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GENDER EQUALITY IN THE ARCTIC PHASE 3

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EMPOWERMENT AND FATE CONTROL

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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

Tukumminngiaq Nykjær Olsen. *Arny Koor Mogensen*

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 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

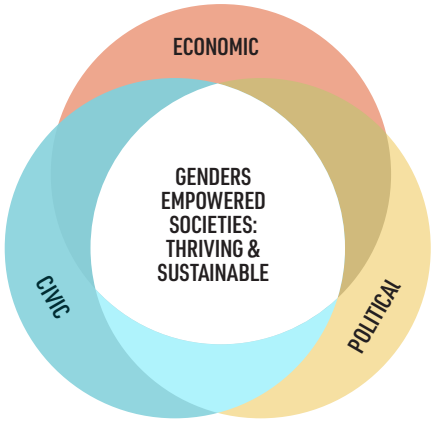
an individual must have the capacity to make their own decisions; they must also have the resources to implement them (Dahl et al., 2010). A community needs both the internal capacity and resources as well as a lack of external barriers to make and implement decisions (Ibrahim & Alkire, 2007, p. 11). 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]	CITY LEVEL	LOCAL MUNICIPAL (COMMUNITY) LEVEL	REGIONAL LEVEL[2]	REGIONAL LEVEL[2]
Legislative Body	Executive Bodies				
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). 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 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*

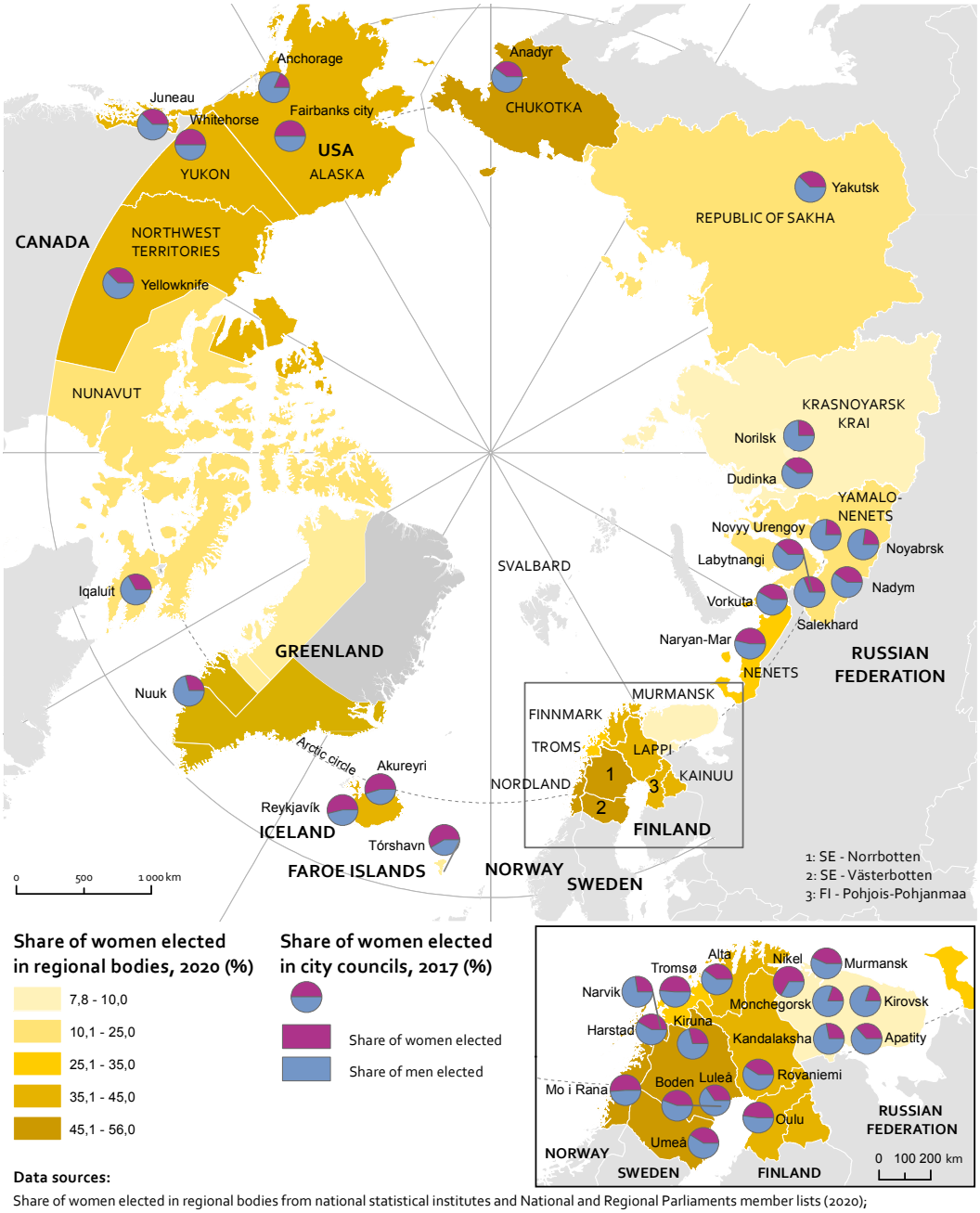
The GEA indicators are not fully applicable to assess gender empowerment in northern Indigenous societies due to the differences in interpretations of the notions of gender, power, and empowerment. For many Indigenous Peoples, the existing public institutions are critically viewed as deeply rooted in 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 (%)**



Data sources:

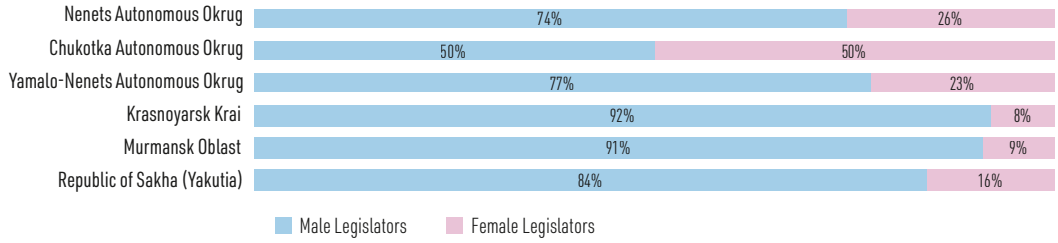
Share of women elected in regional bodies from national statistical institutes and National and Regional Parliaments member lists (2020); share of women elected in city councils from the PIRE dataset (2017-2020): https://blogs.gwu.edu/arcticpire/project-publications/data/

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).

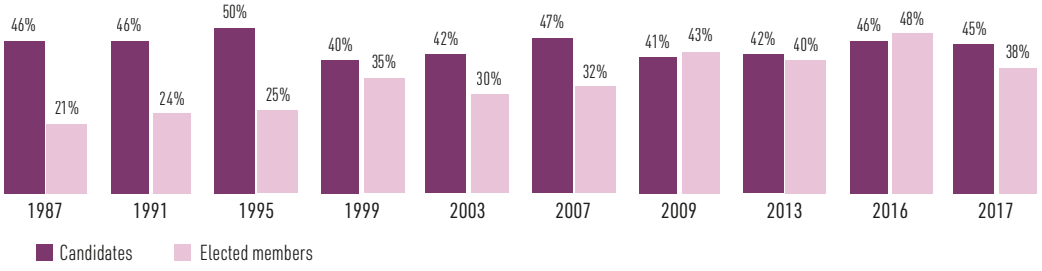
FIGURE 3: **Share of male and female legislators in regional elective bodies in the Russian arctic, 2020**



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.

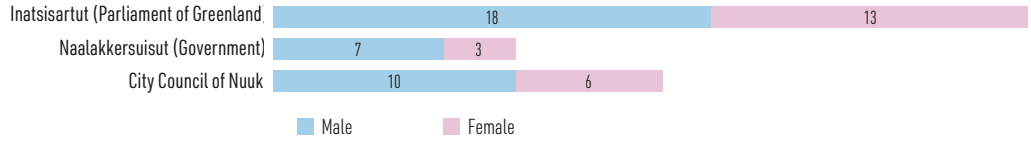
FIGURE 4: **Women as percentage of candidates and elected members in Icelandic parliamentary elections, 1987–2017**



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**

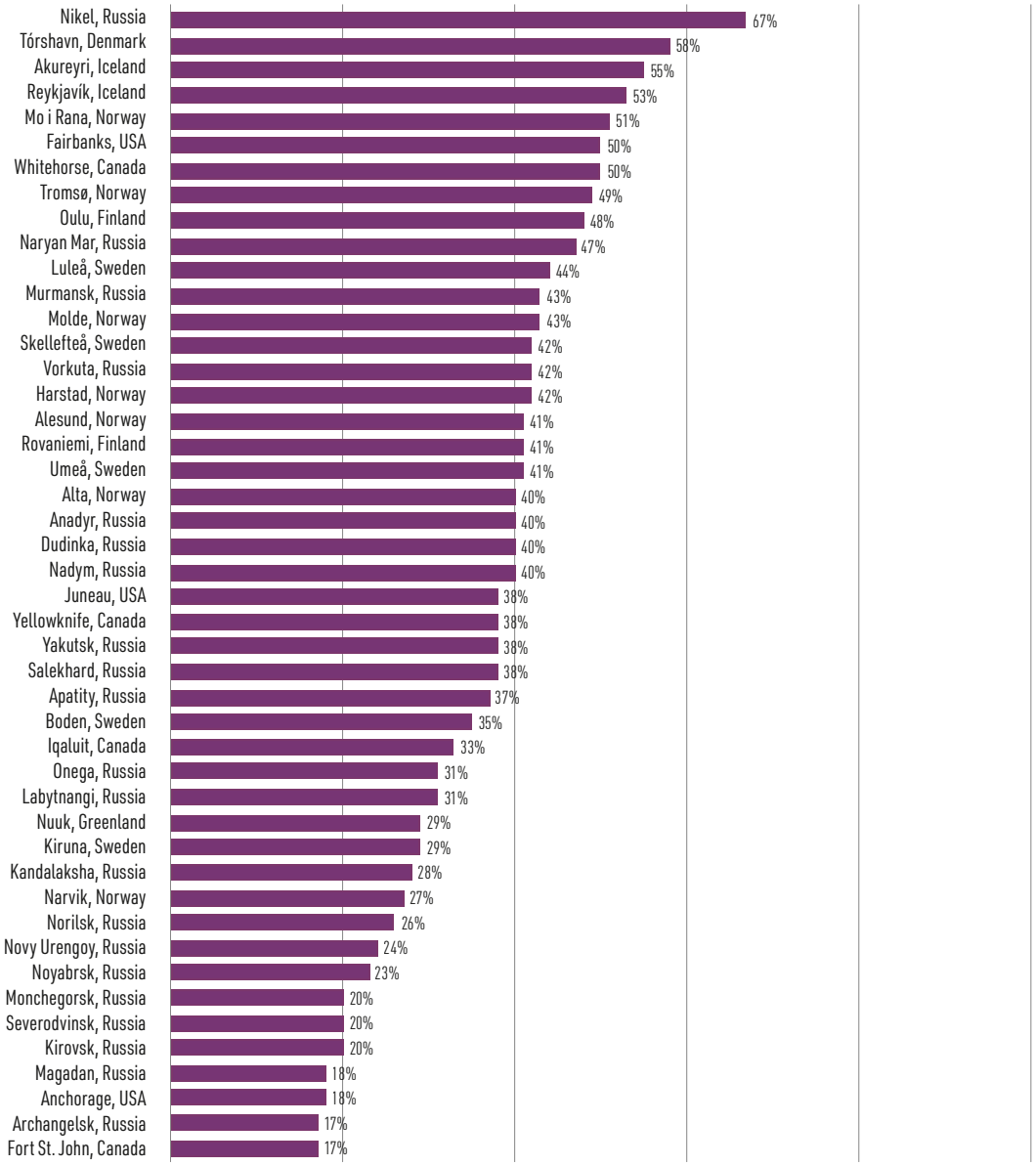


Source: Based on Sivertsen, Morten Fischer & Larsen, Anton Grau (2020). Magteliten i Grønland. Grønlands Kulturog Samfundsforskning, Grønlands Universitet Ilisimatusarfik. Retrieved, July 25, 2020, from: magtelite.dk/bogudgivelser/magteliten-i-gronland (Translation: The Power Elite in Greenland).

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.

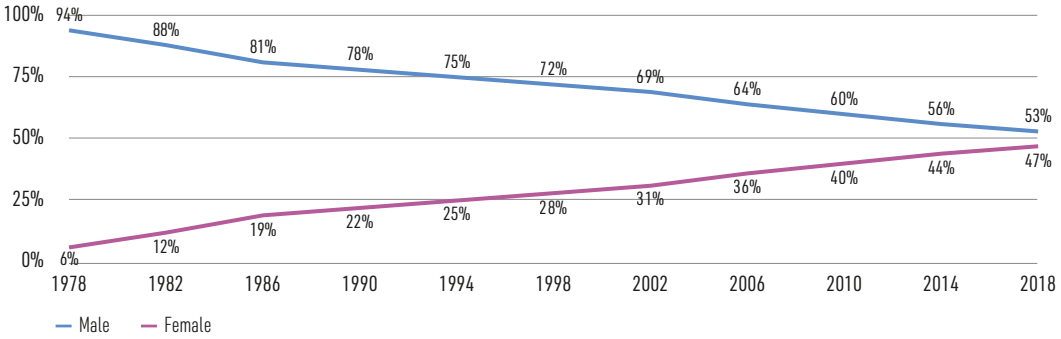
FIGURE 6: **Share of women elected to city councils**



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 composition 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**



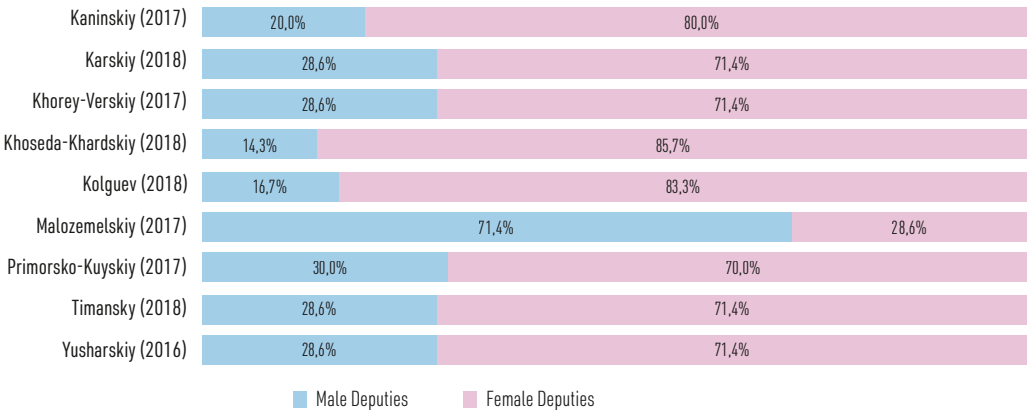
Source: Statistics Iceland. (2020). hagstofa.is/talnaefni/samfelag/laun-og-tekjur/laun

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 underrepresentation, 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)**



Source: Adapted from Rozanova & Mikheev, 2020.

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

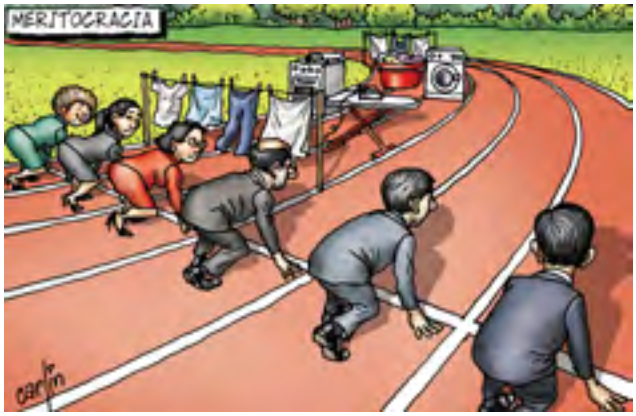
Across the Circumpolar North, the uneven distribution of political power across genders appears in vertical and horizontal clustering and persists at all levels and all spheres of politics and public administration. Gender-related vertical clustering occurs when genders are disproportionately presented 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.



Meritocracy may accentuate biases and stereotypes. *Carlos Tovar (Carlín)*

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, 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 Campaign School for Women has resulted in more women running for elected office.

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 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*

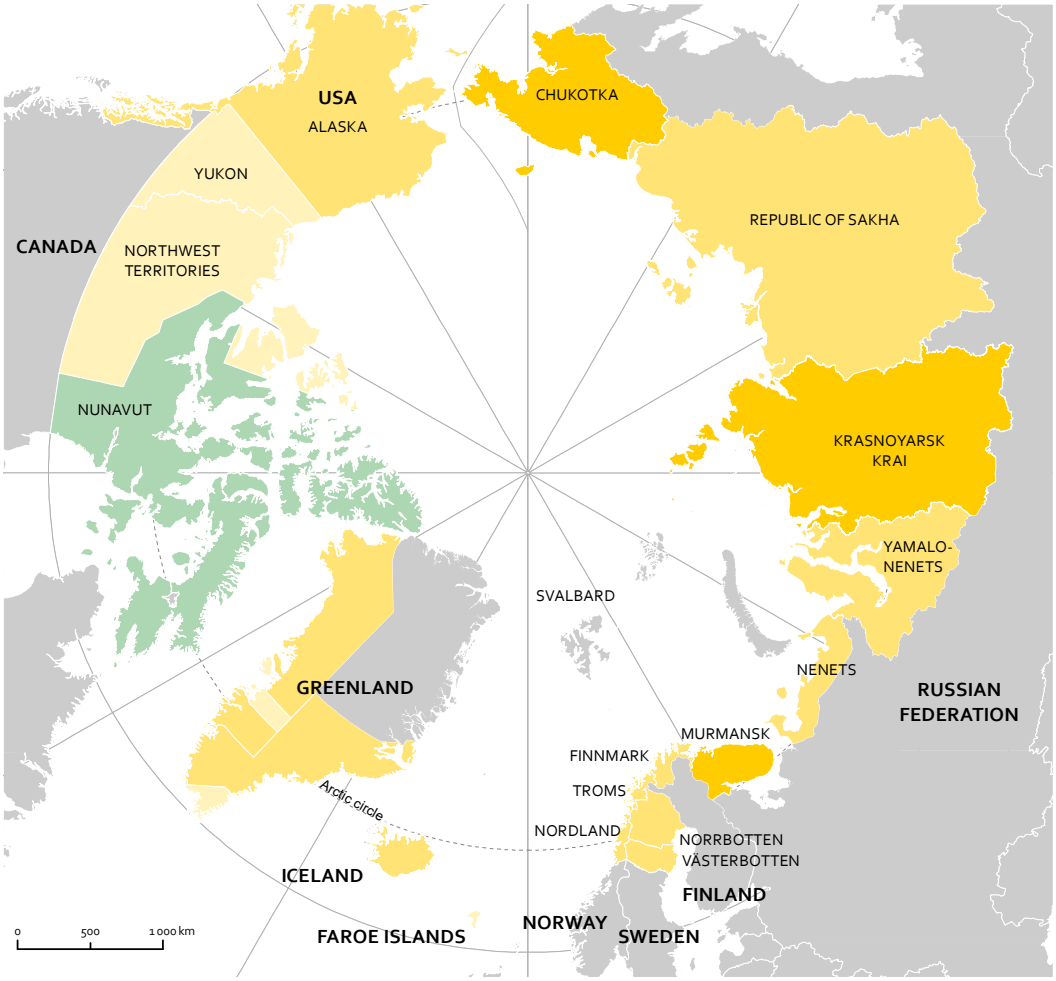
Economic empowerment indicators: A circumpolar overview

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	Low gap	Medium gap	High gap
- 6 - 0%	0 - 17%	17 - 29%	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).

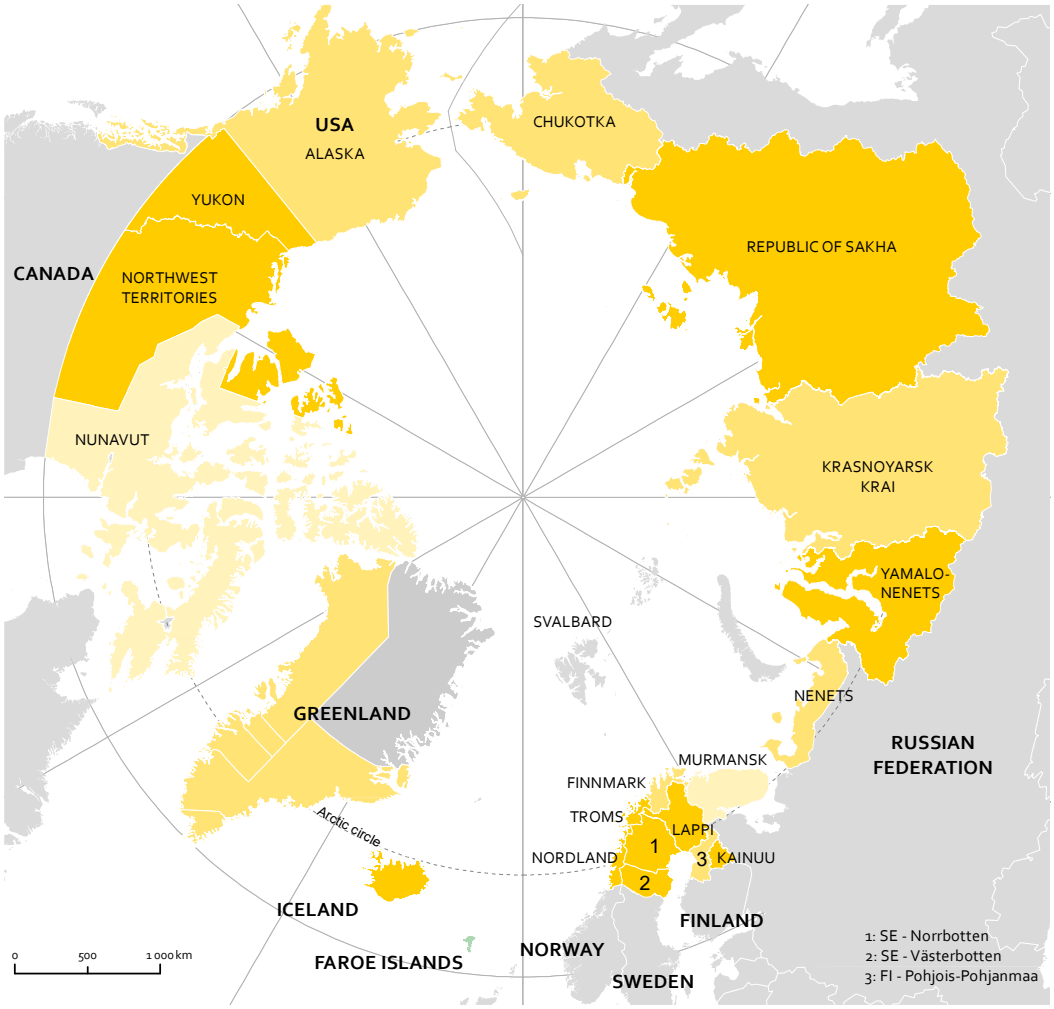
The lack of equal pay and wealth is not unique to the Arctic. Boschini and Gunnarsson (2018) found that while overall gender inequality has decreased in the world, it remains in all levels of the income distribution. In the Arctic, the situation has been improving, but the differential still persists. 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*

FIGURE 10: **Gaps in the share of men and women with tertiary education in the Arctic (%)**



Gaps in the share of men and women with tertiary education as highest level attained, 2019 (%)

Women education > Men education

Negative gap	Low gap	Medium gap	High gap
-8 - 0%	0 - 4%	4 - 8%	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.

'Our Trailblazers' Programme, City of Yellowknife.

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*".

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.

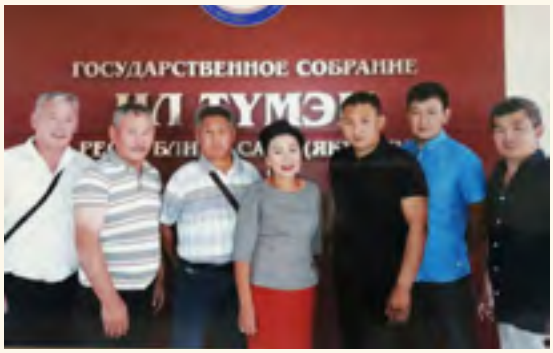
There is also horizontal segregation that follows a general trend of having female business leaders concentrated in services, education, childcare, health sector and retail. Glass ceilings and glass walls are often entrenched in women's own perceptions of the labour market and power: in the recent survey 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 characterised 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 administrative 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 transforming 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 subsistence 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 relatively 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 opportunities (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.

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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 landscape 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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