



Women's Participation in Decision-making Processes in Arctic Fisheries Resource Management

Arctic Council 2002-2004

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Preface

This report puts gender equality in natural resource management on the circumpolar agenda as part of the work of the Sustainable Development Working Group of the Arctic Council.

In 2002, the Taking Wing conference on gender equality and women in the Arctic was held in Finland, with a focus on the link between gender equality and natural resource management for sustainable development. The conference made the following recommendation, among others, to the ministers:

...to establish a project to analyse and document the involvement and role of women and indigenous peoples in natural resource management in the Arctic.

Norway followed up this conference and has contributed by putting gender equality questions on the agenda of the Arctic Council. The Northern Feminist University had participated in the Taking Wing conference at the invitation of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and after the conference developed a project proposal for the “Women’s participation in decision-making processes in Arctic Fisheries Resource Management” project. Project partners from the Arctic Council nation states and permanent participants were invited to participate.

Fisheries represent a traditional way of life and are of great economic and cultural importance to coastal populations in the Arctic, indigenous and non-indigenous Northern inhabitants. Women are part of these coastal settlements; fisheries resource management and regulatory measures affect their lives, yet they are not accorded stakeholder status or participatory rights in regulatory bodies.

This project has become a joint effort, with participants from Canada, Greenland, Iceland, the Faroes, Norway and Sweden both in the work group and in the International Steering Committee. The Sámediggi, the Sámi Parliament in Norway, followed up on the original recommendation by commissioning a report on the gender equality aspect of their fisheries policy. A summary of this report is included as a separate chapter in the report.

The report is based on statistics and fieldwork studies in the participating countries, and each national chapter contains both statistics on the fisheries in the country, a fieldwork report and in several cases, the author’s recommendations. In addition, the national project leaders have agreed on a set of recommendations to national authorities and to the industry, and the International Steering Committee has agreed to support these recommendations. These are found in a separate chapter in the report.

This report is intended to be easily accessible to the fish harvesters, their communities, politicians and the industry alike; therefore it does not contain extensive background data or references to scientific literature. We have hoped to provide a broad picture of fisheries in the Arctic, and some of the many ways in which women are part of this industry.

September 2004

Ann Therese Lotherington
Chair, International Steering Committee

Lindis E. H. Sloan
Project Co-ordinator

Introduction

The Arctic is home to more than four million people, representing more than forty cultural groups and peoples. The Arctic climate changes over the region, but what these people have in common is their experience of life in the Arctic, with all that entails. The area is rich in natural resources, and marine living resources in particular have been a mainstay of settlements, subsistence, prosperity and trade for millennia. Many Arctic peoples and communities today remain dependent on these resources, and marine resources are being either fully exploited or overexploited. Some fish stocks, like the Newfoundland cod stock, have even collapsed, and dire warnings from researchers and coastal populations have become commonplace. Fish harvesters tell of a management system that makes it profitable to dump undersize catch, which is rapidly losing legitimacy in the eyes of local populations, since quota allotment systems distribute the resources so that they do not always fall to those geographically closer. Conflict between coastal, artisan fishers and the corporate factory trawlers serve to make the problem even more Gordian in scope.

The traditional concept of fisheries is often narrowly defined through references to vessel and catch tons, boats, markets, labour and economic value. However, to develop Arctic fisheries further, discussions must be widened to include democracy, power and participation, and the socio-cultural dimensions of fisheries.

In order to ensure continued settlement and economic and socio-cultural development in the northern areas, there is a need to develop Arctic fisheries for the benefit of the people involved. The rural North is on the periphery, with relations to their own governments and political partners in the South. A number of UN declarations and international conventions on sustainable development have focused on the need for democratisation of decision-making processes (see below), and the importance of including stakeholder groups in processes affecting environmental issues and resource management is often stressed in this connection.

The Arctic Council

The Arctic Council is a high-level intergovernmental forum that provides a mechanism to address the



common concerns and challenges faced by the Arctic governments and the peoples of the Arctic north.

In 1991, the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy was adopted by the Arctic nations in order to promote environmental cooperation. Then in 1996, the ministers of foreign affairs from these states signed the Ottawa Declaration, and the Arctic Council was formed. The purpose of this cooperation is to protect the Arctic environment and fostering sustainable development as a way of improving the social, economic and cultural well-being of Northern residents.

The Arctic Council now includes eight nations that have territory in the Arctic North – Canada, Denmark (Greenland and the Faroe Islands), Finland, Iceland, Norway, the Russian Federation, Sweden and the United States of America.

Six international organisations representing indigenous communities in the Arctic have the status of Permanent Participants and are included in the work of the Council in full consultation with the participating governments. These organisations are the Aleut International Association (AIA), Arctic Athabaskan Council (AAC), Gwich'in Council International (GCI), Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON) and Sámi Council.

In addition, non-Arctic countries and organisations interested in the work of the council participate as observers.

The work of the Arctic Council is carried out in five working groups, these are

AMAP - the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Program

CAFF - Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna

EPPR - Emergency Prevention, Preparedness and Response

PAME - Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment and

SDWG - the Sustainable Development Working Group.

Among special initiatives currently being undertaken by the Council are the Arctic Council Action Plan to Eliminate Pollution of the Arctic (ACAP), the Arctic Human Development Report (AHDR) and the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA). The Sustainable Development Working Group has the Sustainable Development Action Plan (SDAP) as its special initiative for the upcoming Russian chairmanship (2004-2006).

The Northern Feminist University

The Northern Feminist University (NFU) is a private foundation situated in Steigen in northern Norway, that promotes women's rights by providing educational opportunities, developing networks and conducting research.

NFU administrates a network for women in the Barents region named "Femina Borealis – women and development in the North". The activity of this network is at the core of the idea of this project, and the network has provided additional expertise for the project. The South Africa Gender Advocacy Program (GAP) is linked to the NFU, and one of the main objectives of this cooperation is to develop an international leadership course to raise women's participation in decision-making processes. The NFU is also currently monitoring a democratisation project aiming at securing more women election to the European Parliament.

This project falls under the mandate of NFU through its focus on gender equality and because it raises questions concerning the empowerment of women and democratisation of decision-making processes.

Origin of project: Taking Wing

The first Arctic Council Conference on Gender Equality and Women in the Arctic, Taking Wing, was held in Saariselkä, Finland, August 3rd-6th, 2002. Considerable attention was paid to the roles of both indigenous and non-indigenous women in resource-based sectors and natural resource management in the Arctic in the efforts to promote sustainable development. The conference made the following recommendation, among others, to the ministers:

...to establish a project to analyse and document the involvement and role of women and indigenous peoples in natural resource management in the Arctic.

At the Arctic Council Ministerial meeting in Inari, the ministers asked the Senior Arctic Officials (SAOs) to consider and approve project proposals arising from the recommendations adopted by the Taking Wing conference (Report of SAOs, Inari 2002, p 30). This recommendation is included in The Inari Declaration (Human Conditions in the Arctic, p. 2).



Norway followed up this conference and has contributed by putting gender equality questions on the agenda of the Arctic Council. The Northern Feminist University had participated in the Taking Wing conference at the invitation of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and after the conference developed a project proposal for the “Women’s participation in decision-making processes in Arctic Fisheries Resource Management” project. Project partners from the Arctic Council nation states and permanent participants were invited to participate.

The project was presented at the Arctic Council meeting 7–8th April 2003, and was approved by the Arctic Council as a project under the Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG) work program for 2002–2004. Progress reports were presented in October 2003 and at the May 2004 meeting, and this final report is to be presented to the ministers in November 2004.

Sustainable Development

According to the Brundtland Commission’s “Action for Our Common Future” report, Sustainable Development is a way of doing things that allows people living today to meet their needs without making it difficult for future generations to meet theirs. Sustainable Development is a comprehensive term, involving people in their lives, with various needs of an economic, social, cultural and spiritual nature. All these must be met without endangering the needs of the future, for development to be sustainable.

People, the environment and the economy form three pillars of sustainable development, and it is important though difficult to keep all three in focus simultaneously. Economic development that does not take the social or environmental aspect into consideration may be very detrimental to the people traditionally making their living from the natural resources being depleted. Social sustainability depends on economic and environmental well-being, and the environment may suffer from over-exposure, both to economic activity and to intensive use by people for recreational purposes.

These are just some examples of Sustainable Development as focused on by the Arctic Council. The Arctic is more than a fragile environment; it is also home to Arctic Residents, who must be taken into consideration when economic or protective actions are planned. Sustainable economic activities and increasing community prosperity are closely linked; to be sustainable, Arctic communities must have an appropriate economic basis to ensure their survival. The management of natural, including living resources, must be based on sound science and traditional knowledge to maintain and develop local settlements in the Arctic. The active participation of those “on the ground”, who know the conditions of land and sea through generations, through tradition, and through their everyday lives, must be encouraged in planning for the future of the Arctic region.

In the 1992 Rio Declaration, principle 10 declares, “Environmental issues are best handled with participation of all concerned citizens, at the relevant level”. Principle 20 states, “Women have a vital role in environmental management and development. Their full participation is therefore essential to achieve sustainable development.” Further, indigenous peoples’ right to participation is stated in principle 22, “Indigenous people and their communities and other local communities have a vital role in environmental management and development because of their knowledge and traditional practices. States should recognize and duly support their identity, culture and interests and enable their effective participation in the achievement of sustainable development.”

Chapter 24.2 of Agenda 21 focuses on “global action for women towards sustainable and equitable development”, and proposes that national government adopt these objectives to “increase the proportion of women decision makers, planners, technical advisers, managers and extension workers in environment and development fields”, and that they “formulate and implement clear governmental policies and

national guidelines, strategies and plans for the achievement of equality in all aspects of society, including the promotion of women's literacy, education, training, nutrition and health and their participation in key decision-making positions and in management of the environment, particularly as it pertains to their access to resources, by facilitating better access to all forms of credit, particularly in the informal sector, taking measures towards ensuring women's access to property rights as well as agricultural inputs and implements. This is followed up in 24.3, which suggests activities for implementation, including taking "measures to review policies and establish plans to increase the proportion of women" in the abovementioned fields, to "strengthen and empower women's bureaux, women's non-governmental organizations and women's groups in enhancing capacity-building for sustainable development. Programmes to eliminate persistent negative images, stereotypes, attitudes and prejudices against women through changes in socialization patterns, the media, advertising, and formal and non-formal education." 24.7 states that "in order to reach these goals, women should be fully involved in decision-making and in the implementation of sustainable development activities" and 24.8 that "Countries should develop gender-sensitive databases, information systems and participatory action-oriented research and policy analyses with the collaboration of academic institutions and local women researchers on the following:

1. Knowledge and experience on the part of women of the management and conservation of natural resources for incorporation in the databases and information systems for sustainable development;
2. The impact of structural adjustment programmes on women. In research done on structural adjustment programmes, special attention should be given to the differential impact of those programmes on women, especially in terms of cut-backs in social services, education and health and in the removal of subsidies on food and fuel;
3. The impact on women of environmental degradation, particularly drought, desertification, toxic chemicals and armed hostilities;
4. Analysis of the structural linkages between gender relations, environment and development;

5. The integration of the value of unpaid work, including work that is currently designated «domestic», in resource accounting mechanisms in order better to represent the true value of the contribution of women to the economy, using revised guidelines for the United Nations System of National Accounts, to be issued in 1993;
6. Measures to develop and include environmental, social and gender impact analyses as an essential step in the development and monitoring of programmes and policies;
7. Programmes to create rural and urban training, research and resource centres in developing and developed countries that will serve to disseminate environmentally sound technologies to women."

The importance of encouraging among others women and youth to take education and training in order to enter coastal and marine management is further emphasised in chapter 17 of Agenda 21, which deals with the protections of the oceans.

The United Nations Agreement for the implementation of the provisions of the United Nations Convention on the law of the sea of 10 December 1982 relating to the conservation and management of straddling fish stocks and highly migratory fish stocks (UNCLOS, in force as from 11 December 2001), emphasises democracy in decision-making in its article 12. "States shall provide for transparency in the decision-making process and other activities of sub-regional and regional fisheries management organizations and arrangements", including who participates in decision-making fora and gets access to records and reports of such organisations and arrangements.

So, as seen above, in international agreements and declarations concerning sustainable resource management, gender equality and the rights of indigenous peoples, transparency and participatory practices are emphasised as a prerequisite for developing sustainable fisheries

However, what our study shows is that few fisheries management and regulations bodies in the Arctic take these concerns into consideration when appointing or hiring participants.



Women's participation in decision-making processes
in Arctic fisheries resource management – project structure

Project aims – brief summary

With fisheries in the Arctic as the area of research, the intent of this project was to do research on three levels of resource management.

- **Individual power** – ownership and leadership in fisheries and fishery-related businesses,
- **Structural or institutional power** – influence in the systems and bodies that determine quota regulations and
- **Discursive power** – the symbols, public images, assumptions and stereotypes that serve to uphold fisheries as a “male” domain.

These are treated comparatively in an international study, involving subprojects in Canada, Greenland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden and one initiated by the Norwegian Sámi Parliament. The Faroe Islands have been included in the comparative part, but not in a separate project due to the timeframe.

Project leaders – national level

Canada	Joanna Kafarowski
Greenland	Anna Heilmann
Iceland	Anna Karlsdóttir
Faroes	Marita Rasmussen
Sweden	Maria Udén
Sápmi	Elisabeth Angell
Norway	Lindis Sloan

The studies and the resulting project report include comparative background descriptions of the fisheries and the gender equality situation for each country, and an overview of important decision-making bodies in fisheries management at different levels in the Arctic.

International Steering Committee

The members of the steering committee are:

Chair:	Ann Therese Lotherington, PhD, Norut Tromsø, Norway
Norway:	Mariette Korsrud, Nordland Fisherwomen's Association, Janne Hansen, Aja Sámi Centre,
Canada:	Nicole Gerarda Power, PhD, Memorial University of Newfoundland,

Veronica Dewar, the Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association,

Greenland: Karna Jokumsen, Equality Council, (until May 2004)

Lene Kielsen Holm, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, Greenland,

Sweden: Inger-Ann Omma, Swedish Sámi Association,

In addition, the NORA (Nordic Atlantic Co-operation) contributed funds towards securing participation from Greenland and the Faeroe Islands; they appointed Nordland Regional Council Director Eirik Fiva their representative in the Steering Committee.

The goals of the project - expanded

- To describe, systematise and compare the roles of women in fisheries management in Arctic areas with respect to participation in decision-making processes.
- To develop tools and strategies that can be used to promote participatory values and practices.
- To establish a source of information that can be used in terms of economic, social and cultural development of the North.
- To increase transparency and democracy in fisheries management.
- To promote and establish international co-operation on gender equality in marine resource management.

The three levels of power

Statistics and indicators on the situation of women are important tools in promoting equality in different spheres of society. Gender statistics have an essential role in the elimination of stereotypes, in the formulation of policies and in monitoring progress toward full equality. In addition to statistics, qualitative analyses and interviews have been undertaken to expand on the reasons given for participation, or lack of participation, and also to see how women themselves view the resource management system and its effects on their own lives and on that of their communities.

In order to study the right and access to and control of resources, three main categories of information



have been identified: individual, institutional and discursive power. The report includes information such as the percentage of women participants in, for instance, committees and decision-making bodies in the sector, and at the statistics for women in businesses, as leaders or owners in the sector, and as employees in fish processing companies and the aquaculture sector in the participating countries.

1. Individual power – Issues relating to ownership and leadership

Fishing rights, the ownership and management of quotas, boats and enterprises are described in terms of gender. Being participants on all levels brings forth a feeling of obligation and a will to work towards developing the fisheries on a broad base. In addition to those who are directly involved in the industry, many women are involved in the fisheries in a more tangential manner, for instance as a fishing husband's support system or because they live in a community where a fish processing plant is the cornerstone. This part of the study relates to individual and institutional power, in that this has to do with both individual lives and power positions in society.

2. Institutional power – Fisheries resource management

The project focuses on participation and transparency in decision-making processes in resource management at international, national and local levels.

Quantitative and qualitative data have been utilized to document the formal and informal status of women in the management of fishery resources. The Sámi Parliament project has this as its special focus, in analysing access to the Regulatory Council where the Sámi have had one seat. What practical consequences has this participation had? Have women, in particular, used this influence? This is also the topic of a separate chapter in the final report, where we compare women's participation in the different systems for quota setting and management regimes in the project countries.

3. Discursive power – Ideological or symbolic power relations in the sector

Mechanisms and constraining factors preventing the participation of women in the official discourse of Arctic fisheries are discussed throughout. Who defines the concept of fisheries? What is and what should be the role of those in politics, the media, or academia in the production of perceptions and ideas related to fisheries? In the coastal communities, what are the attitudes to women in fisheries? In this section, female fishers and women who seek education in fisheries-related fields are of special interest, in that they represent what some see as a break with strong gendered traditions.

Women

As indicated by the project title, this project focuses on the women of Arctic coastal settlements. Women in many Arctic countries are actively involved in fisheries or their lives are affected in other ways by this sector, but they are poorly represented and seldom included in decision-making processes with regard to fishery management and resource management in particular.

The fact that most fishers are men often leads to the stereotypical assumption that the fisheries sector is a masculine sector. However, in many coastal communities, half or more of the labour force in the fish processing industry is comprised of women. Women also work extensively in family-based fishing firms. Even so, few women participate in the official discourse on the fisheries, and it seems that women in fisheries lack access to physical and capital resources, to decision-making and leadership positions, to training and formal education. Therefore there is a need to establish a knowledge base that can be used for promoting gender equality in the decision-making processes of the marine Arctic sector, for developing tools and strategies that can be used to promote participatory values and practices, and for encouraging and promoting international co-operation on questions concerning women's participation in fisheries.

Stable communities are important in order to be able to build and maintain a secure economic base in the north. When women are denied participation in the decision-making processes of marine resources, their knowledge of the fisheries and the resource base and even their business management skills are under-utilised. As shown in the upcoming Arctic Human Development Report, women in the Arctic take comparatively more education than the men, and they need to feel that their education is put to use in their home communities. Women must be seen as stakeholders in the resource and they must feel that fisheries are a part of their individual and family future as well as of the future of the community.

Collecting data concerning women's participation in all sides of fisheries and in decision-making processes within the sector can increase economic, social and cultural development in the Arctic. This because it will show how people are participating, how they can and want to participate and what can be done to secure these important stakeholders' participation in the future. For the fisheries sector, women are a capacity they cannot afford to lose.

Indigenous peoples

Gender roles have different meanings in different cultural systems, and the difference between indigenous peoples' understanding of gender and that of academia, policy-makers and national governments may vary.

"These gender roles, separate but equal, are representative of traditional Inuit society in which the contributions of all members – elders, youth, women and men – are considered critical. Gender roles, in which it is expected that women and men fulfil specific tasks and responsibilities that are valued differently (with women's responsibilities assigned lower value) have been imposed due to Western influence. According to an Iqaluit woman: "As Inuit, there's no gender thing. If it was left up to traditional ways, women would be equals". In Nunavut, Inuit residents must deal with the challenges imposed by often conflicting gender paradigms."

Joanna Kafarowski, Canada chapter

In the same report, an Iqaluit organisational representative is quoted as saying

"Few have had to deal with the astounding cultural transition as is being experienced here in Nunavut. Many of the older generation were born into a hunter-gatherer society while the younger generation struggles to find a home in today's cyber age. The traditional Inuit culture is struggling to adapt to more southern norms. As far as women's equity and equality issues, these concepts have not yet made it into the paradigm of many of the average Inuit women's conceptual reality. If you are not aware there is a problem and therefore do not have the conceptual language to understand the issues or discuss it, how can you be expected to find a solution?"

This touches on a very important subtext in the project and in the final report. The original recommendation from "Taking Wing" suggested a project focussed on women and indigenous people's access to decision-making positions in natural resource management in the Arctic. Time constraints and the need to reduce project ambition to manageable levels meant that the project was proposed as a gender equality project, specifically aimed at women in fisheries and gendered participation at the different levels of power.

While this made the narrow time frame more realistic, it also meant that an important aspect of power relations remained obscured. In the Arctic countries,

as shown by the fieldworks presented in this report, a high proportion of those engaged in small-scale fisheries (coastal, smack fisheries, Greenlandic “jolle-fiskere”) are of indigenous origin. The women in these cases may be doubly disadvantaged, through being indigenous and women. As shown by the Canadian Nunavut example, the gender dichotomy that operates in Western society (and indeed in this project’s mandate) is inadequate in describing these realities.

A gender understanding that operates on a basis of complementarities rather than oppositions could certainly do a lot to inform Western thinking in this regard, and has indeed been an inspiration to the project workers.

It remains to emphasise the fact that indigenous peoples’ rights in natural resource management have been discussed on legal and ethical terms as well as socially, as shown in the quotes from international conventions and declarations on sustainable resource management (above).

For Norway, the rights of the Sámi people in managing the reindeer feeding grounds, traditionally used natural resources in inland Finnmark have been extensively researched¹. However, only some 10% of the Sámi are actively engaged in reindeer herding. Along the coast the Sea or Coastal Sámi have been fishers in generations, and combination use of land and sea, known as the fisherman-farmer household, was common². Conditions have changed, but many are still small-scale fishers, and the coastal societies are very fisheries-dependent both in the form of active fishers and in related activities.

When the vessel quota system was introduced (see page 82), the Norwegian fisheries authorities suggested Sámi fishers could be singled out, but according to Angell³ this suggestion was considered unfeasible in practice. The lines between Sámi and Norwegian in Finnmark may be blurred, and ethnicity is registered neither by the national census bureau nor in official statistics from the Fisher’s Union. The Sámi Parliament’s proposals to ensure a Sámi fisheries zone in Finnmark waters have so far met with little success. To the degree that Sámi rights have been a consideration, this has mainly been through measures on geographical terms (for areas with predominantly Sámi settlements) or directed towards the groups of fishers and vessels where the Sámi are represented, rather than on ethnicity⁴.

In the Greenlandic interviews, researcher Anna Heilmann asked her informants about resource management, decision-making and participation, and they answered

“I’ve never been thinking about this. To hear about how [the government] work and know more about it, it would be interesting. Also to be able to join the discussions. To speak out about how things could be done.”

“S”, Ilulissat woman

“This is our biggest problem. [...] We can call it “the enormous silence of the Greenlandic people”

“M”, Ilulissat woman

1 Nou. 1997: 4 “Naturgrunnlaget for samisk kultur”, in Angell 2004.

2 Angell 2004:7.

3 Angell 2004:6.

4 Angell 2004:7.



Steigen Workshop I, september 2003. Photo: I Limstrand.

L to R: Lindis Sloan, Hulda Proppé, Ann Therese Lotherington, Mari M. Erlandsen, Bente Aasjord, Maria Udén, Anna Heilmann, Berit Woie Berg and Tordis Sofie L. Pedersen.

Project history:

Framework of the report

The report aims to give a picture of the socioeconomic situation in some fisheries-dependent societies in the Arctic. To be able to conduct this within a limited period (April 2003-September 2004), the focus has been on a national level, with additional rural fieldworks and interviews.

The reports give facts concerning the socio-economic facts of fisheries in the participating countries, based on statistics and other information available in the public realm. In a separate chapter, the participating countries' situations regarding women's access to decision-making positions are compiled, in order that these may be more easily compared.

In addition, fieldwork studies have been conducted by several of the national project leaders. Their purpose has been to describe women who work in fisheries or aquaculture, keep their homes and families while their partners are fishing, or work in administration or research. It is through these women's words that a picture emerges of women who are intimately involved in fisheries and aquaculture, yet not considered in need of a voice in decision-making in fisheries regulations.

Workshops

The first workshop was held in Steigen in September 2003, and all project participants at that time were able to be there. The outline of the project was agreed on, individual fieldworks were mapped and planned and the project group established the beginnings of a knowledge base regarding Arctic fisheries, gender studies and fieldwork methodology.

The second workshop was held in the March 2004, in Nanaimo, Canada. This was in the middle of the fieldwork period; central participants were the "new" members who had come into the project after the first workshop. Agreements from the first workshop were discussed and worked upon.

A further workshop was held in June 2004, at the end of the project period. In addition to working with the finalising of the report, the discussions centred on dispersion of project findings and the planning of a follow-up project.

Recommendations of the international steering committee

Recommendations: individual level. The ISC

- Recognise the vital importance of women's work in Arctic fisheries, and recommend that women's participation be made explicit and recognized thus assuring women's recruitment and continued work in the fisheries sector.
- Encourage efforts to formalise women's work efforts, including official recording. Adopting measures such as waiving employers' fees in family-owned businesses can facilitate and ensure the inclusion of women's unpaid labour in the national economy.

Recommendations: institutional level. The ISC

- Emphasise that the fisheries industry can no longer be regarded as the only legitimate stakeholder in resource management. Including other interests such as local communities, environmental interest groups and indigenous peoples' organisations could also serve to raise the number of women participating in decision-making provided gender issues are included in selection criteria.
- Urge fisheries authorities to adopt practices that ensure gender-balanced and representative decision-making fora, through selection criteria and nominating processes including these considerations.
- Recall that national and international regimes should recognize and shall respect international treaties on the rights of local coastal and indigenous communities to be included as stakeholders in natural resource management.

Recommendations: discursive level. The ISC

- Recommend efforts so that the public image of fisheries is changed to include women, to ensure that women feel welcomed into the sector and their capacity be used to its full potential.
- The fisheries industry should aim to include women on decision-making levels and in management, and encourage women to seek a career in the industry.
- The fisheries authorities should take their responsibilities as an enforcer of gender mainstreaming to heart.
- Educational institutions should aim at recruiting women students to ensure qualified recruitment to the fisheries and facilitate gender mainstreaming.

Women in decision-making in fisheries – an overview



Women in decision-making in fisheries

Several international conventions govern the management of marine resources, such as the United Nations Agreement on Straddling and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks (UNFA) and the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), which have been adopted by the countries participating in this project. Even so, they have different management systems and different decision-making processes, which is what is covered in this chapter.

In many important Arctic fisheries, the Total Allowed Catch is determined at a bilateral or multi-lateral level. It is therefore likely that different decision-making bodies dealing with quota policies in the Arctic have a comparable design and power structure. If so, it is possible to study and compare gender distribution in an important area of Arctic fishery management. Key indicators include:

- Gender distribution in decision-making bodies negotiating and determining TACs
- Gender distribution in the national decision-making process defining the national position in international quota negotiations
- Structure of organisations and interests represented in such processes.
- Transparency in quota policy

In this chapter no attempt is made to measure the different systems against each other; rather its purpose is to point out the facts of fisheries management at different levels in the participating countries, and to discuss women's participation at the different levels. For each country a short description of the systems and participants serves to sum up the relative non-participation of women in these important processes.

Canada

Canada's history of governance of marine environments reflects both federal and provincial/territorial responsibilities. The federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada (DFO) is the primary decision-making body for fisheries management in Canada. The national headquarters of DFO is located in Ottawa, the capital of Canada with six regions located throughout the country. This department is

responsible for all issues in waters below the mean high-water mark, except aquaculture which is managed mainly by the provinces and territories. DFO formulates policies and programs in support of Canada's economic, ecological and scientific interests in oceans and inland waters; supports the conservation and sustainable utilization of Canada's fisheries resources in marine and inland waters and develops safe, effective and environmentally sound marine services. Although decision-making occurs primarily at the national level, provincial and territorial governments have some influence and involvement in programs and initiatives addressing fisheries. Women participate in these processes and programs to varying degrees but no federal women's group or organization on fisheries exists. For all of Canadian-managed stock, the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans has ultimate power.

Two bodies provide advice on oceans and fisheries management directly to the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans. The Minister's Advisory Council on Oceans assists the Minister in implementing the provisions of the Oceans Act and provides independent advice on fostering innovation in oceans management; supports an oceans-centred vision both nationally and internationally; balances economic, environmental and social goals for sustainable development and engages communities and stakeholders in making decisions about oceans. Members of this group are drawn from coastal communities, Aboriginal organizations, academia, industry and non-governmental organizations. Currently, 2/7 members or 28% of the Minister's Advisory Council on Oceans are women. The Fisheries Resource Conservation Council consists of members from Atlantic Canada, Quebec and Nunavut who are appointed to maintain a balance between science and industry. Council members make recommendations to the Minister on issues including total allowable catches and advise the Minister on Canada's position with respect to straddling and transboundary stocks under the jurisdiction of international bodies such as the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization (NAFO) and other fisheries management issues related to the Atlantic fisheries in eastern Canada. No women sit on the 11 member Advisory Council.

Provincial jurisdictions include provincial lands, shorelines, and freshwater resources, except navigable waters, inland fisheries and certain areas of the seabed. Federal and provincial jurisdictions overlap in matters of species and habitat conservation. Aboriginal governments are also involved in the man-

agement of human activities in marine environments. The responsibilities for the regulation of aquaculture are divided between the federal and provincial governments with ongoing administration handled by the province. All ten provinces and the Yukon Territory currently have an interest in commercial aquaculture and the Northwest Territories is exploring this area. Provincial responsibilities regarding aquaculture include issuing licenses, dealing with escaped farmed fish and waste discharge. At both the provincial/territorial and the federal levels, decision-making processes are impacted by the involvement of stakeholder organizations including the Canadian Council of Professional Fish Harvesters which acts as a national industry sector council. In 2004, 4/17 board members or 23% are women. The David Suzuki Foundation is an influential science-based environmental organization with an Oceans and Sustainable Fishing Program which has been very active in aquaculture issues. Twenty-eight out of forty-six staff members or 61% are women.

Faroës

The decision-making processes in the Faroese fisheries management system include the parliament, the ministry, science and industry representatives, as laid out in figure 1 in the Faroës chapter. It is a consultations system, where advice comes in from the science division and the fishing days committee, and bills are reviewed in the fisheries advisory committee before being sent to parliament.

Knowing that the Faroese parliament has 3 female members (of 32 in all, that is 9,3%), to what degree are women involved in these processes? Jacob Vestergaard, the Faroese Minister of Fisheries, was interviewed in Shetland in October 2003, and answered questions on national and international stock management systems.

On a national level, the starting-point is the ICES TAC recommendations. The national scientists analyse numbers and give their own recommendations, which are primarily similar to the ICES assessments. The Fisheries Advisory Committee (FAC) is chaired by a woman. The FAC represents ship organisations, fish harvesters' organisations, ship owners' organisations, economists, the processing industry and labour organisations in the industry. The FAC treats all significant registrations and decisions in an advisory capacity. As mentioned, a woman chairs, but

the other five members in the Fisheries Advisory Committee are men.

The framework is formal and part of Faroese law, including who sits on the Advisory Committee. Stakeholders are selected as to their involvement in the trade. The organisations select their own representatives, local government take no part in the resource management system. Women have participated from the labour unions, for the land-based fish processing industry, and have been active in pushing for the processing of Faroese catch to take place in the Faroës, they want the Minister to stipulate that as much as possible of the catch should be landed in the Faroës.

The consulted parties get the information, but how about transparency as regards the general public? According to Mr Vestergaard, all can get information; Lagtinget (the legislative parliament) sets the quota. All bodies that are entitled to comment (on a broad base) are called into the committee hearings. From 1996 on the legislative parliament has been involved, which means a public debate on quota setting. Proposals are not public, but the finished law is. In general, internal negotiations are closed while ongoing, but the result is public.

The committee finish their work by June 24th, and the fishing year starts September 1st. Recommendations are given in volume, and fishing days per vessel group, based on advice from the fisheries laboratory and from the industry.

As regards international negotiations over the management of shared stocks, the minister has discretionary powers and the hearing is less wide. Biologists, ship owners and the Ministry take part in the negotiations. The Faroe Islands have chosen not to be a part of Denmark's membership of the European Union. The Faroës negotiate their own fisheries and trade agreements with the EU and other countries, in consultation and cooperation with the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and participate either independently or together with Greenland ("Denmark in respect of the Faroe Islands and Greenland") in a range of regional fisheries management bodies.

Greenland

The parliamentary Committee of Fisheries, Hunting and Agriculture is currently composed of three representatives from the political parties currently in power and two from the opposition, all men. The

Council of Fisheries is composed of mainly trade and political representatives. The Greenlandic fishery and export association has 3 representatives, the association of fishermen and hunters in Greenland have 3 representatives, and Royal Greenland A/S and the Department of Fisheries and Hunting have one representative each.

The Council of Fisheries consists of representatives from the Department of Fisheries and Hunting¹ and from the fisheries industry as outlined below. The Council of Fisheries submits statements to the Landsstyre regarding all the new measures for the regulations of fisheries in Greenland. The Council of Fisheries is composed of APK (Avataasiutiniq Piginneqatigiiffiit Kattuffiat – The Greenlandic fishery and export association - Den Grønlandske Havfiskeri og Eksport Sammenslutning) with 3 representatives, KNAPK (Kalaallit Nunaanni Aalisartut Piniartullu Kattuffiat – The association of fishermen and hunters in Greenland - Sammenslutningen af Fiskere og Fangere i Grønland) with 3 representatives, and Royal Greenland A/S and the Department of Fisheries and Hunting with one representative each.

The chairman is appointed by APK and KNAPK in turns, while the vice chair is appointed by the Department of Fisheries and Hunting. The Department of Fisheries and Hunting holds the secretariat functions. The chairman of the Council of Fisheries can use expertise from Pinngortitaleriffik (Grønlands Naturinstitut/ The Nature Institute of Greenland) and Grønlands Fiskerilicenskontrol (GFLK – Greenland Fisheries License Control Authority) and other relevant institutions or persons with a special knowledge about the subjects that are to be discussed in the Council of Fisheries.

Greenland has entered fisheries agreements with the EU, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Norway, Russia, and has yearly consultations with Canada. Furthermore, Greenland is involved with the work of regulation of the fishery in international water inside the regional Fisheries Committees, some examples of which being NAFO (Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization) and NEAFC (North-East Atlantic Fisheries Commission), and the North Atlantic salmon organisation NASCO (North Atlantic Salmon Conservation Organization). The Ministry of Fisheries also participates in the Nordic Officials Committees (embedsmandskomiteer) under The Nordic Council

of Ministers and in the CITES-listing of commercial fish types².

On a local level, we also find a very strong male dominance in fisheries management. In the two municipalities surveyed, the municipality boards have 9 men and 2 women and 10 men and 3 women, respectively. In both cases, committees advise on these matters; in Maniitsoq this is an all-male committee, in Ilulissat there is one woman to four men. The local Fisheries and Hunting Councils are all-male by summer 2004.

Iceland

The information contained here is based on information from Árni Mathisen, Minister of Fisheries, Iceland, who was interviewed at the Shetland North Atlantic Conference in October 2003.

The Marine Research Institute (MRI) makes recommendation in line with ICES guidelines to the Minister. He then makes the decision based on these recommendations, but with additional input from two informal fora:

Firstly, the Minister calls a meeting with representatives of the fish harvesters, fishing boat owners, the labour organisations, the MRI. Recommendations are made after the meeting, in May. ICES is not a formal party, but offer 2nd opinion. Secondly, the Minister meets with the Fish Harvesters' Unions, representing captains/first mates, engineers and the workers/crew, and the ship owners' association, representing both the bigger boats and the "smábåteigande" (smaller boats). Representatives from the Fish Processing Industry are also part of this meeting. The same parties are always consulted, with ship owners and captains having the most representatives.

When it comes to bureaucracy and expertise, MRI are clearly the most influential, with their own input stage in the process. However, they do not necessarily partake in consultation meetings.

When asked why these are the defined stakeholders, consultative parties, the Minister listed several criteria. Their interest in the process is larger than that of the general public, also they have expressed an interest. The local municipalities' governments do not display an interest in the general decision-making process. In

1. Source: From the website of the Greenlandic Home Rule. www.nanoq.gl

2. Source: From the website of the Greenlandic Home Rule. www.nanoq.gl

general, however, Mr Mathisen claims that those who want to and have points of view can state their opinions, and that due to the relatively small size of the governmental system, “The system is open, and there are no big secrets.” He has invited more to take part, but they have not come. He also says he has encouraged the organisations to send women representatives, but has not been met with great enthusiasm there.

As for international negotiations, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs handles short-term treaties while the Ministry of Fisheries is in charge of long-term treaties. The Icelandic delegation is primarily political, with researchers and the industry, ship owners and fish harvesters represented. Labour organisations are “not interested”, according to the Minister. The industry representatives have no formal power, but represent strong interests. One woman has participated; she was a student and affiliated with the IWC (International Whaling Commission).

The government and ministry sets catch limits for cod; herring and capelin catch rule is set internally in the coastal states. Cod is the only one to be treated on a governmental level.

As regards transparency, when asked questions in parliament (Althingi), the Minister must answer, but there is no regulated consultations system. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs must consult their committee and keep them informed. According to Mr Mathisen, the system has great transparency due to its small scale, he claims information is given “unless there is a very special reason not to”.

As for women’s participation, numbers can be found in table 3 in the Iceland chapter, which gives details on female and male staff in governmental bodies in Iceland per August 1st, 2004.

Norway

The Norwegian fisheries administration is composed of different research- and administrative bodies, all headed by the Ministry of Fisheries. The Ministry is ultimately responsible for fisheries management; hereunder fish harvesting, the fish processing industry, aquaculture and coastal management.

An important body in Norwegian fisheries management is the Regulatory Council, which meets twice a

year to discuss quota questions and other regulatory measures in the fisheries. They are advisory to the Minister of Fisheries, and the Minister has usually taken their recommendations in the past. As of April 2004 the council had 12 members, of which the Fishermen’s Union had five, the Coastal Fishers one, the Norwegian Sámi Parliament one, and the labour unions for the Alimentary Workers and Sailors’ Association one each. Fiskeri- og Havbruksnæringens Landsforening (The Fisheries and Fish farmers’ National Association) had two members but were due to get more.

As of April, the council had no women as members, and the Minister repeatedly emphasised that as a state board, the council was subject to the 40% rule and the member organisations had to take steps to ensure more women were appointed³. The Fishermen’s Union, with their five seats on the council, reacted to the Minister’s statements by underlining that since women only make up a negligible percentage of their members, it would be unreasonable for them to have to contribute significantly to raising the number of women on the council⁴.

So are women active as fishers, then? In 1990, coastal and fjord fisheries for cod were quota regulated by vessel quotas. This came as a direct result of the late 1980s cod crisis, and meant that all smaller conventional fishing vessels were individually regulated – they had previously been regulated as a group. The post 1990 quota system meant individual fishers got quotas based on vessel size, with the vessels shorter than ten meters allotted proportionally smaller quotas than bigger vessels.

One consequence of this system, pointed out by Eva Munk-Madsen, is that women lost the rights to what had previously been common property. While it has traditionally been men who have performed the actual harvesting of the fish resources, women’s efforts as “ground crew” and in processing etc have meant that they were seen as part of the industry. With the vessel quotas, resource rights are being concentrated to the catchers and the vessel owners. In addition, women’s subsistence production role in the household has changed, with practical gear handling, baiting and so on increasingly being replaced by administrative tasks and work for wage income. Their efforts actually seem to further marginalize them from the resource, despite the flexibility and adaptability of the women’s waged and unwaged work in relation to the needs of the fishery and the house-

3. According to the Norwegian Gender Equality Act, men and women should have at least 40% representation each on all public boards.

4. Reidar Nilsen, interviewed by “Sunnmørsposten”, March 31st, 2004.

hold as a whole. As Munk-Madsen puts it, “To attain rights to resources, they must be active at sea, steer clear of other waged work, and own a boat”⁵.

Munk-Madsen reports that in 1995 women held 15 out of 3382 vessel quotas, but since these are the smaller boats and quota size follows boat size, women only had a 0.2% share of the total cod quota, or 0.1% of all vessel quota. For the “maximum quota”, the right of fish harvesters with vessels that did not qualify for vessel quotas to compete for a share of a general fish quota, the situation is somewhat better, but women still only hold the rights to about 3.2%.

As is shown in the Sápmi chapter of this report, the Norwegian Sámi parliament protested against the vessel quota system, on the grounds that it violated international minority- and indigenous rights. This led to the Sámi Parliament being allotted one seat on the Regulatory Council⁶. However, by 2004 special concessions for the predominantly Sámi areas are still made on geographical grounds, in terms of district policy rather than ethnicity.

Sweden

The Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Consumer Affairs govern fisheries in Sweden. The Ministry’s

responsibilities cover the full primary production sector of the country. The National Board of Fisheries is the central government authority in all fishery issues. It is organized in five departments: Marine Resources, Coastal and Freshwater Resources, Markets and Structures, Fisheries Control, and Administration. In addition to authority tasks such as negotiations, regulations, gathering of statistics and approval of licenses, The National Board of Fisheries also runs institutes and research stations along the Swedish coasts.

In quota negotiations Sweden participates as EU member. The National Board of Fisheries administers this. At the regional level, each County Administration Board manages issues such as information and control, and handles subsidiaries and compensations to individual fishers within its territory. In the early 1990s a number of tasks such as the approval of fishery licenses were redistributed to the national level from the County Administration Boards. For the northernmost counties of Sweden one specific task remains, however, and this is to manage the large state-owned areas in the country’s north-western parts. This includes rivers and lakes in traditional Sámi land, and the fishing rights of those waters.

5. Munk-Madsen (1998: 151)

6 Angell 2004: 6



Canada – by Joanna Kafarowski

Fisheries Management in Canada

The second largest country in the world according to surface area, Canada is divided into ten provinces and three territories. As indicated in Figure 1, Canada is a significant maritime nation. Both historically and currently, fisheries is one of the most important economic activities for many regions of the country. Fisheries also features prominently in the cultural and spiritual lives of Canada's diverse Aboriginal peoples.

Canada plays a leading role in negotiating multilateral international conventions on fisheries. In 1997, Canada became the first country to adopt comprehensive oceans management legislation. The Oceans Act provides a framework for establishing policy and programs aimed at understanding and protecting the marine environment. Canada became a party to the United Nations Agreement on Straddling and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks (UNFSA) in 1999. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) was adopted and signed by Canada in 2003.

The Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada (DFO) is the federal government department responsible for: "the conservation and sustainable utilization of Canada's resources in marine and inland waters". DFO's responsibilities are detailed in Figure 2. Fisheries management in Canada to date has been based on Western science. The Total Allowable Catch (TAC) established by DFO outlines the fishing effort allowed for each fish species. In the early 1990s, following the collapse of the Northern cod stocks in Atlantic Canada, DFO established harvesting rights (also referred to as Individual Quotas or Enterprise Allocations) for various species. These quotas are rigorously enforced by DFO.

Today, fisheries pose unique problems for Canadian resource managers who must deal with declining species populations caused by habitat loss, technological advances in fishing gear, pollution, climate change and over-fishing in international waters adjacent to Canadian borders. Shifting socio-economic factors in coastal communities and legislation supportive of public participation have resulted in the greater input of local residents and other concerned citizens into fisheries management. Greater public involvement on the part of Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals and the dynamic nature of the resource presents further managerial challenges including jurisdictional disputes. Gradually, fisheries management in Canada is being redefined as man-

agers and policymakers, particularly in the North, recognize that solutions to fisheries crises lie equally within the realm of Western science and traditional knowledge.

Arctic Fisheries in Canada

Due to the emphasis placed on commercial fisheries in Canada - the ailing fisheries on the Atlantic coast and the lucrative but complex salmon fisheries on the Pacific coast, DFO's involvement in Arctic fisheries has, in comparison, been sporadic. Little sustained interest has been directed towards subsistence fisheries in the North which remains critical to the lifestyle of coastal Aboriginal communities. Long-term studies conducted in stock identification, population dynamics and abundance and response to disturbance have been infre-

Coastal and Water Statistics on Canada

Canada is surrounded by the Arctic, Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and home to the five Great Lakes. In Canada, we find the:

- Longest coastline (243,792 km) representing 25% of the world's coastline
- Largest offshore economic zone (200 nautical miles)
- Largest freshwater system (two million lakes and rivers covering 7.6% of Canada's landmass)
- Longest inland waterway (3,700 km) from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Lake Superior
- Largest archipelago (Canada's Arctic islands including six of the world's 30 largest islands)

Figure 1. Coastal and Water Statistics on Canada

From: Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada, 2004

quent with little ongoing support for local initiatives until the last five years. In the past, commercial fisheries have been of limited economic interest in the North due to the short season, unfavorable weather conditions, low volume of production, high transportation and shipping costs, limited infrastructure, high production costs and logistical challenges. Despite these obstacles, several territories and provinces are exploring economic development

Core Functions of Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada

- Protecting, conserving and ensuring sustainable use of fisheries resources
- Providing for the fair allocation and distribution of fisheries resources among users
- Managing the fishery in a spirit of partnership with the fishing industry, recognizing the socio-economic needs of both industry enterprises and communities
- Conducting surveillance and enforcement programs in support of the Fisheries Act and the Coastal Fisheries Protection Act
- Ensuring that Aboriginal and treaty rights are addressed in the formulation and implementation of fisheries management policies, plans and programs
- Conducting international negotiations to advance conservation and assert Canadian interests on internationally managed fish stocks
- Supporting hatchery production and release of salmon in the Pacific to rebuild depressed stocks, sustain fishing opportunities and restore fish habitat critical to the well-being of wild salmon stocks

Figure 2. Core Functions of Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada.
From: Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada, DPR 2001-2002

opportunities in fisheries. In 1990, the Supreme Court of Canada decision in the Sparrow case affirmed the right of Aboriginal peoples to fish for food, social and ceremonial purposes. In response to this decision, the Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada launched the Aboriginal Fisheries Strategy in 1992. This strategy seeks to provide for the effective management and regulation of Aboriginal fisheries through negotiated agreements and is designed to contribute to the economic self-sufficiency of Aboriginal communities. However, the Aboriginal Fisheries Strategy has been applied with varying degrees of success in Aboriginal communities.

Over the last ten years, co-management has increasingly been adopted as a viable and effective fisheries management option. Co-management involves the sharing of decision-making powers between governments and stakeholders. No single definition of co-management exists as it varies according to the players involved, the history of

resource management in the region, the nature of relationships between the players, etc. Co-management may range from the establishment of a formal co-management board with equal representation of Aboriginal users and non-Aboriginal government officials, to informal arrangements between users and officials. Co-management is designed to recognize the value of both traditional and Western knowledge systems, and involves a commitment of all partners to the process. Usually, authority is devolved to more local levels of administration. Theoretically, co-management can operate as a valuable tool for conflict resolution ensuring that all voices are heard. Co-management represents one of the most common forms of fisheries management in the Canadian North. The comprehensive land claims agreements made in the 1980s and 1990s are generally regarded as successful co-management arrangements addressing the management of renewable resources including fisheries.



Nunavut Fisheries

Facts about Nunavut (2004)

“Nunavut” is the Inuktitut word for “our land”
Created April 1, 1999
Population: 30,601
Population density of 1 person per 70 kilometre square
Median age: 22.1 years
Languages: Inuktitut, Inuinnaqtun, English, French
Main economic activities: Harvesting, mineral exploration and extraction, tourism, fisheries, arts production
Largest employer: Government

As a newly-created political jurisdiction since 1999, Nunavut faces a number of socio- economic challenges including a high unemployment rate, high drop-out rate from school and limited support, health and educational services, especially in the remote

communities. Nunavut residents are highly dependent on marine resources as twenty-five out of twenty-six Nunavut communities are located on the coast. Fisheries provides the mainstay of a traditional lifestyle for residents and its viability will help to ensure that this lifestyle is maintained. Fisheries in Nunavut employs about 100 people seasonally in the harvesting and processing sectors providing between \$2.1 million and \$2.4 million in wages and \$1.7 to \$2 million in royalties. Ongoing concern in Nunavut has been due to the disproportionately low share of the Total Allowable Catch of turbot and shrimp allowed Nunavut fishers. Nunavut currently has 27% of the turbot allocation in Davis Strait and 14% of the shrimp allocation in Davis Strait and Baffin Bay. The value of the turbot and shrimp harvested from Nunavut’s offshore has been estimated at approximately \$98.5 million dollars. Despite the fact that Inuit had fished for turbot in the Davis Strait fishery since the late 1980s, Nunavut was initially excluded from a turbot “developmental” fishery instituted by DFO in this area. In 1992, it received a small allocation. In 1993, DFO introduced a Competitive Quota to the Davis Strait fishery but this quota has only been available to holders of Atlantic groundfish



Women in fisheries-related organizations in Nunavut (2004)

Organization	Number of women
Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada (staff of 16)	6
Department of Sustainable Development (staff of 109) (prior to April, 2004)	32
Department of Environment (staff of 115) (after April, 2004)	22
Nunavut Wildlife Management Board (board of 9 members) (staff of 10)	1 6
Baffin Fisheries Coalition (board of 11 members) (staff of 2)	0 0

Figure 3: Women in decision-making organizations related to fisheries



licenses from Atlantic Canada. Nunavut organizations continue to lobby the federal government for a more equitable allocation of the turbot and northern shrimp quota and for groundfish licenses to be granted to Nunavut fishers. Further challenges within the Nunavut fishery include:

- Increasing the amount of research conducted on stock assessment
- Conducting further research based on the precautionary principle that assists in the development of potential experimental fisheries including crab, Icelandic scallops, skate and grenadier
- Environmental concerns (including the effects of aging military installations at former DEWLINE sites, contaminants and climate change)
- Developing improved infrastructure including port and wharf facilities
- Applying both traditional knowledge and Western science to fisheries management
- Providing official DFO reports and documents in both Inuktitut and English to increase accessibility

Decision-making in Nunavut Fisheries

As a result of the 1993 Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, five co-management boards were established granting the Inuit a significant role in natural resource management decisions regarding fish and wildlife, land, mineral and hydrocarbon resources and

industrial development. The Nunavut Wildlife Management Board (NWMB) was the first board to be constituted and incorporated and has jurisdiction over fisheries management in the Nunavut Settlement Area. It has nine members: four Inuit appointees, four federal appointees and a chairperson appointed based on the nomination of the NWMB. Of the four federal members, three are appointed by the Minister of the Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada, one from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, one from the Canadian Wildlife Service and one from the Government of Nunavut. The Inuit members represent Hunters and Trappers Organizations that regulate and manage fisheries within each Nunavut community.

While DFO co-manages the resource with NWMB and is responsible for conducting research in Arctic fisheries in Nunavut, DFO has been criticized for its lack of commitment to this area. The NWMB has claimed that because of the inadequate resources allocated to management-related science in Nunavut, it has been forced to make management decisions with inadequate information. At the territorial level, the Department of the Environment – Fisheries and Sealing (formerly, the Department of Sustainable Development – Fisheries and Sealing) represents another level of decision-making. The primary focus of this Department is to promote economic development opportunities particularly regarding offshore fisheries. The Nunavut Minister of the Environment is involved in decisions regarding the development of national and territorial fisheries policies, programs and allocation decisions affecting Nunavut.

Women's Involvement in Nunavut Fisheries

Subsistence Fisheries

Historically, both Inuit women and men have been equally involved in subsistence fisheries. Roles varied somewhat in that men were primarily responsible for going out in the boats and catching the fish and women prepared the fish once the men had returned. These roles, separate but equal, were interchangeable to some degree.

When I was growing up, it was the men who went out to fish and the women were the background players. When my father brought back the fish, my mother would prepare them. She would cut them up, freeze them, dry them, cook them - she would look after them once they came home. My mother would decide where the fish would go. My father would take some to my aunt and some to my uncle. It would be shared out in the family. In my family, there was no clear definition of who did what. My father would help sometimes in the drying and deciding who got what but my mother not so much with the fishing. But she would help my father when she could. Looking after the nets - mostly cleaning them - was my mother's role, but looking after the gear was my father's role. It was like this in many households in the community.

Iqaluit community resident

As in all communities, some women assumed a greater share of responsibilities for fishing. This group would include single women, widows or others with few male relatives who were prepared to assist in these activities.

Women set nets, they had quite a good tide there and they would walk and set them and clear them out at low tide and use the fish. Because of their circumstances, they didn't have someone else hunting and fishing for them. They provided for themselves and their family in that way and they were very diligent fishers.

Pangnirtung community resident

In most communities, girls were brought up to help their mothers and other female relatives and boys were expected to hunt and fish and follow the example of male relatives. Girls who loved the outdoors and learned to hunt and fish often did so in the company of brothers.

I used to follow my father in the kamotiq. He didn't really encourage me at the beginning but he did after a while. I was persistent when he went out hunting and fishing so in the end he would ask if I would like to follow him. I was a tomboy and had five brothers and I was very competitive with them. I didn't do what was customary. My mother would ask me to sew and I would say "no". I would rather go out hunting than sew. My friends and other female relatives would like to sew and they would ask me why I liked to hunt and fish and I said "I just do".

Iqaluit community resident

These gender roles, separate but equal, are representative of traditional Inuit society in which the contributions of all members - elders, youth, women and men - are con-

When they're faced with something new, [women] are not so intimidated as men. I think lots of times, women will look around the corner, you know. See what's out there. I think, that women maybe aren't as traditional. Like, sometimes they're willing to be the first one to try something new. I think it might give a wider range of options. You know, the more different people are involved, the more ideas you have access to.

Department of Fisheries and Oceans representative

sidered critical. Gender roles in which it is expected that women and men fulfil specific tasks and responsibilities that are valued differently (with women's responsibilities assigned lower value) have been imposed due to Western influence. According to an Iqaluit woman: "As Inuit, there's no gender thing. If it was left up to traditional ways, women would be the equals". In Nunavut, Inuit residents must deal with the challenges imposed by often conflicting gender paradigms.

Few have had to deal with the astounding cultural transition as is being experienced here in Nunavut. Many of the older generation were born into a hunter-gatherer society while the younger generation struggles to find a home in today's cyber age. The traditional Inuit culture is struggling to adapt to more southern norms. As far as women's equity and equality issues, these concepts have not yet made it into the paradigm of many of the average Inuit women's conceptual reality. If you are not aware there is a problem and therefore do not have the conceptual language to understand the issues or discuss it, how can you be expected to find a solution?

Iqaluit organizational representative

Within subsistence fisheries, the significant and active involvement of Inuit women is likely to continue in the future. This is particularly true of women living in isolated communities in Nunavut, which are more reliant upon a traditional diet.

Commercial Fisheries

Currently, the participation of Inuit women in commercial fisheries in Nunavut is minimal and few women work in offshore fisheries. This is because of limited available opportunities but also because of the physical hardships of the job, stress imposed by being away from family and community, language barriers and differing cultural attitudes towards work.

I think women could participate, I just don't think that they think about participating. It's a whole new idea to do that kind of work for pay rather than for food. I think it's hard, hard, physical work. I think that men who go out and do the commercial fishing on boats sometimes come back and say what a lot of work it is. You can't work when you want to; you have to work when it's time to work. I think that's a whole different way of being. I think that if you had your own

If more Inuit women were involved, maybe it would encourage the younger generation that are coming up, you know, to take roles as skippers on boats or engineers or biologists. I mean, everyone should have a voice, everyone's equal.

*Department of Environment
representative*

boat and it was a family enterprise, I can't see any reason why women couldn't be as successful at it. But on a big boat, I think it might be more difficult because the majority of people working there are men.

Pangnirtung community resident

Pressure exerted on DFO and other decision-making bodies to extend Nunavut's quotas, and an increased call for Inuit-owned boats in Nunavut may result in a more extensive role for Inuit in commercial fisheries. Emerging economic initiatives in Nunavut, including exploratory fisheries, offer additional opportunities for the increased involvement of Inuit women.

Fish Processing

Nunavut has fish processing facilities located in Cambridge Bay, Whale Cove, Rankin Inlet and Pangnirtung. Pangnirtung Fisheries is the largest of these. Pangnirtung provides one of the main sources of employment in the community. Approximately 75% of the 55 employees are female, with most senior positions occupied by men. Work in the fish processing industry is physically demanding and mentally taxing. Plant employees may be exposed to harsh conditions including extreme cold and heat and perform tasks that are monotonous and repetitive. Job-related injuries are common in the fish-processing industry.

Lack of support services such as childcare affects the performance of female fish processing workers in

Pangnirtung and prevents some women from entering the workforce. Women who do not require child-care or who are assisted by family members are able to find work in the plant as long as fish are available.

Some women just stay home because there are no sitters for them. But now there is a day-care, there might be more female workers here. More might find work instead of staying home. It can help their minds about finding work. We need to think about our rent, our welfare.

Pangnirtung community resident

Women's involvement in decision-making processes in fisheries organizations

Within Nunavut, the two primary decision-making bodies regarding fisheries are the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada (DFO) and the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board (NWMB). Additionally, The Department of Sustainable Development – Fisheries and Sealing was responsible at the territorial level for fisheries until halfway through the project. A re-organization at the territorial government level transferred responsibility for fisheries to the Department of the Environment. The Baffin Fisheries Coalition primarily addresses decision-making for the Nunavut offshore fisheries. However, at this time, the Baffin Fisheries Coalition is significantly re-structuring its organization.

According to Figure 3, the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board and the Department of Fisheries



and Oceans Canada employs the highest percentage of female staff. However, this percentage includes all women at both the senior and junior levels. At the territorial level, government re-organization resulted in fewer women being employed in the Department of the Environment now responsible for fisheries. This number dropped from 29% to 19% women employed by the Department of the Environment. There are currently no women employed in the Fisheries and Sealing Section.

Female Membership of the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board

Year	Number of women
1994	0
1995	0
1996	1
1997	1
1998	2
1999	2
2000	2
2001	2
2002	1
2003	1
2004	1

Number of members: 9 each year, except in 1994, 2002 (n=8)

Figure 4: Number of female members of the NWMB

Hunters and Trappers Organisations in Nunavut Female board membership

Region	Year	
	2002 - 2003	2004 - 2005
Baffin (Number of board members is 102)	7	9
Kivalliq (Number of board members is 50)	9	10
Kitikmeot (Number of board members is 150)	7	7

Figure 5: Number of female board members of Nunavut Hunters and Trappers Organizations

A particularly low percentage of women is represented at the board level of the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board and the Baffin Fisheries Coalition (see Figures 3, 4). This disparity in gender distribution is also reflected in the board membership of Hunters and Trappers Organizations (HTO) as outlined in Figure 5. The maximum number of female members of the board of the NWMB from its inception in 1994 has been 2.

Access to decision-making positions in fisheries organizations

According to Article 23 of the Nunavut Land Settlement Act, Inuit beneficiaries of the Settlement are hired above other qualified individuals. Because of this regulation, Inuit women beneficiaries will be hired before more qualified non-beneficiaries, male or female. Staff at both the DFO and the former Department of Sustainable Development assert that these organizations will hire the best-qualified candidate regardless of gender (apart from beneficiary status).

I think DFO has a policy that encourages women to apply for jobs outside the ordinary kind of jobs that women usually work at. Lots of the biologists and people who do research are women. There are policies in place in DFO and overall in the federal government to encourage women to seek employment outside their traditional types of employment. I think it's a good thing. I think that women have lots to offer and I think they bring a different perspective to how things are done.

*Department of Fisheries and
Oceans representative*

The Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada exerts a powerful force in Nunavut communities, both in enforcement and program funding capacities. Many residents report that relationships between communities and this government department are strained and that DFO is perceived as heavy-handed and intimidating. Despite the fact that staffing within DFO is approaching a balance between the sexes, the dominant culture within DFO has been criticized by both DFO staff and community residents.

The organization is still very male-dominated and



the decision-making is from a male perspective. I think that on paper and theoretically, they encourage participation of women but their decision-making is still very patriarchal.

*Department of Fisheries
and Oceans representative*

Staff in the former Department of Sustainable Development are supportive of the role of women in decision-making positions in Nunavut fisheries. Recent data on staffing within the Department of the Environment, Government of Nunavut reflect a department in flux. It is hoped that this department will recruit more women, particularly for the vacant positions in the Fisheries and Sealing division.

Little data is available on the issue of women's access to board positions of the Hunters and Trappers Organizations. A significant portion of board members are elders who have been active for many years as hunters and fishers. It is possible that more men sit on HTO boards because their skills as hunters and fishers are more recognized in the community. Staff in some fisheries-related organizations recognize that HTOs are often patriarchal, traditional organizations.

The HTO have a lot of power in the communities and very limited females. Most of the boards don't have any females. I think there should be more females on HTOs. I also feel that NWMB should get more females involved. There should be more encouragement of that. Not because there should be but because females constitute a certain amount of the population and they have stuff to add to this and it should be added to the table.

*Department of Sustainable
Development representative*



Although women are poorly represented as HTO board members, they are present in the position of Secretary/Manager for these organizations. This is an advisory position, but a Secretary/Manager can provide some guidance to board members. Despite the fact that women hold many of these positions, their decision-making powers are limited. Due to low pay, these positions have a high turnover rate with some HTOs employing several Secretary/Managers in one year.

Some Indigenous women work for their local HTO. These women don't have huge decision-making power but they do make some decisions. They can give suggestions; they can give comments that will help the board make decisions. So they know what's going on, they have a power here.

Department of Fisheries and Oceans representative

Increasing women's access to decision-making processes in fisheries

1. Education

The lack of a high school diploma and limited training in natural resource management are two critical elements preventing more young women from apply-

ing for fisheries – related positions in Nunavut. As with healthcare and other services, educational institutions in the North are challenged by budget cut-backs, the retention of qualified instructors, an escalating student dropout rate and a curriculum that is often lacking relevance to the Inuit culture and Northern context. Although government organizations including DFO accept lower academic credentials of beneficiaries in hiring practices, potential employees must still be high school graduates. Challenges posed to Nunavut high schools may result in the graduation of students who have not been adequately prepared to enter a college program enabling them to work in fisheries management later on. Young women from Nunavut interested in pursuing fisheries management as a career usually enter the

It would be good to see women and men working in the fisheries area because it is our livelihood, it is our culture, it is within us. And in order for a good community, good working together, you have to have that balance. I think it could be a lot stronger just because women are able to hear, listen and process in a holistic way, not just in money terms, but they are thinking of their children and their grandchildren-to be. They are thinking long-range and not just financial. And men tend to think of economy, money signs. So if women had decision-making power, I think it would be a lot more harmonious.

Pangnirtung community resident

Environmental Technology program at Nunavut Arctic College. Female students in this program state that they enter the program because of a love of the outdoors. As one student stated, “I just like my land and the animals who live on it”.

Most Northern colleges including Nunavut Arctic College have a bridging or transitional year for students who need to upgrade their academic credentials. Often, this year is not sufficient and many students are not able to successfully make the transition between their own community and school life in Iqaluit. Budget cutbacks for colleges result in program cutbacks, overworked staff and overexpended resources.

Female students are poorly represented in both the Environmental Technology program overall and in the Fisheries Management class. Both this particular class and the overall program are non-traditional fields for women to enter. All students entering this course are individuals with an interest in the outdoors. Instructors report that the women in this program tend to be more mature than many of the male students and that the tenor of the class is positively affected. In these cases, the quality of student questions and submitted work tends to be higher compared to all-male classes. Although fewer female students enter the course, a high percentage of graduates from the program are female. As with many Northern programs, this course has a relatively high drop-out rate. However, given the high percentage of successful female graduates from this program, Nunavut Arctic College would be advised to attract and recruit more female students to the Environmental Technology program.

2. Childcare and support services

Services are required on various levels to promote women’s greater involvement in decision-making processes in Arctic fisheries. Childcare is one of the most significant and necessary of these support services. Traditionally, most Aboriginal families are supported by the extended family network. However, as more Nunavut residents participate in the wage economy, the demand for regular and consistent childcare increases. As employees of the Pangnirtung fish plant have indicated, lack of childcare services may result in decreased employment opportunities for women. Lack of childcare also affects students who wish to take part in the Environmental Technology program at Nunavut Arctic College. Young women who have children at an early age but who also enter the fisheries management training often have difficulty successfully completing the course. Indeed, this is one of

the primary reasons that female students drop out of the program. Male students with a young family would also benefit from the availability of childcare. This is critical given Nunavut’s high percentage of young residents.

Although childcare is a common need for women in many cultures, Inuit women in Nunavut also require other support services. These support services are required to assist young women to overcome traditional gender roles within small communities, to successfully complete high school, to learn more about non-traditional career opportunities at the high school level, to make the transition from a remote community to college in Iqaluit, to sustain and support students while in college and to assist graduates in finding a job in fisheries management.

3. Training opportunities

Given the technical nature of many positions within fisheries, the need to develop and maintain training opportunities has also been identified even after a diploma or degree has been attained. This has been highlighted in communities such as Pangnirtung in which Nunavut’s primary fish processing plant is located. Although staff need to be trained to learn the skills necessary to carry out a particular function such as fish gutting, other technical skills are highly marketable and in great demand.



Most of the meetings we have, it's been a male dominated situation. That has been the case in Nunavut. When we go in and meet with Hunter and Trapper Organizations and meet with the fishers, traditionally, most of the people we meet are male. I think it's something we need to work on and try to change. I think there's room for further expansion and further development through having women more involved in fish management, fish development and overall organizational management.

Department of Environment representative

A lot of people ask me do they need training on the job. Well, they don't need training for what they're doing every day. You need the inside training for like saving lives and HACCP (Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Point). And you know, there's nobody in Occupation and Health, there's nobody in First Aid, there's nobody in HACCP, there's nobody in Quality Control and the list goes on. And especially the



chemicals part of it all – WHMIS (Workplace Hazardous Materials Information System). I think that's a good opportunity for women to get into the Canadian Food Inspection Agency and start going around and inspecting their own fish plants along with the Workers' Compensation Board.

Pangnirtung fish plant representative

Training opportunities to acquire both technical and cross-cultural communication skills are made available at government departments including DFO and DSD. Access to ongoing training opportunities is critical as many new staff in senior positions are recruited from the south with limited experience in working in a cross-cultural context. Many staff are just propelled into professional situations with community representatives.

If you have any awareness at all and sit through a meeting, you get that it's different. That things that people talk about are not maybe what you would expect in similar kinds of meetings down south. The concerns are not the same. There aren't really many people down south who hunt to exist. I mean, that's the main point. There's an overwhelming feeling that is very different here. And that people have different concerns, people are definitely more attached to the land. And attached in a different way than the average Canadian is attached to their land.

Department of Fisheries and Oceans representative

Recommendations

Hunters and Trappers Organizations

- 1 To continue supporting the equal participation of girls and boys in fishing activities.
- 2 To continue providing family-oriented activities and assistance to local residents.
- 3 To support the involvement of youth, especially young women in the activities of local Hunters and Trappers Organizations.
- 4 To provide a seat for youth on the board of all Hunters and Trappers Organizations.
- 5 To promote the increased involvement of women on the board of Hunters and Trappers Organizations.
- 6 To continue to develop partnerships with local schools and fisheries organizations.
- 7 To promote traditional knowledge within the school system at all levels.
- 8 To increase opportunities for students to participate in fishing camps throughout the year on a regular basis.

Nunavut Wildlife Management Board/Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada/Department of Environment

- 9 To sponsor regular fishing camps for youth in communities.
- 10 To increase funding to Hunters and Trappers Organizations specifically to increase the involvement of youth and women and to provide more family-oriented activities.
- 11 To establish and promote mentorship/internship opportunities in fisheries to senior high school students, especially young women.
- 12 To establish greater opportunities for youth to participate in decision-making bodies, conferences, etc. related to renewable resources
- 13 To actively encourage women to join boards
- 14 To offer college bursaries for students, especially young women to attend Environmental Technology program, Nunavut Arctic College.
- 15 To provide training opportunities for women to learn and become skilled in first aid, HACCP, WHMIS, etc.

Nunavut Arctic College

- 16 To increase funding to the Environmental Technology program.
- 17 To promote the Environmental Technology program to young women in the communities.
- 18 To increase and maintain partnerships with Hunters and Trappers Organizations, territorial and federal government representatives, communities.
- 19 To maintain sensitivity to both cultural and gender issues in classrooms.
- 20 To provide students with emotional, cultural and academic support services while in college.
- 21 To establish an on-site day-care centre for students.

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When I was a child, we had experience with fish all the time but my mother was the one dealing with fish and the one who went fishing. For me, fishing is fun and when the fish are sea-run and we're out on the land, when someone is working with fish, whether making dried fish and just working with it, it's like a learning tool. For me, out camping, camping is spiritual. We can tell our kids what our mothers used to do, we used to watch what they did.

Pangnirtung community resident



The Faroe Islands – by Marita Rasmussen and Lindis Sloan

Situated in the North Sea between Scotland and Iceland, the Faroe Islands are an archipelago of 18 mountainous islands, with a total land area of 1400 square kilometres, a sea area of 274,000 square kilometres and a population of just over 47,000. The Faroese language is a west Nordic language, derived from the language of the Norsemen who settled the islands 1200 years ago. The bonds to Iceland and Norway are still noticeable in language and culture, but shaped by their position in the North Atlantic, remote from neighbours and the world at large.

As a self-governing territory under the sovereignty of the kingdom of Denmark, the Faroe Islands legislate and govern a wide range of areas in accordance with the Home Rule Act of 1948. These include the management and conservation of living marine resources within the 200-mile fisheries zone.

In the Faroese parliament, there are 3 women of 32 representatives.

Faroese access to fisheries in other zones and international waters is secured through reciprocal fisheries agreements with other countries in the region. The Faroe Islands have chosen not to be a part of Denmark's membership of the European Union. The Faroes negotiate their own fisheries and trade agreements with the EU and other countries, in consultation and cooperation with the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and participate either independently or together with Greenland ("Denmark in respect of the Faroe Islands and Greenland") in a range of regional fisheries management bodies.

Within the Faroese 200-mile exclusive fisheries zone, the modern Faroese commercial fishing fleet is comprised of coastal vessels and long-liners as well as ocean-going trawlers. Commercially important species include cod, saithe, haddock, halibut, redfish, herring, mackerel, blue whiting and capelin, as well as shrimp. These fisheries provide the basis for Faroese production and export. Fisheries products, including aquaculture-farmed salmon, represent more than 95% of total exports and nearly half of the Faroese GDP. According to Faroese law, fish stocks in Faroese waters are the property of the Faroese people and

shall be managed for the public good. The importance of fisheries for the Faroese economy and culture is immense, even in the Arctic north few other countries have this dependency on marine resources.

The Faroese fisheries management system of fishing days, adopted in 1996, regulates demersal fisheries in the Faroese 200-mile fisheries zone. The fishing day system manages fishing capacity and effort rather than allocating specific quotas for species and stocks. Vessels are grouped according to size and gear type, and each group is allocated a set number of fishing days per year, which are then divided among the vessels. This allows for mixed fisheries, giving the entire catch an economic value.

The decision-making process is as shown in figure 1.

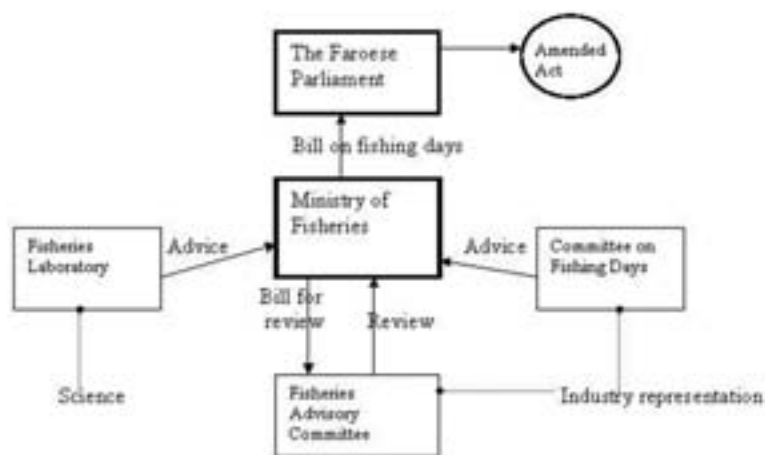


Figure 1 Decision-making process for the Faroese effort control system. From www.fishin.fo

In the Committee on Fishing Days there are 5 men and in the Fisheries laboratory one of 7 researchers is a woman. In the Ministry of Fisheries, a woman is the head of the legal department.

The Committee on Fishing Days is made up of industry representatives; the industry is also represented in the fisheries advisory committee. While a woman chairs this committee, the other 5 members are men. Since the system was developed in close collaboration between the authorities and the fisheries organisation, the industry supports the system. The system for allocation of fishing days according to effort levels and the proportion of different stocks fished is reviewed through a process of consultation in which the fishing industry participates.

The effort control system is combined with gear regulations designed to protect undersize and juvenile fish, as well as closures of extensive areas to active gear such as trawl in order to protect nursery and spawning stocks. According to the Faroese government, the system has also significantly reduced the occurrence of discards of non-targeted fish, often a crucial problem in species-specific fisheries management. Further, that it reduces the incentive for misreported catches, which have been a problem in many scientific fish stock assessments. So far, the government say, it has proven to be a flexible and responsive management tool, also providing the industry with stability.

The major challenge is the change in efficiency and the targeting of the fleet, avoiding over-capitalisation of the fleet and the financial problems this may lead to.

One effect of the fisheries management regulations is that fisheries have effectively been privatised, so that access to what used to be a common good is now strictly regulated. To enter fisheries, one must be financially able to invest in a licence, the cost of which is beyond the means of most prospective fishers. Fishing days are transferable and the licences to fish are transferable, and have reached very high economic values. The same tendency is seen in Iceland with its ITQ system, but also in Norway where the vessel quotas are the main regulation. According to sociologist Ottar Brox (1996) “the social consequences are obvious, and they are documented in a great number of publications. Most important is the fact that young people and other property less groups are closed out of the only profitable economic activity possible in many coastal communities”. Effectively, this means that the only way for young people to enter the industry is through inheritance of companies or licences. For women, this may make it even harder to break into fisheries, since because of traditional gender roles a woman is expected to let that part of parental inheritance go to them if she has brothers.

Women

When asked, the Minister of Fisheries replied, “There are no women in fisheries!” He later qualified the statement somewhat, explaining how the importance of fisheries for the economy and culture of the Faroes meant women, too, are affected by what goes on at sea and in the regulations system. A survey undertaken



en by Marita Rasmussen of the Ministry of Fisheries confirms the picture that male dominance in the Faroese fisheries is almost total. Since many fisheries companies are family owned, women may sit as board members and in nominal ownership positions in this regard, but she claims this does not reflect the true conditions and may give a false idea of the situation. “Since these women are represented due to family relations rather than knowledge or experience, I cannot see the point of including them in the survey”, explained Ms Rasmussen.

In aquaculture companies, Rasmussen found that no women were registered as owners, directors or managers, and the situation was the same in shipping companies in the fisheries. The 1-2 women who are registered as ship owners are so because their husbands are ineligible for the position. This can be due to their holding political office or they can be barred due to previous bankruptcies or similar. However, one or two women were co-owners and active in shipping, but had answered that they did not feel comfortable to be regarded as “redere”, ship owners.

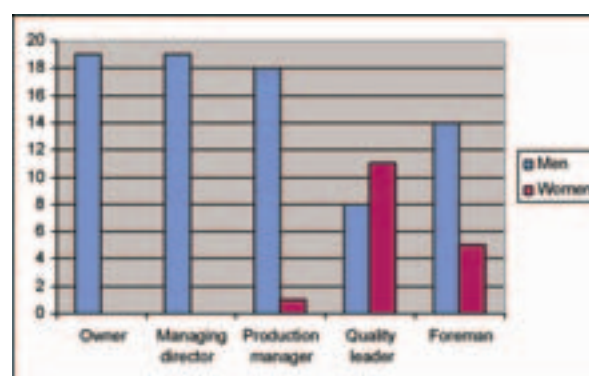


Fig. 2. Number of women in the management of fisheries processing plants (n=19)



In 19 registered fish processing plants, no women were owners or directors. However, one plant had a female manager, and 5 of 19 foremen (26%) were women. It is in quality control that we find women in a majority in leading positions, 11 of 19 quality leaders and 2 quality managers are women. In sales, there are no owners, but one female director.

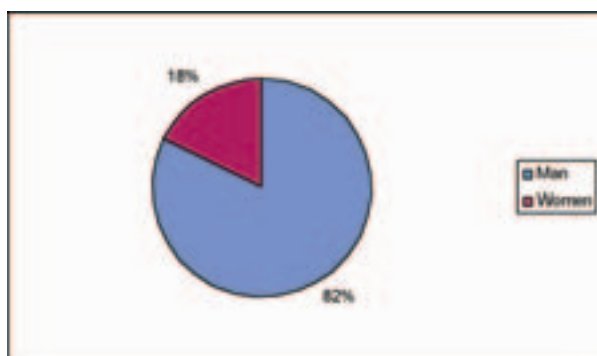


Fig. 3. % of women and men in the management of fish processing industry (n=19)

The number of women in the management of the Faroese fish processing plants is 18% compared to 82% men. It is worth mentioning that the 18% includes the quality leaders who have no influence as such on the management of the factory since their work to a large extent is monitoring the quality of the fish processed.

In fish processing plants there are a lot of women as traditional workers. Since 1985 the number of workers has decreased dramatically from about 3000 women in 1985 to 1400 women in 2002. The number of men working in the fish processing industry has decreased concurrently.

In the administration, we find that women are somewhat more visible. The director of the Ministry of Fisheries is male, but of the department heads one in five is female. There are no female section leaders, but of the two fisheries coordinators one is Ms Rasmussen, who is in charge of research coordination.

So what is keeping women out of the fisheries? In modern economic times, more and more women in the Faroes are taking higher education and seeking employment fitted to their skills levels. However, despite the importance of fisheries for the economy and the Faroes in general, relatively few women seek education or employment here.

Marita Rasmussen describes how, when she announced she had decided to go to Tromsø University to study fisheries, she found her decision was questioned, it seemed that being in fisheries meant she would be seen as too masculine for a woman. It was seen as “unnatural” for a woman to take an interest in fisheries and to want a career in the field. Is this a common trait? Are fisheries in the

Faroes so intimately connected with everything masculine that it effectively overshadows the gendered identity of the individual actors? “I don’t think women are seen as participating in the fisheries in other capacities than as filleting workers”, Ms Rasmussen explains. “I don’t know what causes this, and I don’t think there is any consciousness of the fact that the industry is losing out, neither in women, men or in politicians, for that matter.” She emphasises repeatedly how involving women and other new actors who take an interest in utilising marine resources are the only way of ensuring that the fisheries in the Faroes can remain the mainstay of their national economy.

Historically, men have been in charge of going to sea and harvesting the seas around the Faroes, while women have been land-bound and cared for farms and family. In more modern times, higher education and the choices offered there are perhaps seen as more appealing. A survey carried out for the Centre of Local and Regional Development in the Faroes by Bjarni Mortensen and Olga Biskupstø, secondary and high-school students were asked their views on further education and what careers they wanted. They found that more than 90% wanted to a professional education. Fun and challenging studies with the possibility of a well-paid job were the main factors in their wishes for further education, and the jobs the students said they wanted were in this line, too.

When asked their views of the marine sector as a potential workplace, the answers were divided among gendered lines. Of the males surveyed, 25.6% would like to work in the fisheries sector, however only 5.2% saw fish farming as a good option. For the females, 1.7% saw fish industry as an option for the future, 1.4% fish farming.

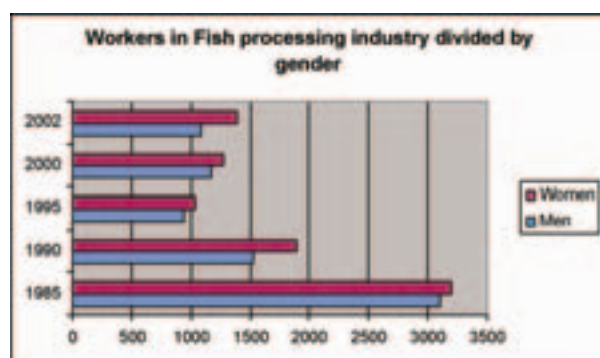


Fig. 4. Workers in fish processing industry divided by gender (www.hagstova.fo)

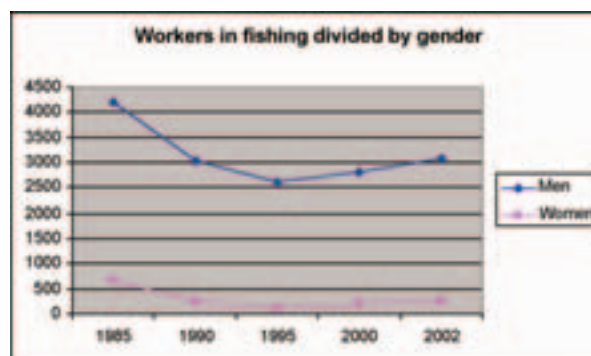


Fig. 5. People fishing divided by gender (www.hagstova.fo) Shows the number of people fishing from 1985 to 2002. (www.hagstova.fo)

There are 26 smolt and brood stock stations and around 65 farming sites in the Faroes (www.fishin.fo). In aquaculture companies the survey showed that no women were registered as owners, directors or managers, and the situation was the same in shipping companies in the fisheries. In the branches organisations for fisheries, fish processing, aquaculture, boat owners etc., there are no women as members of the boards (www.industry.fo).

Women in fisheries in the Faroes are represented as workers in the processing industry on land.

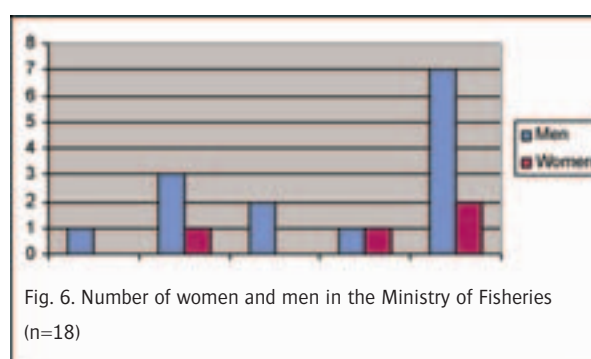


Fig. 6. Number of women and men in the Ministry of Fisheries (n=18)

The director of the Ministry of Fisheries is male, but of the department heads one in five is female. There are no female section leaders, but of the two fisheries coordinators one are women. If you are only looking at the management level in the Ministry there is only 1 woman out of 7 persons in the management of the Ministry.

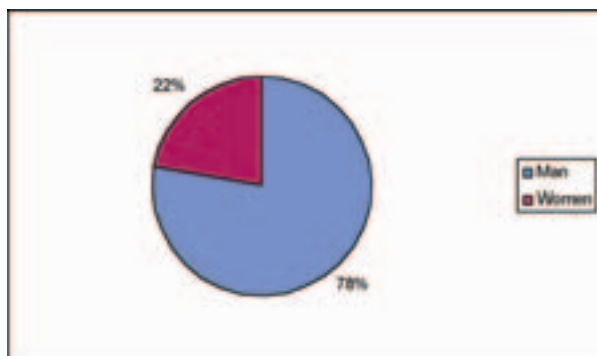


Fig. 7. % of women and men in the fisheries management (n=18)

In the management of fisheries in the Ministry of Fisheries 22% are women. This is a bit higher than in the fish processing industry, but not much.

On the homepage of the Faroese gender committee www.javnrat.fo, there is an overview of the gender distribution in public committees.

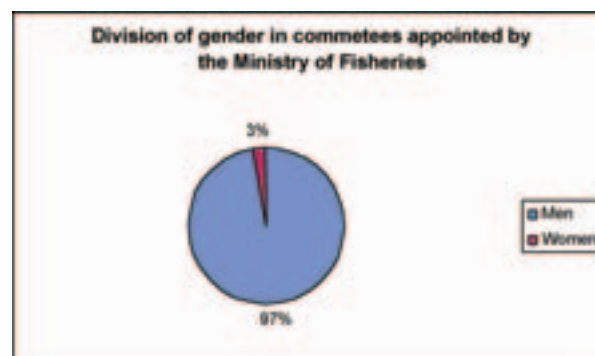


Fig. 8. Gender distribution in public committees as regards to fisheries.

In committees appointed by the Ministry of Fisheries only one person or 3% of the members, is a woman. This woman is the chairman in the Fisheries Advisories Committee.





Greenland – by Anna Heilmann



Fisheries in Greenland

Greenland is the world's largest island, 2 670 km from the northernmost point to the southernmost point and 1 050 km from east to west at its broadest. The coast is covered in skerries, numerous bigger and smaller islands and a large number of fjords. The largest fjord system in the world is situated in East Greenland and reaches 300 km inside the country. The nautical zone is approximately 2 000 000 km².

Fisheries are the most important industry in the country. In 2003, 144 600 tons of fish with a value of DKK 2.3 billion was fished in Greenland. According to Statistics Greenland, approximately 91% of the exports value in Greenland derives from the food sector, where products of fish and shellfish are the major export products. In 2002, "Articles of food and live animals" amounted to DKK 2 185.7 million of a total export value of DKK 2 389.2 million. Cod was previously the most important species in the fisheries of Greenland⁵, but now shrimp makes up 57% of the total amount of the export value, and the Greenland halibut has had an increasingly larger importance in the later years. The three major types of fishery in Greenland are outlined below.

Offshore fisheries

In 2002, the offshore fisheries comprised 68 active vessels with a tonnage above 80 BRT. Those are mostly owned by shipping companies. The trawlers mainly fish for shrimp and can have a crew from 18 to 25 persons, depending on the season and the size of the vessel. Seagoing cod vessels fishing in international waters can have a crew up to 38 persons, and vessels fishing for Greenland halibut in Greenlandic waters can have a crew up to 25 persons.

The shrimp trawlers have a duty by law to land 25% of the catch to land based factories. The rest is usually processed on board and is exported by the shipping companies themselves.

A distribution of the sexes among the owners of the shipping companies in Greenland can be found in the appendix.

Inshore fisheries

There is inshore fishery from vessels below 80 BRT. At 2002, there were 398 active inshore vessels in Greenland. These fish for ice crabs, lumpfishes, scallops, cod, Greenlandic halibut, and so on. The vessels can be owned by shipping companies, single persons, or they can be family owned. The crew can vary from 2 to 4 persons. The owner must have the commercial hunting license to be able to obtain licenses and quotas, but the crew do not need to hold this certificate.

Umiatsiaararsortut – Those who fish from small boats

And finally there are fisheries from the "jolle", a smack or dory-style boat, mostly in sizes between 16 and 21 foot. It is estimated that there are approximately 5000 such boats in Greenland. A part of those are used for hunting and fishing in the spare time, but some of the jolles are also connected to cutters (vessels below 75 BRT/ 120 BT) for pound net fish-

⁵ Grønland 2001-2002, Statistical yearbook. Grønlands Hjemmestyre, Statistics Greenland 2002.

eries or similar. The jolles are also used by many hunters/fishers, who do their hunting and fishing from the jolle. Mostly the crew consist of one person, typically the owner, but in some periods the owner can have assistant(s) who are not required to have a commercial hunting license.

The hunter typically owns the jolle, but there are also examples where his wife, girlfriend or partner is the owner. Because the banks prefer to give loans to persons with steady incomes, there are also examples where the wife/partner obtains the loan for the vessel itself or for the engine. In those cases she is also often the one who is paying off the loan. On specialised loans from the Erhvervsstøtteudvalg (ESU, the Business Support Committee from the Greenlandic Home Rule), which gives low-interest loans for vessels and so on, it is the loan taker, the fisherman, who signs for and pays off the loan. For subsidies to buying a jolle, only persons with commercial hunting license and with more than 50% of their income from fisheries can apply to ESU. If you want to take out loans for a cutter, you do not need to have a license, but a minimum of 50% of your income must derive from fisheries and the applicant must have a license for whatever they plan to fish.

To be able to sell your catch of most species and in order to receive quotas and licenses, a commercial hunting license is needed. To obtain the commercial hunting license, one must document that a minimum of 50% of one's income in the last two years derives from fisheries. There are some exceptions, for example this certificate is not necessary when selling lumpsucker roe. When a sales tax certificate is needed, this can be received at the local municipality tax office by showing your commercial hunting licence.

Variations in economic possibilities for fishers

The inshore fisheries, including fisheries from jolle, are done from many units where selling and income vary very much. This is shown in statistics from Nuka A/S (a Home Rule owned corporation, with fishing plants in the villages), which indicate that sales measured by weight and value vary a lot for sellers at the different plants around Greenland⁶.

Even though the jollefishers also have other possibilities for selling their catch, those statistics indicate that there is great variety in the jollefishers' condi-



tions regarding their trade and income possibilities. From the northern part of Greenland to the southern part of Greenland along the east coast, there are great geographical differences, which also impact on the possibilities for fishing and hunting. In the north, there is open water only for a few months in the summer, so since there is sea ice or ice floes in the sea the greater part of the year, hunting for sea mammals and fisheries from the ice with dog sledge dominates.

The open water areas are ice-free all year, which allows for offshore fisheries and fisheries from bigger vessels. This area is around the towns Nuuk, Maniitsoq and Sisimiut in mid-Greenland, but with the warmer climate of the later years, the area is expanding north. In this area, the fisheries also have had greater opportunities to develop through the time.

Each season also gives different species to hunt and fish, which results in very different income possibilities. Some months there is hunting for birds, seals and porpoise, and some months give more valued species like lumpsucker⁷, and later in the season trout, catfish, cod or ice crab are fished. The autumn is the season for reindeer and musk ox, and in north Greenland there are narwhales. In the Thule area they have puffin season, polar bears are hunted mostly in the Thule area and in east Greenland. The Greenlandic halibut are found around the Disko Bay and in north Greenland. In the northernmost part of Greenland and in the east, fisheries are not developed much because of the ice.

There are 5 different species of seals that can be

⁶ "The sector of the fisheries & the development of competences. Background report – report for the fisheries". May 2004. Conference of the fisheries 12.-14. of June 2004.

⁷ Nipisak Amarluk (F) and Nipisak Angusalluk (M), cyclopterus lumpus

described as a typically Greenlandic, these are being hunted in the different areas of Greenland. Only hunting of the Qasigiaq⁸ is restricted and the skin cannot be exported. Hunting of the other species is not restricted and is also considered ecologically sustainable. Natseq⁹ are hunted mainly in the northernmost municipalities, Uummannaq og Upernavik. The Aataaq¹⁰ are caught all over the country, but mainly in the centre of the west coast of Greenland. Hunting of the Natsersuaq¹¹ is concentrated to the area of Ammassalik in East Greenland and to the two municipalities of south Greenland, Nanortalik and Qaqortoq. In addition, there is the Ussuk¹².

In December, January and February, some of the colder months of the winter, there is very, very little to hunt and fish in all of Greenland. In the north of Greenland, the cold season can start from when the sea freezes over in September and last until the ice breaks up in the spring; usually in April/May.

A jollefisher must single-handedly finance the boat, motor, fuel, several of different types of nets for the different species of fish, different types of lines and bait, different types of guns for the different species of mammals on land and sea with different types of bullets, insurance, clothing and much, much more. The working expenses must be covered by fisheries from a boat, which at a size from 16 to 21 feet has limited capacity. The possibilities to sell are very limited. The fisher can sell only a small part of the catch. There are not processing plants in all the villages and towns in Greenland and the prices are now very low. Only the bigger towns have local markets, called "bræt", where the fishers can sell their catch. Here, the fishers can also sell to institutions such as old folks' homes, kindergartens, hospitals and so on. A lot of the catch is also given away to family members and also to the immediate family.

The jollefishers in numbers

The Department of Fisheries and Hunting have four definitions of the jollefishers. That is hunter/hunter, meaning a person who only lives of hunting. Hunter/fisher is a person who mainly lives of hunting but does some fish-

ing also. Fisher/fisher is a person who only lives of fishing and fisher/hunter is a person who mainly lives of fishing, but also does some hunting.

The latest numbers from The Department of Fisheries and Hunting from the Greenlandic Home Rule show that persons with the commercial hunting license nationwide are from 2003, when 2716 persons had the certificate. It must be related to the workforce of approximately 37000 persons that year, from a population of approximately 56500 inhabitants. Women hold ten of the 2716 commercial hunting licenses.

The interviews for this project were done in the municipality of Maniitsoq and Ilulissat. The number of persons with commercial hunting licenses in 2003 was altogether 173 out of 3681 inhabitants in the whole of the municipality. In the town of Maniitsoq, with 2899 inhabitants, there were 65 persons with the license. In the village Kangaamiut, with 438 inhabitants, 54 persons held the license; the average age for this group was 45 years. In the village Napasok, with 111 inhabitants, 28 persons had the commercial hunting license; the average age in this group was 39. Finally there were 233 inhabitants in the village Atammik, where 26 persons had the license and the average age was 42 years¹³.

Numbers from the municipality of Ilulissat on the Disko Bay shows that in 2003, 322 persons had commercial hunting licenses. These were distributed in the different villages so that Saqqaaq had 37, Qeqertaq 33, Oqaatsut 7, Ilulissat 231 and Ilimanaq 14.

The decision-making process - nationally

The Department of Fisheries and Hunting, Greenland Home Rule¹⁴.

The Department of Fisheries and Hunting attends to overall planning and a number of concrete initiatives on the fisheries and hunting areas based on the Landsstyre and the Landsting's general political goals and concrete decisions.

The Department of Fisheries and Hunting admin-

8 spættet sæl, phoca vitulina

9 netsiden, phoca hispida

10 Grønlandssæl, phoca groenlandica

11 klapmyds, cystophora cristata

12 remmesæl, erignathus barbatus

13 Facts from business plan for the Maniitsoq Municipality, 2004.

14 From the web page of the Greenland Home Rule (own translation)



illustrates the legislation concerning fisheries, hunting, export and “erhvervsstøtte” (ESU, subsidies to the fisheries trade). In addition, the Department maintains international relations concerning fisheries and hunting, including entering bilateral fisheries agreements and agreements in international organisations concerning regulation of the exploitation of the fisheries and hunting resources. Furthermore, the Department of Fisheries and Hunting is participating in the Nordic cooperation.

The Department of Fisheries and Hunting also attends to tasks concerning subsidies to selling of seal pelts and administers fish trading vessels. Other responsibilities of the Department are the subsidies to fisheries, hunting and agriculture, the control of the fisheries licenses, the hunting- and fishing officers system (jagt- og fiskeribetjentordningen) and tasks concerning advising handicraft producers.

The Department exercises authority functions for a number of totally or partly home rule owned corporations. Furthermore, they manage service agreements between the Home Rule and a number of corporations about the execution of tasks under the Department of Fisheries and Hunting responsibilities. The Department also holds the secretary function for the Council of Hunting and the Council for Fisheries¹⁵.

15 From www.nanoq.gl

The Ministry of Fisheries in the Home Rule administration

The Ministry of Fisheries attends to the administrative and developmental tasks within the area of fisheries. The Ministry must register and analyse the development in the trade of fisheries concerning the elaboration of rule changes and so on, which ensure an optimum economic exploitation of the resources and capacity in the trade.

The Ministry attends to the administration and the regulation of the fisheries of Greenlandic including foreign vessels in Greenlandic fishing territories, as well as the regulation of Greenlandic fishing vessels in other countries' economic zones and in international waters. As a part of this work, the Ministry of Fishery attends to the administration of quotas and licenses to the fisheries.

Furthermore, the Ministry attends to tasks concerning the administration of subsidies systems to fishermen, organising fish trading vessels that buy fish off the fishers and bring it to processing plant, and so on.

The Ministry attends to relations with international organisations inside the area of the fisheries. A part of those relations is attended in cooperation with the office of Home Rule in Denmark. The Ministry of fisheries is responsible for entering bilateral fishing agreements and agreements in international organisations about regulation of the exploitation of fisheries resources.

Greenland has entered fisheries agreements with

the EU, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Norway, Russia, and has yearly consultations with Canada. Furthermore, Greenland is involved with the work of regulation of the fishery in international water inside the regional Fisheries Committees, some examples of which being NAFO (Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization) and NEAFC (North-East Atlantic Fisheries Commission), and the North Atlantic salmon organisation NASCO (North Atlantic Salmon Conservation Organization). The Ministry of Fisheries also participates in the Nordic Officials Committees (embedsmandskomiteer) under The Nordic Council of Ministers and in the CITES-listing of commercial fish types¹⁶.

The Committee of Fisheries, Hunting and Agriculture in the Greenlandic parliament, the Landsting

According to the order of business for the Greenlandic parliament, the Committee of Fisheries, Hunting and Agriculture is to read the suggestions that the Landsting sends to the Committee¹⁷.

Through questions to "Landsstyret" that touch on this area of responsibility, the Committee of Fisheries, Hunting and Agriculture is obliged to among other things keep up to date with developments and see that the administration of the Landsstyret keeps within the lines resulting from legislation or from "best practice", good procedure of administration.

The areas covered by the Committee of Fisheries include both commercial and non-commercial fisheries. The Committee has control with all kinds of fishery, be it trawl, sinking nets, pound nets or lines. This covers fishing for shrimp, salmon, trout, ice crab and scallops. Both awarding licences and distributing quotas are their responsibility, furthermore, sales and production of fish-, hunting- and agricultural products and the official reporting of these sales. Commercial hunting and non-commercial hunting of sea mammals, land mammals and birds, but not questions about preservation. Means of transportations during hunting and hunting licenses are also the responsibility of the Committee. As regards agriculture, the Committee is in charge of commercial exploitations of areas for cultivations of plants and pasture, animal husbandry and aquaculture.

As of the summer of 2004, the committee members were 5 men; 3 from the political parties within the Landsstyret (the parties Siumut and Inuit Ataqatigiit) and 2 from the opposition parties (the parties Atassut and the Kandidatforbundet).

The Council of Fisheries

The Council of Fisheries consists of representatives from the Department of Fisheries and Hunting¹⁸ and from the fisheries industry as outlined below. The Council of Fisheries submits statements to the Landsstyret regarding all the new measures for the regulations of fisheries in Greenland. The Council can encourage the Landsstyret to come up with new plans or measures or to change existing legislation. The Council can also bring up questions concerning the fisheries sector that do not presuppose a further reading in the Landsstyret. On behalf of the Council, the chairman can make public statements about questions of fisheries politics. Landsstyret consults the Council of Fisheries in cases concerning §§5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 18, 20, 22 and 23 in the Fisheries Act (Landstingslov nr. 18 af 31 oktober 1996 om fiskeri). This includes the setting of TAC and distribution of quotas, licenses for foreign fishery and other regulations in the fisheries.

The Council of Fisheries is composed of APK (Avataasiutinik Piginneqatigiiffiit Kattuffiat – The Greenlandic fishery and export association - Den Grønlandske Havfiskeri og Eksport Sammenslutning) with 3 representatives, KNAPK (Kalaallit Nunaanni Aalisartut Piniartullu Kattuffiat – The association of fishermen and hunters in Greenland - Sammenslutningen af Fiskere og Fangere i Grønland) with 3 representatives, and Royal Greenland A/S and the Department of Fisheries and Hunting with one representative each.

The chairman is appointed by APK and KNAPK in turns, while the vice chair is appointed by the Department of Fisheries and Hunting.

The Department of Fisheries and Hunting holds the secretariat functions. The chairman of the Council of Fisheries can use expertise from Pinngortitaleriffik

¹⁶ Source: From the website of the Greenlandic Home Rule. www.nanoq.gl

¹⁷ Source: From the website of the Greenlandic Home Rule. www.nanoq.gl

¹⁸ Source: From the website of the Greenlandic Home Rule. www.nanoq.gl

(Grønlands Naturinstitut/ The Nature Institute of Greenland) and Grønlands Fiskerilicenskontrol (GFLK – Greenland Fisheries License Control Authority) and other relevant institutions or persons with a special knowledge about the subjects that are to be discussed in the Council of Fisheries.

The decision-making processes – locally

Landsstyret makes the rules regarding protection of the resources and technical actions to preserve the resources. Regulations on preservation of areas from fisheries, regulations for the use of fishing vessels equipment and regulations within the fisheries are the responsibilities of the municipalities, with previously approval from the Landsstyre.

There are 18 municipalities in Greenland, in this study we have focused on Maniitsoq and Ilulissat. In the municipality of Maniitsoq, the decision-making process is that the political board regarding the fisheries is the committee of finance, business and education, which has only male members. This committee brings recommendations to the municipality council in Maniitsoq, which consist of 11 politicians. Currently, these are 9 men and 2 women.

In the Ilulissat municipality, the municipality board consist of 13 politicians, whereof three are women and 10 are men. Matters regarding fisheries are conducted in the committee for technology, environment and business, which consists of 4 men and one woman.

Prior to the decisions in the municipality board, the cases are brought to the local Fisheries and Hunting Council. The council consist of 3 members from the municipality board, 1 member from the local leisure-hunters' association, 1 member from the local fishers and hunters' trade association, 1 member is appointed by the local jollefishers' association, 1 member by the local workers' association and finally 1 member appointed by the local dog sledge association. The municipality consultant for fishers and hunters and the manager of the administration of the municipality participate in the meeting as secretaries and officials.

By summer 2004, all the members and officials on the board were men. The municipality consultant for fishers and hunters says that if an association for fishers' spouses wanted to appoint a member to the

council, they can write an application to the municipality board regarding the request. It is most likely that their request would be granted, the consultant informs us.

Reports, research and analysis about the fisheries

Currently, a socio-economic analysis of the hunters' trade in Greenland is being conducted. Earlier, similar investigations show the total income of the household distributed on income from fisheries and

Quote from Introduction to the June 2004 Greenland Fisheries Conference:

The income from exports in the fisheries derives primarily from hunting and products of shrimp and Greenland halibut and ice crabs. In the export are also smaller amounts of scallops, cod and lumpsucker roe. In most of the municipalities a large amount of the employment derives from the fisheries sector. Statistics from Statistics Greenland for the year 2001 show that the fisheries constituted 2 345 man-labour years, corresponding to 6.5% of total employment. The sector also consist of production of the fisheries products, which makes up more than 80% of the employment in the manufacturing business in Greenland. The fish industry itself in 2001 constituted 2 382 man-labour years, corresponding to 6.6% of total employment in the country.

Beyond this, the fisheries sector generates indirect employment in most other branches of the economy in terms of the demand for goods and services created by the industry and its workers. The indirect effect of employment is difficult to calculate.

What can be described as the fishery-industrial complex today in total includes employment of up to a sixth of the total employment in the country and almost a third of employment outside the public sector. Therefore there is an inevitable focus on the fisheries and on the land-based production plants and their importance to the economy and employment in the local communities. As a consequence, there is continual political pressure on the fisheries sector and on the related businesses to ensure the economy as well as the employment in the local communities.

income from other than fisheries. Those other incomes can consist of the husband's other incomes or from the income of the wife. These studies do not show the gender aspect of the income distribution. Nor did earlier investigations show the husband's as well as the wife's part of paying the bills in the household or paying for the husband's trade activities.

Through our cooperation with the socio-economic analysis of the jollefishers, our project made sure to include in the analysis at least who is paying the bills in the household-economy. Interview after interview in this project with the women point out that a lot of women pay all the bills in the household and in addition also pay for the husband's equipment, his loans in the bank and at times also petrol for his engine, and cartridges.

Women's role in the household economy of the jollefisher families

Because of great geographical differences in conditions and possibilities for the fisheries in Greenland, there are also great differences in the conditions for the spouses of the jollefishers, depending on where they live in Greenland and what season of the year we are talking about.

The Greenlandic dog sledge is used north of the polar circle and in all of east Greenland. Taking care of the dogs is also one of the spouse's tasks, during the men's hunting and fishing trips that can last for days or weeks. The dogs need water, food and occasionally they get loose, so that the women must catch the dogs and tie them up again.

The women from the villages of Maniitsoq municipality – household economy

Statistical data collection from the villages of Maniitsoq municipality about the fishers' contribution to the household economy was done in cooperation with Søren Stach Nielsen from Greenland Institute of Natural Resources, who is doing detailed studies in relations to the socio-economic analysis of the hunters'

trade, and with Iver Lyberth who is the consultant for fishers and hunters for Maniitsoq Municipality.

In the interviews, the fishers were asked how much of the bills in the household the husband and the wife paid for. Out of the 15 answers received from Kangaamiut and Atammik, we found that in two cases, the man paid all the bills, because the wife was unemployed. One man, whose wife received a retirement pension, paid almost all the bills. One man paid all the household bills from his hunting and fishing income, and another was able to do the same because he had additional income, however his wife covered petrol expenses in the hardest months. In seven households, the women had jobs and paid all the bills over their bank accounts and also paid for the husband's petrol and ammunition in the hardest months, in two additional households it was through her social security money that the wife was able to pay bills and supply the husband's hunting and fishing activities. One man lived alone and thus covered all his own expenses.

These 15 answers cannot be taken as statistically representative for the jollefishers in Greenland or in the Maniitsoq area villages. It is possible that the fisher can be more dependent on the spouse in the areas where the fisheries are bad, and as such less dependent on a partner's contributions in the areas where the fisheries are good.

The role of the women in the economy - interviews

This project is based on five individual interviews with women in Kangaamiut and five women in Atammik. In North Greenland, where fisheries bring more income to the fishers, we conducted a group interview with three women in the town of Ilulissat. From the village of Saqqaq, in the Ilulissat Municipality, two women were interviewed.

The women's backgrounds varied significantly. Some held skilled jobs; some were unskilled workers and unemployed; some skilled in occasional jobs; some skilled or unskilled in part-time jobs. One collected early retirement pension. They all had families, from one to seven children, some of the kids are now grown-ups and have left home. The interviews are qualitative in nature, anonymised interviews that do not show a representative statistic picture of the situation of the jollefisher families. They can, however,



indicate the situation of the women as spouses of jollefishers in these regions.

When I arrived in one of the villages, I talked to people I met and asked whether they knew some spouses of jollefishers. One of the women told me that her husband was a fisher. When I asked whether he was jollefisher, she denied this, and added that the poor, brave jollefisher families have a hard time. By this example, I don't want to signal that all jollefisher families are having a hard time, but in those regions where the fisheries are not plentiful with few species to fish and there are few possibilities of selling the catch, the household income can be very low and the families tend to live off a subsistence economy. It is important to note, as will be discussed below, that in many cases these families consider that they have so much else, not to be measured by money alone.

When asked whether the couples discuss matters



of economy, all the women reply that they do that a lot. The women in the villages of the municipality of Maniitsoq were not asked whether they paid the bills at home, but a lot of the women themselves brought up that they pay most of the bills. Some women told us that they pay all of the bills. The women say that they tend to discuss matters of economy more when the fisheries are bad, when something on his boat is broken (the boat, the engine, or part of it), or when he needs new equipment without having the means to buy it.

In winter, when the fishing is bad, the women say that they have to give him money for petrol and ammunition, so that he can go fishing and hunting at all. Some of the men have child support payments to children from previous relationships deducted from their income after selling the fish. One woman says that there is not much left of his income when the debts are deducted, and that her husband seems very embarrassed these days, because he earns so little.

The banks do not give loans to persons without a regular income, without the money for a deposit and without guarantees; this is usually the situation for a jollefisher. Therefore it is often the wage-earning spouses who must take out the loan in the bank or apply for low-interest loans from their unions. Many times, she ends up paying off the loans herself. This may not be the case for all jollefisher families, but it is not a rare situation.

Ilulissat is not included in the detailed study of the socio-economic analysis of the hunters' trade. This means there is little information available regarding the fishers' contributions to the household economy in Ilulissat and its villages. We conducted a group interview in Ilulissat, with three jollefisher's wives. All three had full time jobs, two of them are skilled workers and one is in an unskilled position. They had three children each.

The three women interviewed all paid all the bills in the household, the whole year, including rent, electricity, phone bills, kindergarten, insurance and so on. The husbands in general pay their own working expenses, their own insurance and their own cell phones. One of the women used income from the husband's trade to contribute against the daily expenses, and the catch from his trade was eaten at home. However, the wives usually have to pay for the husband's petrol in hard times. One of the women used her holiday pay every single year to buy equipment for his trade, and had to go to work even though she was sick, to keep up with the bills.

In Ilulissat the most difficult months are not just

from December to February, they start in September, when the sea freezes to ice, and last until the ice breaks up in the spring, sometime in April or May. Women from Ilulissat tell us that

A: This summer the ice fjord sent out tonnes of ice. It was impossible for the fishers to fish for perhaps two months. The fishers' association held their meetings at our home. At times I had to get out of the house so I didn't have to listen to them, even though I had work to do at home. It was so tough to hear about "this family is having their electricity cut off because they cannot pay the bill" "This family is thrown out of their home, because they cannot pay the bills" and so on. And the participants at the meetings used to say "We must be thankful for our spouses, that we have wives. They feed us and give us a place to live".

B: When I was a student I had limited income. It was really difficult times for us then. When I graduated and got a job he used to joke about it, proudly. "Don't you worry about me now. My spouse has been appointed to a post! I am married to a career woman."

A: It is true, that it is not much talked about. We use a lot of our energy and free time, us, women. We do not even see it ourselves, but we do see it now. We work very hard. And we don't even think about it, you know. It even affects our holidays. If we were to go on vacations like other people, we couldn't afford the daily costs. We can't travel for vacations, and we can't spend vacations together. Instead our holiday pay is used to cover costs regarding his boat and buy equipment for his work as a fisher.

A: Because of the costs of living, I had to change my place of work and leave the work I loved. I work nights for higher salary now. Before I changed my place of work, I had to take care of children from families with social problems at home in order to get additional income. For this income I bought food and paid the bills.

B: At times when fishing is difficult, our children get jealous of other children. That is very difficult to us, not be able to buy them new clothes and things. It's all we can do to keep up with paying the bills, paying the bills. Hardship, hardship. It is really difficult.

We have a DAMP-child who requires a quiet environment, and we cannot save money to buy a house in the future. It is impossible to save a certain amount of money every month. It is really hard for me to admit, with me having a child in need.

One woman from the village of Saqqaq says:
It depends on his income. I pay all the bills. When his income increases, he really wants to participate in paying the bills. I have noticed that of course he wants to feel that he is a part of the family, a partner, a father and a breadwinner, a provider; so he wants to pay the bills when he can. And then we are happy. He likes to show that he is a co-supporter of the family in that way. The moment his income increases, he pays the bills. We don't have hardship, with me being educated and in a good job, but when we are two to pay the bills, it is really a great feeling. And you can feel it in him.

[...] They have days where they lose their mood. Bad weather, no fish, bad engine. We must encourage them all the time. But they also have times where there is lots of fish and the income increases. Then it seems like life is only good things. They are happy.



Nature decides. When something is difficult, it seems like they are belittling themselves, silently. But when life eases up, they have days with pride and are celebrating.

This is how it is: support, support, support. If that weren't the case it wouldn't help the relationship. We support them and make them proud of themselves.

She is educated and works in a leadership position at the village school, which makes life easier than for a lot of other jollefisher families she knows. When asked whether she pays for his petrol at times, she replies:

In winter with no fish and no place to sell at all, I can for example pay for his petrol. But I really do not mind, because if we didn't live in the village as a fisher/hunter family, but lived in a city, how much wouldn't we have paid for the Greenlandic food. Think about the mattak¹⁹. I am very vocal about how I do not mind paying his petrol, because he supplies our freezer with food of high value. That is why I do not feel like "I am paying everything for him..." If we said, "these are your things in the freezer, and these are mine, I will not pay for your petrol..." We are not like that. We know where we stand. So when he is able to pay every penny, he is so happy, so we stand equal. Sometimes we have 100-200 kg of mattak in our freezer!!! When he started to work at the fish plant, I was thinking "Oh no, we will have no more mattak!" But I didn't tell him that I worried.

Indigenous people – the jollefisher culture

Considering how the women have such hard times keeping up with the bills, I asked them whether they had ever asked their husbands to change jobs. Here the indigenous culture and perhaps also the indigenous gender roles become evident.

When asked what it means to the women that their husband is a jollefisher, one woman said that it has a great importance, because she herself comes from a fisher family.

In our village, there is only the fishing left, if you don't have an education. Therefore his fishing has

been of great importance to our family, especially when our kids were small. My husband doesn't have any education and he started fishing when he was a kid, helping the other fishers.

According to a survey conducted for the Greenlandic Home Rule by Statistics Greenland²⁰ in 1994, 74,5% of fishers and hunters in Greenland had no education at all, whereas 47,8% of the Greenlandic population in all didn't have an education. The findings of the survey actually showed that families from fishers and hunters were a bit older than the average family in Greenland, lived in worse housing, with more people per household in house size than the average family. The fishers/hunters families had higher unemployment rates. Furthermore, the survey showed that their costs were lower, but compared to the average family who had a higher income level than the fishers' families, a fisher/hunter family used 25% of the income for living costs (even after correcting for the financial value of eating their own catch), compared to 20% in the average family in Greenland.

I asked the leader of a children's school at a village about education and the jollefishers:

The parents wish for their children to get an education. I've heard this wish more than once, for example during meetings with parents. They tell their kids "You can become something if you look after school. You can get an education, and after you've finished that, you can become a fisher". They wish for their kids to have a background. Something they can rely on, when they are done being fishers. The parents really do wish for their kids to have an education. There are days when those words are also brought up, the parents' own wishes for themselves. These years, they are shown so many possibilities. "Our kids must not have the same conditions as we have. They must have something to rely on."

There are parents who regret their lives. Or they may feel that their possibilities are fewer than those of people with education. They don't say, "I will do this". But they want to pass on to their kids, that they must not have the same limited possibilities that they do have themselves.

Most of the women replied that their husbands' being a fisher was not a matter they accorded much thought. It is something they are used to, because many of the women themselves come from fisher families.

19 skin of narwhale – a great delicacy, selling for a minimum of DKR1000/kilo.

20 Kalaalimernit. INUSSUK. Arktisk Forskningsjournal. 2, 1997. Edited by Klaus Georg Hansen, Gert Mulvad and Tine Pars.

One woman told me how her husband, who had been a crewmember at a trawler, had bought a jolle and was now starting up as a jollefisher. He does not have much equipment yet, and sometimes he asks his wife to buy some of the equipment for him. Sometimes she buys it for him, but at other times she refuses. In the wintertime she also pays for petrol for him, so that he is able to fish at all. She has asked him whether he cannot get work on land, at least in the winter, but he says that he is a man of the sea, and there is nothing to do about that. She thinks it is so tough, she becomes the sole supporter of the family, and cannot keep up with the bills. She gets angry with him and tells him directly that he is just an expense for her, and gives nothing in return, to which he just replies that there is nothing to do about that.

Another woman has asked her husband to work on land as unskilled labour, when she becomes the sole supporter for the family in winter. But "he doesn't have the will at all to take that kind of work. It seems like it is embarrassing for him to get that kind of work."

The women from Ilulissat, when asked the question of whether the couples help each other financially, usually answer with a "yes, of course". Most of the women say that they wouldn't be able to handle daily life if they didn't help each other, because it is so tough.

C: In periods up to one month he cannot go fishing because of the ice. In this period it is on my shoulders alone to raise the money for our daily life, to pay the bills and so on. At times like those, I urge him to try to get a job on land.

B: When I met him in '98, he'd been a fisherman/hunter. When I met him he worked temporarily at a schoolteacher in a village and was hunting in his leisure time with his son. When we moved here in '99 he became a fisherman and I started studying. He is still a fisherman now. He likes it much better. He'd thought he could not breathe, because he has been a fisherman since he was a youngster. For a short period he was a teacher, and he won't go back to that. He tells me that it is what he likes best, and where he is confident. So I never ask him to get work on land. But when I was a student and it got too hard, I of course asked him if he couldn't work in the factory in the periods he couldn't fish. He never would. He tells me that he does not want to lose his license.

A: I've followed the living conditions for fishermen for many years. So I've understood that it is very, very difficult to get men who've been living with fisheries and hunting working on land. I think it is because in the

north of Greenland, in the spring the light comes and the world is so beautiful. They get homesick for this enormous wilderness, the environment, the nature. The changing of the seasons, following nature. When they work on land and have lunch at certain hours and go to work at certain hours, they get homesick for all of this. They are not used to the clock. It is a hardship for them. I have tried to make him work on land lots of times. It is impossible. But now when we got the responsibility for our grandchildren because of a death in the family, he asked me not to change my work, with the nightshifts. He wants to change his working place himself! When he started to talk about it, I was speechless! I had tried to make him work on land for so many years with no luck. My heart was filled with joy. He tells me that he must try. I was really proud, because I felt that he would do that out of respect for me.

There are a lot of men who are in that position now. Thinking about working on land.

Last year he was given the chance to get a job on land. He rejected the offer. Now he is suffering from rheumatism because of his hard work, so he has regrets about not listening to our advice earlier, about the job offer.

A: There was only one time I tried to stop him from going out to fish. He almost started to cry and his voice sounded different. When he gets the urge to sail out, he really can't stand anyone to stop him. So it is impossible to make them get a job in land.

The husband of one of the women interviewed was in bed coughing with a head cold prior to her interview. It was early morning and foggy outside. During the interview the sun chased the fog away and there was no wind at the sea. There was knocking at the door, and he jumped up with a happy smile. "The fog is gone, I am fine now to go hunting seals."

She says, "That is how the fishers are. As soon as the weather clears, they can't wait to head out, fishing and hunting. They don't even have the time to be sick! Lots of fishers stay at home, reluctantly, only when they are very sick".

Their husbands' enthusiasm for their work is obvious from all the women. The men do not want any other type of work, they can hardly wait to go fishing and hunting and they enjoy the freedom that they decide for themselves what to fish or hunt that day. Many of the women fished with their spouses, either during the lumpsucker-season or during the pount net cod fisheries season. Both the working women and the unemployed women

do that, and they all say that they do so because they enjoy it.

Several of the women also mention that it is nice that the family can go sailing in their leisure time. In Greenland, there are no roads between the towns and villages, and the settlements are so small that having a car has no purpose. That means that having a boat can have the same value as having a car in other countries. Consequently, the fact that the family has got a boat and can go out sailing is highly appreciated by the women.

Indigenous people

- The importance of eating Greenlandic food.

The jollefisher lifestyle is an indigenous lifestyle that includes the whole family. It is not based on money but is more of a subsistence economy. Subsistence economy can be defined as the hunting and fishing lifestyle that the families live of, in the true meaning of the word – they subsist on it²¹. To prepare, preserve and eat the Greenlandic food is an important part of the indigenous culture. In the summer, the ammasat²², a small fish, is caught and dried. In the summer, trout is dried, smoked and salted. In autumn, there is reindeer hunting for the whole family with its accompanying rituals, the meat is dried and frozen. In the south, there is seal hunting where both the meat and the blubber is preserved with methods known only in the south of Greenland. The puffin is preserved and eaten in the Thule area. The puffin is put with feathers, bone and everything inside the stomach of a seal and buried in the snow for months. It is eaten raw, and only those who are accustomed to it, can eat it.

Greenlandic food is highly treasured in Greenland. It is very expensive to buy in the shops and on the local market, and regarded as delicacies. In the interviews, the women are all very happy about the fish, meat and birds their husbands' activities bring home to the family. Some of the women say that the family eats almost only his catch – Greenlandic food, kalaalimernit – which they see as a part of being Greenlandic²³. All of the women in the interviews are of the opinion that it is very important to them that they always have Greenlandic food for the family.

One woman was very happy about her husband's work. Previously he'd been unemployed, with a leisure-hunting license. Now he has a commercial fisher license, so now they've become a household with two providers, and she was so grateful to receive his catch for the household. His trade was also considered a big asset to their children's upbringing.

Another, unemployed woman, was also happy for her partner's activities as a hunter and fisher. If not for his fishing, their family of five kids would not have anything to live of, she says. In the winter, they receive social security from the municipality, when his costs exceed his income. In the summer, when he is on pount net fisheries, she goes fishing with him as his assistant because she likes it so much. As any other assistant she also gets paid from him, even though it does not amount to much. She likes that he is a fisher, because he himself is happy to be a fisher and always has been.

Individual power, the discourse

In the village of Kangaamiut, the women had had a fishers' spouses' association. They stopped meeting about two years ago, but at the time of the interviews it was about to be restarted, and had been sorely missed in the interval. The women say that just to be able to meet the other jollefisher wives and have somebody to talk about their living conditions with was a great help.

The women used to meet once a week and did needlework together while talking about their lives, their partners' trade and the conditions they live under. When the association was doing well, they held lottery evenings, where the prizes were the women's needlework, made during their weekly evenings. The surplus was divided equally between the members before Christmas. "It wasn't much, about DKR 3-400. But receiving them as presents, being a jollefisher family around Christmas time, that sum of money has a lot of value."

Asked about whether the fishers' association ever asked the women's association for help, when the

21 Lene Kielsen Holm "Værnen om den kulturelle identitet", 2002.

22 Mallotus villosus

23 Kalaalimernit. INUSSUK. Arktisk Forskningsjournal. 2, 1997. Edited by Klaus Georg Hansen, Gert Mulvad and Tine Pars.



association was up and running, several of the women laugh. “It was only when the men’s association was having a party, when they needed cooks and waiters for the practical matters; then they asked us for help”.

When the association was doing well, there was a national association of fishers’ wives and girlfriends that they cooperated with. The chairman of the national fishers’ wives’ association, or someone else from the board, participated in the general meeting for the national fisher association. They did not have the right to vote, but could participate in the debates. The national as well as the local association used the radio and wrote to the newspapers and participated at conferences about different subjects.

Regarding the question of who they talk to about the husband’s trade, there was great variation in the women’s answers. Especially in Kangaamiut it seemed the women talked more together. “We talk constantly about the fishers’ activities in the family, all the time”. Others have colleagues who are also married to jollefishers, with whom they talk to about the conditions.

When I was in Kangaamiut in May 2004 the association was about to be restarted again, and they had a temporary board. Several of the women said that the men encourage their spouses to restart the association. One of the women’s husbands was on the board for the jollefishers’ local association. He encouraged her to participate in the restarting of the association for the spouses and suggests subjects to her that their associations could cooperate about.

At another village, there had never been such an association, but several mentioned having heard talks about starting one. The women in the interviews would like to support such an association, if it start-

ed. But in this village there were clearly not many opinions about the husbands’ work. The attitude “that’s how life is” was expressed, voiced like a surrender; “Sometimes we have hard times and if we can manage it, we can manage it”. One woman says, “We don’t discuss much here and don’t mingle so much with the others...”

These years, the fishers’ wives’ association is dormant nationally, after blooming some years ago. They were visible in the political debates, but now they have become invisible and actually stopped working in many

cities where they have previously been very active.

This can be seen in connection with there not being much young blood in the jollefisher trade. The jollefishers get older, there is little recruitment of younger fishers and perhaps the spouses are tired and don’t have much to give anymore. In the regions where there is new recruitment in the jollefisher trade, like in Ilulissat, the jollefisher spouses in Ilulissat say that the younger jollefisher spouses are fully occupied with taking care of small children and their jobs. In the evenings, when there could be possibilities to go to meetings with other women, they do not have childcare possibilities because the men come home late from their fisheries, leaving the women at home alone with the children. When the fishers are out fishing for days, the women must also take care of the dogs. A household can have more than ten dogs, plus a lot of puppies to feed and water.

The group interview in Ilulissat became very dynamic, it seemed like the women realised their situation and their role by listening to each other. The words are very serious and showed a tough life. But during the interview the Greenlandic sense of humour and irony popped up all the time, and the following was said with lots of laughs and smiling as well:

A: On fishermen’s day I parade with the men, sometimes being the only woman. I shout out demands. I urge other women to participate and they are easy to influence to participate. The few times I didn’t participate the men missed my presence. They started to call me “Mummy”. It is so evident that they respect me for participating. Our men are more silent than us women in the daily life, it sometimes seems. So when somebody shouts out truths about our living conditions, they really like that.

During the group interview, I told them about the Council of Fisheries, how it operates. It consults with the different trade associations in the fisheries, the members here are all male and nobody asks the wives who live with the results of the legislations and appears to be responsible for the economy. The women I interviewed made it clear they did not know what to say about that.

C: I have no comment on this. I've never thought about this. To hear about how they work and know more about it, it would be interesting. Also to be able to join the discussions. To speak out how things could be done.

B: We don't think about such matters. We are not used to being asked. It is not common, you know. Therefore I never give it a thought.

A: This is our biggest problem: That we ourselves cannot get out and show ourselves. We can call it "the enormous silence of the Greenlandic people".

B: Our enormous modesty...

A: Because of our enormous silence. But I think there is more gender equality now, so that we are not so quiet anymore. I am really happy about this. It is so good, that it is changing.

B: But even the younger ones of us: we are so patient! We live patiently with the conditions, you know. Even at times when we have reasons to complain. You cannot always be patient regarding our living conditions. We are reserved even when we have reasons to complain some more... We could become more visible.

C: For example, we are not used to being interviewed like this. During this interview we realise "this is how we live our daily life". Every day we live like this. Suddenly we see "we are really like this".

B: We use lots of energy not knowing it. To us it is normal. But talking about it, "Wow, we use a lot of energy"; there is lots of hardships for all of us, as couples. This feels like... [Breathes out loudly, lowering her shoulders, visibly relaxing]

Can women become fishers?

A majority of the spouses in the interviews helped

their husbands from time to time, apparently because they like it. They are not always paid with a formal paycheck, but the income goes into the household, which the women are also a part of, and the wife often receives some money for herself, too.

In the group interview from Ilulissat, all three women had not wanted to become fishers themselves, because they recognize how tough the trade is. They watch their husbands getting old before their time and see how their bodies ache. They like to fish with him, go hunting for reindeer with him, but they can also feel how tough the work is for their bodies.

Saqqaq is a small village of approximately 170 inhabitants in north Greenland. A woman who was interviewed here replied to the question of whether women could become fishers:

There are female fishers! It depends on whether you are truly interested. Women are able to. I know they help their husbands with the nets. If you like it you can do that. It's not difficult. Perhaps women will be more detail-oriented, more hygienic in different ways. The slime of the fish is when the trade do not interest you... Bah...! But of course! Women can do everything!

Another woman from the village of Saqqaq told me that when the brother of her husband left the village and she lost her job, she started to fish together with her husband at his jolle. At first just to be with him and at times steer the boat. She had worked in fish plants earlier, so she quickly got used to processing the fish and started to help him in the actual fishing. At first the other fishers didn't see her as a woman. When they recognized her as a woman, they looked surprised and thought it was funny that she was fishing with him. At the next meeting, their attitudes changed and they showed her respect. They praise her very much.

She has seen that women from a village close to her own sail with their spouses a lot.

At first I was very shy, believing I was the only woman sailing with her spouse. But when I noticed the other women from the other village, it is so nice to meet them from time to time. When we tried it for the first time, and we sailed off, I was so embarrassed. We told each other [she and her husband] "Perhaps they think this woman is so dominating that she is always sailing with her husband!" [Giggling] Joking about it. "There she is again!"

Now I am not embarrassed any more.

They built their house and paid off at his boat at the same time, at first with her salary from her previous job. Now they only have the income from his fishing, so at times it is very difficult to keep up with the

bills. At times she gets loans from her family in order to survive. When asked if her husband pays her for her work, she replied:

Of course! Of course! Sometimes we make jokes about it "Come on now! When am I getting paid now?!" No, he is not keeping anything from me. We help each other. We work very hard to keep up the bills. It is very fulfilling.

Her father fished for shrimp. Her sisters are also married to fishers. Before she met her husband, she used to say to her sisters they should have stayed away from fishers, since it is a tough life being a fisherman's wife. She didn't know what life had in store for her, she laughs ironically.



Conclusion

The interviews in this project show that the women carry a big part of the responsibility for the household economy and in addition contribute heavily to his working expenses. Reports, analysis and research tend to focus entirely on the jollefishers, even though it appears to be common knowledge that the economic and moral contributions of the spouses of the jollefishers are enormous.

But as shown in the factual part, these women are not included anywhere in the decision-making processes. The jollefishers' spouses live with the results of the legislations and regulations inside the fisheries, but they are absolutely invisible in the legislative processes. On the other hand, if the legislators want to include the women in the legislation processes, there is a question of who is going to represent the women. About 5-10 years ago they were organised in very active associations, both local and national, but they are not organised today.

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Iceland – by Anna Karlsdóttir

Iceland in a fisheries and aquaculture perspective

Even though public and private service are now the characteristics of the Icelandic economy, Iceland has since immemorial times utilised the fishery resources surrounding the country. It has been of fundamental importance for the economic survival of the people and the creation of a fishery economy that contributes to about 2.1% of world catches (2001). The importance of the fishing industry however, never reached such a peak as during the 20th century, in fact the fishery sector was in a leading role for the industrialisation and modernisation of the economy. The embodied fluctuations of fisheries and later the implementation of quota have transformed the sector and its role for the overall economy is not as significant as earlier. The fisheries importance in terms of export earnings has fallen from around 75% of total foreign currency earnings in mid nineties to around 40% in 2003. In spite of structural changes fisheries still play a great role now in the 21st century and will continue to do so in the foreseeable future.

Aquaculture however is a fairly new branch of industry, a small sector that was in the first decade of activity ridden by collapses and bankruptcies but which activities have been in a more promising cumulative mode since the mid-eighties. The government has supported aquaculture and sees its future role as a potential. Further development of especially saltwater species is seen as a promising new resource based sector for coastal communities.

Iceland has joined all major international conventions on fisheries, and even though there are a number of years since the Magnusson Act came through with the extension of the 200 miles exclusive zone, Iceland still is active in taking leading roles in different international and interregional organs, meetings and conventions. For example: NAFO, FAO and more. International or interregional conventions, acts and organisations within aquaculture are primarily NASCO (North Atlantic Salmon Conservation Organisation) with a number of resolutions and regulatory measures. Iceland has also joined other forums like ICES, FEAP (the federation of the European aquaculture producers) and ISFA (International salmon farming association) to name but a few.

Volume

The main species caught in terms of volume in the fisheries are cod²⁴, haddock²⁵, saithe²⁶, redfish²⁷, herring²⁸, catfish²⁹, halibut³⁰ and capelin³¹. Cod has historically provided the mainstay of the fishing economy but with a diminished stock and a change in the management system a further diversification of other species caught has developed. Fishing of demersal species like the capelin has been increasing substantially. In 2000 there were 36 wetfish trawlers and 49 freezer trawlers active in the Icelandic fleet. They were all stern trawlers.

Table 1. 1970-2002 Catch around Iceland from all fishing banks, in metric tonnes

	Cod	Haddock	Saithe	Redfish	Herring	Capelin	Crustaceans	Other	Total
1970	309.577	31.928	63.974	24.819	50.743	191.763	8.539	49.401	703.744
1975	265.759	36.658	61.431	38.291	33.433	501.093	7.298	44.608	988.571
1980	428.344	47.915	52.380	69.868	53.268	759.519	12.358	84.419	1.508.071
1985	322.810	49.533	55.135	91.381	49.363	992.999	27.279	83.759	1.672.259
1990	333.652	66.030	95.015	94.848	90.338	693.740	31.389	97.280	1.502.292
1995	202.900	60.125	47.466	118.750	284.473	715.551	84.556	91.306	1.605.127
2000	238.324	41.698	32.947	116.297	287.663	884.858	46.198	332.502	1.980.163
2002	213.417	49.951	41.839	110.876	223.843	1.083.135	54.765	355.502	2.133.328

Source: Fisheries Association of Iceland; Statistics Iceland

24 gadus morhua

25 melanogrammus aglefinus

26 pollachius virens

27 sebastes marinus

28 clupea harengus

29 or "wolffish", anarhichas lupus

30 hippoglossus hippoglossus

31 mallotus villosus

Compared to fisheries the volume produced in aquaculture is relatively small. The main changes in aquaculture are the growing volumes of salmon³² and arctic char³³. They have steadily been growing and are farmed both for the domestic market and for export. The coastal char farm “Silungur” is the largest entity worldwide in arctic char farming, producing around 1000 tonnes annually. The arctic char is in most cases exported by air as fresh fillets or whole to lucrative gourmet markets in middle Europe or US. Aquaculture became a significant contributor to the national economy in the late nineties. According to Statistics Iceland export show steady growth after 1999, with significant increase resulting in over 1 billion ISK in 2003.

and Asia, but the greatest expectations are linked to the potential of the fish farming of cod, which is still in the developmental stage. One company is involved in halibut farming and has gained a world-leading role in the export of juveniles (approximately 50% of world trade of halibut juveniles). The production of blue mussels is not included in the statistics above and not available in complete form. Due to mishaps the expectations have not been fulfilled. In 2003, 500 tons of blue mussels were expected to be harvested by the companies involved, most of which still are in the development phase, but only 4 tons were produced.

Table 2. 1995-2003 Total aquaculture production in metric tonnes

Aquaculture - Total production in metric tonnes										
	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	Planned 2004
Atlantic Salmon	2880	2990	2580	2742	3003	3370	2645	1471	4500	9100
Arctic char	471	531	630	731	850	1364	1320	1540	1880	2460
Rainbow Trout	379	313	580	372	70	95	105	248	100	100
Halibut	0	0	2	10	13	30	93	120	95	150
Turbot	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	9	32	100
Sea bass	0	0	3	12	15	20	20	3	0	0
Red Abalone	0	0	0	1	8	15	23	24	6	4
* Cod	35	37	1	0	0	11	70	205	375	800
	3765	3871	3796	3868	3959	4905	4279	3620	6988	12.714
* harvested										

Source: Association of Icelandic Aquaculture producers.

Salt-water species have furthermore diversified the aquaculture sector and are expected to become the major growth source of fish farming in the future. If the projected growth is realised it could lead to an increase in total number of annual working units from around 200 to 1500 by 2014. Halibut, turbot³⁴ and abalone³⁵ are already being exported to Europe

Management of fisheries and aquaculture

Aquaculture is both ruled by different regulations than fisheries and by other principles. The Ministry of Fisheries is the governing body for administration and decision-making in the fisheries with a number

32 salmo salar

33 salvelinus alpinus

34 psetta maxima

35 haliotis



of affiliated institutions. The governing responsibility of aquaculture or fish farming has been separated and is now divided between the Ministry of Fisheries that administers tasks related to all cultured salt water species and the Ministry of Agriculture that is in charge of freshwater species aquaculture.

Core functions of Ministry of Fisheries

- Ensuring and maintaining optimal revenues in the long term from responsible use of all resources of the sea for the Icelandic nation
- Securing that decisions are built on the best biological and economical preconditions that exist at any time
- Ensuring that through clear and general rules a sound and fair working environment is generated for the people employed and working in the fisheries, that secures a strong competitive status on an international scale

Other institutes under the auspices of the Ministry of Fisheries have supporting functions and specialised

roles. The Marine Research Institute conducts various marine research and provides the Ministry with scientific advice based on its research on marine resources and the environment. Additionally their role is to inform the government, the fishery sector and the public about the sea and its living resources. The institute has been in a leading role in advising the government based on stock forecasts, that is a crucial factor in setting the quantity of quota allowances and TACs. The directorate of fisheries is responsible for implementing government policy on fisheries management and handling of seafood products.

The Directorate enforces laws and regulations regarding fisheries management, monitoring of fishing activities and imposition of penalties for illegal catches. They have the last two years been responsible for operation permits for sea-based aquaculture (see figure).

The Icelandic Fisheries Laboratories (IFL) is an independent state organization, operating on research on behalf of industries; IFL is under the Ministry of Fisheries. IFL is a research and service organization for the fisheries sector as well as other food industries.

The function of the Icelandic Fisheries Laboratories is to engage in research, conduct tests,

provide consultancy and disseminate information to the government, interested parties in the fisheries sector and consumers. IFL's specialized fields include processing technology, biotechnology, chemical and physical properties of food, quality and safety of marine catches, fodder and fodder technology for aquaculture and environmental research. They have recently put further emphasis on aquaculture research.

The Ministry of Agriculture (MOA) is in charge of freshwater fisheries and aquaculture. This means that the ministry is in charge of the policies of fish farming of freshwater species like salmon, trout³⁶ and arc-



Table 3. Female and male staff in governmental bodies in Iceland

Examples of governmental bodies	Total number of female staff	Thereof, female aquaculture specialists	Total number of male staff	Thereof, male aquaculture specialists
Ministry of Fisheries	11	0	10	1
The Marine Research Institute	42	Approx.4	84	5
Icelandic Fisheries Laboratory	34	5	20	2
Directorate of Fisheries	20	0	74	1
Ministry of Agriculture	14	0	10	1
Directorate of Freshwater Fisheries	-	-	2-5	1
Institute of Freshwater Fisheries	5	2	13	7

1. August 2004

tic char. Several institutes have specialised supporting and monitoring functions. The primary institute in charge of aquaculture is the Directorate of Freshwater Fisheries (DOF). Its role is to administer freshwater fisheries, river improvement, salmonid enhancement, ranching and aquaculture, and to promote sustainable utilization of salmonid fisheries resources. Furthermore they issue operation permits for fish farming and ranching and collect reports on ranching and fish farming production.

Other MOA affiliated institutes monitor the aquaculture, i.e. the Chief Veterinary Office and Agriculture research institute. The institute of freshwater fisheries has a supporting role to the DOF. They conduct research on freshwater fish stocks (Atlantic salmon, brown trout, arctic char, eel³⁷, three-spined stickleback³⁸). Furthermore, they investigate the biota of freshwater both in rivers and lakes. Their role is to supervise and advise river and lake fisheries associations concerning fisheries management and enhancement of

36 salmo trutta

37 anguilla anguilla

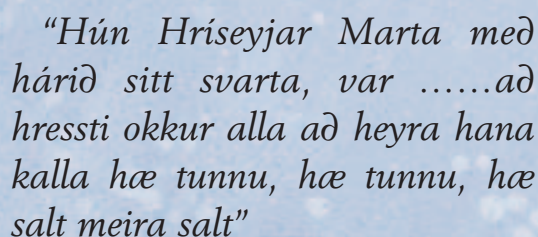
38 gasterosteus aculeatus

fisheries. And they are to be consultative concerning projects or structures affecting rivers and lakes. In other words, they manage and build a data bank on rivers and lakes, their biota and fisheries. The role of the Institute is further defined in law, in the salmon and trout fisheries act Nr. 76/1970. Hólar College is in charge of educational programs in aquaculture, both the saltwater-based species and freshwater species.

Invisibility of women in Icelandic fishery history

In written data about the development of the fishery sector, the invisibility of women's agency in the fishery in general, in particular women's perspectives and role in the fishery system, the fishery villages and the fishery economy has been almost total.

Historical records show that as early as in the 13th century, women were active agents in conducting tasks related to the fisheries. Women took active part during the herring era, they were irreplaceable workers on the harbour in the more recent story of the fishery villages, as a local well known song text indicates about Marta who salts all the time, signifying the spirit of the era on hardworking women workforce.



*“Hún Hríseyjar Marta með
hárið sitt svarta, varað
hressti okkur alla að heyra hana
kalla hæ tunnu, hæ tunnu, hæ
salt meira salt”*

In the mid-nineties two social scientists started focusing on the gender perspective of the work of the fishery processing workers. Sociologist Guðbjörg Linda Rafnsdóttir conducted a study on the status of fish processing women and their perceptions on income and their affiliation to women's labour organisations (Rafnsdóttir, 1998). Anthropologist Unnur Dís Skaptadóttir concentrated on the social construction of gender and gender based division of labour within the fishery industry through a qualitative study of fish processing women. Technological development within the fishing industry has had an impact on the introduction and involvement of women. In the wake of the production line and later when information and computer

technology was incorporated into the production processes, women became almost solely involved in the trimming and worm picking as well as packing the fish. They worked “at the pace of the flood line” (under a bonus hierarchy), but little concern was devoted to vocational knowledge and skills. On the contrary, their work was perceived to be a natural skill any person could inhabit (Skaptadóttir, 1998).

Women and fisheries in Iceland after the implementation of the quota system

In brief, the individual transferable quota system was implemented gradually from 1980, first on the capelin, in 1984 on cod and in 1990 a transferable quota system ruled for all commercial fisheries (laws on the regulation of fisheries nr. 38/1990).

Anthropologist Hulda Proppé studied the women's view, identity and experience of the management system, referred to as the quota system. According to her studies, no women were publicly involved in the decision making of the implementation of the new fishery resource regulation system. No women were selected as members on public committees. Within the fisheries very few women are direct shareholders through being stakeholders in quota ownership and if they are, it is through pension funds.

After the inevitable redistribution of ownership rights to the resource that swept over in the wake of the implementation of the new resource management system, not only did the quota and related access-rights transfer regionally. The quota rights became capitalised and changed hands. Some of the families of the fishermen with newly gained capital inherited the quota. Among those were daughters and fishermen's wives. Those women are not necessarily directly involved in occupations in the fishery sector, though. They are mainly capital holders of the access to the resource, though some few still remain actively involved in running operations.

In general, women are not visible in the public discourse of the resource management system, which has been rather vivid on the pages of newspapers since the end of the 1990's. It is thus fair to conclude that in almost all layers of society related to the fisheries, women are almost invisible.

In the public discourse on the impacts of the indi-

vidual transferable quota system, the focus has almost solely been related to impacts on the economic and financial sphere. In more recent years the focus in the public discourse has entangled around the regional settlement impact. The angle where the impact of the quota for household income of fishermen's families, therein affecting women's lives and opportunities, has not been apparent.

While a certain resource management policy in fisheries to a large extent affects the lives of individuals and families and therefore will affect the sustainability and development of communities, it has other side effects not as prominent. Resource management systems will affect how people define their identities, because the resource system will inevitably contribute to a certain order where people are given positions and roles.

It can be concluded that the distribution of the quota did not involve women other than peripherally, but as agents within fishery-families they were to a large extent affected. Their agency and behaviour reflected resistance against the management system, but also compliance with it, and the ideas the resource management builds on.

People that decide to keep on living in a fishery village are both complying with the situation in the fisheries and resisting it. They accept it by participating in the quota system, and convincing themselves and others that other behaviour than playing along is unacceptable. They are in fact not content with the rules, but these are the rules and therefore there is nothing else to do. The resistance includes maintaining a livelihood in the fishery villages despite of the quota system in very few cases being beneficial for their existence personally, and that the accumulation of fishery rights on few hands and few centres leave other villages behind as economically ineffective units.

By deciding to live on in an unviable economic environment, people are resisting the homogenous ideas of lifestyle and rational behaviour that the government's policy is based on. These people's behaviour is sensible, according to the public decision. From the point of view of the agent involved it is a certain resistance. People guard their lifestyle by living according to it, regardless of how difficult it is. To stay therefore includes a certain resistance to the quota system. It is the resistance of those that do not hold power or position to public agency, but it is in some ways a double-edged sword because it is the agent that experiences reduced rights, not those whom the resistance is pointed towards.

Women take part in this resistance. Some do it by maintaining collective spirit and collaboration in the

community, others by taking on and even overplaying ideas on gender based behaviour, for example by putting almost sole emphasis on their roles as women, wives and mothers. Thereby, they strengthen their official ties to men. In that way they are opponents to a societal pattern where a household requires two breadwinners.

Many stereotypical perceptions of women's ability exist in the fisheries. Among many women there is a deeply held perception that some occupations within fisheries suit women better than men and vice versa, and then there are other undefined jobs where women are equally qualified. Very rarely this is explained by anything else than natural attributes.

Women in decision-making roles are often involved in small family businesses where a husband and wife are the backbone of the processing. The division of labour is not always clear-cut, but in more practical terms the woman is often responsible for the bookkeeping and many other tasks that in more hierarchical settings would be termed as managerial jobs. The paradox is that they often do not see themselves as being in charge, they are rather the supporting part of the business and do not take on the power position even though their role is in fact crucial in exercising power within the business entity.

Practicality seems to characterise their approach. Women often express the view that they find they are not entitled to rule and some even say that they primarily need to mature before they can take on a leading role. Some of those views seem surprising from their viewpoint that those are not generally applicable to men. Many of the women interviewed considered themselves and women they knew personally as suitable for managerial and decision-making roles in the community. At the same time, the tone was negative about women that were decisive in the community. One woman expressed that if a woman is too visible in a family fishery company she is considered as a "she-devil" and would automatically be nicknamed with some negative male-like term, to an equal extent by women and men.

It is worth considering why the few women that are visible in leading positions in the fisheries are considered controversial or have to accept to be subjects of controversy in order to survive. Firstly, women that do not take on legitimate roles and behaviour will be subject to controversy, and secondly it seems to disturb people if women think firstly about their careers and have no children. Those factors might very well keep females from exposing themselves by taking on positions as leaders within the fishery sector, even though they have the qualities and qualifications to do so.

Table 4. Gendered division of different consultative committees. Information collected spring 2004

Consultative committees	Total persons	♀ members	♂ members	♀ deputies	♂ deputies	% ♀ members	% ♂ members	% ♀ deputies	% ♂ deputies
Ministry of agriculture (4)	23	4	13	1	5	23,5%	76,5%	16,6%	83,4%
Ministry of fisheries (4)	22	5	17	0	0	22,5%	77,5%	-	-
Ministry of environment (6)	48	14	24	6	4	37%	63%	60%	40%

Women's presence in public decision-making

As illustrated in table 3, governmental bodies concerned with aquaculture are numerous. Women are visible in those as staff, most of them hold administrative and financial or Human Resource Management positions, whereas few of them are experts in aquaculture.

A number of working committees devoted to different aspects of aquaculture exist. One of the aspects that the fishery and the aquaculture sectors have in common is the derived activity in processing. The Ministry of Fisheries has for the last several years put emphasis on looking into the working conditions and other aspects of women's labour in fish processing. In three different committees devoted to the processing the gender division of committee members has been equal. Almost all other committees have a more uneven gender division, as shown in the figures in table 4.

Different committees, some more centrally devoted to aquaculture and others more peripherally, are all under the auspices of the above-mentioned ministries. The Icelandic parliament has two standing committees, one on fisheries and the other on agriculture, which cover and make decisions on issues of fish farming when needed.

In 2002, decisive committees concentrating on aquaculture were reorganised and one collaborative committee (the fish farming committee) represented by members appointed both by the Ministry of Fisheries and the Ministry of Agriculture was established. No woman is a sitting member.

The ministry of the Environment has several consulting committees or workgroups peripherally touching upon aquaculture; one on genetically modified organisms, another on biological diversity, a third on

the slaughtering of farm animals and transport of live animals, a fourth on acute pollution, and finally one on health issues and monitoring.

In general, the authorities draw on a rather complex management structure. The general impression is that since public decision-making on aquaculture was separated, coordination is even less effective because of the sectorised focus of ministerial tasks. Therefore there is a risk that efforts and emphasis remain isolated from each other.

The Ministry of Fisheries has established a central fund for research in fisheries and aquaculture with the main focus on fisheries and saltwater species fish farming. Three women are sitting members (out of nine) on the steering board, the representatives mainly brought in from the industry. AVS, as it is called, has several disciplinary groups, among others a fish-farming group where one woman, the director of Icelandic Fisheries Laboratories, has a seat. Another fund for freshwater aquaculture, the Salmonid Enhancement Fund, exists under the auspices of the Directorate of Freshwater Fisheries. No woman is a representative in that fund either.

In general, there is a tendency that members appointed are either governmental officials from the ministries themselves or directors of different institutes or companies. In most cases those are males, with few exceptions.

Other recent studies of women's participation in decision-making in the public management support the picture of low participation of women. In fact, of all ministries the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Fisheries are the ones with the worst participation rates of women in delegated committee work (12-13%). Compared to studies that review the more general situation, women's presence has slightly improved in the two above-mentioned ministries, now both with over 20% presence of women on consultative committees.

The Ministry of Fisheries has an official policy for

equal rights posted on their website, while the Ministry of Agriculture seems to be content with devoting one person in staff to ad hoc assignments aimed at women. The only ministry in Iceland keeping a full-time employee devoted to equal right questions is the Ministry of the Environment, which is run by a female minister. This is a ministry that has almost 37% presence of women sitting on committees peripherally touching on aquaculture issues. In terms of deputies on the committees, women represent 60%. In this perspective, it is worthwhile to consider the importance of women in politics and their impact on a gender structure within the public decision-making.

The Iceland Aquaculture Association, TIAA, was established in 1981 and is a part of the coalition of the Icelandic association of fish processors. This stakeholder association has never had any women involved from the sector, neither on the board nor in any initiatives within the association.

Women involved in aquaculture

Most fish farming companies (no distinction between hatcheries or pens) are small family operations. Annual work units in total are near 200, numbers of total workforce are though somewhat blurred in the sense that different sources present contradictive numbers of staff. The majority of the total number of operating operations only employs less than 7 people; most of the firms have only 2 or 3 workers, typically a couple involved. The general tendency however is that firm entities become fewer and bigger. Some amalgamation has occurred, i.e. within the firm "Stofnfiskur" which operates eight working stations around the country with the administration localised in Reykjavík. Some of

the more capital-intensive projects, i.e. experiments with cod within aquaculture, have become part of an investment strategy for the bigger seafood- and fish processing corporations. A number of small-scale producers have recently become more involved in cod



Picture 1.

farming development. The Maritime Institute and now Icelandic Fisheries Laboratories are providing expertise and research-input.

Outsourcing of some of the tasks, like for example slaughtering and packing, or gutting, means that those tasks are not registered as a part of the staff statistics. As an example one woman in Isafjörður specialises as a contractor in gutting. She is thus directly involved in activities related to the branch, but is not an integrated part of an operation.

Women's presence in the fish farming is minor, but they are there. Only between 15,5% and 22% of women are present as staff, whereas the men are 80 of the staff involved in aquaculture as illustrated in table 5. Aquaculture, like fisheries, is a male dominated industry, statistically and maybe also identity-wise.

As shown in the figure below, very few women are members on boards within the companies in aquaculture. Men are thus dominating decision-making. They occupy over 96% of board seats, compared to women's 3,9% of seats.

Table 5. Employee numbers, fish farms 2004.

Number of fish farms 2004							
	Number	Total staff	male	female	% male	% female	
less than 4 employees	15	32	27	5	84,5	15,5	
less than 7	9	46	37	9	80,5	19,5	
less than 10	1	9	7	2	78	22	
less than 20	6	79	65	14	82	18	
less than 30	1	29	23	6	79,5	20,5	
Total	32	195	159	36			

Women occupy a whole range of different occupation within the fish farms. Only three occupy the role of foremen, of which two are wives of the owner and the married couple are the only workers. Many of them obviously take on various tasks and are thus not identified formally with specifically identified roles other than being all-round staff. Many of them are specialised in slaughtering and packing, the more routine like occupations, as has been pointed out to be the predominant division of labour within the fish processing. A handful of the women are manual labour in filleting the fish. Those women would typically have no formal educational or vocational training background, but be occupied as mere workers.

Perception, society and gender roles

Some employments and industries, like those within fisheries, are professions where men have generally dominated, and in those industries women are not put forward. They look around and as young women they realise that they do not have the same or equal opportunities as the men do. They do not gain power – and their voices are to a very limited extent heard. It is therefore natural and logical that they look for other spheres, that they try to take education and that they leave. There is not much space for their efforts and resources. There have been so many changes within the fishery industry; also with techno-



logical development a transformation has occurred. The fish processing is geographically moving to China, the jobs within the fish processing industry have become less attractive. Working processes have changed and the workplace is not as lively. Instead of a collective break where there would be space for jokes and laughter, only maybe three persons are sent to break at a time, because the process is ongoing. It is simply dullish to join the break with too few. The processing line is too broad for them to keep up conversation across the line while working. The jobs are less flexible and more monotonous. I understand well that they don't find this appealing. Of course a lot of improvement has happened, they are not standing in cold and wet environment where they are struggling with chronic cystitis. But the job has become more dullish.

I perceive aquaculture as a more systematic food industry that is dependent on totally different laws



than the fishery sector. It is more in line with a systematic industrial manufacturing and there I can't see how women could be less qualified to possess managerial positions or any positions.

R&D manager.

The surroundings' view on women's participation in fish farming varies. Women involved in more autonomous roles or decision-making roles do explicitly express that neighbours, family and community among others have a fairly positive perception of both the field of profession and their involvement.

I think that most people do perceive this very positively. They think I am doing something grand.

R&D manager

Many of the informants say that in the rural agricultural community they are part of, people do not explicitly show interest in their work, or even talk about it. It is underlined that there are not many job opportunities to choose from and therefore people take whatever job is available.

I think they do not generally devote thoughts to what I am doing at all, [...] I am just working [...] I mean you never think about what other people are doing, they just go to work.

Hatchery worker

This is the only job around here where you have occupation, half a position, all year round [...], then there are plenty of jobs in the summer, but this is the only place and job that gives a stabile income.

Process worker

Only in the summertime there is generally work [...] you can have three or five fold work in the summer, but I was then unemployed through the winter. There is very little here, only a lot of tourism service activities in the summer, but then in the wintertime you go unemployed for 3 or 4 months. That is why I saw future in this.

Special processing worker

Only a small minority think that the surroundings do not value their work. This is especially for women involved in the processing and slaughtering part of the operations in fish farming, or as suppliers working for aquaculture.

One of the women involved in a traditional male-occupation within fish processing, filleting the fish, admitted that despite having lived and worked for 16

years in the same community, inhabitants had certain perceptions. She is under constant surveillance of older male inhabitants visiting the workplace, checking that she conducts her assessments properly.

For many of the informants, to be explicit about the gender perspective feels uncomfortable. Either they express an aversion against putting their life situations into such an approach, or they simply do not view occurrences from that angle.

I find myself not thinking about those issues; maybe I did more when I was younger. But I just think it is not important. The primary thing is to accomplish the goals. We have maybe not been that successful. There have been ups and downs in the aquaculture here in Iceland and it is maybe the crucial point here rather than who is in charge.

Entrepreneur and all-round worker

However, the women often express that the sector is built around men, and that many processes and techniques are designed with men in mind.

This is definitely a man's job. We are not supposed to be there. Like we get pregnant and they do not. This is a little bit dangerous, you know, if you fall down into the pens. It is of course not wise. So I would personally say that my job is a man's job.

All-round cod fish-farming worker

I would say that this is in fact a man's job. To carry a 25 kg bag upstairs, take and catch dead fish.

All-round fodder and hatchery worker

This is to a large extent machine processing – things are moved between trucks and there is a lot of maintenance. And then it is a "strongest man" competition".

All-round cod fish-farming worker

It is very clear that to the extent of machine related tasks and operating vehicles, there is a very clear, gender-based division of labour. One woman mentioned a fish farm and a fish processing plant in Canada where operating tasks and technology had been adapted and designed for a female workforce, by the women themselves, so that no task was too physically demanding for them.

In general, most of the women interviewed were content with their work. They thought it was an interesting field of activity. Many of those women have earlier worked within conventional fish processing, in a fish processing plant. They all agreed that in general, aquaculture and

related jobs hold a more prestigious status in society in the sense that it is more respected by their surroundings, such as neighbours and relatives. The jobs are more fun and they are in general content with their work situation. The complaints are more related to too long shifts and the fact that living fish do not take holiday breaks. Some of the women interviewed stated that it was more inspiring and rewarding to work with living animals than dead fillets like in the processing plant.

One woman stated that an assumption about women hindered in moving into this branch of industry was an overstated myth.

There is really no barrier for women to participate in this branch, there is really not. There should not be any unless it would be for the mentality. There is nothing at work I cannot do as a woman. And the same goes for any other work – it is all a matter of will. [...] I think it is both the mentality of the society and the people that work in this type of industry. So often people say: “this is not a woman’s job”, but I mean, why not? It does not hold when you start working.

Owner and all-round worker

Many of the women interviewed were wives, sisters or daughters of men involved in the industry, in that way their initial position depends upon relational assets. The characteristics of the wives involved differ. Some of the wives have more passive motives for involvement, because their husbands are the main ideologists and initiators of the business. In one case, the wife inherited a portion of land well suitable to build up a fish farm, a big passion and dream of her husband, so they got started. A strikingly big proportion of the women interviewed are involved in fish farming activities by virtue of their father’s previous entrepreneurship or occupation. Only few of those are involved in formal decision-making, though.

Women as participants in decision-making in aquaculture

How women touch upon decision-making processes depends on which strata they belong to. We found 10 women who can be defined as being in charge in some way or another in the companies they work within or are in charge of. As for the decision-making, the picture gets muddier. In a broader perspective, aquaculture is not

only the operations themselves. Aquaculture is a branch embodied in a wider production chain of different inputs and derivatives. Furthermore aquaculture is a high-tech controlled activity compared to fisheries, though to a varying extent depending on species. A whole lot of different input functions affect the industry, both directly and indirectly. With that in mind, we have identified three groups of women involved in fish farming.

Employees

The biggest group of women in aquaculture in Iceland are directly involved in production, in terms of working within a fish farming company. They hold different occupations that vary in terms of access to decision-making positions and possibilities. Some are foremen and are in charge of monitoring other colleagues’ tasks, a few are independent workers with no supervisors. In that way, they function as their own bosses. The women’s division of labour varies, some have very defined jobs in a more hierarchical setting, and others get involved in daily task routine decisions. In general, they are not involved in middle-management decisions, with one exception. One woman directly involved in production is a head of research and development in a company with international relations, and therefore functions as an executive.

There is no clear executive, there is some human resource manager who is somewhere where we are not [...] so we are somehow on our own, of course there are some people having the position of foremen and then we the slaves [smiles]. No, no, it is very comfortable to work there, I think. It is a rather small working place and in some ways homey.

Hatchery worker

This is not so formal that we have titles. This is more like we make joint decisions. But when Manni is there he rules, but then we are taking care of it together. Maybe I am more in the processing part and the guys are working on the farming.

Processing manager

Not many women seem to aspire to a position of boss or supervision employee. Those who had already gained some kind of promotion were more positive and interested in being superior. The majority however had never been offered a higher position and those women did not particularly aim for advancement.

The women would mention personal factors as causes for not entering higher positions, and a few others claimed education mattered.

If the situation came up, I think you would have to be educated to gain advancement. You never know whether that happens or not.

Fodder worker

No, I would not want to be a superior. I don't have in me the abilities to let other people obey me. I know I would become tedious.

All round fish farming worker

I would not cope with the responsibility. It is such a responsibility to be an aquaculture company manager. If something fails you will be picked on. I would never even consider wanting it

Woman involved in cod fish farming.

They preferred to be more practical. The women were asked how they would respond should the authorities contact them to take on a role on a committee. Some answered positively. In most cases they took time to reflect on it, and it seemed that the thought and idea was very remote. By these reactions, it becomes clearer that a gap exists between governmental bodies and the people whose livelihoods depend on the sector.

I am not that kind of person; I just want action [hesitating]. If anybody would be interested in hearing my views, I could be interested.

Special processing worker

Yes, it would be all right if the issue would be about for example the slaughtering houses...Yes, and it is necessary that committees like that contain some people that are really connected to the sector, not only bureaucrats in Reykjavik.

Worker in a slaughterhouse

We often notice that there are some few that sit by a table in Reykjavik, determined to manage. [...] Implementing rules that are impossible to work by, non-applicable.

Foreman in a slaughterhouse

The general impression from the interviews is that most commonly the dialog and contact between the fish farm operations and the governmental bodies goes through the head manager. None of the women are involved in that contact.



Most of the women were more negative to the question of being in charge in the company they were working in, compared to the question of involvement on governmental committee work. It is worth considering that the difference might be caused by their insight into the production processes and issues at the farm, while some of them have hardly any insight into political processes of governmental committee work.

Owners and managers

Secondly there is a group of women having direct ownership in limited companies and/or those that are involved on boards of the companies. Six women were in a decisive position and definitely have to be defined as executives. However, all of them have entered by virtue of either a seemingly even collaboration with their husbands or as daughters of entrepreneurs in the field. One of the women entered to make it possible for her husband to have a living in the area they live in.

My husband is very boastful of his wife, and says she is a manager [...]. I never say that, I say I used to be a farmer and a health service secretary, after I came home the tasks I am working with are not under inquiry. I am working with my jobs [...]. I run this little company, regardless of what my position is.

Manager of an arctic char aquaculture company

One woman, who is a co-owner with her husband, where the division of labour and decision-making is quite equal, often experiences that the surroundings and customers degrade her managerial role.



Even though I have been here all these years, people calling here always ask for Karl (her husband)...And when people are asking about the smoked fish they are waiting for, they always ask him if it is ready. Then Karl calls up and asks me if the fish is ready. This is typical [...] this irritates me sometimes, but there is nothing to do about it, this is how it is.

Owner of an arctic char aquaculture company

Two of the women have previous experience from decision-making work in municipal politics. They are therefore not afraid of touching managerial roles. Even so, neither sits on the board of the company they are in charge of.

I am not part of the steering board, and I have not been invited to. I would be interested later on, when I have learned Icelandic better. I am used to managerial roles. I was a mayor in Norway. So I am not afraid of being in charge.

Owner and all-round worker

One woman has a short experience from being a member of the board.

I was a board member in X but I am now a deputy. I did not like to be part of the board. I was there alone with the guys and I did not feel I could contribute. I am not good at communicating my views in public, even though I would have something to contribute with.

Owner of processing plant and fish farm

I am more of the practical type of person, working dog. But I mean of course I could be on committees like any other person [...] I would not be enthusiastic about it.

Manager of fish farm

I have been participating in the fishery congress, alone with the guys (smiling). I was somewhat bored. I like working better; I think that they were just talking. I think those tasks are too easy and I am fond of action, then I feel I am useful.

Owner of a processing plant and fish farm.

Women in development and research

Thirdly, we have the scientists, mainly different biology specialists that are either directly working on projects with the fish farms or more indirectly in the research or development functions.

Two of those women are involved on the North Atlantic Fisheries Committee and are appointed by the Icelandic ministries, one is leading the Icelandic participation in a European arctic char network. Many of them are involved either as members or deputies on public or special committees appointed by the authorities. Those women have in common that they are professionals or leaders of research and development activities. They are in others words active by virtue of a higher educational background and for some, also because of special management attributes. All of them are either in the process of acquiring or already hold a master degree or a PhD. A general characteristic is that they feel confident about their field of knowledge.

I have no role models, I have no women role models from my upbringing that were within fisheries or related to the ocean and the fisheries, or to the field I went into when I grew up. But I think that the upbringing is important. My family has always encouraged me, and I was guided not to be afraid and to have courage, even though I made mistakes. I was taught to try things out. So I have never been under the impression of being something less because of my womanhood. I was not made to learn that, and I actually never knew that the thought existed. I have since then learned to look around me and I have seen that some women get to know that they are not capable of everything. I was brought up to think I could do everything.

Director of a research institute

Many of those women have specialised in biology, fish pathology, aquatic ecology, marine ecology, bacteriology, cell biology, biochemistry and so on, some of them are highly specialised. When asked whether they would be interested in public decision-making participation, they often answer something like, "Were it to be within their specialisation". Some of those expressions could be characteristic for academic labour, but could also be considered to be gender-based in the way they do not feel that they have natural leadership skills or any given role in terms of public participation in decision-making.

Some of them have felt they were parts of a typical male environment and some of them have wondered why, because they can see no logic in that.

I thought a little about it when I was studying biology at the university, because then the majority of the students were female. So it felt kind of paradox-like to come here to work, because here we are only two women out of twelve employees.

Fish biologist

I have never experienced at the university the feeling of being a sole woman in a male-dominated environment, but it happened to me when I was involved with work in the industry. And I was so surprised, because I never imagined it could be so bad. I noticed that when I was speaking, the guys instantly started to mess with their cell phones or look out of the window, unconsciously or consciously, as if they were not attentive to what I was saying. I told them this was unbelievable and that they were exactly like the guys that were described in books. They were surprised and curious about how they books characterised them. To tease them I refused to tell them...but at the end they tricked me to tell them, but to keep them to the point I pretended that there was more to it, and that I would tell them later. After this their behaviour transformed and every time I spoke they listened very alerted, no matter what nonsense came out of my mouth.

Director

Summary and conclusion

There is no heavy-weighting argument for women not getting involved in aquaculture. The fluctuating job situation related to the fisheries in coastal villages and the restrictive management system offer women few opportunities even though they leave, get higher education and come back. Their individual power in fisheries will mainly depend upon formal access through ownership of quota or marital status, related to being a fisherman's wife.

Women in fish farming feel they have more positive status than being in the fisheries. They are there but only 36 of them and they are merely workers. They are also involved by virtue of different levels of educational background. It is important though to emphasise that the group of women involved in aquaculture is very heterogeneous in relation to roles, division of labour and their own perceptions of to



what extent they are near the decision-making processes.

The most influential women within companies are wives or co-managers of small entities. Some of them have equal responsibilities to their husbands, but in general they perceive their status modestly. This supports findings from the fishery sector where women typically would inherit the supporting role, in financing, taking care of the framework, but still did not see themselves as being in charge of anything, or being in a decisive role. The women in some cases see themselves as being there by virtue of their men's agency. At the same time their agency in fish farming is well perceived and our experience is that they in general have a very positive reputation as employers or staff.

Intertwined with power on different levels is the fact that living rurally, working in fisheries-related occupations or in aquaculture, the job opportunities are few. In some instances, women are supporting their families and securing their families' continued livelihoods based on agriculture or fisheries that by other means would not be possible to base existence on. In the most peripheral areas this is their point of departure and aquaculture can therefore be seen as offering a vital source of job alternatives. Without, those women would stay in poverty, and in the worst cases not be able to live in the rural areas.

Most of the women interviewed are not participants in public decision-making processes. It seems that educational background is very important. Not only is the virtues of education striking in how they distinct from other informants in self-esteem but also in relation to legitimacy of involvement in decision-making both within companies and in terms of participating in public decision-making. We found that only women in development and research, and leaders of governmental institutions are active participants on public committees, though to a varying extent.

The authorities have not been in contact with or asked any of the other women interviewed to get involved on any form of decisive organ or committee. Nonetheless many of those women have extensive experience from aquaculture operations. Surprisingly, many women did explicitly express that they were not interested in getting involved. The field is traditionally male-dominated and to some extent some of the women express that the thought of power is very remote, even frightening. Some state that public decision-making is far away; that agents involved in making decisions care little about people involved and are only in contact with head executives. Even women that are in charge experience that the contact is established with their husbands or male colleagues

in spite of their position and knowledge. There seems to be a legitimacy problem related to individual power and the institutional power. It is thinkable that those women could have other aspirations or ambitions but it should not be ignored that many signalled fear or insecurity when asked. Possibly, the very firmly rooted gender value systems deriving from the fisheries have to some extent been inherited into aquaculture. If this is correct, gendered values are still dominating.

Discursive empowerment seems to come with advancement but mostly with further education. Thus the women with foreman status and mostly the ones working in research and development have the clearest view on what qualities they have related to aquaculture and they seem to feel that they are on equal basis with their male colleagues and they have the legitimacy to be heard. The participation in public decision-making is most reachable for women with further educational background; this education is a platform even more than for their male colleagues.

Middle management, like foreman occupation, is not based on formal educational programs offered, but women obtain them through personal attributes. Many women express the need for short training that could be combined with work; just to widen horizons on the job, and get a perspective on all the techniques involved, the biological world and the economic sector they are part of. Courses or educational programs like this are very limited, not to say unavailable. As far as we know, the only example of a short training course came off the ground by the initiative of the local union in the area of northeast Iceland. The few women that participated clearly stated how the training made them feel more valid and clear-minded about their competence. Few stated that this opened their eyes about the importance of the work they were conducting and thus they felt more appreciated in the work scene. Their male colleagues attending the course realised they were all important links in the flow of tasks at the fish farm.

Education is the means for women that want to take on power positions or want to be heard. The problem here is that women tend to have longer educational background than men for the same jobs. The biggest employer in aquaculture confirms that women enter more into aquaculture now than earlier and they when they apply for technical jobs within



industry they generally have longer educational background than male applicants. The field of interest for educated women in research seems to lie in more technologically advanced processes of the aquaculture and especially in the salt water based species. Much has been obtained in the work for equal rights but on which terms? Leaving the question open of whether they have to make more efforts to be validated equally with their brothers.

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Recommendations:

Communities and companies

- To acknowledge that women are active participants in aquaculture on different levels of occupation.
- To continue supporting the equal participation of men and women in aquaculture and to enable possibilities on individual basis for women that choose to enter the industry.
- To be aware of the unequal competence terms on which women and men are now entering on into fish farming jobs, and take action where it prevails in changing the values in the workplace that uphold this uneven situation, by offering women and men equal opportunities according to their experience and education.
- To work actively for terminating traditional gendered values that hinder women's legitimacy in traditionally male-dominated occupations, because in the long term it will disturb the adaptability of these societies and as such their social sustainability
- To consciously evaluate leadership of the companies and make sure that in spite of harsh business environment, valued staff (men and women) is the best resource of a company and to organise shift hours so that family providers can fulfil both spheres of life.



Decisive authorities, work unions and organisations

- To enhance possibilities for shorter vocational educational programs for staff in aquaculture, women included.
- To make sure that uneven salary situation for women and men conducting the same tasks does not prevail and at all times is perceived as unacceptable
- To expand the horizon on who is capable of participating in decision-making work, and remember that women workers have a span of experience useful for insight and problem-solving in the sector.

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Norway – by Lindis Sloan



Since the Vikings started trading dried codfish to the Mediterranean, fisheries have had economic importance in Norway. Fisheries have long traditions in Norway, be it for herring, coastal cod, spawning Barents cod off Lofoten or subsistence fisheries for coalfish, haddock, pollock or other. Fisheries in Norway is a modern profession, that employs a sizeable segment of the population and in 2002 had an estimated catch value of some NOK 11.2 billion and in 2001 brought export earnings of some 30 billion³⁹. A large fish-farming industry has grown up along the coast, and market access for fish and fish products have become a major theme in Norway's negotiations with the EU. Certainly fish, quotas and fisheries products market access have been central in both the referendums where Norwegians have turned down EU memberships.

In describing the fisheries in Norway in terms of

gender and decision-making, several conflicting forces come into play. There is a long-running conflict between the smaller and larger units in the fisheries fleet, and also between the south and the north.

After the late 1980s cod stock decline, in 1990 Norwegian fisheries authorities introduced vessel quotas for coastal and fjord fisheries. A minimum participation standard was introduced, in order that those dependent on cod fisheries could be identified and ensured quota. Furthermore, the vessel quota was vessel size dependent, in that boats over 10 meters were given proportionally larger quota shares than smaller vessels. The new system individualised fishers with smaller, less technologically advanced vessels, and to a certain extent the policies have intensified the shift towards larger, more capital-intensive units.

In the interest of this project, we concentrate on

Fig. 1 Population and fishers for North Norway, 1950/51 and 2002. From www.ssb.no.

County	1951/50			2002			Change	
	Population	Fishers - %		Population	Fishers - %		Pop.	Fish.
Nordland	221 809	25 076	11,3	237 503	4 370	1,8	+7%	-83%
Troms	117 564	16 253	13,8	151 673	2 969	1,9	+29%	-72%
Finnmark	64 511	7 974	12,3	73 732	1 806	2,4	+14%	-78%

Fig. 2 Fishers (main occupation) per county and gender, 2002 compared to 1999. From "Fiskarmanntallet", www.fiskeridir.no/sider/statistikk/fiskeflaate/fiskeflaate_og_fiskarmanntall02.pdf

County	1999 number of fishers			2002 number of fishers			Change 1999	
	Male	Female	F %	Male	Female	F %	M	F
Nordland	3 479	107	2,9%	3 312	84	2,4%	-5%	-22%
Troms	2 272	48	2,1%	1 977	39	1,9%	-12%	-19%
Finnmark	1 448	29	1,9%	1 264	27	2,1%	-13%	-7%

Fig. 3 Fishers (subsidiary occupation) per county and gender, 2002 compared to 1999. From "Fiskarmanntallet", www.fiskeridir.no/sider/statistikk/fiskeflaate/fiskeflaate_og_fiskarmanntall02.pdf

County	1999 number of fishers			2002 number of fishers			Change 1999	
	Male	Female	F %	Male	Female	F %	M	F
Nordland	1 155	32	2,6%	953	21	2,1%	-18%	-45%
Troms	1 173	35	2,8%	913	40	4,1%	-23%	+14%
Finnmark	661	29	4,2%	488	27	5,2%	-27%	-7%

³⁹ http://www.ssb.no/emner/10/05/nos_fiskeri/nos_d290/nos_d290.pdf



Foto: Magne Myrvold

the three northernmost counties in Norway, (Nordland, Troms and Finnmark) as these are the “Arctic” parts of the country, and also are traditionally connoted with fisheries. For 2002 (the most recent statistics generally available per today) the counties have populations v fishers as seen below, compared with figures for 1950/51. Numbers from the national census bureau (www.ssb.no) may deviate somewhat from the fishermen’s census, but not significantly.

The figures show a marked decrease in the percentage of the population engaged in fisheries. The fifty-odd year span covers a period of great social change in the region, but also statistics with shorter time-spans show significant changes. In the fishermen’s register, part-or full time occupation in the fisheries is also shown with regard to gender, and the development has been as shown below:

Apart from the increase in female part-time fishers in Troms in the period (an increase from 35 to 40, a total of five), it seems that the numbers are dwindling. This seems in keeping with the impression given by coastal inhabitants in the region, there is an almost unanimous sentiment that conditions for the coastal fishers are worsening, that a government policy which regards the smallest fisheries units as uneconomical is making a trade-in of a small-vessel quota and scrapping the “sjark” (smack) in favour of land-based

employment the only option. With the decrease in coastal fisheries comes the closing of fish processing plants in the small fisheries-based communities along the coast, which in turn leads to a decrease in employment opportunities. Out-migration and depopulation of the coast follows, especially among the young. Much attention has been paid to the role of young people and women in particular in the continued settlement of the North Norwegian coastline; this is repeatedly mentioned in public policy documents from local and central government alike.

1998-2003 saw “Makt og Demokratiutredningen” (the Power and Democracy Committee Reports), a series of reports and discussions on the state of local democracy and power relations in Norway. Ragnar Nilsen wrote “Power and opposition on the coast” (publication 45, 2002), a study of fisheries policies and their consequences. In this study, he voices the opinion that “the coast”, represented by the coastal fleet and its supporters, stands against the centralised forces of government and policy-makers, heavily influenced by the large-scale industrial interest groups. Describing coastal fisheries as ruled by common interests and local knowledge, paired with a social conscience and economic benefits for the local communities, he contrast the sea-going fleet as being too capital-intensive, with debt conditions and earn-



Foto: Bjørn Erik Olsen

ing needs meaning they are dependent on fishing continuous large catches, regardless of fluctuations in fish stocks. Accusations of bycatch discard and fishing of undersize fish also abound, entrenching the conflict lines. The view perhaps most commonly held today among the public is that the smaller-scale fishers represent the traditional, resource-conscious harvesters of the sea, while purse seine and trawler fishers are profit-maximising “economic men” who vacuum up what’s available and then move on, leaving an empty ocean behind.

This view of the two fleets is contrasted by the analysis carried out in 2004 by the Marine Stewardship Council (MSC) at the instigation of Fiskebåtredernes Landsforbund, the Norwegian Fisherboat Owners’ Union. The MSC, basing their conclusions on fleet realities but also on proposed changes, ruled that the coastal fleet have more negative consequences for the fish stocks in question (the coastal cod in particular) and are as such less eligible for the “sustainable fisheries” trademark than is the seagoing trawler and autoline fleets. The MSC report has met with much resistance and criticism in Norway, but at least the commissioning of the report shows that the industry regard ecological sustainability as an important criteria for their business, be it from a conscience perspective, with a view to future

policies or because sustainability is seen as a plus in today’s consumer market.

Regardless of the realities of the sustainability of different fisheries techniques and fleets, it remains that an increase in the capacity of the trawler fleet coupled with technological advances in the coastal fleet mean that in general, Norwegian catches have increased steadily since the 1950s. The number of fishers dwindles, as seen in figures 1-3, especially among the coastal fishers, and the change from smack to trawl also has a geographical component. Industrial trawlers are located in south-westerly counties; while Møre og Romsdal, Hordaland and Rogaland hold 14, 15 and 16 trawler licences, respectively, Finnmark has none, Troms one and Nordland three. For cod trawlers the situation is different, with the northernmost counties holding 21, 20 and 20 licensed boats, respectively, with only Møre and Romsdal represented in the south, with 22.

Another interesting fact about fisheries companies in Norway is that only approximately 10% of the bigger companies in the industry (1 of top 10, 5 of top 50) have their basis and headquarters in North Norway. While fishing and resources still are centred in the North, more and more the bigger actors in the industry are based in West Norway, the northwest in particular.

The shift from coast to sea, from north to west and from smack to trawler has repercussions also for the non-fishing population in the coastal North, and the years since 1950 have seen major sociological changes in the region. The fisherman-farmer economy, which was household-based and as such necessitated the efforts of both genders in production, has more or less disappeared. Agricultural subsidies have removed the viability of the subsistence-based, female-driven and very small-scale agricultural production that was common, while fisheries policies as mentioned have been leading a drive towards bigger economic units in the fisheries. Increased employment opportunities in the public sector such as schools, health care and administration also means that fewer women are available for the traditional “ground crew” functions, which then tend to become professionalised if maintained.

This does not, however, mean that no women uphold their contributions to fisheries. Some women fish, as shown in the excerpts from the fishermen’s census (fig. 2 and 3), however, studies show that men own 99.9% of the cod quota⁴⁰. In fish farms, women are 15% of staff and perform 9.4% of hours worked⁴¹. In many fisher families, where the husband fishes, the wife’s contributions of a practical nature (gear preparation, baiting, accountancy work and even house-

work) are supplemented by her financial contribution to the household through salary work outside the home. They are in no way a majority, and less than 5% of registered fishers are women, but women also comprise almost half the population in the fisheries-dependent communities along the coast of North Norway. Whether in the “ground crew” roles described by Gerrard and Jentoft or as doctors, nurses, administrators, teachers, police or similar, they are nevertheless vital for the upkeep of these societies.

“Nordlandsforskning”, the Nordland Research Institute, has collected gender-aggregated figures on management and leadership positions, ownership and employment of women in the aquaculture sector. To highlight the importance of addressing women’s role in fisheries, this case study shows that less than 10% of all the leaders in the fish-farming industry are women (Alsos and Pettersen 2001⁴²). 6.8% of the managers are women and only 3.6% of all the board-leaders in this industry are women. As owners, they often have a small amount of shares, and usually shares in a small company. The percentage of female board members is lower than in other Norwegian industries.

In addition, women are seeking education in fisheries-related fields, and regulations and management systems mean job opportunities in the fisheries administration system.



Foto: Bjørn Erik Olsen

40 Lunde, K. 1995: Kjønn og kvoter. En utredning som viser kvinners aktivitet i det kvoteregulerte torsk fisket nord for 64° N i forhold til menns aktivitet. Kontur A/S.

41 www.ssb.no, numbers for 2002.

42 Alsos, G. og Pettersen, L. T. (2001): Ei flott næring for tøffe kvinnfolk! En utredning om kvinners rolle i oppdrettsnæringen. Nordlandsforskning. Rapport nr 01/2001.

Recruitment; “Girl camps” in Gildeskål

In global post-industrial times, individualisation, risk and choice have become flagships of the individual's personal development. The responsibility for your own life, life-style (as a conscious choice) and career is placed firmly in your own hands. Career choices are then more than a practical consideration, choosing your workplace also becomes a question of personal expression, of identity and “the good life”. Modernity brings new impetuses and accompanying new preferences for education, labour and leisure. As can be seen from statistics and perhaps as a result of technical development, employment and recruitment to fisheries are dropping.

It also seems that fishing as a profession is becoming stigmatised. Fisheries, have come to represent times gone by, a historical “reality” of a cold, wet and miserable existence, of hardy men covered in fish-guts, blood and salt water.

In order to change this image, Kunnskapssenteret i Gildeskål (the Gildeskål Resource Centre) has been arranging “girl camps” in fisheries. In order to encourage young girls to consider a career in the fisheries, they arrange a girls-only camp for 12-16 year-olds, where they participate directly and get experience from

Eksportutvalget for fisk, USA site:

A country where mountains rise from the sea. Where hostile waters, whipped by the winds and driven by the currents, form towering waves. But such a demanding environment can also be bountiful. For deep in the ice-cold, clean salty water, there are riches. Slowly growing, patiently maturing. The treasures of the sea which have given life to Norway's coasts and fjords for a thousand years. Caught and harvested by highly-skilled men who combine generations of hard-earned experience with the latest technology. Men of the sea, they have learnt to accept its gifts with respect and love, and to manage them with humble care...

http://www.seafoodfromnorway.com/usa/index_main.php

many aspects of the industry. Project leader Camilla Kristensen says, “One of the main tasks for the resource centre is recruitment for fisheries and aquaculture, and increasing young people's knowledge of

the industry. By inviting these girls for a one-week camp we hope to inspire them to take fisheries-related education.” By working with schools in the region and with financial support from Nordland County, they have tried net fishing, visited fish farms, processed fish, tried shrimp trawling and a survival course.

By excluding boys from the camps, the Resource Centre has found that they encourage the girls to participate more, and feedback from participants also indicates that the girls feel freer in a single-gender environment. Early, perhaps, but it also indicates that the young girls are already ruled by gender stereotypes of fisheries. In Norwegian popular culture, fishing and related activities are represented as “male” and it is hard for the girls to break with these stereotypes when the boys are around. In the all-girls environment it is easier for them, they can play on more “masculine” sides of themselves and worry less about signalling femininity. The “success rate”, measured by how many of the participants claim to be inspired to a career in fisheries, may be uncertain, but the initiative takers feel this could be improved by better selection procedures, more active marketing and so on.

Certainly, women are seeking education in the field, but the numbers are low and do not seem to be rising. The different levels of fisheries-related educations have different gender proportions, and indeed on the PhD levels the women actually outnumber the men.

Women's participation in decision-making in Norway fisheries

Women are present in the fisheries, as shown above,

“-fisheries are the mainstay of coastal districts and will in all probability remain so in the foreseeable future. The fisheries industry is also dependent on a decentralised structure. This means that development in the fisheries and in society must be seen in connection. To prevent women from continuing to move out of the coastal districts, we must assure that social development also takes their demands and needs into consideration. Women must be assured sufficient influence over the development of fisheries and local communities” (From “Action plan for gender equality in Norwegian fisheries”, 1990: 19).



Foto: Bjørn Erik Olsen

but are they represented? Decision-making processes in fisheries are largely centralised and professionalised, with the industry, fisherboat owners and fishers' unions considered the stakeholders accorded a voice in the decision-making process.

In the ILO Conventions we find general sentiments on women's participation in decision-making, "To achieve equal representation in decision-making positions in the world of work the following measures should be considered by governments, employers' and workers' organizations:

- establishing a compendium of women capable of filling such positions, at national or other levels;
- applying a merit-based appointment and promotion system; and giving attention on a regular basis to issues of gender equality at meetings of national tripartite consultative committees."

This builds on the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women "Beijing Platform of Action" from 1995, which states that globally, only 10% of decision-making positions were held by women. EU has recently carried out a study in different EU-countries about women's role in fisheries⁴³. These studies provide gender-aggregated data to be used as a platform for further study. This report also addresses the lack of women participating in decision-making processes in particular. Norway, where a strong focus on gender equality has been a political target for decades, has a principle that both genders must be represented with a minimum of 40% of members in

all state and government boards, committees etc., based on the Gender Equality Act of 1979.

The ministry of children and family affairs is in charge of seeing that this is followed, and all nominations for boards etc in the final instance have to be cleared through them. However, the ministries responsible for the field in which the committee, board or similar falls is usually involved in the process of clearing the nominations, based on the provision that exceptions may be granted if there are "særlige forhold som gjør det åpenbart urimelig å oppfylle kravene" – conditions that make it obviously unreasonable to fulfil the demands set by the Gender Equality Act. This stipulation for granting exceptions is found in the Act's §21, 2nd part.

For fisheries in Norway, this falls under the Ministry of Fisheries, who thus also oversee nominations and appointments to boards and committees in the fisheries sector. These include the regulatory council (Reguleringsrådet), which negotiates quotas with the Russian in the Barents Sea, the coastal directorate's advisory board (Rådgivende utvalg for Kystdirektoratet), the Marine Mammal Commission (Sjøpattedyrrådet) and the Norwegian Seafood Export Council (Eksportrådet for Fisk). These have all applied for exceptions from the gender equality act in the last four years (2000-2003), usually based on the fact that the organisations represented on these councils, which are mainly from the fisheries industry or representatives of workers' and owners' interests, have few women members, and few of those

43 European Commission Directorate General for Fisheries (2002): The role of women in the fisheries sector. Final report by MacAlister Elliott and Partners Ltd.

are interested or seen as eligible for such posts.

In spring 2004, the minister of Fisheries, Svein Ludvigsen, has repeatedly stressed the fact that the fisheries industry cannot count on continuing with “automatic exceptions” from the 40%-rule.

Much attention in trade press has been given to this; in the magazine “Norsk Fiskerinæring” #3-2004 they had interviewed many of the 96 women they found who work as administrative or company board leader in the fisheries. Many are in these positions by virtue of inheritance, but they are also very well qualified in their own terms, some having higher education and others having worked their way up through the company. Some of these companies are smaller, often family-run businesses, but the biggest female-run company on their list employs 600 people and has a yearly turnover of NOK 1800 million, it is the 6th biggest company in the industry. Finding qualified women should not be a problem, is the contention of the editors.

It is noteworthy, however, that when reading the trade press, you find extremely few women represented. A guideline indicator⁴⁴ of gender representation in the media is the number of pictures of men and women, respectively, and also whether they are presented with name and/or position in the caption for the picture. In the above-mentioned issue of “Norsk Fiskerinæring”, which had “Women in the Fisheries Industry” as a lead story, 32 women had their names and pictures in the magazine, compared to 48 men. In the following issue (4/2004), the pictures were of 38 men and 1 woman. In the same issue, 15 boats were pictured with names.

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44 The “3R-method”, se www.kun.nl.no



Sweden – by Maria Udén

The Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Consumer Affairs govern fisheries in Sweden. The Ministry's responsibilities cover the full primary production sector of the country. The National Board of Fisheries is the central government authority in all fishery issues. It is organized in five departments: Marine Resources, Coastal and Freshwater Resources, Markets and Structures, Fisheries Control, and Administration. Above authority tasks such as negotiations, regulations, gathering of statistics and approval of licenses, The National Board of Fisheries runs institutes and research stations along the Swedish coasts. In quota negotiations Sweden participates as EU member, administered by The National Board of Fisheries. At the regional level, each County Administration Board manages issues such as information and control, and handles subsidiaries and compensations to individual fishers within its territory. In the early 1990's a number of tasks such as the approval of fishery licenses were redistributed to the national level from the County Administration Boards. For the northernmost counties of Sweden one specific task remains, however, and this is to manage the large state-owned areas in the country's northwestern parts.

Rights to industrial fishery are admitted to three categories: private owners of real estate, which includes fishing sites, fishers with licenses, and registered reindeer herders. Owning a license, as opposed to fishing on basis of private right, entitles the holder to subsidies and compensations from the government and EU.

Sweden has a long coastline and is much characterized by coastal traditions and culture. Fishing is one of the most popular sports and leisure activities, a quarter of the population fishes for leisure purposes once a year or more, and a third is interested in fishing. It is significant however, that if seen in international comparison, Sweden's industrial fishery has developed into medium rather than large scale. Nevertheless, industrial fishery has changed dramatically during the 20th century. Since 1945 the number of registered fishers has decreased from 20000 to 3000, while the annual catch has increased fourfold.

The Swedish Coast

The Swedish coast line faces Skagerrak and Kattegatt in the South West and the Baltic Sea all along the Eastern boarder, ending with the Gulf of Bothnia in the furthest North.

This development has affected coastal communities. Co-management is being adopted as a way to handle the sustainability of fish resources as well as of local communities. In government proposition 2003/04:51 "Coastal and lake fishery and aquaculture", the Swedish government commends co-management of resources, emphasises the economic and social role of coastal fishery for rural areas, and states that development in fisheries shall take place within frames given by ecological, economic and social sustainability. The proposition proclaims that the coastal and sweet water fishery sectors are to contribute to the creation of attractive job opportunities, especially in regions where alternatives are few. The proposition also says that existing management tools shall be used more efficiently and that the influence of the fishery sector, environmental organisations and other concerned parts shall be strengthened. This includes consumers, who are acknowledged to have interest in quality of food and sustainability of production. (Prop 2003/04:51)

Arctic Fisheries in Sweden: overview

Industrial fishery in the Swedish Arctic, or rather Sub Arctic, areas takes place in the Gulf of Bothnia and in mountain lakes. Along the coasts and rivers, fishing has traditionally been part of a combination economy with farming, and in the inland and mountain areas, fisheries have been part of subsistence as well as industry economy of the Sámi. Today registered Sámi reindeer herders have rights to fish for industrial purposes within the areas of their grazing communities. Historically river fishery was of crucial importance for the subsistence of the Sub Arctic populations, salmon⁴⁵ in particular made bountiful catches. In the early 20th century there were over 80 salmon rivers around the Baltic Sea. A century later, and as result of changes in the environment e.g. the construction of hydro power plants, not there are not more than 40 rivers left where salmon reproduces naturally. Furthermore, the development of larger sea vessels and of more effective methods and tools for sea and coastal fishery has dislocated the salmon fishery from the rivers to coast and sea. (Lundgren et al 2004)

⁴⁵ Salmo salar



Foto: Karina Persson

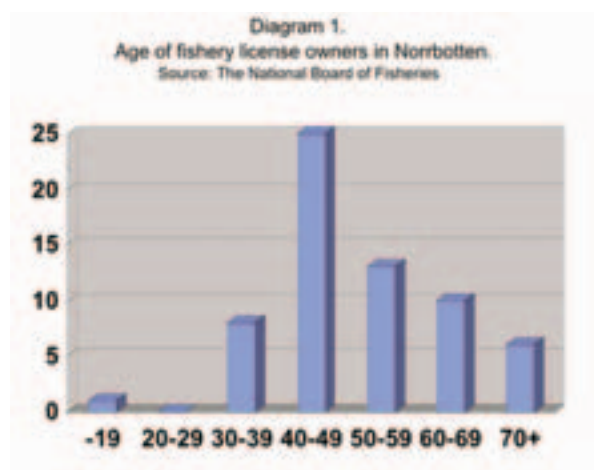
To a large extent Gulf of Bothnia fishery is coastal fishery, located to the archipelagos typical for the coastline of this area. The scale of Norrbotten fishery is small, the larger boats in the fleet being 12-13 meters long and much fishery being carried out in 6-7 meter vessels. Yet, as the fish stocks are limited as well as the number of species, decreasing stocks and contest about fishing rights are issues of concern to the fishers and the fishery sector. The importance of salmon continues in modern times. The quota negotiations that are of main interest to Arctic Swedish fishery today are those that concern salmon. Other species than salmon specified in Baltic Sea quotas, such as herring⁴⁶, are of varying importance to local fishers, in sum herring is caught in too small quantities in the Gulf of Bothnia for Arctic Swedish fishery to presently be affected by the quota. Arctic fishers who fish south in the Baltic Sea during winter are affected by cod⁴⁷ quotas and national regulations of cod fishery in the Baltic Sea. As the nations Sweden and Finland meet around an area of the Gulf of Bothnia that is rich in salmon, bilateral negotiations on salmon between Sweden and Finland are continually needed on top of quota negotiations. The issue of salmon restrictions in the Gulf of Bothnia continuously leads to confrontations between fishers and authorities in Norrbotten County.

⁴⁶ sprattus sprattus

⁴⁷ gadus morhua

Norrbotten's fisher corps

Situated around the Arctic Circle, Norrbotten County is the northernmost of the Swedish regions. All Arctic Swedish fisheries licenses are held by individual owners. In March 2004, 65 persons in Norrbotten had fishery licenses, out of which seven were for fishery in mountain lakes. Diagram 1 provides an overview of the age distribution of industrial fishery license owners in Norrbotten. In 2004, almost fifty per cent of the



license owners are aged 55 or older. One of the

license owners is a woman. She is a coastal fisher and lives in Seskarö, Norrbotten. Born in 1964, she is slightly younger than median age.

In Norrbotten, sea fisheries started to be the main source of income for a specialized fisher corps during the period after World War Two, and the corps grew with the introduction of trawlers. As a result and contrary to the general national development, the number of fishers grew during the 1970s. In the early 1980s about half the sea and coast fisheries license holders in Norrbotten were aged 40 or younger. This was younger than Swedish median age. (Karlsson 1981) Today, the fishers of Norrbotten are no longer younger, but of same median age as the Swedish fisher corps. In 2003, the median age for Swedish professional fishers was 48 years (Prop 2003/04:51).

Especially salmon and vendace⁴⁸ are of importance to the Gulf of Bothnia fishery in Sweden, the reason being their high revenue. Salmon is of interest to industrial sea and coast fisheries, but also to holders of rivers fishing rights, and for tourism, which means there are conflicting interests. Vendace is economically important because of its roe, which is locally processed, mostly within the fishers' own businesses, and sold as a high-quality product at both national and international markets. Vendace, too, is a subject of certain conflicts, and fishing of the spring spawning vendace is prohibited because of shrinking stock (Rova 1999).

Women's participation in Norrbotten fisheries

As shown in the previous section, the register of license owners in Norrbotten reveals that fishery companies are in close to all cases owned and lead by men. The vessel register at The National Board of Fisheries does not alter the picture; men own not only the licenses but also the boats. Thus it appears as women are close to non-existent in the fishery companies. But this picture is contradicted by what is locally known about fisheries in Norrbotten, as being family enterprises with both genders involved even if in different tasks. This Swedish case study takes stance in this contradictory and gendered situation.

The material for the study has been collected

through interviews and document studies. In personal interviews, two women from fishery households were interviewed regarding their involvement and experiences, while eighteen sea/coastal fishery license owners were interviewed about their companies and women's involvement through telephone interviews. The number of interviewees makes one third of the sea and coast fishery license owners in Norrbotten. In the telephone interviews with the licensed fishers, the most pertinent questions were: Are there work elements in your business within which women participate? If so, which are they and how are the women's participation organised? Out of the 18 responding fishers, 13 answered that there are work elements in their companies today in which women participate. Another four said women had earlier been participating. The most usual work elements mentioned were connected to handling vendace: sorting the vendace catch and especially processing of vendace roe. Seventeen interviewees said women did currently or had earlier worked with roe processing in their companies. The one fisher who did not had actively chosen not to involve women in his business at all, as he preferred working with men only.

The context for women's participation, according to the answers from the interviewed fishers:

- 1 Participation within the household (wife, children);
- 2 A group that can be labelled "other family, friends and acquaintances" who help for various reasons;
- 3 Hands hired by the hour.

In each individual fisher's company, the participation of women was organised in one or more of these categories. The two first forms do not necessarily include wages/salary. The interviews as well as other sources indicate that especially for fishers' spouses they usually do not. (Gustavsson and Johansson 2000, Lundgren et al 2004). Those who participate as group 2 members may receive some form of compensation, usually fish or labour exchange. The degree of women's participation varies. Three of the fishers pointed out that their spouses take substantial part in their businesses; one being a combination business where the wife had responsibility for the "other"

48 *coregonus albula*

part. The first two adjust other employment to function as backup to their participation in the fishery businesses. Women's adjustment and meshing of their own employment in order to take part in the fishery businesses of their husbands, appears to be very common. Two fishers said their wives do not take part in any of the company activities. Both emphasised they have their own jobs and fully enough of a workload.

To the question about what species is most important to their business, ten interviewees responded that it is vendace. This result was expected. Estimates published during the last decades have been that vendace roe makes 50-70% of Norrbotten fisheries incomes (e.g. Karlsson 1981, Rova 1999). The same range was indicated in the interviews. One fisher remarked that there would be no fisher corps on the Norrbotten coast if it were not for the vendace. It is noteworthy that the most important catch is vendace; that vendace processing is also the most common task performed by women; and that women's participation is organized in manners that are of informal and/or short-term character.

Among those who did not name vendace as their most important catch, a couple remarked that the reason behind this was that they had chosen not to invest in trawlers in order to avoid the financial strain on their businesses. The size of the individual fisheries company and the significance of its vendace catch as compared to other catch are closely related. Vendace can only make half or more of a business income if larger-scale technology is used.

Interviews with two women from fishery households

The two women from fisheries households that were interviewed are of different ages. One is part of the generation that is now retiring from working life and the other is middle-aged.

The older woman was interviewed at home with her husband, she told us about how she had taken employment after being a full-time fisheries wife during the first years of her marriage. The reason was not economy, she said, rather she emphasised the need for social interaction, saying, "One must be psychologically very strong to be alone at home". The extent of her gainful employment has varied a bit over time, but she was faithful to the same employer and work-

ing place through many years. She loved her work and regrets she had to leave it sooner than she had wanted: her body was worn out and chronic pain hindered her from continuing. During the years of wage labour she always made sure to be available for the vendace processing, however. "She does not let anyone else in", her husband told me, referring to the room where the cleansing, salting and packaging of the vendace roe is taken care of. Over the years, the wife has also worked with a range of other tasks of importance to the fishery business and family economy; all from representation and business development to housekeeping and growing vegetables. Today, both wife and husband are slowing down their pace.

The interview with the middle-aged woman took place in her office. She was married to a fisher, but they separated some years ago. Speaking about her time in the fishery community of Norrbotten, it shows that the picture of fishery as family businesses where the wives "help" is something that this woman recognizes well, and relates to as the norm. But it was not as easy for the younger women to give up their own professions in order "to be available in the roe hut", as it had been for their spouses' mothers, she tells. It was unthinkable that the interviewee herself would have taken time off from her job to work with the vendace catch each fall. Nevertheless, according to the interviewee, also women with career professions may have something to give to a family fishery business. These women can contribute in ways that fit into their lives and competence profiles; something that could potentially increase the income levels in the fisheries. But for this to happen, male fishers must accept that their women have superior knowledge in some crucial aspects, which can be hard. "Perhaps it is easier for those who are young today", the interviewee said. Apparently she finds that also women who are devoted to their careers can be motivated to help in their spouses' fishery businesses. During the interview she gave plenty of examples of unique and positive experiences that being a member of a fishery household gives; the contact with nature being one. When I asked how it is possible to live a life together within a fishery household today, the interviewee answered: "Through clearly defined roles". As model she mentioned one fishery company that has become successful and well known in the Norrbotten coastal area. In this company, the fisher's wife is active in product development and sales strategies.

The elderly couple has two children: a son and a daughter, by now with children of their own. The son

lives near to the parents with his family, the daughter further away. “There is nothing for them here”, the husband answered when I asked about what the daughters in the fisher families do as they grow up: “They get an education and then they leave.” I also asked the middle-aged woman where the daughters and sisters of today’s fishers have ended up. Her answer was almost as an echo of the older man’s formulation: “They get an education and they move away”.

To sum up women’s situation as fishers’ spouses, both interviews with women from fishery households show that being partner to a fisher raises expectations on participation in the fishery. But the common model for this participation does not provide a sufficient psychosocial context. If one takes the role as fishery wife as full time engagement, there is a risk that isolation makes daily life strenuous. The family business structure of Norrbotten fisheries is very demanding, with processing, book keeping etc set in the family home, and extra employees are usually only engaged during limited peak periods. Additionally, other and more complex needs, such as the need for control over one’s own situation and for recognition from others and from society are not sufficiently met.

Criteria for licenses and the fishery household economy

If women’s presence in Norrbotten fishery is not visible in official registers, there are other documents that recognize a relation between small-scale fisheries and household economy. FIFS 1995:23 is the regulatory text that states, among other fishery issues, the conditions for acquiring a fisheries license in Sweden. Its §3 describes how license applications shall be composed and judged. To be granted a license, the applicant shall “have connection to Swedish fishery” and it shall “be clear from the application that fishery has vital importance to the applicant’s economic support” (own translation). Fishery shall normally be the main income for the applicant. It is possible to make an exception from this rule however, namely if it can be showed that the applicant’s household’s income is dependent on contributions from fishery. Until November 2002 the exception rule stated that: “Normally a person who has full time employment other than fishery shall not be allowed a license. Exceptions can however be made in cases where fishery can be expected to have considerable importance for a family’s subsistence, in regions with limited income options and limited public service.

License fishing in Norrbotten as full or partial source of income

One third of the fishery license owners in Norrbotten were asked about their sources of income. 50% explained that their fisheries are their only source of income, while 50% said they have other jobs or businesses as well. Mostly, additional sources of income are needed during winter.

Fishing a part of Sámi livelihood in Sweden

Alongside reindeer herding, fishing has traditionally been important in Sámi economy, and also remained so in modern times. Especially during the summers fresh fish have been captured for own consumption, and methods for conservation such as salting and smoking have added taste variety and enabled storing. Today, fishing is an opportunity to create additional incomes amongst reindeer herders. In Norrbotten, both fresh fish and processed products are being sold by Sámi fishers to wholesalers as well as consumers.

“Shoreless shores” in Swedish Sápmi

Rivers and lakes have always provided plentiful catches in Swedish Sápmi. This is not surely the case anymore, as strong interests increasingly compete about the catches as well as the waters in themselves. Great rivers are exploited for hydro power production. This affects both the fish and the terms for fishing. Not only the economy of the Sámi, but also the quality of life, is affected by the hydro power exploitation. Sámi poet Paulus Utsi (1918-1975) used the expression “shoreless shore” to describe how great mountain lakes are no longer accessible since the water lines have become altered by damming and draining.



For such a case the income declarations for the whole family's income during the last three years shall be presented" (FIFS 1995: 23, §3, own translation). From November 2002, this section has been changed. The new formulation states that, in cases where the fishery is not the applicant's only source of income, the gross income from fishery during the three years prior to the application shall be "at least 20 per cent of the household's total income" (ibid).

Neither in earlier nor present versions of 3§, the gender of the fishers or of the household members is defined. Nevertheless, as the professional fisher corps in Sweden has never been other than male dominated, it is obvious that a relation between women and men is implicit in the text. A picture of the fisher as single or at least major breadwinner of the family arises. This is especially clear from the earlier formulations, but also today fishery is understood as an income opportunity in a household and in this understanding gender plays a part. This becomes clear if one asks the following question: How likely is it, that when this new rule for exceptional cases was constructed, a household situation was imagined where a woman has at least one substantial income from employment, but still needed to be a licensed fisher for the sake of the family income, while her husband/spouse has at most one low-income job – and cannot possibly fish just as well as his wife can? It is also a matter for discussion whether the principle as outlined in §3 is in tune with the principle of each person's right, man or woman, to be economically independent, which is included in the Equal

Opportunities Goals of Sweden. However, at the same time as the text concerning exceptional cases was changed, a new section was added in the regulations saying that improvement of the gender distribution in the fisher corps shall be considered in approval of licenses (FIFS 1995:23 5§a). This is of course positive.

The results from the interviews showed that women contribute to – in fact make a key group for – Norrbotten fishery economy through informally organized, often unpaid labour based on household relations. It is possible to look further into fishery household economies through the report "The

Swedish Fisheries Economy

In 2003 approximately 3,000 professional fishermen caught about 330,000 tonnes of fish and shellfish, with a market value of just over SEK 1 billion. Aquaculture produced fish, mussels and crayfish to a value of approximately SEK 140 million. The processing industries accounted for a sales value of approximately SEK 2,5 billion and employed about 2,000 people.

(http://www.fiskeriverket.se/pdf/om_fiskeriverket/engelsk.pdf, p.10)

Note: As rule of thumb 1 SEK equals slightly more than 0,1 USD

Lake and river fisheries

There are 53 lakes in Sweden where registered industrial fishing takes place. Out of these 21 are located in Norrbotten County. Fresh water catches are currently less than 0.1 per cent of total catches, out of which 80% is generated from four large lakes in mid and south Sweden. Industrial catches from rivers are marginal, but river fishery is important for recreation and tourism.

Sources: Prop 2003/04:51 and
www.fiskeriverket.se

Economy of the Swedish Coastal Fishermen Households”, published by The National Board of Fisheries (Gustavsson and Johansson, 2000). In this report the authors account for an analysis of 960 Swedish coastal fishery households’ incomes during 1997. The average income was 177000 SEK, out of which 33% or 58000 SEK was generated from the fishery business and 67% or 119000 SEK was income from employment. That income level is typical also for the households of owners of comparable primary business types, such as reindeer herding and agriculture, yet it is low in comparison to the Swedish median income. According to the income declarations studied, women’s income from the fisheries businesses was insignificant. However, on average their contributions to the household economies from gainful employment were the double to that of men. “Income from employment comes essentially from women”, Gustavsson and Johansson write (ibid: 47).

The exception in §3 is applicable to a coastal fishery situation rather than deep-sea fisheries. This means that in FIFS 1995:23, §3, the same household situation is imagined as is empirically investigated by Gustavsson and Johansson (2000). Even if Gustavsson and Johansson’s analysis is interpreted

very cautiously, a contradiction arises between the imagined and the empirical situation. One of their results is that the households’ incomes from employment have decisive significance for the survival of the coastal fishery as such, and that the women’s incomes are most important in that context (ibid: 55). Rather than verifying household situations where male fishers are breadwinners and their female spouses have difficulties to find income opportunities, Gustavsson and Johansson’s analysis demonstrates that women’s contributions are essential for the fishery household. Moreover, the fact that the households’ income declarations indicate that women do not substantially contribute to the family economy through incomes from the fisheries businesses, should be judged in relation to the commonly recognized practice of women’s work in the family fishery businesses being unpaid, which has been verified through this case study of Arctic Swedish fishery. Similar results were found by Lundgren et al 2004.

Gender, participation in fishery, access to decision processes

Among fishers as well as among public servants in fisheries administration, there are men today who openly state, without regarding their view as problematic, that women are not fit to be fishers. Such an attitude is no longer possible to express when it comes to political commissions, public authority positions or expert positions. The present Swedish Minister of Agriculture, Food and Consumer Affairs is a woman. At The National Board of Fisheries, 31% of the employees with core competence and 36% of the employees with management competence are women (Annual report 2003). One of four staff members at the Norrbotten County Board’s Fishery Unit is female. Even though these figures do not signal gender neutrality in any way, it is possible for women in Sweden to take part in fishery decision processes as politicians, experts, and administrators.

But women still “cannot” be fishers... In this complex the echo once sounds again, of what was said in the interviews about the daughters in the fishery families: “There is nothing for them here. They get an education and then they leave.” But it seems gender equality ideals are winning terrain also among fishers. When judging the patterns of today, the high median



age and minimal recruitment of young members of the Norrbotten fisher corps must be considered. Thus, it is a somewhat frozen picture that is exposed in this report. Some fishers of today would have been happy to see their daughters take over their fishing businesses; the problem being that the young are not interested in doing so, neither boys nor girls, rather than gender patterns.

Also, the Swedish authorities are presently involved in mainstreaming processes. This includes The National Board of Fisheries and all County Administration Boards and their respective units, something that is manifested in such details as the newly introduced obligation to consider gender equality in approval of fishing licenses. However, it is problematic if public servants hold the attitude that women cannot be fishers, and even doubt that women are genuinely needed in fishery decision processes.

The Swedish case study has verified the existing popular picture of Norrbotten fisheries; the enterprises are generally led and owned by men, but income and family structures are intertwined through a number of work elements that engage women from the fishers' households and families. Additionally, it has showed that an image of the fisher as the household's main breadwinner exists in such a vital document as the regulations for approval of fishery licenses. Apparently this image has lived on even though it has been showed that the economic reality for the applicable households has no resemblance to such a situation.

The concept "concerned part" is a key to describe access to fishery decision-making processes. Official acknowledgement of a group to be a concerned part renders such access (Aasjord 2003). Document studies show that three categories are officially acknowledged as concerned parts in Swedish and Norrbotten fishery; those that have pronounced interests in fishery (in most cases the interest is of economic nature, but may also concern sports and hobbies); those that have a commission to regulate and monitor fishery; and those that assist in the ventures of the other two by providing expertise. Apparently, to be acknowledged as concerned part one's involvement in either of these categories must be acknowledged. Being involved in fishery "normally" should lead to an acknowledgement as concerned part (economic interest). Women are involved in Norrbotten fishery. One woman is involved as fisher and license owner. Her position may be compared to that of the women who are fisheries experts and staff at public offices; as a pioneer she now holds an officially recog-

Norrbotten fishery

In 2000, totally 2% of the gainfully employed in Norrbotten worked in the primary sector (forestry, farming, fishing, reindeer herding together). Industrial fishery in Norrbotten annually yields about 100-150 tonnes of salmon (*Salmo salar*), 100-150 tonnes of whitefish (*Coregonus lavaretus*), 600-1000 tonnes of vendace (*Coregonus albula*), and some additional catches of different species.

Source: Speaking of women and men in Norrbotten (2003), Fiskeriverket (2002)

nized position, from which she can start to claim rights to resources and participation in management and decision-making. But many more women are involved in the Norrbotten fishery as wives and family members, or as short-term seasonal labour. These women are not owners or co-owners of the companies or of the boats. Only in exceptional cases do they get regular pay for their work. In sum, these conditions mean that they can neither aspire to membership in fishers' federations, in fishery labour unions, nor in processing industry workers' unions. Neither is their presence recorded by official registers at The National Board of Fishery, nor by The County Administration Board. A question would of course be why women's participation in the Norrbotten fishery is organised in such modes. Indications are that economy is the direct reason: additional costs follow official employment, and there is not enough money in the industry for taking that step. This, however, cannot be positively established through this investigation and is not of prime importance. The end point is that these women are dependent on and contributing to the existence of the Norrbotten fishery. Their work enables Norrbotten fishers to run their companies, and thus claim a place among those who do have a right to have a say. Yet they are not themselves presented with such possibilities.

This Swedish case study has not included industrial fishery in the mountain lakes of Norrbotten, or the fishery performed by Sámi on basis of Indigenous rights. Basic facts that concern Sámi women's situation are already known, however. As shown by e.g. Amft (2000), Sámi women in Sweden are subject to laws and regulations based on patriarchal presumptions regarding household relations. These laws, regulations and practices affect their possibilities to claim Indigenous rights to land and water, including fishing.

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Recommendations

For future establishing of reference organisations to national as well as regional fisheries decision-making processes, it is vital that women's participation in Swedish Arctic fishery is acknowledged. Women are involved in the Norrbotten fishery and thus they are entitled to participation in decision-making processes. Especially women who participate in fishery businesses as household members should be provided influence in management and decision-making processes, as their participation may be life-long and extensive. It is not obvious how such a condition shall be fully reached at, however. There is no publicly visible sign of a movement among Norrbotten's coastal women to claim rights to such participation.

Among Sámi women, however, women's organisations have existed for a couple of decades. Within Sámiid Riikkasearvi, for example, which is the organisation that represents the reindeer herding communities in Sweden, a project for increasing gender equality, "On Equal Terms in Sápmi", is presently running. Thus, for the mountain regions, it is not complicated today to find and include organisations among concerned parts for decision-making processes, co-management etc, that represent Sámi women. Additionally, as fishing rights for the Indigenous Sámi population in Sweden are coupled to reindeer herding rights, it should be considered that women's rights to fish and to participation in public fishery management in the future is much dependent upon the outcomes of the rewriting of the Reindeer herding law which is presently in process.

A starting point when it comes to the acknowledgement of coastal women's rights to participate in public fishery management processes would be to include such organisations and authorities at local, regional and national levels, that have general knowledge about the type of vague situation that the coastal fishery women are subject to at present. With such actions, openings to acknowledge women's participation in fisheries will be provided. As local co-management of coastal fishery resources (in accordance with The Governments Proposition 2003/04:51) is implemented in Sweden, a renewed process of identification of the concerned parts will be initiated. One of the goals in the new policy being to create attractive job opportunities in coastal communities, it is urgent that women's situation and the contributions women make to the coastal fishery businesses are acknowledged and explicitly integrated into the circumstances considered in the decision-making processes.



Sápmi – by Elisabeth Angell and
Mari Moen Erlandsen

Gender and ethnicity in the Sámi Parliament's fisheries policy⁴⁹ – by Elisabeth Angell

In general, the fishing industry is male-dominated and masculine, in Norway as well as the rest of the circumpolar region. Traditionally, women's tasks in the fishing communities are on land, while men work on the fishing boats. The traditional coastal Sámi way of life is based on mixed economy, flexible combinations of fishing and agriculture, reindeer husbandry and/or natural resource exploitation, depending on the available resources. As the fisheries have become more and more regulated, especially since the introduction of vessel quotas, small-scale fishermen in the coastal Sámi districts have lost the right to fish. The quota regime does not acknowledge the traditional work role of women in the fisheries, as fishing quotas are invariably allocated to men as boat owners. This also applies to Sámi women. This chapter shows that the Sámi Parliament has been engaged in fisheries policy from the start, in 1989, but it has not particularly been concerned with gender equality and the role of women in the fishing industry.

Sámi interests in Norwegian fisheries policy

In a number of cases, the Sámi Parliament has raised critical questions regarding Norwegian fisheries policy and argued that the interests of the indigenous people are not adequately taken care of. From the introduction of the vessel quota regime in 1990, the Sámi Parliament raised questions of principle and argued that the new regime was discriminatory against traditional Sámi fisheries and in conflict with international conventions on minority and indigenous peoples. This introduced a new perspective – that of the indigenous people – into Norwegian fisheries debate. In the same year, the Norwegian Ministry of Fisheries hired Carstein Smith, a professor

of law, to study the legal obligations of the national fisheries to the Sámi population. His report⁵⁰ established that the Norwegian government is under an obligation to consult the Sámi Parliament on proposals for changes in the fishery regulation system. He also recommended that the Sámi Parliament should be consulted on the issues of allocation of quotas in Sámi areas. An attempt by the Norwegian Fisheries Directorate to give individual Sámi fishermen special treatment in the allocation of quotas was abandoned after a chilly reception by the Sámi Parliament Council, which argued against singling out Sámi fishermen, maintaining that the procedure was practically impossible and risky on principle. The Sámi Parliament has been represented in the Regulatory Council since 1992. The next step taken by the Ministry of fisheries was to appoint a “Sámi Fisheries Committee” to consider Sámi fishery interests⁵¹. After four years' work the Committee proposed a number of measures intended to contribute to the fulfilment of Norway's legal obligations towards the coastal Sámi population. The committee proposed special administrative, social and economic arrangements, for the main Sámi area, the counties of Finnmark and North-Troms, and schemes for safeguarding fjord and coastal fisheries by allowing unrestricted fishing for the smallest vessels (below 7 metres). The attitude of the Committee to a “Sámi fisheries zone⁵²” was unenthusiastic, but it acknowledged that Sámi interests had lost ground as a result of the introduction of quotas⁵³. The Sámi Rights Committee⁵⁴ also brought Sámi fjord fishing into a global discourse on the historical user rights of indigenous people. Up to now the Ministry of Fisheries has been of the opinion that Sámi interests can best be safeguarded by means of general regulatory measures. In the above-mentioned cases special initiatives were proposed, these were aimed at broad geographical areas with a certain degree of Sámi settlements, and not differentiation on ethnic grounds. Nevertheless, since the 1990s the

49 This chapter is based on “Kjønn og etnisitet i fiskeripolitikken”, Report No. 2004:4 by Norut NIBR Finnmark. With thanks to Eva Josefsen, Siri Ulfdatter Sørensen, Einar Eythórsson and members of the main project group, as well as to our contacts in the Sámi Parliament, Mari Moen Erlandsen and Inge Arne Eriksen for their helpful comments.

50 Smith (1990)

51 The Committee was appointed in 1993 and submitted its report in 1997.

52 Two resolutions from the Sámi Parliament in 1991 and 1992, which is not formed in details, propose that the fisheries management system should secure resources to coastal and fjord fishermen in certain geographical Sámi zones or districts.

53 A. Davis and S. Jentoft (2001)

54 Norwegian Government Report, NOU 1997:5

Ministry of Fisheries has to a certain extent accepted that an ethnic dimension may exist in fisheries administration⁵⁵, even though the fisheries resources in coastal regions were not included in the proposed Finnmark Act⁵⁶ in 2003.

The development of the Sámi Parliament's fisheries policy

Norwegian fisheries policy attracted the attention of a number of Sámi organisations⁵⁷ even before the establishment of the Sámi Parliament. This involvement is reflected in the work of the Sámi Parliament. Even at the historical inaugural meeting in 1989, the dramatic development of the cod stocks in the Barents Sea was an item on the agenda. Since then fisheries policy has regularly been debated in the Sámi Parliament. A review of resolutions made up to 2003 shows that social issues and community livelihood have been among the most common premises in the development of the Sámi Parliament fisheries policy. To a large extent the fisheries policy issues voiced by the Sámi Parliament have been initiated through consultative action on the part of the Norwegian authorities, in the form of amendments of regulations, legislation, parliamentary white papers, and so on. Nevertheless the Sámi Parliament has made use of opportunities to bring up matters which concern them, such as the proposed "Sámi fisheries zone". When the Norwegian government implements measures for the Sámi people and fishing, it has often come about as a result of proposals from the Sámi Parliament.

The rural industry model

Fisheries policy is often formed on the basis of two main approaches: sector interests and society interests, which may appear to be in conflict. Sector interests place most emphasis on what is best for the fishing fleet, the companies, export and profitability, while society interests concern themselves more with the effects on communities and employment. This

may be further refined as two principal models: A "rural industry" model which is based on a decentralised structure of small units, both with regard to vessels and production, and an "industrialised" model in which the emphasis is on large trawlers, large processing plants and financially efficient operations. Norwegian fisheries policy has in general been formed as a compromise between these two directions⁵⁸. The Sámi Parliament has based its philosophy for fisheries policy on a "rural industry" model. Also in the Sámi Parliament's work in the Regulatory Council, the desire to maintain viable coastal communities has been an important perspective.

Another clear trend is the increasingly legal nature of the foundation of Sámi fisheries policy. In the presentations of issues from the Sámi Parliament throughout the 1990s, there is an increasing degree of argumentation based upon the indigenous peoples' rights to resources. In the course of the last 20 years there has been a worldwide increase in the understanding of indigenous peoples' rights with regard to access to resources, which also includes the discussion of fishery resources.

The formulation of the Sámi Parliament's fisheries policy may enter a new phase in the autumn of 2004, when a special white paper on fisheries policy will be handled.

Women + fisheries policy = not true

When the Sámi Parliament was founded, gender equality and women's rights had been on the Norwegian political agenda for two decades. One could have expected this to give a good starting point for the integration of such matters in the policy of the Sámi Parliament from the start, but we see no evidence of this in the fisheries policy issues handled by the Parliament. "Rullering av handlingsplanen for samiske kyst- og fjordområder 1997-2001" [The review of the program of action for Sámi coastal and fjord areas 1997-2001] was the first document related to fisheries in which women were mentioned. The Sámi Parliament states that the principal focus of this

55 E. Eythórsson and S.R. Mathisen (1998)

56 This Act aims at regulating the management of the land and water in Finnmark County, which is the main Sámi area.

57 For example the National Association of Norwegian Sámi (NSR), the Norwegian Sámi Council and the National Federation of Sámi People.

58 B. Hersoug (2000)

I don't think the Sámi Parliament was aware that it was to send a woman to the Regulatory Council. Maybe the Parliament was a little unfamiliar with the power wielded by the Regulatory Council, or maybe the most prominent Sámi politicians preferred to work with other issues.

Mimmi Bæivi, the first representative of the Sámi Parliament in the Regulatory Council

program of action was on women. "The Sámi Parliament places special emphasis on the place of women in local communities in Sámi coastal and fjord areas. Good conditions that encourage women to settle are a central theme in the development of these communities. In the formation of objectives, strategies and initiatives (...) factors which are of importance to women have been taken into account, in addition to the creation of special initiatives for women" (Page 2, own translation). Even in this document women are more sporadically mentioned in the sections dealing with fisheries. Women are mentioned in connection with fish processing and one specified fishery initiative is to set in motion measures for recruiting women and young people.

In the general industry matters handled by the Sámi Parliament, gender equality and women issues are omitted from the sections dealing with fishing. In comparison, women are dealt with under strategies for agriculture and mixed farming and fishing. In the documents from recent years a change is however detectable. There are some examples of women being mentioned in connection with general population objectives, usually in relation to measures for recruiting women to Sámi local communities. In the Sámi Parliament's specific fisheries policy, gender equality and women's perspectives are still as good as absent.

A female Sámi representative in the Regulatory Council

The Norwegian Regulatory Council is a predominantly male body (See page 23). It would appear that the Sámi Parliament's first representative in the Regulatory Council (from 1992) was also the first female member of the Council. The Sámi Parliament was represented by women until 1998 and for some years from 1993 there were two women among the ordinary members of the Regulatory Council. Since 2001 the Regulatory Council has again consisted only of men. In all, between 40 and 60 persons, consisting of members, observers, experts, advisors and secretaries, attend the meetings of the Regulatory Council. Of these, women are in the minority, only 9-14 persons, and there are no women among the advisers.

From politicians to administrative staff

Until 1999, the Sámi Parliament was represented in the Regulatory Council by a politician, but since then the Parliament's representative has been from the administrative staff. The politicians were central and experienced and with the exception of the first member, the politicians sitting in the Regulatory Council had retired from their most important offices. The Sámi Parliament did not have experts as advisers during the time it was represented by politicians.

Interviews with the first representatives of the Sámi Parliament indicate that they placed emphasis on conducting themselves in such a way that the Sámi Parliament was taken seriously and that they wanted to avoid provocation. They focused on the fjord and coastal fishermen, usually small-scale fishermen and those combining fishing and agriculture. The Sámi Parliament put forward various proposals for reinforcing the coastal fleet with regard to quota sizes, starting dates for fishing, proposals for closing certain fjords to ocean-going vessels, recruitment, and so on. The proposals of the Sámi Parliament were often only supported by the Parliament itself, but examples of unanimity were also experienced. In the course of time, the Sámi Parliament changed the form of its proposals somewhat by increasingly proposing modifications of technical nature, and this may have led to

Fewer women in the Sámi Parliament

*In the first term, 1989-1993,
13 of 39 members were women*

*In the second term, 1993-1997,
12 of 39 members were women*

*In the third term, 1997-2001,
10 of 39 members were women*

*In the current term, 2001-2005,
7 of 39 members are women*

greater support. In recent years the Sámi Parliament has put forward matters under “any other business”, which means that issues are highlighted and become more conspicuous in the minutes, even though they have not been represented as actual items on the agenda. In this way the Sámi Parliament is able to put forward issues regarding Norwegian fishery production by way of a formal forum, which may make it easier to pursue the matters both administratively and politically. Since 2002 the Sámi Parliament’s written contributions to items in the allocation meeting have been attached to the report, in the same way as the contributions of the Norwegian Fishermen’s Association, among others.

There is close coherence in content between the fisheries policy resolutions made in the Sámi Parliament and the Sámi Parliament Council and the proposals that the Sámi Parliament’s representative has put before the Regulatory Council.

The assessment of the support of the members of the Sámi Parliament in the Regulatory Council appears to be somewhat variable. The first members to sit in the Regulatory Council concentrated on gaining recognition and respect for the viewpoints of the Sámi Parliament and for the dimension of indigenous peoples; they considered their success to be somewhat limited but felt that they did make some progress. As the Sámi Parliament has gradually gained experience in the Regulatory Council, it appears that its ambitions have grown, also with regard to its desire to wield influence. The current

member finds that support for the Sámi Parliament is not particularly noticeable, except in the matter of lumpfish fishing. The profile of the contributions in recent years appears to have changed from a political nature to a more technical nature, based on the political viewpoint of the Sámi Parliament.

The representation and competence of women

The representation of women in the Sámi Parliament has always been low and is falling. The first Sámi Parliament had 33% women. Since then the number of women has fallen steadily, and in the current term only 7 of the 39 representatives (18%) are female. The Sámi Parliament Council has had a more equal distribution of the sexes, with two of the five current

I wanted to break new ground and create conditions to enable this to become an important arena for the Sámi Parliament. As a female member of the Sámi Parliament I had to tread carefully and did not want to provoke anybody from the outset. The rules of the game there were different from those of the political forums I had worked in before. I felt that I was respected but didn't receive much support. It may have been an advantage that the first representative from the Sámi Parliament was a woman, but I had to take care so as not to be looked upon as a feminist.

Mimmi Bæivi, the first representative of the Sámi Parliament in the Regulatory Council

members being women, while in the previous period there were three women. It has often been women who have put issues of equality and gender roles on the agenda. It is therefore relevant to “count heads”. At the same time, female representation does not provide a guarantee that issues regarding equality and gender roles will be taken care of.

The debate on female representation is part of a more general debate on the representative nature and legitimacy of the Sámi Parliament, and has been a theme in the work for preparing rules for elections. Female representation is also a part of the discussion on the Sámi Parliament’s gender equality policy⁵⁹.

Background, field of interest and expertise are possible variables that may explain the degree of involvement in the individual fields of policy. In connection with the last Sámi Parliamentary election the gender differences with respect to level of education were very evident. All, but one of the women, have higher education. More than half of the men also have higher education. With regard to industry affiliation, two of the women have experience from the primary industries (reindeer husbandry). In the current term none of the Sámi Parliament’s representatives is recorded as having a background in the fishing industry. Of the seven women in the present Sámi Parliament, five have previous experience from the Parliament⁶⁰. This shows that women have political experience and based on their background there is little that indicates that they should be any less able than men with regard to expertise in the fishing industry.

Gender equality in the Sámi Parliament

Gender equality has been on the agenda of the Sámi Parliament for several years. In 1996 a three-year women’s project was commenced in which one of the principal areas of activity was the integration of the perspectives of women’s rights and gender equality into the Sámi Parliament’s field of work. As a result a women’s consultant position was established on the Sámi Parliament’s administrative staff (from 1999) and

a “Plan of Action for Gender Equality” (1999-2001) was prepared. The strategy in this plan is two-fold. First, the gender equality and women’s perspectives shall be integrated into all the areas of activity of the Sámi Parliament. Secondly, special initiatives directed at Sámi women will be defined. This indicates a double strategy where effort is directed both at “mainstreaming” and at special initiatives for women.

One of the initiatives in the Plan of Action for Gender Equality is an annual gender equality policy report to the Sámi Parliament. Three such reports have been completed, in 2001, 2002 and 2004. Following the first report it was decided to institute a gender equality prize, which has so far been awarded in 2002 and 2004, both times to a woman.

There are few female representatives in the Sámi Parliament and the number is declining. Stordahl (2003) concludes that the Sámi Parliament’s concentration on women has turned out to be generally politically symbolic. Interviews with the gender equality adviser in the Sámi Parliament indicate that it is difficult to pin down the responsibility for an integrated gender equality policy in each individual department. There is very little systematic work done on the part of the administration. Experiences from gender equality work in other fields show that if an integration strategy is to succeed, one must first have a clear picture of what is to be integrated, and then one must have administrative routines which ensure the required integration.

The place of fisheries in gender equality policy

In order to get an impression of the priority, which the fishing industry is afforded in gender equality policy, we have carried out a review of the most important documents dealing with gender equality policy issued by the Sámi Parliament⁶¹. One of the principal themes in the Plan of Action for Gender Equality is the focus on viable Sámi local communities. “In order to reinforce Sámi local communities, it is necessary to consider factors which are important for encouraging women to remain living there. It is therefore important to study the criteria for awarding

59 V. Stordal (2003).

60 Odd Mathis Hætta (2002).

61 These documents consist of the Plan of Action for Gender Equality (1999-2001) and the reports on gender equality policy from 2001, 2002 and 2004.

The members of the Regulatory Council are fairly equal in status. The Sámi Parliament has as much influence as the other members, especially in issues that apply to the Sámi regions. While previously the Norwegian Fishermen's Association and research scientists were most influential, it seems that the range of members achieving a majority is now broader.

The Norwegian Fisheries Director

subsidies to industrial enterprises, so that these may to a greater extent be adapted to the needs of women. An innovative culture can be developed in schools, for example by means of student businesses (...). In the field of commercial policy, the Sámi Parliament has a particular responsibility for the development of traditional Sámi handicrafts (duodji). (...) It also appears that the combination of duodji and other sources of income are especially suitable from women's point of view. The Sámi Parliament recognises the need to improve the financial arrangements for female entrepreneurs. It may be appropriate to establish network credit systems and a women's bank. In the fields of agriculture, reindeer husbandry and fishing, special recruiting measures aimed at women are of great importance." (Chapter 3.2.1, own translation)

This is the only occasion on which "fishing" is mentioned. In the Plan of Action, emphasis is also placed upon how important it is that women settle in the Sámi areas, especially with regard to the continuation of Sámi culture and value creation. The first gender equality policy plan of action is fairly non-committal with regard to industry, and fisheries are not a high-priority theme.

In the gender equality policy reports presented in 2001 and 2002, fishing is not mentioned at all. The 2001 report contains a section under "Challenges for the future" in which it is mentioned that the primary industries are traditionally highly valued, in contrast with work in the public sector and tertiary industries, where many women are employed, in spite of the fact that the women's income is often equal to or higher than men's. This concept of value is used as a reason for the nominations to election to the Sámi Parliament. The document appears to contain few specific proposals for measures for tackling the challenges outlined.

The Gender Equality Policy Report for 2002 contains a special section dealing with "women in cultural and commercial life". Here it is reported that the proportion of state industrial support to women in business has declined. Mixed economy adaptations are mentioned broadly in the report and reference is made to proposals

for initiating special measures to cater to the needs of women in connection with the establishment of new enterprises, which would make available start-up grants, reorganisation grants and investment support. In the section of the report headed "Challenges" it is pointed out that as a result of the gender-segregated nature of the labour market and declining revenues in the primary industries it is unlikely that women will give up safe jobs in the public sector to set themselves up in the male-dominated, unprofitable primary industries. It is also pointed out that the considerable formal and practical expertise of women is a resource in the development of businesses. The challenges to gender equality in the reindeer husbandry industry are treated separately, and it is pointed out that conditions are worse in agriculture and fishing. One initiative which has been set up is a review of the guidelines for the various business support schemes in order to make these more readily available to women, while making it possible for women to obtain higher levels of support than men. This modification has been carried out. One of the main sections of the Gender Equality Policy Report for 2004 is "Sápmi in a process of change". "Fisheries" are mentioned here, but not as a distinct subject. Fisheries are treated in connection with mixed economy and attention is drawn to the gender-based division of labour between women and men in agriculture and fisheries. It is also stressed that the history of the disintegration of the traditional combination of small scale fishing and agriculture is also a history of changes in gender identity connected with work and of the encounter between housekeeping and the public sphere. The report raises a number of questions connected with the perception of the value of women's work contribution. As we interpret the gender equality policy report, it does not appear that the Sámi Parliament makes any proposals for answering the questions posed.

In the most important documents dealing with gender equality policy, industry is treated generally, for example with reference to primary industries and

mixed economy. The gender-segregated labour market is described in terms of men's domination of the primary industries while women choose the public sector. Attention is drawn to the paradox that jobs in the primary industries, where men are in the majority, have higher status than secure and well-paid jobs in the public sector, where most employees are women, despite giving the same or even far lower income. References to fisheries are absent from these gender equality policy documents. The fishing industry in general is extremely male-dominated, so this is not a phenomenon peculiar to Sámi society.

Women receive little business support

The Sámi Parliament allocates financial aid to businesses. In the five-year period from 1999 to 2003, annual allocations were between NOK 26.7 million and NOK 30.1 million. The Sámi Development Fund administers most of the allocations, amounting to NOK 16.5 million annually in recent years⁶². Annually, between 16 and 25% of the support has been awarded to fisheries-related projects. Of this amount, 4-23%⁶³ has been allocated to fisheries projects aimed at women. In most years about 10% of fisheries support goes to women, but 2000, with a total of 23%, was exceptional, as was 2003 with only 4%. Women also receive far less support than men, but fewer women apply for support for fisheries projects. In the five-year period there were a total of 18 applications from women, three of which were turned down. A total of nine of the 15 approved projects for women involved partial financing in connection with the purchase of fishing vessels. In the case of four of these 15 projects, the decision was based upon the desire to get more women to involve themselves in fisheries, even though the projects did not necessarily satisfy normal practice for such support. The general formulations of objectives in the new guidelines for the Sámi Development Fund (effective from 1 January 2004), state that: "The financial support shall contribute to a reinforcement of women's participation and gender equality in industry." Gender equality are incorporated in the criteria for allocation: "Diversity, gender equality and a compre-

hensive perspective shall be important fundamental principles for the Sámi Parliament." In addition, departure from the general practice of allocation is made possible in the cases of women's enterprises. The new rules formalise the more widespread use of discretion to facilitate the allocation of business support to women. The rules have not been in effect long enough to enable any conclusions with regard to how the practice of allocation has been influenced. One of the aims of the changes is to reinforce the gender equality and gender perspectives, and it will be interesting to see if the Sámi Parliament is successful in achieving this. A new practice demands a willingness to change the priorities of industry. It remains to be seen whether the changes will also result in an increase in support to women in fisheries-related enterprises, with more women wishing to enter the industry. The fact that few women venture into the fisheries sector is not peculiar to the Sámi areas, but is in line with the general picture of fishing as a highly male-dominated industry.

Women's influence on the Sámi Parliament's fisheries policy

None of the female members of the Sámi Parliament come from a fisheries background. However, some women have been associated with fishing in that they are closely related to fishermen or live in fishing communities. An active – male – fisherman was a member of the Sámi Parliament for its first three terms. However, this does not provide grounds for asserting that the Sámi Parliament's female members lack expertise and authority in fisheries matters compared with the male members.

At times, women have held central positions that have involved responsibility for the development of the Sámi Parliament's fisheries policy. In the period 1997-2001, a female member of the Sámi Parliament Council was responsible for fisheries policy. The first two representatives of the Sámi Parliament in the Regulatory Council were women. In decisions regarding fisheries issues in the Sámi Parliament there is little or no evidence of women's issues or gender equality, except in connection with the reviewed plan of

62 In all, women have received 10-25% of the allocations from the Sámi Development Fund.

63 This amounts to between NOK 132,000 and NOK 785,000.

action for Sámi coastal and fjord regions. Interviews stress the importance of certain individuals for the development of the Sámi Parliament's fisheries policy; most of these are men, with few women, despite the fact that several women have had central, formal positions. When fisheries issues have been handled in the Sámi Parliament, it has generally been men who have made the proposals. Women have been empowered to take action in connection with the Sámi Parliament's fisheries policy, but it would appear that they have only had limited influence over it. This may be the result of background, interests, work pattern and so on. In general politics, women have often made a stand for promoting gender equality, but this has not been the case with the Sámi Parliament's fisheries policy. It is also relevant to ask whether women's responsibility for implementing gender equality in fisheries policy should be greater than that of the male representatives.

Discursive power through the international ethno-political debate

When we consider the institutional power the Sámi Parliament has had to incorporate gender equality and women's interests into its fisheries policy, it is evident that the potential has not been made use of. When the Sámi Parliament was established, equality between men and women had been on the Norwegian political agenda for two decades, and equality between ethnic groups and gender equality could go hand in hand, but this has not been the case. Admittedly it should be stressed that Norwegian fisheries policy is not particularly gender equality oriented, so the Sámi Parliament is not exceptional. It would appear that the Norwegian authorities have integrated more gender equality issues in reindeer husbandry policy and agricultural policy than has been the case in Norwegian fisheries policy. In creating a platform for itself in Norwegian fisheries policy, the Sámi Parliament could have been further marginalized if it had taken upon itself the task of promoting the indigenous people's dimension as well as the

gender equality interests. However, the Sámi Parliament has not placed particular importance on the question of women in fisheries internally either. Gender equality policy in the Sámi Parliament has principally concentrated on female representation, voting rules and the electoral roll⁶⁴, as well as discussions regarding gender roles. There are some examples focusing the negative effects of the shortage of women on Sámi local communities and culture. The gender equality dimension has been absent from the ethno-political fisheries debate but this has undergone significant progress during the lifetime of the Sámi Parliament. Fisheries policy, with the emphasis on fjord fishing, has become an element of this ethno-political debate⁶⁵. On the national scale, official documents have been produced which increasingly maintain some of the momentum of the debate. Internationally, this debate is probably most earnestly conducted through the general international debate on indigenous peoples, in which people's right to resources is an important dimension. The debate has probably also been more evident in academic circles than in national political documents. This is evident among other things from the fact that sea fishing resources were not included in the proposal for the Finnmark Act⁶⁶. These international and academic debates can be an important prerequisite for eventually achieving political support for domestic policy. However it can also happen that the debate becomes too academic and therefore remains in this sphere without having any effect on the policy sphere. In the field of fisheries it would appear that it is in this dimension, as discursive power, that the Sámi Parliament has achieved its greatest influence.

It is interesting to note that even with the large number of parallels between gender equality and ethnic equality, the two are not connected in the ethno-political debate, neither in the Sámi Parliament nor in academia. Many of those who are arguing for expanding the fisheries policy to include women⁶⁷ use argumentation that will also apply to other marginalized groups such as those who make a living from mixed economy households, a traditional Sámi way of life. So far, as gender equality is debated in the Sámi Parliament, fisheries have not been included, but what is perhaps even more interesting is that there has not been a closer connection between the

64 Stordal 2003

65 Eythórsson and Mathisen 1998

66 Proposition 53, 2002-2003 to the upper chamber of the Norwegian Parliament

67 For example Gerrard 1983, 1994 and Munk Madsen 1996, 1998.

ethno-political fisheries debate and the more female-oriented fisheries debate.

Conclusion

The fishing industry and fisheries policy have traditionally been highly male-dominated. The Sámi Parliament will have to reverse a weighty tradition in an effort to achieve equality. Moreover, the Sámi Parliament was established long after gender equality entered the political agenda in Norway, and there are many parallels between gender equality and improved rights for indigenous peoples. Gender equality policy in the Sámi Parliament has principally centred on female representation, voting rules, the electoral roll and discussions regarding gender roles. The Sámi Parliament appears to be on the lookout for ways of integrating gender equality policy generally, also within policy areas where there is a long tradition of gender equality. Stordal (2002) concludes that the results of the Sámi Parliament's efforts in the field of gender equality have been meagre and have primarily been politically symbolic.

Although several central politicians in the Sámi Parliament with formal positions important to the development of fisheries policy have been women, this has not resulted in the issue of Sámi women in the fisheries industry becoming part of the political agenda. The Sámi Parliament's gender equality policy documents contain no references to the fishing industry, and similarly, gender equality is virtually unmentioned in documents relating to fisheries policy. Only a small proportion (approximately 10 per cent) of the Sámi Parliament's business support to fisheries-related projects has been allocated to women, though the majority of those who apply receive aid. Explicit objectives of the revision of the rules for business support are the creation of gender equality and allowing greater potential for the use of discretion. It remains to be seen whether this will be enough to attract more women into the fishing industry.

The concept of gender equality has been lacking in the Sámi Parliament's work in developing its fisheries policy. Although the Sámi Parliament has advocated a "rural industry" model, the thinking has been based on a traditional, male-dominated approach. Only in recent years, following significant migration of women, has the Sámi Parliament pointed out the importance of making local communities attractive also for women, and as yet little is being done specifically to achieve this. If the Sámi

Parliament is to make progress in the implementation of gender equality in its fisheries policy, clear political guidelines will be necessary, as well as administrative monitoring and a willingness to take action to bring about change.

There are many parallels in the argumentation of those who have attempted to expand fishery policy to include women and the argumentation the Sámi Parliament uses in favour of gender equality for indigenous peoples in the national fisheries policy. An expansion of fisheries policy directed at women will also include those who carry on mixed economy enterprises and part-time fishermen. However, the Sámi Parliament has not implemented this argumentation in its fisheries policy debate and has not attempted to co-operate with those who are working with fisheries policy from a feminist standpoint. This is particularly interesting in view of the fact that a number of women have held important positions in relation to fisheries policy in the Sámi Parliament. It is significant that no clearer connections have existed between the ethno-political fisheries debate and the more female-oriented fisheries debate. The work of the Sámi Parliament has concentrated more on getting the indigenous peoples' dimension integrated into Norwegian fisheries policy than on getting gender equality integrated into its fisheries debate.

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A Sámi, a woman and a fisheries politician – by Mari Moen Erlandsen

Introduction

Berit Ranveig Nilsen was born in the Norwegian municipality of Nesseby. She is 45 years old, married, with three children. Berit Ranveig is a schoolteacher by profession and now works as an adviser in local government. She has served three terms in the Sámi Parliament, 1993-1997, 1997-2001 and 2001-2005. In the second of these she was a member of the Sámi Parliamentary Council, and in the current term she is the leader of NSR's Sámi parliamentary group.

"I was brought up in a fjord community. When I was a child my father made a living through a combination of fishing and smallholding, while my mother worked in the telegraph office. I have no connection with the fishing industry myself, apart from the fact that I live in a municipality in which fishing represents a large part of people's source of income. Fjord fishing is the basis of existence for many people in this community."

A Sámi fisheries politician

"I became a representative in the elected Sámi Parliament in 1993 and it was then that I began working with fisheries policy. Fishermen from my constituency contacted me and asked me to pursue their interests in the Sámi Parliament. They chose me because I was a Sámi politician from the party which was in power, the National Association of Norwegian Sámi (NSR). I think the fact that I was a woman was also significant, because people were confident that I would bring up the issues as they had presented them. During the nomination process I had told people that they must contact me if they wanted issues to be brought before the Sámi Parliament. When I entered the Sámi Parliament in 1993 I was new to politics. I both hoped for, and was from the outset open to, the raising of new issues. People also received feedback from me on the issues I had brought up, and what progress was being made.

In the period 1997-2001 I sat on the Sámi Parliamentary Council. The Council consists of five members and at that time three were women and two men. During that period the president of the Council introduced a system of work sharing among the members. Two members of the Council, the President and I, were from the coastal Sámi regions. Because I had already on several occasions brought fisheries issues before the plenary session of the Sámi Parliament, it was natural that I should be assigned responsibility for fisheries policy.

I am working to ensure the survival and future of the smack fishing industry. Smack fishing is dying out because of the controls on fishing and because of current national and international fisheries policy. At present it is difficult for the fishermen to deliver their catches because the fish reception facilities have closed down. The workplaces which smack fishing provides are very important for the small local communities in the north. The larger boats simply exploit resources, and do not contribute anything to the communities. It's the fishing smacks that keep the local communities going."

A female fisheries politician

"The women of the coastal regions have always taken part in fishing activities, but their role is different from that of the men. It is the women who maintain the infrastructure of the fisheries and enable them to function. The men have the income and the rights to the

Sámediggi – the Sámi Parliament

The elected assemblies of the Sámi people

The Sámediggi in Norway

The Sámediggi in Norway is a political instrument whose purpose is to achieve equitable treatment of the Sámi people. As an indigenous people, the Sámi people were living in their territories before the establishment of nationstates and national borders. A major part of the reason for the establishment of the Sámediggi is that, as a minority, the Sámi do not have a voice in ordinary elective bodies based on majoritarian democracy. The Sámediggi was established to correct this, and to give Sami a common voice.

The Sámediggi is an elected representative assembly for the Sami in Norway, with 39 representatives chosen by direct elections every four years. The Plenary Session is the Sámediggi's highest authority and conducts its activities within the framework of the Sámi Act. The Plenary Session sets the parliament's agenda and ground rules for all other activities.

The Sámediggi is governed by the parliamentary principle under which the sitting and executive Sámediggi Council bases its activities on the trust of the majority in the Plenary Session. The Sámediggi Council functions as the Sámediggi's government and is responsible for the parliament's daily political activities.

The Subsidy Board is responsible for the Sámediggi's funding and grant programmes. The Board manages the Sámi Development Fund and Sámi Culture Fund.

The Sámi Parliaments in Sweden and Finland

The Sámi Parliament in Sweden was established in 1993 and is mainly a state administrative agency under the Swedish government. Consequently, the Swedish Sámi Parliament has limited power to operate independently, but nevertheless gives the Sámi the opportunity to discuss important matters. In Sweden, the status of the Sámi is not enshrined in the constitution as it is in Norway and Finland.

In Finland, the Sámi Parliament is not an authority under the government or a part of public administration and is therefore more independent than the Sámi Parliament in Sweden. The Finnish constitution gives the Sámi, as an indigenous people, the right to preserve and develop their language and culture, and self-determination in language and cultural matters within an administrative area covering part of Northern Finland. Cultural self-determination is restricted by Finland's Sámi Parliament Act. Finnish authorities are required to negotiate with the Sámi Parliament on matters concerning the Sámis' status as an indigenous people or certain social sectors in the Sámi administrative area.

fishing, but the work of a woman does not give any rights and never has. Neither is she entitled to take over the rights of her husband if he should die. In such cases the family loses all its rights to income from fishing, even though it is the woman who through her work makes it possible for her husband to work on the fishing vessel. A fisherman's wife is expected to be independent, function as the man's "ground personnel" and look after the children and the home.

The fisheries are highly male-dominated, with few women actively involved in fishing or in the fishery organisations and suchlike. The normal view is that it is men who are fishermen and it is a male profession. Men become educated and achieve positions, for example in fisheries administration, which give them possibilities for influencing the decision-making

processes. Men have also obtained positions in the fisheries organisations either because they have worked as fishermen from their own boats or because their parents (fathers) own boats or their own businesses.

In the last ten years things have changed, with women gradually achieving similar positions. Women can now be found in the fisheries organisations, the Ministry of Fisheries and the Fisheries Directorate. I also know several female politicians who are working with fisheries policy. The media also carry a number of fisheries-related features involving women. There are women who fish, and in my district there is a woman who owns her own fishing smack.

In my experience, greater professional demands are made of me as a woman than would be of a man,

and it is also easier to attack my viewpoints and opinions. If I make a controversial political decision, it seems it is easier to attack me as a female politician than if I had been a male politician. I rarely experience support for the work I do and for the decisions I make in official forums or through the media. What support I get comes through conversations with others, often in private, and I think this would have been different if I had been a man. However, worst of all is the silence. After all, if people disagree with you, it should be possible to discuss things, but when they simply keep quiet, then the door is literally closed.”

A Sámi woman and fisheries politician

“I have made a point of wearing my traditional Sámi knitted jacket when representing the Sámi Parliament. The jacket makes me conspicuous and makes it easier for me to draw attention to the Sámi Parliament and our policies. I have experienced being ridiculed and overlooked. You become sidelined in a political discussion when somebody suddenly makes admiring comments on your silver brooch, your Sámi jacket or your appearance. These are tactics calculated to ensure domination!

I think it was very helpful that a woman was responsible for fisheries policy in the Sámi Parliament’s development phase. In those days a woman involved in fisheries policy was very conspicuous, and this also made it easier to draw attention to the Sámi Parliament’s fisheries policy. It’s hard to say whether the Sámi Parliament would have had a different fisheries policy if a man had been responsible for this field. I have followed policies that people have wanted. For me it has been important to have advisers from the coastal Sámi districts and I have listened to the coastal inhabitants. It is possible that a man would have asserted his own points of view more than I have done.

I imagine also that as a woman I was less of a threat to the established powers and decision-making structures in the fisheries administration. In the beginning it was important to introduce the Sámi Parliament and make it conspicuous as a participant in fisheries policy and fisheries administration. Officially it is very difficult to gain support for the Sámi Parliament’s fisheries policy among the central authorities and fisheries organisations. On the other

hand, unofficially I gained a great deal of sympathy from people throughout the system, because I spoke out for the fjord fishermen.

Nowadays things are different however. The Sámi Parliament is established and has been in operation for some time and we have developed our own fisheries policy – and we are on the right track. Most people, including the authorities, have accepted that the Sámi live not only in inland regions where they carry on reindeer husbandry, but also on the coast. The culture of the coastal Sámi is associated with the coast and the fjord fisheries. What is most difficult now is to get support for the policies of the Sámi Parliament, both as regards fisheries policy and our demands for fishing rights. It is difficult to obtain sympathy for the view that the Sámi areas are different and that policy must therefore be different in these areas from in society as a whole. In Norwegian politics, everything must be equal and everybody must be the same. It’s all about figures and quantities, and equality is defined as fair distribution. Even though we have a long way to go before we gain recognition and respect for our policies, nevertheless we are noticing a change. The fact that the Sámi Parliament is invited to take part in conferences and suchlike, and that we are criticised if we do not attend, shows that the Sámi Parliament is accepted as a partner in fisheries policy and fisheries administration. We are entitled to give our opinion!”

Sámi fisheries policy

Fisheries policy is one of the areas where there is greatest political agreement in the Sámi Parliament. Fisheries policy was placed on the agenda from the foundation of the Sámi Parliament in 1989. We developed our own fisheries policy early in the 1990s, in which we proposed a special Sámi fisheries zone, among other things. At that time we were completely muzzled by the authorities and were subjected to strong resistance in the media. As a result we changed our strategy. The policy was developed by working with the problems existing in the Sámi coastal and fjord regions. In the 1990s the Sámi Parliament handled a number of fisheries policy issues, made various statements and arranged hearings in connection with parliamentary white papers, and so on. The problems experienced by our small coastal and fjord communities are not met with sympathy by the decision makers in the south. Because

the viewpoints of our regions are not heard, the people of the Sámi coastal areas have turned to the Sámi Parliament in the hope that it will be able to remedy the situation and speak out for them. The policies of the Sámi Parliament are often seen as being in conflict with the policies of the central government. Paradoxically enough the idea of a special fisheries policy zone has now re-emerged, fifteen years later.

The Sámi Parliament pursues a fisheries policy that supports the principle that the fjord fisherman shall continue to be able to make a living from fishing. To achieve this, the infrastructure associated with the fisherman and his boat must be present. We need the fish reception facilities, the local shop, the nursery school, the elementary school, and so on. If the small local communities are to survive, women must settle in them. Women require a different infrastructure from men; workplaces, nursery schools, schools and shops are important if women are to settle in Sámi districts. Vital local communities are the ones in which people of all ages live. We also need to ensure recruitment to the fishing profession. At present recruitment is poor and I believe this is the result of the regulations of the fisheries administration. Without recruitment to the profession, fjord fishing will die out completely as a source of income. The foundation for recruitment is young girls and boys. The arrangement whereby young people take part in summer fishing is important for future recruitment. By means of this arrangement, young people are given the opportunity to try out fishing and discover that it can be financially worthwhile.

The Sámi Parliament is working for the acknowledgement of the rights of the Sámi people, not only to land and land-based resources, but also to fishing and other maritime resources. Fishing quotas are important, but State policy is that the smallest units are uneconomical. In my opinion it is precisely these that are the most profitable. They do not involve large loans and capital-intensive fishing equipment. At the same time they contribute to activities on land in the coastal and fjord regions. The fjord fisherman has a responsibility for the local community also, since the fisherman lives there. Rights and quotas are the key words!

Equal opportunities, fisheries and rights

“There are quite simply too many men in the Sámi Parliament, and the equal opportunities perspective

is not easily perceived in the Parliament and in our policies. In this field we have not done a good enough job! In our fisheries policy we have thought traditionally and stuck to the idea that it is men who hold the fishing rights. The Sámi Parliament has not considered the coastal Sámi women's situation in connection with fisheries policy. We have not considered the demands of the coastal Sámi women or taken care of their rights. Our fisheries policy has an indigenous peoples perspective, but not an equal opportunities perspective. It is difficult to gain support for the interests of indigenous peoples with regard to fishing, since this requires us to think untraditionally. The authorities are of the opinion that by paying consideration to the indigenous people, one is not satisfying the principle of fairness for all. Also in the field of equal opportunities it is necessary to think untraditionally, but the same notion of fair treatment for all arises here too.

Taking into account both the indigenous people and equal opportunities becomes mutually exclusive, and both perspectives are in the minority in the places where decisions are made.

The fisheries policy for the Arctic regions must take care of the indigenous peoples' perspective and the rights of those people. In this work we must place special emphasis on women and their situation. If these questions are not taken seriously with the adoption of policies that take care of the needs and the situation of women, the Arctic regions will become depopulated. Women must be given the possibility of achieving equality in all industries. We are entirely dependent upon women remaining in Sámi communities if the Sámi regions are to have any future. It is therefore important to connect women and fisheries. The coastal women have demonstrated on several occasions in order to draw attention to their situation. The Sámi Parliament is elected by the people and works accordingly. In my opinion an elected body such as the Sámi Parliament cannot participate in such demonstrations. I would prefer to get involved and participate in such demonstrations through the Sámi organisations and political parties.

I believe alliances with the women's organisations and other bodies would be helpful in promoting these issues better. We need allies both at the regional level and in the northern regions in general. At the regional level the collaborative agreements with the county administrations are extremely important. Contacts and collaboration at the international level are also important to improve the impact of common issues. We women are better than men when it comes

to dialogue and co-operation. It is also important that we provide documentation of women's rights and their participation in fisheries-related activities. For example we could have made better use of women's research, which considers different aspects and views the communities from a perspective of women and equal opportunities.

The Sámi Parliament is not represented in the places where the decisions are made – and therein lies the problem. The Sámi Parliament is represented in the Regulatory Council, but this is only an advisory body, in which we unfortunately attain too little support for our proposals. The forums in which the decisions are made are very much closed to the public and the opportunities for wielding influence are meagre. This means that the policy becomes biased, among other things with regard to local communities in which women must also live if these communities are to survive.”

My goal

“I want it to continue to be possible to live in the small coastal communities here in the north. My chil-

dren must choose to live here because it is attractive to do so! To achieve this we need a radical change in the national policy for our regions. There are now many of us who are frustrated because we experience the southward migration at close quarters. We need to promote the idea that it is attractive to live in areas where most of what you need is within easy reach and individuals must be involved in defining the content of “the good life”!

We need to market “the good life” to young people and women in the small coastal communities of the north. Others have defined what “the good life” is, and how it is lived – but according to their definition “the good life” is not what we are experiencing here!

In this day and age far too much focus is placed on urban communities, both as regards promotion and financial aid. In my experience, our quality of life here in the north is very high. We live a modern life in a modern society. We are close to the people around us, both young and old, and to the countryside that surrounds us, and that is what gives us our quality of life.”

Appendixes:

Greenland:

The gender distribution among the boards, the managers and the owners in active corporations in Greenland, with authorisations to fish in Greenlandic waters.

Company	Address	Board		Directors		Owners, >5% of company capital	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Royal Greenland A/S	Nuuk	GrL. Home Rule 100%					
Polar Torsk ApS	Nuuk					2	0
Niisa Trawl ApS	Nuuk	3	0	1	0	1	0
Gaia Fish A/S	Nuuk	4	0	1	0	*	*
Imartuneq Trawl A/S	Nuuk	6	0	1	0	6	0
Ilulissat Trawl A/S	Nuuk	4	0	1	0	4	0
Polar Seafood A/S	Nuuk	6	0	1	0	2	0
Qajaq Trawl A/S	Nuuk	3	0	1	0	2	1
Ice Trawl Greenland A/S	Nuuk	7	0	1	0	*	*
Sikuaq Trawl Nuuk ApS	Nuuk	2	1	1	0	3	1
Polar Scallop Nuuk ApS	Nuuk	0	1	0	1	0	1
Brdr. Lyberth A/S	Maniitsoq	3	0	1	0	3	0
Sermersuut Seafood A/S	Maniitsoq	5	0	1	0	7	0
Qaasiut Trawl A/S	Maniitsoq	3	0	1	0	*	0
Angunnguaq A/S	Sisimiut	4	0	1	0	*	0
Nanoq Trawl A/S	Sisimiut	6	1	1	0	3	0
Lings Trawl Sisimiut ApS	Sisimiut	2	1	1	0	3	0
Lennert og Sønner ApS	Sisimiut	3	1	1	0	*	0
Ole Olsen & Sønner A/S	Qaqortoq	4	0	1	0	3	0
Qaqqarsuaq ApS	Narsaq	5	0	1	0	7	0
Tuttutooq ApS	Narsaq	5	0	1	0	3	1
TRO ApS	Narsaq	3	0	1	0	3	0
Tiggaq ApS	Ilulissat	3	0	0	1	2	0
Isortaq Trawl ApS	Ilulissat	2	1	0	1	2	0
Piniartog Trawl ApS	Ilulissat	4	1	0	1	3	0
Sermeq Trawl ApS	Ilulissat	3	0	1	0	2	0
Uivfaq Trawl ApS	Qeqertars.	4	0	1	0	3	0
Disko Line & Trawl ApS	Qeqertars.	4	0	1	0	8	0
Akumiut Trawl ApS	Qasigiann.	In	liquidation				
Savik ApS	Qasigiann.	5	0	1	0	*	0
Killiat ApS	Kangaats.	5	0	1	0	6	0
Jakob Heilmann II A/S	Nuuk	3	0	1	0	2	0
Knud Egede ApS	Nuuk	3	0	1	0	3	0
Ulloriaq I/S	Nuuk	RG	RG	RG	RG	*	0
Arctic Fish A/S	Ilulissat	5	0	1	0	4	0
Tunitsivik Paamiut A/S	Paamiut	2	1	1	0	*2	0
Saattuaq A/S	Qeqertars.	5	0	1	0	*2	0
Polar Suluppaagaq A/S	Nuuk	5	0	1	0	*2	0
E.H. Lennert ApS	Sisimiut	*	0	1	0	2	0

Appendix: Methods Swedish Case Study

The focus of the Swedish case study was chosen to be the family, and women's presence in the sea and coastal fisheries as family businesses. This focus includes two components: the family itself and the official view of the relation between the family and the business. Both are basis for women's participation in fishery management, as the expected role of women is inscribed in documents as well as the praxis of authorities regulating and managing fisheries. As an extra plus, this project design adds the possibility to compare women's situation in the Norrbotten coastal and sea fishery with that in another primary production sector of importance in Norrbotten and Arctic Sweden, namely reindeer herding. The family, family business structures and their roles in the public management of reindeer herding has been the base for much analysis of gender and women's situation in reindeer herding.

Interviews and document analysis were used for the investigation. The interviews were semi-structured. The main part of the interviews was carried out during March-April 2004. As women are seldom heard in the official and public debates on fishery the investigation of their position was judged as exploratory at this stage, and personal interviews were considered necessary, to give room for the development of a common discursive space. It was set as target that women from different household types would be interviewed. For the interviews, two women were approached via different channels, and both accepted being interviewed. In May 2004, telephone interviews were carried out with Norrbotten's sea and coastal fishers registered as license owners in April 2004. The total number was 63. Six out of these live and fish in the mountain regions, thus 57 made the applicable population. An introductory letter was sent out two weeks before the interviews started. In a random manner, half of the applicable population was chosen to be contacted for interviews. Out of the chosen population, two did not want to be interviewed, and eight could not be reached on the telephone numbers registered by The National Fishery Board during the investigation time (three weeks). Thus 18 fishers were interviewed, that is one third of the fishing license owners. The average age of the 18 interviewees was 51 years. Some of the questions gave an overview over the fishery companies in the selection. The aim of the interviews, however, was to investigate how common the family-based participation of women in the fisheries of the Norrbotten coast is today. Interviews, consultations and meetings with public servants at local, regional and national levels have also been carried out in person and by telephone.

