverse lifestyles and worldviews, leading to new formulations of male and female identities (Eikjok, 2007) and economic roles (Kuokkanen, 2011). The empowerment of Indigenous groups is much more evident, and Indigenous women's participation in educational endeavours and in the labour market has become more acknowledged, although it varies within the Arctic. Indigenous women have become more visible as change makers in many fields within Arctic societies and economies (Kuokkanen, 2019).

Young people, and women in particular, want to exercise fate control through knowledge construction that (re)defines their changing roles in society by elevating and promoting their success in the public domain. For example, a women's magazine mainly showcasing and inspiring Greenlandic women, Arnanut (2021), is now a regularly updated magazine that promotes this gender-success messaging. In Iceland, women with business or higher education are well received in many of the fishing operations' management levels. In the innovative Icelandic Ocean Cluster, women are the majority of the creative agents who make important innovations in the use of seafood byproducts (Sigfússon, 2019). In addition, Greenland has seen a wave of women taking agency in NGOs and civil society and in some cases with women taking all roles in boards, like Transparency International Greenland (Krebs, 2020).

As in political empowerment, economic empowerment exhibits considerable variability in meanings, forms, and levels among diverse Arctic regions. We observe strong intersectionalities and complex relationships that involve gender identities and other aspects of social being. Nonetheless, we see persistent and emerging patterns, which we describe below.

Although traditional gender roles are changing, the labour market is persistently gender-segregated. *Shutterstock*
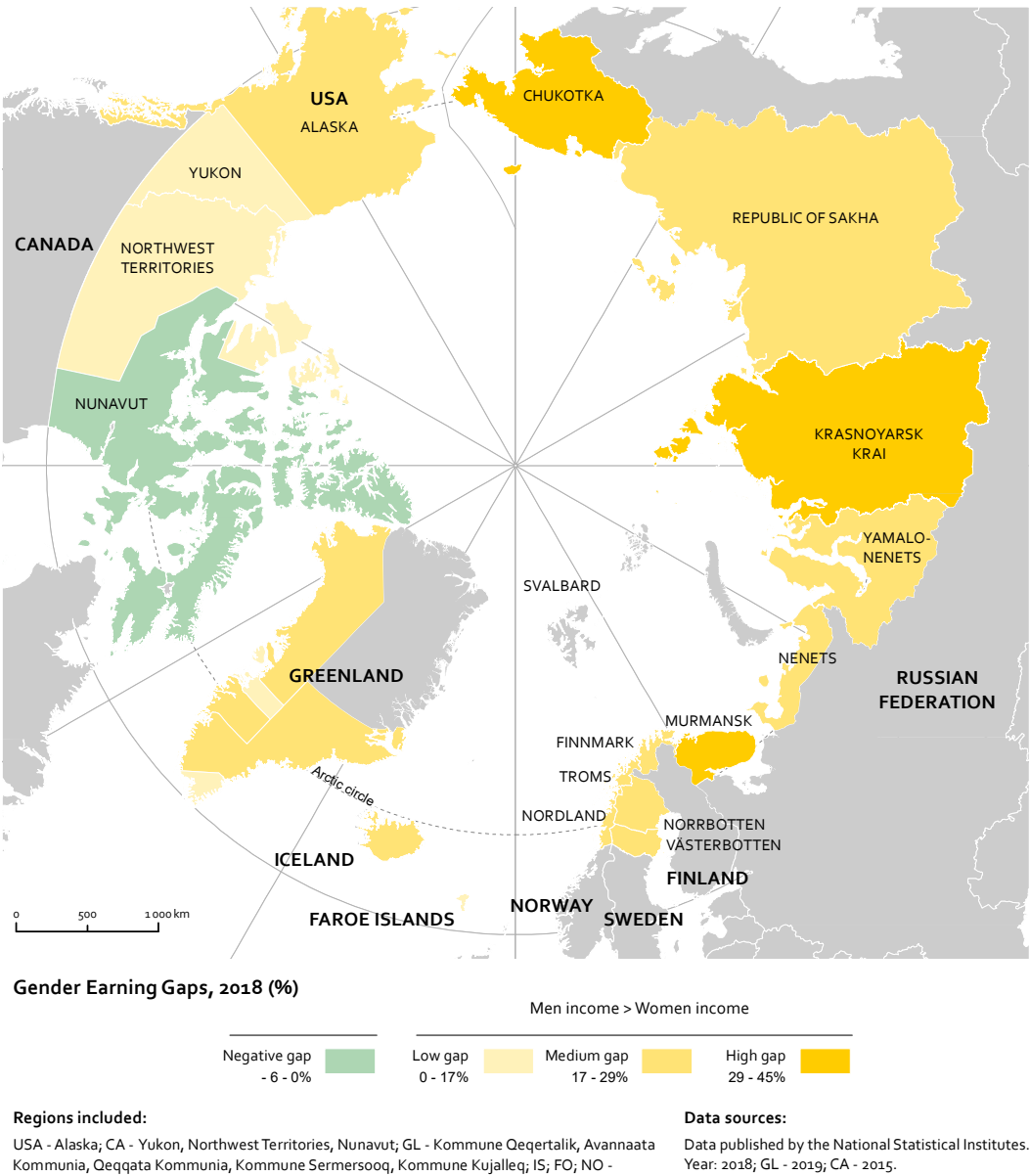
Economic empowerment indicators: A circumpolar overview

As indicated in the Methodology session, there are many ways in which economic empowerment could be defined and measured. However, only a few indicators are readily available in the circumpolar context due to data limitations. The most severe data constraint is the tendency of all statistical sources to report data exclusively for men and women, omitting other gender designations. As noted earlier, this binary is a major impediment in gender research. As a result, we are forced to conduct the comparisons only between two gender groups (men and women), which produces an inaccurate representation of gender equality. However, the simplified binary understanding of gender illuminates prevalent dichotomies, divergences, and gaps that may be relevant to other less empowered genders as well. Below we focus on key variables that are often considered of high importance for characterising gender equality (e.g., World Economic Forum, 2019), but which only represent a fraction of possible economic empowerment indicators. Specifically, we examine earnings and educational attainment differentials, sometimes construed as gaps, between men and women in the Arctic, as well as women leadership in business, particularly as company executives. In addition, we discuss professional and sectoral contexts for gender economic empowerment.

The wage gap is a well-recognised gendered issue in the economic sphere, documented in various studies (e.g., Kunze, 2018; Oostendorp, 2004) and acknowledged by policymakers across many Arctic nations (Figure 9). It is one of the hot topics of gender disparity, and the wage gap shows, at least within the capitalist system, that female workers tend to earn less for the same job than their equally qualified male counterparts. With a persistent wage gap and other impediments to women's successful participation in the economy (discussed below), a rather recent but valid approach to gender (in)

equality and its economics is the missing economy—economic losses created by inequality. Thus, the equality effort can be viewed as a way to stimulate economic development, when gender equality is linked to higher economic growth (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2018).

FIGURE 9: **Gender earnings gap in the Arctic (%)**

Gender Earning Gaps, 2018 (%)

Men income > Women income

Negative gap - 6 - 0%	Low gap 0 - 17%	Medium gap 17 - 29%	High gap 29 - 45%

Regions included:

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

Data sources:

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

Note. Based on data published by the National Statistical Institutes. Year: 2018; Greenland – 2019; Canada – 2015

For this report, we collected the evidence of earnings (broadly defined) for all Arctic jurisdictions (at the regional level) for male and female earners in order to determine the size of the wage gap. As one may expect, the definitions of earnings varied among national datasets, but since we compared gender-specific earnings within the same region, this limitation was less of an issue.

The evidence of the gender wage gap is plentiful across the Arctic (Figure 9). The difference between average wages received by women and men in most Arctic jurisdictions is around 20%—that is, women on average earn 20% less than men. However, there were some exceptions, notably the Faroe Islands and some regional municipalities in Greenland, where the difference was under 10%, or where women earned more than men (Nunavut). It is important to keep in mind that circumstances differ across

countries and populations. In many Indigenous communities, women are more involved in mixed economies, participating in non-subsistence economic activities to a greater extent, and thus earning larger and/or more stable wages (Kuokkanen, 2011; Quintal-Marineau & Wenzel, 2019).

The lack of equal pay and wealth is not unique to the Arctic. Boschini and Gunnarsson (2018) found that while overall gender inequality has decreased in the world, it remains in all levels of the income distribution. In the Arctic, the situation has been improving, but the differential still persists. In the Republic of Sakha-Yakutia (Russia), 20 years ago, women received 65–68% of the average men's salary, a difference that has improved since, although only to 74%. In the Nordic Arctic, the gender pay gap is more widespread in rural than urban communities. For example, in Iceland, women's salary outside of the capital region was 38% lower than men's for the same jobs (Þórðarson et al., 2008). Glass ceilings and glass walls, i.e., vertical and horizontal professional clustering and segregation of women, are key explanations of the earning differential. These result from unfair labour practices, self-selection towards lower wage jobs and industries, bias and stereotyping (male and female occupations), and gender-based discrimination by employers. In some places, women are precluded by laws and regulations from taking some jobs, mostly in high-earning extractive industry occupations. In Russia, for example, female workers are restricted from over 100 most highly paid occupations, which are considered unsuitable for women as being too strenuous or dangerous. This reproduces the gender-segregated market, with teachers, nurses, and so forth, perceived as more traditional female occupations. The most successful spheres for female career advancement are still considered to be retail trade, hotel and tourist services, pharmaceutical business, fashion industry, sports, and media (Ashwin, 2006; Novikova, 2016).
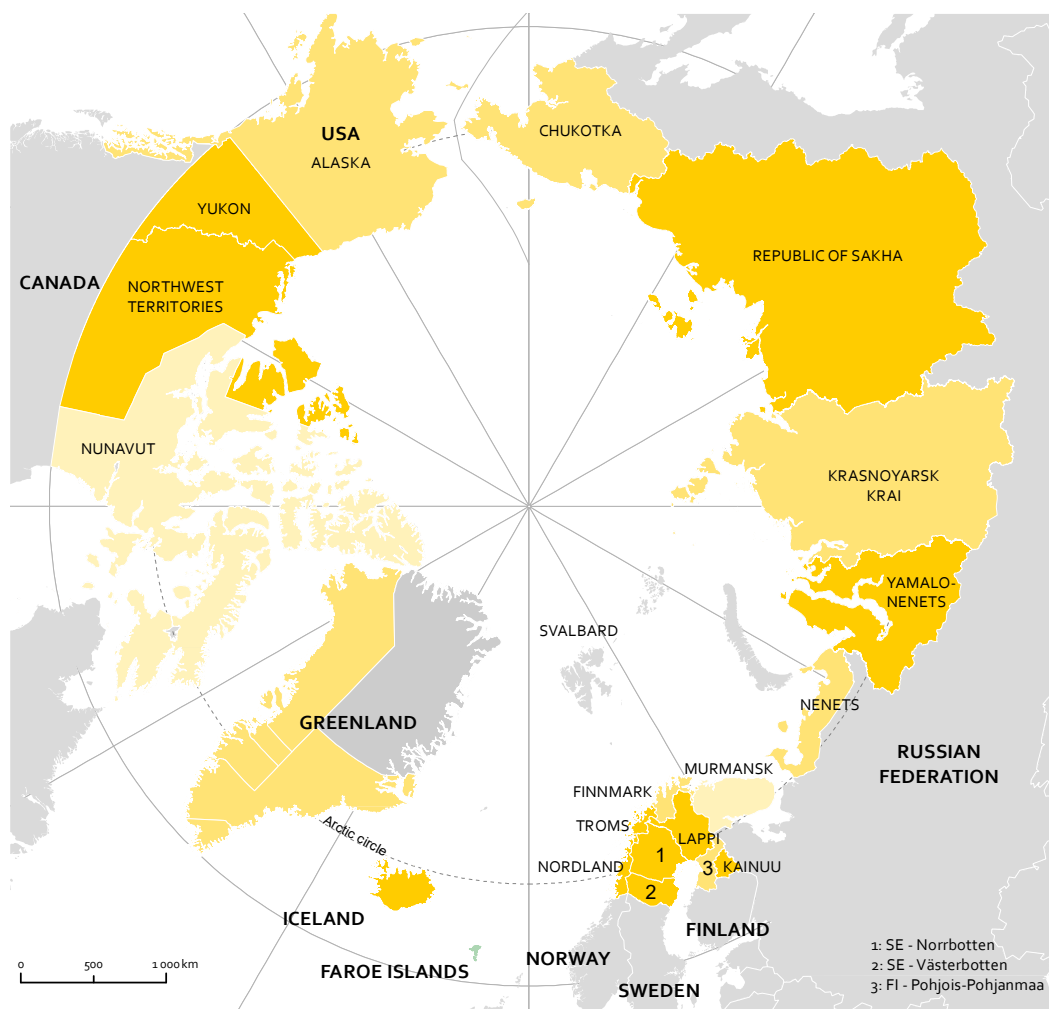
Another important indicator is the educational attainment differential between men and women. As a proxy of human capital (Hirshberg & Petrov, 2014), educational attainment reflects an investment in human capacities and skills and may affect people's economic roles, including their earnings, although the relationship is not straightforward but complicated by demographic, occupational, geographic, and other factors. However, a basic expectation could be that workers with a similar level of education and experience will earn a similar wage.

An examination of Figure 10 below clearly demonstrates that women in the Arctic have higher attainment of educational credentials than men. This is true in most Arctic regions, with very few exceptions. Feminisation of Arctic's human capital, that is, the growing role of women in the human capital, has been described as a persistent trend over recent decades (Hirshberg & Petrov, 2014; Rasmussen, 2011). Put simply, Arctic women, taken as a group, are relatively more educated than men, and the gap is increasing.
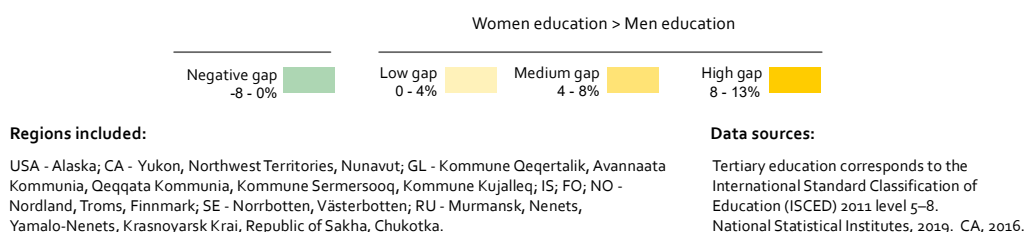

Workers at a mining site in Alaska. *SeventyFour / iStock*

Gaps in the share of men and women with tertiary education as highest level attained, 2019 (%)

Women education > Men education

Negative gap -8 - 0%	Low gap 0 - 4%	Medium gap 4 - 8%	High gap 8 - 13%

Regions included:

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

Data sources:

Tertiary education corresponds to the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) 2011 level 5–8. National Statistical Institutes, 2019. CA, 2016.

Note. Adapted from the National Statistical Institutes, 2019. Canada, 2016

Educational attainment rates across many Nordic countries do not differ much because of the national comprehensive school systems, which are based on principles of economic and regional equality. In one sense, this system has enabled women's education, and women are now often more educated than men. For example, in Greenland, women attain an education above lower secondary level more often than men. One out of five women chooses to pursue higher education, compared to only 10% of men. In 2014, approximately 62% of the educated population was female, and 75% of university-level students in Greenland were women. Still, women primarily chose coursework within welfare, business, or education, and men opt for engineering, construction, and transport services (Statistics Greenland, 2020). While there is a notion that "(y)oung Greenlandic women are taking over middle-aged Danish men's jobs" (Oddsdóttir et al., 2015, p. 72), women are not as well represented as men at high level positions in politics and business, and, on average, earn less than men.

In addition to overall educational attainment, school completion rates exhibit gender differentials, especially in some parts of the Arctic. Until 2017, the high school graduation rate in the NWT has consistently been higher for females than for males (Government of the Northwest Territories, 2019). In a midterm perspective, more Indigenous women are obtaining a high school diploma, closing the gap between high school graduation rates for NWT Indigenous and Non-Indigenous females. Similar patterns are observed in Greenland and Alaska (Ministry of Education, 2018; Lowe & Sharp, 2021).

Leadership in business and economy

A manifestation of the glass ceiling is a persistent underrepresentation of women in natural resource management and business leadership positions. Although there is no comprehensive source of data for these, a review of the 2019 Alaska Native Corporations directors list demonstrates continuing lagging leadership in the for-profit corporate sector: Only seven out of the 26 listed corporations (regional and village) were led by women. Similarly, in the Faroe Islands only 28% of managers and directors were women (Statistics Faroe Islands, 2015). Although in several instances targeted programming (see section "Our Trailblazers" Programme, City of Yellowknife, Canada, below) or a quota system (e.g., in Iceland) were able to improve this situation, and there are excellent examples of women CEOs leading Native Corporations in Alaska and community enterprises (obschina) heads in Russia, the general pattern of women's underrepresentation in top business positions holds.

"Our Trailblazers" Programme, City of Yellowknife, Canada

Yellowknife is an important Arctic urban community in respect to gender empowerment and gender-focused civil society programming. "Our Trailblazers" is a promotional campaign by the City of Yellowknife to celebrate Yellowknife women who are excelling in their fields. The premise is that diversity is good for business and that organisations greatly benefit from having a diverse leadership team throughout the organisational structure, resulting in increased organisational effectiveness and improved financial performance. As successful leaders, Yellowknife's Trailblazers play a critical role breaking ground in the land of opportunities. They are considered pioneers in their own spheres.

Rebecca Alty, Mayor of Yellowknife: "We've got the 'Our Trailblazers' campaign, which is successful women in our community, whether it's a business-wise, elected official-wise, not-for-profits, and culture. So really finding those female role models, and it's a social media and media campaign, but showing the woman talking a little bit about her story, because it's just like a social media post. ... *Because if you can't see it, you can't be it".*

'Our Trailblazers' Programme, City of Yellowknife.

In Iceland, despite the introduction of the gender quota system, women's power and influence in business is still lacking. The main purpose of the quota system is to promote the rights of women and gender equality, although there is no penalty for non-compliance. Increased gender equality contributes to reduced homogeneity of boards, as too much homogeneity can pose a risk when it comes to decision making. In 2019, in companies with 50 or more employees 22,7% of CEOs, 26.5% of board members, 24.3% of board chairs and 23% of managing directors were women, with larger companies leading the way (Statistics Iceland, 2020). Although the latest figures show a development in the right direction, they fall short of the 40% envisioned by the law. Similarly, as of 2020, almost all leadership positions in Greenland's private and public organisations have male CEOs, including municipal directors, public department heads and heads of the biggest companies such as Bank of Greenland, Air Greenland, KNI, Royal Arctic Line, Royal Greenland, Tele Greenland and Nukissiorfiit. The only exception is a retail company Brugseni, which has a female CEO.

There is also horizontal segregation that follows a general trend of having female business leaders concentrated in services, education, childcare, health sector and retail. Glass ceilings and glass walls are often entrenched in women's own perceptions of the labour market and power: in the recent survey in Yakutia, female respondents expressed overwhelming skepticism about their ability to advance past existing barriers, while viewing women as more professional and productive than men (the project of the Union of Women's Organisations of Yakutia "Women of the North: Realization of Social Potential" (2018–2019); based on interviews with 200 respondents in the municipalities of the Republic of Sakha [Yakutia]). However, there are notable exceptions when women take leadership roles in male-dominated businesses, such as oil extraction and transportation (see section Women Business Leadership: Yakutia's Union of Truck Drivers, Russia, below).

At the same time, given the feminisation of human capital, women are poised to take on high-skilled and creative jobs of the future. Women already take a significant share of employment in the health and education fields (Walby et al., 2006). For instance, 40% of knowledge workers who participated in the Yukon Knowledge Sector Survey identified as female (Voswinkel, 2012). Expanding opportunities for non-standard (such as part-time) and remote employment may further open additional avenues for female workers' success in the knowledge-intensive sector, especially post-COVID-19.

Women Business Leadership: Yakutia's Union of Truck Drivers, Russia
by Maria Osipova

Founded in 2017, the Union of Truck Drivers in Yakutia is one of the largest independent associations of Sakha men. The Union's main objectives are coordinating members' activities, providing professional development, and strengthening truck drivers' authority. All of the Union's members (over one hundred Sakha truck drivers from different districts of Yakutia) are men. In Yakutia, truck driving is considered a male profession as it involves long distances in harsh weather conditions with a lack of facilities such as fuel and service stations.

The Union of Truck Drivers in Yakutia is led by a Sakha woman who is an active community leader and entrepreneur.

It is thus remarkable that the truck drivers' association is led by Evdokiya Dyachkovskaya, a Sakha woman and active community leader with experience in entrepreneurship. Under her leadership, the Union became an institution for legal representation and protection of truck drivers' rights. The Yakutian truckers' case is a showcase of female leadership in a male domain, that may have resulted from gender disparities in tertiary education.

Gender and resource extractive industries

Hegemonic masculinity permeates extractive industries, influencing how work is organised, the culture of the workplace, and who is employed. Since employment is described as one of the key benefits of resource development and since such employment is heavily gendered, men benefit more from resource development than women. Women currently account for approximately 14% of mining employees; however, the majority of women in the industry are clustered in catering and housekeeping, jobs that pay less and that often have worse working conditions than jobs viewed as masculine (Government of Canada, 2019).

Many studies demonstrate that resource extraction influences gender relations in northern Indigenous communities in the Arctic (e.g., Nightingale et al., 2017; Pauktuutit et al., 2015). Research indicates that women, especially Indigenous women, are more likely to be negatively affected by resource development than men, while they are less likely to benefit economically (e.g., Deonandan et al., 2016). For these reasons, Indigenous women's organisations in the Arctic have often been critical of mining and oil development projects in their territories and have sought to highlight family and community life and subsistence activities in their submissions to environmental assessments (Kennedy-Dalseg et al., 2018).

Narsaq Panorama. *jtstewart / Flickr*

Kuokkanen (2019) suggests that resource extraction also hampers Indigenous governance. According to Kennedy-Dalseg et al. (2018) and Mills and Simmons (in press), planning processes associated with resource extraction often overwhelm local planning priorities, denigrating both women and subsistence/land-based/traditional economies. They suggest that social and environmental planning should focus on Indigenous economies and social and cultural life within communities prior to considering participation in resource extraction.

Beyond employment, several community-level studies have recounted the negative effects that resource extraction has had on gender and social relations in communities, including greater gender income disparities as well as higher rates of substance abuse, gambling, single parenthood and family violence (Brubacher and Associates, 2002; Davidson & Hawe, 2012; G. Gibson & Klinck, 2005; V. Gibson, 2008; Government of Northwest Territories, 2017; Kuyek, 2003; National Aboriginal Health Organization, 2008).

The resource extraction sector is especially unequal with regard to gender when we examine women's involvement in resource management and access to benefits generated by the resource industry. Previous research registered a direct dependency between resource curse situations and rise of gender inequality (Lahey et al., 2014, p. 10). While large extraction and infrastructure projects in the

North tend to generally serve outside interests and are headed by men, they cause polarisation of local communities along different axes, including gender. Thus, extractive industries offer temporary jobs as unskilled workers or machine operators more to local men than to local women, who work either as cleaners and cooks or, more rarely, as high-skilled professionals.

Arctic conditions exacerbate the wage and employment gaps in the extractive sector. For example, in Chukotka, Russia, extractive industries provide very high wages, but employ very few women, twice below the national average for the industry. Chukotka mines mostly use the fly-in fly-out (FIFO) method, where the mine workers live in camps for one or two months. This creates obstacles for women because the work schedule interferes with family responsibilities. In addition, women are more often employed in the ancillary enterprises or offices, which often offer less pay and are frequently located outside of the Arctic, thereby limiting local job opportunities for female workers in the Arctic.

Another dimension of the resource sector's impacts on peoples' lives is the adverse effects of the FIFO working schedule on workers' families (Saxinger, 2016). The spouses of the mostly male FIFO workers, although not directly involved in the extractive activity or residing in the Arctic, feel financial, household management, social, and professional pressures imposed by the industry.

Gender and the public sector

The percentage of economically active women is high in the Nordic countries, indicating that women are adaptable and employable to a larger degree than their male peers in times of change in that part of the Arctic (Grunfelder et al., 2018). One feature of the welfare models prevalent in many Arctic regions is that of large public sectors, which are significant employers of women, for example, in nursing, teaching, pedagogy, social work, and care for the elderly. Employment in the public sector is character-ised by stability and offers various options for flexible work (e.g., part-time). Although less well-paid compared to the extractive sector, public jobs are a good alternative to unemployment. These jobs are important sources of income. Such jobs are typically located in more urbanised areas. In Iceland, as well as in most other Nordic countries, a large share of women living in rural areas and coastal communities work in service sector jobs, typically in healthcare or education. These sectors are prone to drastic cutting in times of economic crisis (Thorsdottir, 2014), exposing public sector female workers to layoffs and pay cuts.

The labour market in areas with extractive industry dominance pushes women to seek employment in other sectors, a part of the resource curse (Ross, 2012). Women workers find their niche in administra-tive work and other public jobs. However, these positions, even though they may require higher levels of education and experience, are frequently paid less than the predominantly male positions in mining and other resource industries.

Indigenous women and economic empowerment

It is important to recognise that economic empowerment as discussed in this report is a Western concept. Indigenous communities have undergone painful transformations caused by the western economic system since the first colonisers came to their lands. Before colonisation, Indigenous communities were economically largely self-sustained (Kuokkanen, 2011). In addition, traditional Indigenous economies used rules and mechanisms distinct from Western economies and were based on a variety of gender structures. Sharing was a common attribute of the Indigenous economy and remains an important part of a mixed economy today (Usher, 1976).

In many Arctic Indigenous homelands, economic security hinges on participation in the traditional/land-based/subsistence economies and sharing among family and kin networks, as well as on waged work and government transfers. To capture the social and cultural fabric of Northern economies, many scholars have used the term social economy (e.g., Natcher, 2009; Southcott, 2015). Understanding the gendered role of wage work and economic empowerment in these mixed economic settings requires understanding the role of gender at the household and community level, in addition to the gendered experiences of individuals (Quintal-Marineau & Wenzel, 2019) (see section Economic Empowerment for Indigenous Communities through Cultural Economy, p. 254).

Preperation of reindeer meet in Yamal, Siberia. *Evgenii Mitroshin / Shutterstock*

While economic activities based on the land remain highly important for social relations, cultural practices, and identity, and contribute to fate control, these activities are happening in a rapidly trans- forming economic environment. Today, most Indigenous People are engaged in the labour force, either as their main economic activity or as one occupation among others. In Canada although the majority of Indigenous northerners continue to participate in Indigenous/traditional economic activities, there is a gender disparity in their participation by type: In 2012, 59% of Inuit Nunangat women over 18 had participated in hunting, fishing or trapping in the previous year and 60% of women had participated in the gathering of wild plants or berries, compared with 82% and 42% of men respectively (Inuit Tapiriit Tanatami, 2018).

In the wage sector, an income gap exists between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples in the Arctic. These income differentials reflect differences in wage employment outcomes. Typically, Indigenous northerners have higher unemployment rates and lower participation rates in the wage sector (Lévesque & Duhaime, 2016). At the same time, Indigenous residents participate in a sub- sistence economy that may bring limited monetary income, although it greatly contributes to overall wealth and well-being. Indigenous women in Northern Canada, for example, cited the lack of jobs, training, and childcare assistance, as well as financial illiteracy, scarce housing, family violence, geographical isolation, and poor internet connectivity as barriers to wage employment (Pauktuutit, 2016; Statistics Canada, 2017). In a series of consultations organised by Pauktuutit-Inuit Women of Canada, many Inuit women listed self-confidence, self-esteem and mental health challenges as obstacles to their involvement in the labour market, along with sexism, cultural differences, and travel requirements.

Indigenous women have been able to take up many jobs in the public sector because they have had rel- atively higher educational attainment than Indigenous men (Pauktuutit, 2016). In addition, women are well-equipped to work in the public sector since many jobs in education, and health care are gendered as feminine. Political negotiations and land claim agreements contributed to shaping the economic landscape and employment options for Inuit women and men by expanding public sector job oppor- tunities (Quintal-Marineau, 2017). Benefit sharing arrangements are also opening more economic empowerment opportunities (Petrov & Tysiachniouk, 2019), although gender aspects of local hiring, training and investment associated with benefit sharing are yet to be well understood.

Economic Empowerment for Indigenous Communities through Cultural Economy

Climate change and extractivist industrialisation in the Arctic often result in shrinking traditional lands available, and diminishing opportunities, for traditional economic activities such as fishing, hunting, and reindeer herding, thus further challenging Indigenous Peoples' ability to practice their economies, cultures and traditional lifestyles. Out-migration of Indigenous youth to larger settlements exacerbates the disconnect of many Indigenous People from traditional economic activities and perpetuates assimilation and Westernisation.

Due to these changes and challenges, Indigenous communities are forced to look for alternatives for sustainable and self-sustaining economic activities. One of those options is the cultural economy. Indigenous communities in the Arctic are uniquely positioned to economically benefit from cultural activities while preserving their identity and control over material and spiritual culture. Elements of traditional knowledge, such as arts and crafts, are not only important components of Indigenous culture but can also be commodities that bring economic profit (i.e., cultural economy). Commercial arts and crafts are substantial and growing sectors of the northern economy in some parts of the Arctic (e.g., Canada and Nordic countries), although these sectors face numerous challenges (see Table 3). The cultural economy provides an important opportunity to promote female Indigenous entrepreneurship, because women play a leading role in traditional arts and crafts. Also, Indigenous women frequently are better prepared to deal with the Westernised business framework (Kuokkanen, 2011). Indigenous women usually are more educated, are more likely to live in settlements (villages, towns, cities) than men, and have access to cash flow and monetised activities.

TABLE 3: **Cultural economy: opportunities and challenges in the Arctic**

Opportunities	Challenges
• Creates employment opportunities in small settlements. • Maintains and reinforces the connection to land claims and rights. • May be instrumental for taking back cultural rights. • Income could be generated directly (if employing Indigenous artists and crafters) and indirectly (through purchasing handicraft or materials from Indigenous producers). • Supports sustainable development in Indigenous communities. Provides education and training. • Involves youth, women and rural residents. • Transmits tradition to young people and thus maintains cultural continuity. • Provides means to maintain cultural identity for Indigenous urban residents. • Reinvigorates appreciation of traditional arts and crafts through commercialised products. • Provides an avenue for popularising Indigenous culture. • Protects Indigenous cultural heritage from expropriation by outsiders while ensuring economic benefits to Indigenous artists and communities.	• Market access and size could be difficult. • Cultural appropriation and commodification remain a strong concern. • Need to have community consensus on appropriate ways to commercialise traditional arts and crafts. • Access to capital is a critical issue. • The so-called middle segment problem persists: How to connect artists to customers. • Restrictions exist on the use of some materials inherent for Indigenous arts and crafts (seal skin, walrus tusk, etc.). • Lack of training opportunities. • Challenges involving young people (lack of incentives and training). • Loss of access to land and sea will erode cultural production. • Efforts of young Indigenous People are often directed to protect Indigenous Peoples' rights with less time/effort left for other activities. • Outside interference by the government or big money may be problematic.

Note. Adapted from Korkina & Petrov (2017).

Gender economic empowerment appears to demonstrate a number of major trends and patterns (see Conclusions). As noted earlier, while we mostly focused on women's empowerment, these trends are often also indicative of the situation faced by other genders beyond the male/female dichotomy. Overall, we observe some important positive dynamics in women's empowerment and fate control that contribute to gender equality in the Arctic. These include the wage gap reduction, increasing employment opportunities, high educational attainment, increase in business leadership, and the changing role of women in the mixed economy.

Civic Empowerment

Civil society plays a vital role in highlighting and shaping social and political milieus for all genders' empowerment and thrivability. Affirmative action policies aimed at achieving all genders' empowerment in all spheres and at all levels can be successfully implemented in cooperation with actors. In politics, visibility of success stories from representatives of all genders in the public domain can increase the "likelihood of planning to be politically active and more likely to be politically engaged" (Fox & Lawless, 2014). In the political and economic spheres, flexibility of social norms on the basis of gender-determined roles can be advanced through leadership initiatives and social marketing campaigns that make successful political, economic, and civic leaders of all genders visible and thus shape peoples' perceptions of gender diversity in leadership (Toh & Leonardelli, 2013; for instance, see section Women's Recognition: Greenland's Arnarulunnguaq Prise, below).

Women's Recognition: Greenland's Arnarulunnguaq Prise

"No other woman in the world has taken such an extensive journey in the Arctic as Arnarulunnguaq..." (Vebæk, 1999, p. 81)

Since March 8, 2011, on International Women's Day, the city of Qaqortoq in South Greenland has been awarding an Arnarulunnguaq Prise to acknowledge women who played an important role in their community, as well as to give strength to the city's fellow sisters (Mølgaard, 2011; Sermitsiaq, 2011). The prise is named after one of Greenland's foremost women, Arnarulunnguaq, who participated in one of the most extensive Arctic expeditions: the 5th Thule Expedition in 1921–24.

Arnarulunnguaq, from the 5th Thule Expedition 1921–24.
Leo Hansen / National Museum of Denmark

In the Arctic regions, gender-oriented initiatives are well-represented in different forms, such as non-government organisations (NGOs) (e.g., Samtökin '78 (Iceland), Women's Union (Russia), Alaska NOW (USA), Pauktuutit – Inuit Women of Canada (Canada) [see section Empowering Inuit Women: Pauktuutit/Inuit Women in Canada, p. 258]); social-political movements (e.g., Kvennafrídagurinn (Women's Strike) in Iceland [see section Women's Day Off in Iceland, p. 257]); civic leadership initiatives (e.g., Girls4Girls in Iceland [see section Girls4Girls Initiative, p. 259]); leadership initiatives in the form of civic–government partnership (e.g., "Mom Is an Entrepreneur" (Yamal, Russia), Government of the Northwest Territories' Women's Campaign "She Can" and a promotional campaign by the City of Yellowknife, "Our Trailblazers" (Canada) [see section Campaign School for Women and "She Can" Campaign in the Northwest Territories, Canada, p. 243]); local self-organised groups (e.g., Nuuk Men's Group in Greenland) [see section Nuuk Men's Group, p. 256]); and initiatives in science (e.g., The Alaska Women's Adaptation Network (AWAN) in USA).

Nuuk Men's Group
by Søren Stach Nielsen, Greenland

The Nuuk Men's Group was founded in 2001; it was a group that participated in a therapy session led by three psychologists. The therapy group was established as an experiment for men aged 20 upwards with problems or challenges such as anxiety, anger or jealousy. The individual participants could—in the group's closed circle—talk about their experiences in daily life and challenges with different personal issues. Initially scheduled for three months, the group continued for years, helping dozens of participants.

The Framework

Two of us took on the task as group leaders and set up a Danish-speaking and a Greenlandic-speaking men's group. If you experienced anxiety, anger or jealousy, you could join the group. Very quickly we agreed that these were the three main points we had all struggled with. We quickly realised that advertising the group was a bad idea, as anonymity was important to the participants. There was also the common understanding that in a small community like Greenland, there was the perception that it is not manly to go to a men's group!

One of the three psychologists offered to help as a counselor for the group and at the same time acted as a psychologist for the participants who needed therapy before joining the group. These assessments were performed by the psychologist in collaboration with the group leader in order to see if there were individual issues that the group could not handle.

The Group's Activities

We quickly agreed that the group would meet twice a week, which helped to create unity. We had to learn to stand on our own two feet, so to speak. Later, the frequency of meetings was reduced to once a week.

The group was run as a self-help group. The method we used was like the one in the therapy group. In Alaska, I participated in a session called "Talking Circles". The group sat in a circle where everyone could have eye contact with everyone. It was just as much the task of group-leaders to build up trust within the group. But there was a difference from "Talking Circles". Here remarks are allowed, provided that you yourself have gone through the same experiences, good or painful. Sharing was important to the group, and one of the cornerstones of the group's work. As the months went by, the group's core—a handful of men—gained experience, and it took the group at least 5–7 months before new participants had enough confidence in the group and themselves to talk, especially when it came to sexual abuse. It took the group a few years to get there.

It became known in the local community that the men's group existed. It got so far that the municipality's social workers began to refer men to the group, men they thought could benefit from joining the men's group, especially men with anger. But it did not work in the long run. The group was referred to men who have completely different backgrounds, and after a year the group chose to drop this.

At the time of writing, I have had contact with the old participants in the group who are doing well, have grown a little older, in good courage and still use what the men's group taught them. They miss the group, even after 14 years.

Despite the great potential that civil society has to contribute to gender empowerment, it has its own gender-related issues to overcome. For instance, in Alaska's civil society sphere, the majority of employees are women (65%). Many top positions in NGOs, statewide foundations, and higher education institutions are occupied by female leaders, including the appointment of the state's first female University of Alaska president. Nevertheless, while being female dominated, the civil society organisations experience a similar gender pay gap to other sectors: female workers make less than their male counterparts in those occupations not considered traditionally female (such as support staff), and female executives make 69% of what male chief executives make (Foraker Foundation, 2020).

Women's Day Off in Iceland
Based on kvennafri.is/sagan

On October 24, 1974, Icelandic women observed what was called Kvennafrídagurinn (The Women's Day Off), known outside Iceland as the Icelandic Women's Strike. It was estimated that at least 90% of Icelandic women participated by not going to work and by doing no housework. An estimated 25,000 women gathered for a mass demonstration in downtown Reykjavík. The total population of Iceland was only 216,695 at the time. Mass meetings and demonstrations were also organised in smaller towns around Iceland.

From the women's day off in downtown Reykjavík, Iceland. *Sveinn Þormóðsson / Reykjavík Museum of Photography*

In an effort to blunt the radical edge of the action and make the event more appealing to the population, the planning committee settled on calling it a day off. The decision was also motivated by fear that if the action was called a strike, women who participated could be accused of engaging in a wildcat strike. Since wildcat strikes are illegal in Iceland, women could be fired for participating in a strike but not a day off. The action succeeded in paralysing the Icelandic economy, forcing businesses and government offices to shut down. The next day local newspapers ran stories about men who had to do the dishes for the first time, bring their children with them to work, and prepare dinner.

The impact of the strike was significant, as it helped change public opinion. A law was passed in 1976 banning wage discrimination on the ground of gender. The gender pay gap stood at more than 40% at the time: Women were paid less than 60% of what men were paid. According to the most recent data from Statistics Iceland, the average wages of women are currently 74% of the average wages of men. The unexplained gender pay gap is smaller, or 4.5%.

Icelandic women have gone on strike five times since 1975, in 1985, 2005, 2010, 2016 and 2018. The 1975 Women's Strike has become an inspiration for women in other countries to organise similar actions.

The United Nations proclaims gender equality in the media as one of the spheres where actions are to be taken, as media can play an important role in promoting gender equality and empowerment by shaping gender-based social norms and expectations. For instance, the way media portrays successful political leaders and candidates inevitably shapes peoples' perceptions of gender and how it correlates with leadership positions (Toh & Leonardelli, 2013). Mass media that associate underrepresented genders with leadership and success are effectively addressing the gender gap in such important spheres of personal empowerment as confidence (Carlin et al., 2018), competition, and self-promotion (Exley & Kessler, 2019; Kesebir et al., 2019; Niederle & Vesterlund, 2011).

Empowering Inuit Women: Pauktuutit/Inuit Women in Canada

Pauktuutit, established in 1984, is the national representative organisation of Inuit women in Canada and is governed by a 14-member Board of Directors from across Canada. Pauktuutit fosters greater awareness of the needs of Inuit women, advocates for equality and social improvement, and encourages Inuit women's full participation in the community, as well as in the regional and national life of Canada.

Inuit women continue to fight to have their rights respected and to be directly included, consulted, and engaged in decision making that affects their lives. Identified as one of the top three priorities for decades, Pauktuutit strives to achieve political equality and increase visible leadership roles for Inuit women in Canada.

Political Equality and Leadership for Inuit Women Programme

From Pauktuutit/Inuit Women in Canada, pauktuutit.ca

Identified as one of the top three priorities for decades, Pauktuutit strives to achieve political equality and increase visible leadership roles for Inuit women in Canada. As the national representative voice of Inuit women in Canada, Pauktuutit encourages and supports the full participation of Inuit women at regional, national, and international levels to ensure that their specific needs and priorities are not overlooked. Pauktuutit's work is grounded in culturally relevant and gendered responses to issues affecting Inuit women, with a central component being advocating for Inuit women's empowerment and leadership. Pauktuutit works to identify and address the issues directly affecting Inuit women, including specifying systematic issues inhibiting Inuit women's empowerment. The organisation also works identifying and analysing specific needs, priorities, and viewpoints for addressing issues affecting Inuit women's empowerment in addition to fostering an environment which produces leadership roles for Inuit women. Specifically, this involves ensuring that Inuit women's voices are heard within the Canadian public, other national Indigenous organisations, and the federal government.

There is little information about the participation of women in the decision-making roles in media organisations and media representation of different genders in the Arctic. Although not explicitly designed for the Arctic regions, comparative studies on gender in media conducted by the International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF), Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), and GEM-index project indicate clear signs of male dominance in the media sector. They also indicate the persistent or narrowing gender inequality gaps, particularly in such

critical positions as editors-in-chief. For example, Iceland took specific measures by adopting a Media Act to monitor gender equality in the media (2011), which appears to have resulted in changes towards better gender balance in the media (Mannila, 2017, pp. 44–47).

Girls4Girls Initiative

In the fall of 2017, a team of women in Iceland kicked off "Project Girls for Girls" in Reykjavík. This locally driven mentorship programme aims to empower young women to lead by building their skills, networks, and courage to act. It creates a platform for these young women, aged 18–25, to meet in small circles of colleagues close to their age and background, with an experienced woman (mentor) from the community. Throughout the programme's six mentorship meetings, different skills, including negotiation, leadership, communication, and office running, are discussed in a dialogue between the mentor and the mentees drawing from their real-life examples.

Photo courtesy of Halla Hrund Logadóttir

Today, close to 100 girls in Iceland have participated in Project Girls for Girls under the guidance of about 20 mentors from politics, academia, and the business community. A vibrant alumni network is operating, helping women grow and drive change in their community where needed.

Project Girls for Girls in Iceland is a part of Girls for Girls global, an organisation founded by nine women who met at Harvard, including the Harvard's Arctic Initiative's Co-Founder Halla Logadóttir. The mentorship material is based on proven methods taught at Harvard's Kennedy School with contributions from several professors who serve on Project Girls for Girl's global advisory board.

The Project now operates in over 20 countries worldwide, each led by local leaders and tailored to each community's needs. It has served over 2000 women. Might this be an opportunity for your organisation or community in the Arctic? Learn more and apply to set up your Girl for Girls operation by reaching out at www.projectg4g.org, or through Facebook and Instagram.

Therefore, alongside political and economic fate control, civic empowerment is becoming essential for community thrivability. Given the diversity of civil society actors and engagement forms, as well as societal contexts in the Arctic, it is feasible to describe civic empowerment through place-based examples of gender-focused civic actions.

Concluding Remarks

All genders' empowerment – opportunities for equal and meaningful participation in decision making and responsibility sharing in all spheres at all levels – is key to community sustainability, resilience, and thrivability. Ability of all genders to thrive both contributes to community thrivability and depends on it.

Moving gender empowerment and fate control from the periphery to the center of public policy discourse and decision making is vital to achieving Sustainable Development Goals in the Arctic.

The Arctic is diverse. There is no one-size-fits-all policy solution to gender empowerment gaps. Culturally, politically, and economically diverse Arctic regions require different approaches to improve gender empowerment and overcome gender inequality and inequity.

Gender mainstreaming in policy and research plays an important role in attaining gender empowerment at the circumpolar and national scales, and it should be continued while placing more emphasis on regional to local (community) levels.

Underrepresented genders' access to and participation in political, economic, and civic spheres still needs to be improved. In some Arctic communities, a particular focus should be placed on men's empowerment and individual fate control.

Indigenous Peoples' traditions and perspectives on gender and gender equality are critical for developing a comprehensive understanding of gender empowerment in the Arctic and should be acknowledged and incorporated in the theoretical and practical framework of gender knowledge building and policy.

Acknowledgements

Policy Relevant Highlights

Empowerment for all genders is essential to Arctic societies thrivability and sustainable development.

The ability of all genders to thrive both contributes to community thrivability and depends on it. Moving gender empowerment and fate control from the periphery to the center of public policy discourse and decision making is vital to achieving Sustainable Development Goals in the Arctic.

Maintain focus on gender empowerment and relevant research to improve the knowledge base across the Arctic. Insights from qualitative studies have indicated that there may be more subtle aspects of power and influence than currently considered in policy development. Gendered economic empowerment remains marginalised and isolated as a research focus.

Improve gender-specific data collection and availability. Gender-disaggregated and comparable statistics should be compiled, reflecting employment, occupations, income, decision-making power and effects on local communities. These statistics should be comprehensive and track development over time. Such a database will also serve to emphasise the contributions Arctic residents, women and men, are making to the economy.

Establish a system of monitoring based on gender empowerment indicators at the national, regional, and community level. Allocate sufficient funding for assessment of gender empowerment in politics and public administration, emphasising data analysis and good practices. Support monitoring and research at all levels using a Gender Empowerment Index that encompasses Gender Political Empowerment, Economic Empowerment and Gender Media Indices.

SDWG: Encourage regular reporting on data, policy updates, and good practices in achieving all genders' political, economic and civic empowerment.

SDWG/SECEG: Develop a framework for a monitoring system by developing and implementing gender empowerment indicators and a Gender Empowerment Index across Arctic jurisdictions.

SDWG: Create an Arctic Gender Empowerment Initiatives Hub to exchange knowledge and expertise to facilitate all genders' empowerment in political, economic, and civic spheres by sharing new ideas, perspectives, good practices, and strengthening connections across Arctic communities to thrive through the challenges they face.

The Arctic is diverse. There is no one-size-fits-all policy solution to address gender empowerment gaps.

Culturally, politically, and economically diverse Arctic regions require different approaches to improve gender empowerment and overcome gender inequality and inequity. The gendered economic land-scape is becoming more complicated as different social, economic, ethnic, and gender groups become more distinct and recognised. Underrepresented genders' access to and participation in political, economic, and civic spheres still needs to be improved.

The analysis of economic empowerment must be more nuanced and account for various gender and other identities prevalent in diverse Arctic societies.

Indigenous Peoples' traditions and perspectives on gender and gender equality should be acknowledged and incorporated into legal, theoretical, and practical frameworks of gender knowledge for a comprehensive understanding of gender empowerment in the Arctic.

Mainstreaming gender equality and empowerment at national, regional, and local levels, plays an important role in attaining gender empowerment in political, economic, and civic spheres.

Given the diversity in political, legal, and sociocultural environments across the Arctic, there are no universal policies and mechanisms to fully guarantee equal access to all levels of power and across different sectors to all genders.

> Consider, where appropriate, policy measures such as quota systems, legislation, affirmative action, and support for training and education to alleviate existing gaps (including in STEM disciplines, entrepreneurship, and business management skills).

> Include specific outcomes with timeframes in gender-oriented policies, concrete gender action programmes and implementation plans.

> Create or strengthen existing gender equality institutions and practices. This would include gender-oriented task forces in national (central) and regional ministries, administrative bodies, and parliamentary committees on gender equality aimed at assessing barriers for genders' political empowerment, monitoring gender (in)equality trends, gender gaps, compliance with national laws, and preparing recommendations. In addition, enhancing gender diversity in party nominations and recruitment could be a promising practice.

> The public administrative sector to place a special focus on reviewing internal regulations pertaining to recruitment and promotion policies, hiring procedures, and gender-sensitive language in vacancy description to encourage all genders to apply. Further, develop an effective, comprehensive system of awards and penalties for achieving or disregarding gender equality principles.

Persistent gender gaps in Arctic government institutions, education, politics, economy, and media and civic society.

Women are taking the lead in educational attainment and they are becoming the leading force of human capital accumulation, especially when it comes to tertiary education, with the exception of the STEM disciplines. While the role of women in human capital in the Arctic is increasing, the out-migration of educated women or women seeking greater education opportunities remains a concern. Concomitantly, the Arctic faces an emerging reverse education gap when men as a group, tend to have lower educational attainment than women.

Gender gaps in politics, although they vary significantly across Arctic countries and across the regions/ subnational entities, are observed in respect to both numeric representation and access to top leadership positions at all levels at Arctic government institutions. In addition, higher political stakes correspond to greater gender gaps in most circumpolar jurisdictions, resulting in more profound inequalities at the regional level than at city and local community levels. In some Arctic communities, there is an emerging phenomenon of reversed gender disparity related to male underrepresentation that also needs to be addressed.

In most Arctic regions, even though Arctic women as a group have higher levels of education than men, women on average earn approximately 20% less than men. There are significant employment and occupational inequalities with women heavily represented in the public sector, but less commonly employed in the resource sector jobs, which normally provide better compensation. Indigenous women play a significant role in the public sector, while maintaining subsistence practices and taking advantage of new economic opportunities, such as the cultural economy.

Civil society actors, which contribute to successful implementation of affirmative action policies by increasingly shaping perceptions of gender diversity in leadership, experience horizontal gender-based occupational segregation. Females dominate in the non-profit sector and males dominate in the media sector.

Ensure an inclusive approach to gender equality. The focus on women, prevalent in existing literature and practice, should not diminish opportunities for other genders, including men, who, as a group, now tend to have lower educational attainment than women and may need support to close the education gap. Indigenous traditions can be considered in further research as good practices for achieving gender parity.

Strengthen civic–government cooperation. Allocation of funds for civic–government joint programmes and project implementation is an integral part of affirmative action policies. To promote ideas of gender equality, alter mindsets, and improve perceptions of gender equality, as well as all genders' empowerment, a particular focus can be placed on educational, leadership, and advertising gender-oriented programmes. Strengthening and visualising ideas on gender diversity in leadership positions in politics, public administration, economics, and civil society may gradually contribute to creating new social, political, and cultural norms and expectations.

The Council/SDWG: Promote collaboration with the Arctic Economic Council and to establish a working group on Gender Economic Equality and Empowerment.

Continual patterns of gender-related clustering in government institutions and business.

Men are overrepresented in governance of the most vital economy sectors (e.g., extractive industries, infrastructure, transportation, fisheries, military, homeland security, law enforcement, etc.). Less prestigious segments of public governance, traditionally perceived as female domains, are often predominantly (or entirely) occupied by women. Moreover, women occupy a limited number of business leadership positions and often suffer from continuing discourses of the primacy of men's work, occupational bias or restrictions, and unfair labour practices.

Develop a networking and action platform for women policymakers in the Arctic. This initiative (e.g., a caucus, network, working group, etc.) to share experiences, promote gender equality initiatives, and provide inspiration and training for the new generations of female policymakers, can be expanded to other underrepresented genders in the future.

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Professorial Lecturer at the George Washington University (GWU), USA, and Advisor to the Chancellor at the Russian State Hydrometeorological University (RSHU). In addition to her work in academia, she participated in a wide range of social projects. She was a founder and chairwoman of the Center for Civil, Social, Scientific, and Cultural Initiatives "STRATEGIA" (2007–2015), and also served as a Galina Starovoitova Fellow for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution at the Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center. Since 2014, Dr. Rozanova-Smith has been (co-)organising international academic projects on a wide range of Arctic issues that have brought together representatives of social and natural sciences, Indigenous communities, and policymakers. She has also initiated educational programs and informal surveys conducted in close collaboration with Indigenous communities and their leaders in Russian Arctic regions. She is currently teaching the course The Arctic in International Affairs at the GWU. Dr. Rozanova-Smith's research interests include Arctic governance, Indigenous empowerment, diversity, and women's participation in politics and government in the Arctic.

Dr. Eva-Maria Svensson

Professor at the Department of Law, School of Business, Economics, and Law, University of Gothenburg. She was the Director of the Centre for Interdisciplinary Gender Research at the University of Gothenburg between 2012 and 2017, and since July 2018 she has been Deputy Head of the Department of Law. Her research interests are feminist legal studies, legal philosophy and theory, freedom of expression, and aging. She teaches equality and antidiscrimination law as well as legal theory. She is one of the editors of several collections gathering feminist legal scholars in the Nordic countries, and one of the authors of a textbook on gender legal studies (2009/2018). During 2005–2015 she was Professor at the Faculty of Law at the Arctic University of Norway. During that period, together with colleagues she established the interdisciplinary Research Network on Gender Equality in the Arctic (TUARQ). She was also part of the Nordic Research Network for Sámi and Indigenous Peoples' Law (NORSIL). Several workshops have been organised within the networks, leading to presentations at conferences and several publications in journals (Arctic Yearbook, Nordic Journal on Law and Society (NJOLAS), and Yearbook of Polar Law) and books published by Ashgate, Palgrave Macmillan, and Springer).

Varvara Korkina Williams

Kumandin Indigenous scholar, working with Indigenous entrepreneurship, cultural economy and sustainable development. She is a project coordinator at the ARCTICenter, University of Northern Iowa. Varvara is an Indigenous youth and human rights activist with interests in dynamics of Indigenous cultures and community well-being, and cultural economy. Her thesis was based on her experiences, looking at cultural economy as an opportunity for the sustainable development of Indigenous communities. She currently leads the project Arctic Young Indigenous Leaders and has worked with Indigenous youth in Russia from 2010, including projects on the arts, cultural identity of Indigenous youth in big cities, split identity of Indigenous youth, and cultural rights. Varvara was also a trainer for the Summer school for Young Leaders and has been the coordinator of Russian Indigenous groups in various projects. Varvara's research has looked cultural economy through a solution-oriented approach, especially for women. Her research results were successfully implemented by a young female entrepreneur, in the Altai republic. This was a local business who hired victims of domestic violence, older women from remote villages or vulnerable young girls without higher education, to produce locally sourced product.

Dr. Karla Jessen Williamson

Assistant Professor at Educational Foundations, University of Saskatchewan in Canada. She is a kala-aleq, an Inuk born in Appamiut, western coast of Greenland, and grew up in Maniitsoq. She speaks her Inuktut dialect fully because she was totally immersed into the worldview of the Inuit. As a matriarch, she has two adult children and three grandchildren. The latter are fluent speakers of their grandmother's Inuktut language while growing up in Iqaluit, Nunavut. As an Indigenous researcher, she focuses on the well-being of Indigenous children, their families, and communities and always looks for ways in which the aspirations for their autonomous rights are materialised. She speaks and writes about Indigenous paradigms and philosophies and remains committed to making contributions to Indigenous ancestors' insights into humanity. Karla is well-appreciated locally, nationally, and internationally and is involved in significant national and international bodies where she emphasises decolonisation processes. She is also an accomplished poet.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AAC Arctic Athabaskan Council

AACA Adaptation Actions for a Changing Arctic

ABA Arctic Biodiversity Assessment

ACAP Arctic Contaminants Action Program
(Arctic Council Working Group)

ACIA Arctic Climate Impact Assessment

AHDR Arctic Human Development Report

AIAN American Indian Alaska Native

AKNWRC Alaska Native Women's Resource Center

AMAP Arctic Monitoring and Assessment
Programme (Arctic Council Working Group)

AMSA Arctic Marine Shipping Assessment

Arctic-FROST Arctic Frontiers Of Sustainability:
Resources, Societies, Environment, and
Development in the Changing North

ATVs All-terrain vehicles

AYN Arctic Youth Network

AZRF Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation

BBC British Broadcasting Corporation

BCE Before Common Era

CA / CAN Canada

CAFF Conservation of Arctic Flora and
Fauna (Arctic Council Working Group)

CBC Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

CBD Convention on Biological Diversity

CBM Community-based Monitoring

CBR Canadian Bill of Rights

CBS Columbia Broadcasting System

CCPR Human Rights Committee

CDC Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

CEDAW Convention on the Elimination of All
Forms of Discrimination Against Women

CEO Chief Executive Officer

CERD The Committee on the Elimination
of Racial Discrimination

CESCR Committee on Economic,
Social, and Cultural Rights

CHRA Canadian Human Rights Act

CoE Council of Europe

COPs Conferences of the Parties

COVID-19 Coronavirus disease 2019

CRC Convention on the Rights on the Child

CRPD Convention on the Rights of
Persons with Disabilities

DPSIR Drivers-Pressures-State-Impacts-Responses

DRR Disaster Risk Reduction

EA Environmental Assessments

ECHR European Convention of Human Rights

ECOSOC Economic and Social Council

EEA European Economic Area

EGI Environment and Gender Information

EIAs Environmental Impact Assessments

EIGE European Institute for Gender Equality

EPPR Emergency Prevention, Preparedness,
and Response (Arctic Council Working Group)

EU European Union

FBI Federal Bureau of Investigation

FEMARC Female Arctic: Empowering
Young Women in Industrial Cities in the
Russian Arctic (Nordregio project)

FI Finland

FIFO fly-in, fly-out workers

FO Faroe Islands

GAP Gender Plan of Action

GAT Gender Action Team

GBA+ Gender-based Analysis

GBV Gender-based Violence

GCI Gwich'in Council International

GCR Greenland Commission for Reconciliation

GDP Gross National Product

GEA Gender Equality in the Arctic

GEIA Gender Equality Initiative in International Affairs

GEM Gender Empowerment Measure

GEPA Gender Equality in Public Administration

GGCA Global Gender and Climate Alliance

GGEO Global Gender and Environment Outlook

GGGP Global Gender Gap Report

GL Greenland

GMMP Global Media Monitoring Project

GNWT Government of the Northwest Territories

GPI Gender Parity Index

GR General recommendation

GWU George Washington University

HR Human Rights

HRC Human Rights Committee

IACN Icelandic Arctic Cooperation Network

IASC International Arctic Science Committee

IASSA International Arctic Social Sciences Association

ICC Inuit Circumpolar Council

ICCPR International Covenant on
Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR International Covenant on
Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights

IDEA Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

IHACC Indigenous Health Adaptation to Climate

IHRISN Institute for Humanities Research
and Indigenous Studies of the North

ILO International Labour Organization

ILO 169 Indigenous and Tribal
Peoples Convention, 1989

IPCC Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

IPOs Indigenous Peoples Organisations

IPV Intimate Partner Violence

IRS Indian Residential Schools

IS   Iceland

IUCN   International Union for Conservation of Nature

IWGIA   International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs

IWMF   International Women's Media Foundation

LGBT+, LGBTQ+, LGBTQI+, LGBTQIA+, LGBTQIA2S+   Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intergender, Asexual, Two-spirit, plus other terms for self-identity

LWPG   Lima Work Program on Gender

MFA   Ministry for Foreign Affairs

MMIP   Missing or Murdered Indigenous Peoples

MSU   Moscow State University

NAO   Nenets Autonomous Okrug

NATO   North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NBSAPs   The National Biodiversity Strategies and Action Plans

NCM   Nordic Council of Ministers

NGO   Non-governmental organisation

NHRA   Nunavut Human Rights Act

NIMMIWG   National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls

NO   Norway

NTHRA   Northwest Territories Human Rights Act

NWT   Northwest Territories

OAS   Organization of American States

OECD   Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

OHCHR   Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

OSAGI   Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues

PAME   Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment (Arctic Council Working Group)

PCBs   Polychlorinated Biphenyls

PIRE   Partnership for International Research and Education

POPs   Persistent Organic Pollutants

PRIO   The Peace Research Institute Oslo

RSHU   Russian State Hydrometeorological University

RU   Russia

SAGA   STEM and Gender Advancement

SAON   Sustaining Arctic Observing Networks

SCC   Supreme Court of Canada

SDG(s)   Sustainable Development Goal(s)

SDVCJ   Special Violence Court Jurisdiction

SDWG   Sustainable Development Working Group (Arctic Council Working Group)

SE   Sweden

SECEG   Social, Economic, and Cultural Expert Group

SIDA   Sweden's Government Agency for Development Cooperation

SMR   Standardised Mortality Ratio

SRS   Summary Reporting System

STEM   Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics

SWIPA   Snow, Water, Ice, Permafrost in the Arctic

TEK   Traditional Ecological Knowledge

The Council   The Arctic Council

TRC   Truth and Reconciliation Commission

UArctic   University of the Arctic

UCR   Uniform Crime Report

UDHR   Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UGEEA   Understanding Gender Equality and Empowerment in the Arctic

UiT   University of Tromsø

UN   United Nations

UNCCD   United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification

UNCED   United Nations Conference on Environment and Development

UNCLOS   United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

UNDRIP   United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

UNEP   United Nations Environment Programme

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

UNFCCC   United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

UNGA   General Assembly of the United Nations

UNI   University of Northern Iowa

UNODC   United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

UNSC   United Nations Security Council

UNSCR   United Nations Security Council Resolution

UNTERM   United Nations Terminology Database

USA / U.S.   United States of America / United States

VAWA   Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act

VNR   Voluntary National Reviews

WCDRR   World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction

WEFC   Women Engage for a Common Future

WGs   Working Groups

WHO   World Health Organization

WoA   Women of the Arctic

WOC   Women's Adaptation Network

WPS   Women, Peace, and Security

WRVH   World Report on Violence and Health

WSI   Women in the Seafood Industry

WWF   World Wildlife Fund

WWII   World War II

YAG   Youth Advisory Group

YALReP-program   Young Arctic Leaders in Research and Policy

YaNAO   Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug

YHRA   Yukon Human Rights Act