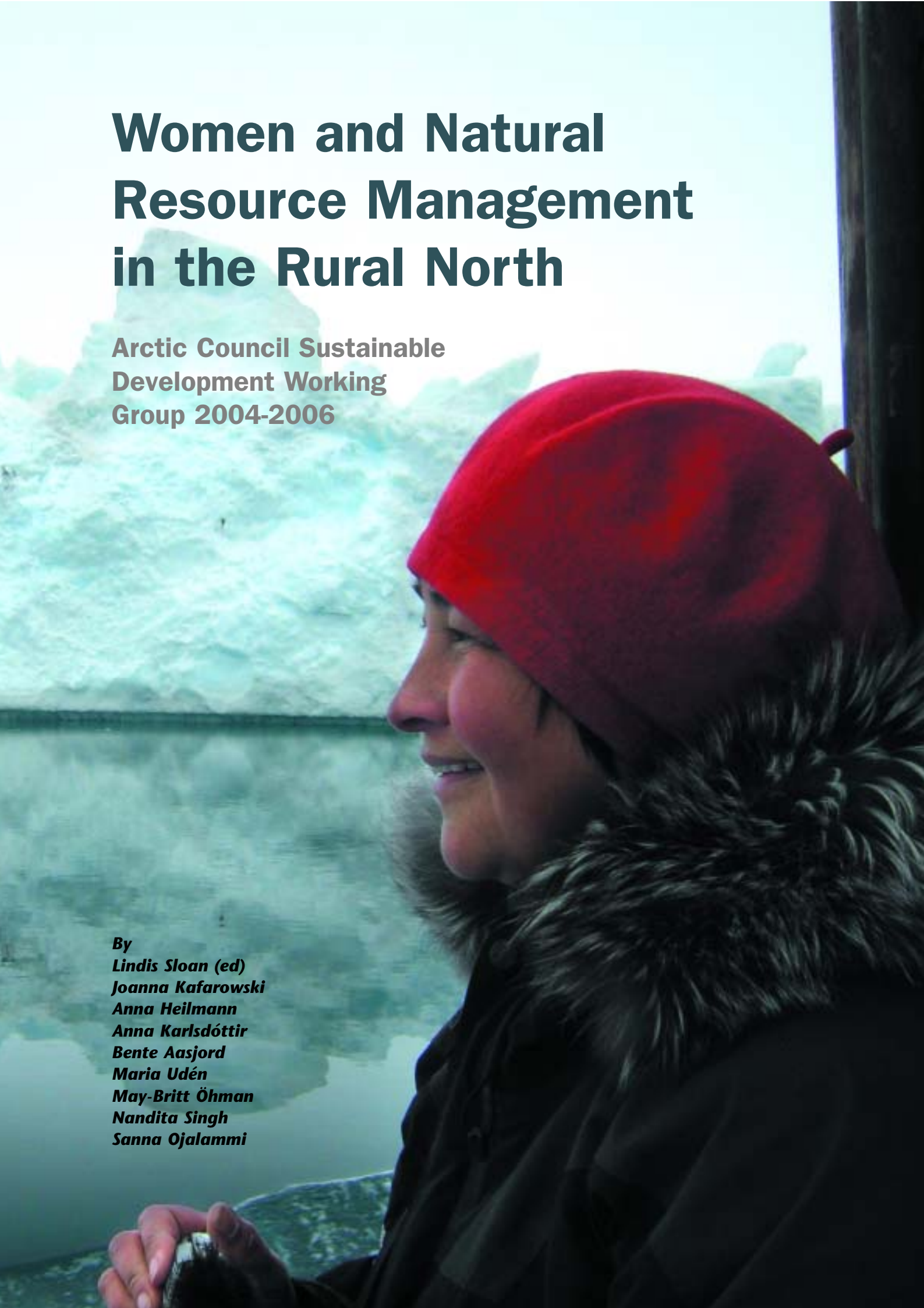
Women and Natural Resource Management in the Rural North

Arctic Council Sustainable Development Working Group 2004-2006



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Preface

"Women and Natural Resource Management in the Rural North" is a continuation of the 2003-2004 Arctic Council SDWG project "Women's participation in decision-making processes in Arctic fisheries resource management", which presented its report to the Ministers in Reykjavik.

The "Women and Natural Resource Management in the Rural North" project gives an account of women's relationship with several resource-based industries and industrial developments in the Arctic Region, with field-work reports from Canada, Greenland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden amd Finland. The national projects include such diverse topics as the Canadian Hunters and Trappers organisations, Greenlandic mines, fisheries and the plans for a new aluminium plant in Iceland, the Norwegian oil and gas developments in the Barents Sea, hydropower in Sweden, and Finnish forestry. Women directly involved in the industries are interviewed, as are women living in areas where daily life is affected by the developments.

The *Sustainable Development Framework Document*, adopted by the 2002 Barrow Ministerial meeting, identifies six special importance subject areas under the heading of sustainable development, two of which are "Sustainable economic activities and increasing community prosperity" and the "Management of natural, including living, resources". Analysing natural resource-based industries in the Arctic in terms of women's participation in these sectors covers both these points.

Developing prosperous and resilient local communities depends on achieving social sustainability, including economic activities in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. A common feature in the rural North is that women tend to have higher levels of education than men, and may also find it harder to find challenging work in the communities they wish to reside. Increasing the awareness of the very male-dominated resource-based industries of the fact that they may be missing out on possible well-qualified local employees may serve to increase the number of local residents (men and women) employed by these industries. Adopting measures to encourage local residents to seek qualifications for such positions also seems to be a little considered possibility.

The management of natural resources, including living resources, is a task well suited to Arctic residents, women and men. Closeness to the resources and an understanding of the local conditions based on proximity through generations, when added to understanding brought by training and access to positions of power, can give a resource management system that is sustainable in that stakeholders are actively involved.

October 2006

Lindis Sloan
Project Co-ordinator

Concluding remarks from the project work group and international steering committee

Arctic, natural resource-based industries involve the use of scarce natural resources of high economic and strategic importance. Traditionally, women's roles have tended to be analysed in terms of family or local society. We hereby argue that women's participation in resource-based industries should be analysed in their regional, national and geopolitical contexts, taking into account the security dimension. Finally we want to suggest that the Sutainable Development Working Group (SDWG) of the Arctic Council should request that all its future projects be required to integrate and demonstrate gender-based analysis in its project proposals and that each partner demonstrate how this will be accomplished.

SELECTED RECOMMENDATIONS:

- Decision-makers, administrators and companies engaged in natural resource-based industries in the North should take note of their own stated aims to achieve gender equality, and increase their efforts to achieve gender equality in their activities.
- This includes evaluating stated policies and legal measurements, taking into account how recruitment practices, company cultures, local culture and educational strategies combine to affect these efforts.
- Gender-disaggregated and comparable statistics should be compiled, reflecting employment, decision-making and effects on local communities. These statistics should be comprehensive and reflect development over time. Such a statistics base will also serve to emphasise the contributions Arctic residents, women and men, are making to the economy.

A human security perspective – by Gunhild Hoogensen

Gender, Natural Resources and the North – The traditional language of security has been actively employed in the North for decades. Security in the North has focused on issues of power, resource exploitation and territory. Global climate change is already altering the Northern landscape, and allowing for increased transport and greater access to untapped resources, particularly fossil fuels (which in turn has significant and large impacts on the fisheries, agriculture, reindeer herding, etc). Moreover, the burning of this fuel to satisfy global energy demands, will further accelerate climate change. Consequently, oil and gas plays an increasing role in security debates by both increasing sought-after revenues for Arctic states, and also providing for a reduced dependency upon Middle Eastern sources. Such traditional security interests, however, do not always meet the security needs of people living in Northern communities. As such, a human security perspective can shed light on the security needs of those who are usually not considered when assessing the nature of security in the North.

Rooted at the level of the individual, human security claims to represent securities from the bottom-up. In other words, human security ideally represents those securities that are not heard at the dominant or state/elite level through traditional security. It allows for a recognition of marginalized and "invisible" groups – those who do not have the power to make their voices heard.

Making the marginalized visible and recognizing "security from below" has been the focus of gender international relations studies. By endeavouring to understand security from the position of the individual, human security inevitably opens up the definition of security to a variety of perspectives from below. Feminist approaches argue for a reconceptualization of security based on the in/securities of civilian society, the marginalized, and the depoliticised. In addition, feminist investigations have been far more explicit in exposing the power relations between the marginalized and the dominant. Thus, security from below is not merely an examination of what security needs are expressed at the individual level, but it is also an examination of how the insecurities from below are often a result of the maintenance of security from above. Elite and/or state security creates and perpetuates insecurities on the margins. Security is linked to power relations, and feminist insights expose the power relations between above and below, between dominant and non-dominant.

These power relations of dominance and non-dominance may or may not lead to direct, violent conflict, but they do point to recurring vulnerabilities. The relations between dominance and non-dominance are not meant as reified categories, but as fluid relations that are dependent upon one another.

A gender informed human security perspective identifies securities of non-dominance by allowing us to look inside, through, and beyond the state to see relationships of dominance and non-dominance. A securities analysis through positions of non-dominance reveals the relationships among people, and through these relationships, to who is most vulnerable in which context. Local insecurities developed through relations of dominance and non-dominance can and do spill over into the international realm, crossing borders, resisting and rejecting the claims of the state that these insecurities are state business.

One additional and important feature of this approach also needs to be mentioned. In addition to giving space to marginalized, unheard voices, a gender-based human security approach also recognizes the importance of "positive security" – the ability individuals and communities have to produce and maintain their own security. As such, the way to understand human security in the North is: *human security is achieved*

when individuals and communities have the freedom to identify risks and threats to their well-being and the capacity to determine ways to end, mitigate or adapt to those risks and threats (Bazely, Christensen and Hoogensen, 2006).

Communities in the North dependent upon, and living with, natural resources have learned to adapt and thrive in an uncertain, harsh environment. Presently, change is occurring in the Arctic at an unprecedented rate, placing great pressure on local peoples' capacity to cope. This change is caused both by natural and human (particularly political and economic) sources. The impacts upon human security are profound, through impacts on the health of the environment, the supply of traditional foods, community health, local culture and traditions, economic opportunities, and political stability.

A human security perspective opens the door to voices that have been ignored and marginalized through gender stereotypes and sexualization, and colonialization, among others. This approach asks elites, or those in power making decisions that affect local communities: "What are we not hearing? How much are our actions and questions driven by what we see and do not see?" This perspective exposes control, not just between men and women and the respective roles they have been allotted in the exploitation/management of natural resources, but also between men and men (indigenous or not indigenous – when are indigenous men "good enough" to assume leadership roles of non-indigenous men), and likewise between women of different groups and cultures.

As resources become scarce, the North becomes ever more strategic, particularly in the area of energy security. When so-called "high politics" enters this region (as it already has), the likelihood that the voices of communities, the needs of women and men, will become further marginalized in favour of the competition between globalized firms for the resources of the North, and the "needs" of powerful nations (for example – "environmental security" in the United States includes the constant supply of energy resources for its security needs, both militarily as well as for maintaining a particular lifestyle). Decisions about Northern resources are made in non-Northern locations (the "capitals"), and are most often influenced by these non-Northern pressures (big business, powerful states, economic and military interests).

Northern communities are best empowered when they have the capabilities to manage and determine their own fates. This requires a certain transfer of power from elites to local communities to increase their capabilities, and thereby, in concert with decision makers at all levels, increase their human security.

Women and Natural Resource Management in the Rural North

By Lindis Sloan, project coordinator

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT:

The Arctic Human Development Report (AHDR) states that the Arctic today features most of the concerns about gender that have arisen in more mainstream societies. At the same time, the Arctic has given rise to a number of issues relating to gender roles that are specific to the region. As is repeatedly mentioned in public policy documents, the continued rural settlements in the North depend on the gender balance in the local communities. Women are often the first to move to more central areas in search of education and work, if they do not return then the future of these communities is threatened. Since these communities are often resource-based, it becomes vital to see how women are included or not in these sectors, this is part of ensuring sustainable economic and socio-cultural development in the northern areas.

THE "WOMEN AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN THE RURAL NORTH" PROJECT OBJECTIVES ARE:

- To describe, systematise and compare the roles of women in natural resource management in Arctic areas, with particular attention to decision-making positions.
- To develop tools and strategies that can be used to promote participatory values and practices.
- To promote international cooperation on gender equality in natural resource management.

PROJECT INITIATION:

Gender equality and the rights of indigenous peoples, transparency and participatory practices are emphasised as a prerequisite for sustainable development in international agreements and declarations concerning sustainable resource management, (e.g. Agenda 21, Rio Declaration, the Arctic Council Declarations, the Beijing Platform of Action, ILO Conventions).

The Arctic Council "Taking Wing" conference on gender equality and women in the Arctic (August 3rd-6th, 2002) made several recommendations built on the assumption that work to improve the overall situation, well-being and health of women in the Arctic will improve overall well-being in the individual member states and the Arctic region as a whole. The conference declaration recommended "…a project to analyse and document the involvement and role of women and indigenous peoples in natural resource management in the Arctic". The "Women's participation in decision-making processes in Arctic fisheries resource management" project was then established at the initiative of the Northern Feminist University and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and resulted in the report presented at the Ministerial in November 2004.

"Women and Resource Management in the Rural North" is a continuation of this first project, where the scope is broadened to include other natural resources. In keeping with the initial project, women and gender equality are again the focus of attention. National projects in Canada, Greenland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland take different natural resource sectors as their case in point.

PROJECT WORK:

The project has presented progress reports to the SDWG at the Khanty-Mansiysk, Salekhard and Moscow meetings in the project period, and this final report is presented to the Arctic Council Ministerial meeting in Salekhard in October 2006.

The work has been comparative and process oriented, with a focus on network

Project coordinator Lindis Sloan at the March 2006 Salekhard SDWG workshop and meeting. Photo: Tor-Egil Lindeberg.

building and best practice exchange, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodology has been used. Workshops were held in Norway in November 2005, in Greenland in June 2006 and in Denmark in September 2006. The purpose of the workshops has been to ensure close cooperation between the national project leaders, steering committee members and the local communities that take part in the project.

Official statistics and previous research work already available has been used as a base for the project work, which has focused on field studies in natural resource-based rural areas and interviews with women and men from the communities in question. Where relevant, national chapters also carry a section on natural resource management in the country, with a brief overview of the decision-making bodies and participation in these.

POWER AND DISCOURSE:
When analysing gender relations in natural resource industries and management, a wide understanding of power is necessary. Power is a matter of position, participation and influence, but also language, terms and references and public presentations may be expressions of power relations.

The 2004 fisheries project found that the industry's male-dominated image not only served to render the women actually working there invisible, it also made it more difficult for women to choose this as a professional career. A discourse limits what can be said, how, by whom, where and with what authority. Here we see that a dominant masculine discourse actively closes women out and can also marginalise those who challenge the stated terms.

THE NORTH:
Generally in working across the borders in the North, we find some common problems.

The countries that have territory in the Arctic have a central administration, generally in the south, and are marked by this. This influences political leadership, infrastructure, access to employment and education and much more. Relating to a power base in the south means that a periphery attitude affects the north, in most countries it seems the southern residents have little interest in or knowledge of the northern parts of their own country. To them, the north seems more exotic than familiar or relevant in any way.

In the fisheries project, we found that the northern women in fisheries expressed joy and surprise that there were others "like them", who lived the same problems they did and understood their lives from a peer position. They are used to seeing themselves through the eyes of southern countrymen (and women), where the mythology of the North may completely disguise what the northerners see as their reality. There is a discourse of misery that is prevalent, painting a picture of the northern settlements as overly resource-dependent, marked by social impoverishment, and closing down of schools and industry. This depressing image is actually made even more depressing when the gender aspects are factored in.

GENDER:

Chapter 11 of the Arctic Human Development Report (AHDR 2004) states that the Arctic today is home to most of the gender questions we find in the Western world, but that there are also questions that are specific to the region. Public policies and administration keep repeating that continued rural settlement depends on "keeping" the women there, that women have higher educational levels and move south in search of jobs, whereas the men stay behind. The small rural societies, it is implied, are in danger should these young women not choose to return.

This view tends to focus on women in a reproductive role, and fails to take into account other contributions women (and men) can make in their local communities, especially in light of their capacities, education and training. Since these societies tend to have a resource-related economic base, women's roles and participation in those sectors become very important as a field of study, as this will impact directly on the socioeconomic development of the north.

WOMEN IN COASTAL SOCIETIES:

In the initial project, we found that in many cases, women are actually ensuring viability in small-scale fisheries, subsidising the industry directly by unpaid work (in fisheries and processing, particularly in family-run companies) and indirectly by holding wage labour which in some cases paid for or supported her husband's activities. Some women's salaries meant they stood responsible for loans their self-employed husbands were not eligible for, or she paid for his ammunition and petrol. In addition, the woman was often mainly in charge of the house, household economy and fixed expenses. This picture is familiar from studies of women as "shore crew" in coastal fisheries.

What is striking is how strongly the women emphasise that this is their own choice, that they do this with their eyes open, after conscious deliberation of their choices and what they see as values. In Greenland, the wives of the small-scale fishermen emphasised that though there was little monetary gain in their husbands' activities, they were in no way pointless. For one thing, they gained access to valued foodstuffs, Greenlandic marine delicacies. In addition, they valued the freedom implicit in the fishermen's lives, both for their husbands' well-being and for themselves – several of them said that they liked to go fishing as crew for their men when their own jobs allowed it. In Norway, too, we find coastal fishermen who mention the freedom of being their own bosses and the fact that they enjoy working at sea in their own boats. This is a very different image of the small-scale fisherman's work day than what is usually presented in the media, something which was also emphasised by the fisheries report informants. They do not recognise themselves in the misery discourse of the fisheries.

Nuuk sunset. Photo Carsten Olsen.

Multitasking and working several jobs is common, you get the economic wheels turning by having several work relations and through your own projects. To some degree this is made possible by the social structure of the rural settlements, and is part of what the informants see as attractive about rural life, quality of life. For the women with higher education who are interviewed, choosing a more "traditional" family-centred life may also be presented as a untraditional choice that they have to defend to representatives of more "modern" urban societies.

A GENDER PERSPECTIVE ON NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT:

For the resource-based industries, decision-making tends to happen in corporative arenas, in formalised meeting- and negotiating forums between the authorities (government and public administration) and interested parties from civil society (industry, organisations etc). These are often closed arenas with limited access and representation, and legitimate access is granted to "concerned parties", stakeholders, also narrowly defined. Industry representatives, bureaucrats and (technical) experts tend to be included in limiting decision-making and policy-making.

The groups and organisations that are involved in such processes in the natural resource management sector tend to be male dominated, or represented by men. Other "stakeholders" who could be included are local residents, possibly represented by local level politicians, but they are often not invited to the negotiating tables. Environmentalist organisations could also conceivably be consulted, as could other companies and industries that operate in the same geographical areas. Offshore oil and gas activities and fisheries, hydropower or forestry and reindeer herding, tourism and megaprojects in remote areas (see the Swedish and Icelandic reports in this volume) – these are only some examples of industries that may be affected by each other's activities. Should more wide-spread consultations be implemented?

By defining ”stakeholders” in such a way, a broader and more holistic perspective could be used, and a common arena would be created which could lead to new possibilities for cooperation and new developments. Furthermore, the stated aim of involving more women would be more easily be fulfilled, as the most commonly used excuse in the natural resource-based industries is that “there are no qualified women” there. By expanding representation, you will more easily find women who are well qualified to take part, as local politics, the environmental movement and the tourism industry are actually fairly female-dominated arenas.

The goal of this project and report work has been to give an informative, vivid and interesting picture of women's roles in natural resource-based industries in the North. In doing so, we accept a research ethical responsibility beyond the purely academic. The project report aims to be comparative and cross-sectional, which in itself is difficult, in addition there are several interests that needs must be balanced. We are talking about local societies with very differing resource bases and life worlds; ethnicity is a factor in some settings and not in others etc. In addition, the national projects have different financing sources, some of which have made their own claims on the report work and aims.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:
The project coordinator would like to thank the project partners, Joanna Kafarowski, Anna Heilmann, Anna Karlsdóttir, Bente Aasjord and Maria Udén for four years of inspiring cooperation and hard work. We are very happy to welcome new work group members May-Britt Öhmann and Sanna Ojalammi, whose articles in this report represent work they have done and are hoping to do in the future.

As head of the International Steering Committee for the project, Gunhild Hoogensen at the University of Tromsø has been a great inspiration. Lene Kielsen Holm from the Inuit Circumpolar Counsil (formerly Inuit Circumpolar Conference) and Marita Rasmussen from the Faroese house of Industry have been a never-ending source of good suggestions, contacts and guts, taking time out of very busy schedules to work with us. Nanditha Singh from the Swedish Royal Institute of Technology was unfortunately prevented from participating in our workshops, but has contributed an article on women and the Water Framework Directive in North Sweden.

LITERATURE:

”Arctic Human Development Report” 2004: *http://www.svs.is/AHDR/AHDR%20chapters/Chapters%20PDF.htm*

Olje- og Energidepartementet (OED) 2003: “Konsekvensutredning Samfunn, Pettroleumsaktivitet i Lofoten og Barentshavet”

Sloan et al 2004: “Women's participation in Decision-Making Processes in Arctic Fisheries Resource Management” *http://portal.sdwg.org*

Project summaries

The "Women and Natural Resource Management in the Rural North" project gives an account for women's relationship with several resource-based industries and industrial developments in the Arctic Region, with fieldwork reports from Canada, Greenland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland. The national projects include such diverse topics as the Canadian Hunters and Trappers organisations, Greenlandic mines, fisheries and the plans for a new Aluminium plant in Iceland, the Norwegian oil and gas developments in the Barents Sea, hydropower in Sweden and forestry in Finland. Women directly involved in the industries are interviewed, as are women living in areas where daily life is affected by the developments.

The **Canadian** project by Joanna Kafarowski is the only one that is a direct continuation of the efforts from the women's participation in decision-making processes in Arctic fisheries resource management project. Phase one of the project identified the Hunters and Trappers Organisations in Nunavut as holding dual agency in that board members may also be elected to sit on co-management boards at the territorial level and so participate in establishing policy while also ensuring that national and territorial policies are implemented at the community level. The second phase has further focused on gender representation within these HTOs, with fieldwork conducted in several sites in Nunavut.

Kafarowski finds that the invisibility of Inuit women in environmental decision- and policymaking processes at the territorial level as it pertains to wildlife management can be traced to the gender imbalance that exists on community hunters and trapers boards. Ongoing environmental and political change in the Canadian Arctic, she states, requires that all individuals – women and men, elders and youth – participate actively and equally in these processes and that their perspectives and contributions are valued.

In the **Greenlandic** case study, Anna Heilmann finds that the emerging mineral extraction industry and non-living resource management system in Greenland is almost entirely male-dominated, and that the Danish dominance is also almost total. Does "Greenlandization" of the sector then become more important than ensuring gender balance, than making this an attractive sector for Greenlandic women to seek employment in? Taking the Seqi mine near Maniitsoq as her primary example, she interviews administrative and political leaders to get their views on the present and future of Greenland's mineral resource sector. This question becomes even more topical in light of the large interest in Greenland's geological surveys, with a view to finding not only mineral resources, but also possible petroleum fields. What effects will possible oil and gas revenues have on Greenland's relationship with Denmark, for instance? And how will Greenlandic women and men stand to benefit?

In **Iceland**, Anna Karlsdóttir has had a double focus. On the one hand, she has followed up the work from phase one of the international project, presenting the results of a survey carried out by the Ministry of Fisheries on women's access to power and decision-making in the major fisheries corporations in Iceland.

She then moved on to the planned aluminium plant in East Iceland, and looked at how women in traditional industries such as fisheries and agriculture are impacted by the megaproject. How do women influence resource development in their own communities? She has found that they tend to distance themselves from the development, because they feel powerless to influence the development of their own communities.

In **Norway**, the oil industry has played a major role in national development since the first oil was found in the North Sea in the 1970s. Now the Barents Sea and the coasts of the three northernmost counties are being

surveyed or developed, with the Snow White gas field and Melkøya off Hammerfest as the first installations. How will the LNG and possible oil extraction impact local societies and economy? In line with the projects overall focus, Bente Aasjord has looked at women's representation in the oil industry, in the administrative and political decision-making bodies. She finds that the industry are more than willing to employ women and in fact bemoan the difficulties in finding qualified staff, male or female, but seem to have made little concentrated efforts to encourage potential future workers. As the average age of their staff is getting higher, they may face a crisis in the coming years unless targeted recruitment efforts are made.

The **Swedish** case underscores how one and the same natural resource, a river, may serve diverse purposes, and how location affects what use people see in one and the same resource.

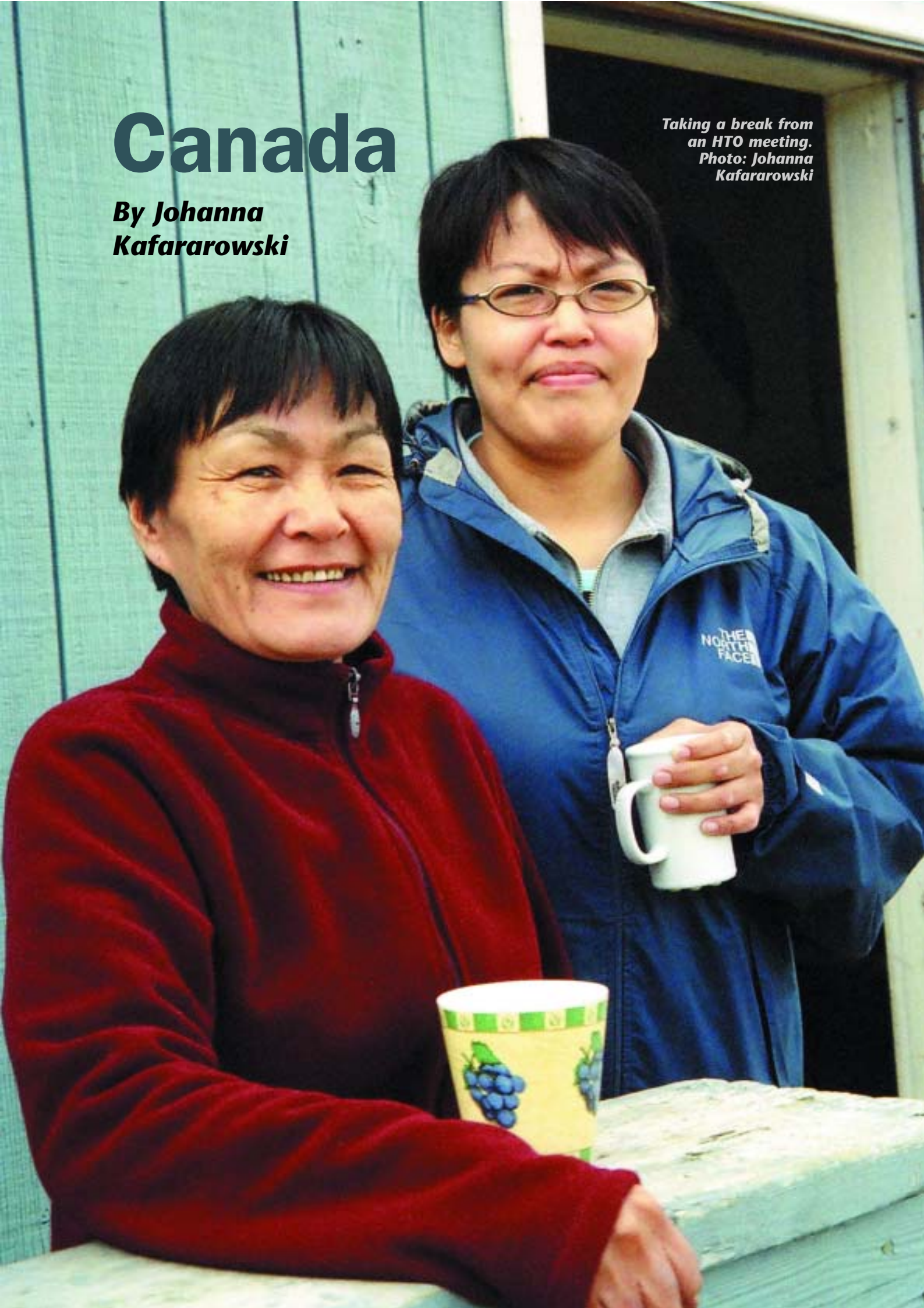
To the local population, the Lule River has, among other evident purposes, traditionally provided infrastructure for communications. For the Swedish nation, the river's potential as an energy source became a building block in reaching a competitive position as industrialized nation. A nation, that is, in which the Lule River region has remained "remote" and is often discarded as uninhabited.

The study here presented shows that after a century of sequential steps of exploitation, the effects of hydropower exploitation are still evident in the local population's experiences. Women's lives, as much as men's, are affected by the choices made, something which May-Britt Öhman's research shows a vivid example of. Thus, decade after decade, the conflicts created when the different views on the river's fate collided, are not yet solved, even though this is sometimes postulated by Swedish officials. When the exploitation started in the early 20th century, the Swedish society was strictly patriarchal. Though this has changed, and gender equality is accepted as norm, it is not obvious that women's role in shaping the future's energy systems is significantly stronger today.

The **Finnish** case is from the Nellim village in Inari in Northern Finland, as studied by Sanna Ojalammi. The conflict between local use of landscape and that of the forestry companies' caused a conflict that has been taken both to the UN and to Finnish courts. The ethnic aspect is present here, in that the grounds' use for reindeer herding and the valuable lichen the reindeer feed on are under threat from the logging activities. Ojalammi has interviewed local women about their experience of the conflict, and paints a picture of how industrial development may actually threaten a village's social sustainability.

Canada

By Johanna Kafararowski



Taking a break from an HTO meeting. Photo: Johanna Kafararowski

Gender, Decision-making and Co-Management in Arctic Fisheries and Wildlife

By Joanna Kafarowski, Canadian Circumpolar Institute

MANAGING NATURAL RESOURCES IN THE CANADIAN NORTH

Historically, Arctic Inuit communities in Canada have been structured around a subsistence economy based on hunting and gathering. A deep respect for the environment underpinned the complex relationship that existed between the Inuit, the land, the water, and all living creatures. Based on generations of observing and learning from the land and elders, traditional knowledge1 guided the Inuit in their decisions about how many whales to harvest, when the Arctic char would be running and where to find the caribou herd. As such, traditional knowledge was possessed by women and men equally. In the latter half of the twentieth century, the federal and territorial governments in Canada imposed a formalized system of natural resource management (a term rejected by many Indigenous peoples). In the 1980s and '90s, hunters and trappers organizations were created in the North as a means of engaging and involving the community in wildlife decisions. In Nunavut, these organizations are referred to as Hunters and Trappers Organizations (HTOs) and are based in all communities.

Working in co-operation with government representatives, members of Hunters and Trappers Organizations are influenced by traditional knowledge and Western science. Despite the fact that Inuit women are actively engaged in fishing and hunting both directly and indirectly, they are largely absent from the boards of these hunters and trappers groups. Although most literature readily acknowledges that Indigenous women's and men's roles and responsibilities in the community vary, the fact that these roles engender different knowledge(s) and that women's and men's traditional knowledge is distinct and complementary, is not. Women's and men's unique experience and understanding of their world is, instead, conflated into one traditional knowledge system- a knowledge system that too often privileges the male perspective. This results in critical natural resource decisions and policies that are made without the substantive input of women.

This project is the second phase of an international initiative in gender, decision-making and natural resources in the Arctic. In Canada, Phase One of the project identified that local Inuit Hunters and Trappers Organizations hold dual agency in that board members may also be elected to sit on co-management boards at the territorial level and so participate in establishing policy while also ensuring that national and territorial policies are implemented at the community level. The second phase of this project focused on gender representation within these HTOs. Fieldwork was conducted in Cambridge Bay and Chesterfield Inlet, Nunavut. An ongoing partnership with Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association and Status of Women Canada enabled further fieldwork to be conducted in Whale Cove, Rankin Inlet, Pangnirtung and Iqaluit, Nunavut.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HARVESTING ACTIVITIES IN NUNAVUT

As is reflected across the circumpolar north, Nunavut residents regularly engage in traditional harvesting activities including hunting, fishing, gathering berries and wild plants and trapping although trapping is not as significant as other activities. Says one Cambridge Bay resident: "We don't really trap. Really only the elders do to support themselves. We work during the week at jobs and hunt on weekends. We don't have the time to trap".

Lake fishing in Cambridge Bay - photo by D Anderson.

TABLE 1: COMPARISON OF NUNAVUT RESIDENTS INVOLVED IN HARVESTING ACTIVITIES

Characteristics	Cambridge Bay	Chesterfield Inlet	Nunavut
% of adults who hunted in the past 12 months	52	63	58
% of adults who hunted for food	97	92	98
% of adults who fished in the past 12 months	72	79	67
% of adults who fished for food	94	87	94
% of adults who gathered wild plants (berries, sweet grass, etc.)	15	79	51
% of those who gathered wild plants for food	90	87	91
% of adults who trapped in the past 12 months	x	x	9

From: Statistics Canada 2001, Aboriginal Peoples Survey.
(http://www12.statcan.ca/english/profil01aps/statistics.cfm).
x= suppressed to meet confidentiality requirements of the Statistics Act.

As outlined in Table 1, in 2001, 58% of adults surveyed in Nunavut had hunted in the past 12 months and 98% of those who hunted, did so for sustenance purposes. An equally high percentage of adults collected sweet grass, berries and other wild foods. Ninety four percent of adults surveyed fished for food. This level of activity is comparable to other territories in the region according to Table 2.

TABLE 2: COMPARISON OF INDIGENOUS RESIDENTS INVOLVED IN TRADITIONAL ACTIVITIES

Characteristics	Nunavik	Nunavut	Northwest Territories	Yukon Territory
% of adults who hunted in the past 12 months	70	58	43	42
% of adults who hunted for food	98	98	95	95
% of adults who fished in the past 12 months	74	67	53	54
% of adults who fished for food	98	94	93	87
% of adults who gathered wild plants (berries, sweet grass, etc.)	64	51	33	52
% of those who gathered wild plants for food	96	91	92	86
% of adults who trapped in the past 12 months	26	9	8	8

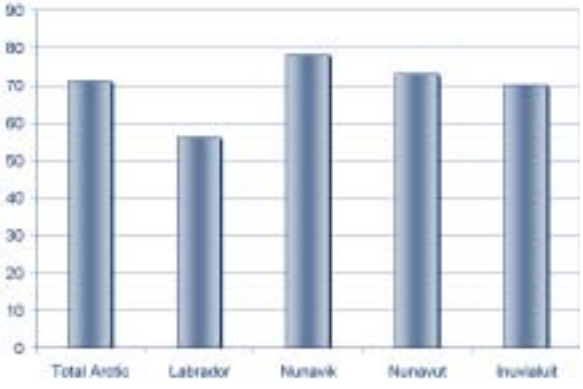
From: Statistics Canada 2001, Aboriginal Peoples Survey. *(http://www12.statcan.ca/english/profil01aps/statistics.cfm)*.

Woman fisher drying char and caribou - photo by J Kafarowski.

The rate of consumption of country foods in Nunavut remains high. According to Furgal et al. (1999): "Country food consumption varies seasonally, annually, regionally and with an individual's access to a regional centre, funds to purchase harvesting equipment and supplies and their exposure or access to others that are regular harvesters" (p. 4). According to Figure 1, 72% of Inuit households in Nunavut reported that at least half of the meat and fish they consumed regularly were in the form of country foods. This rate of consumption was the second highest of any Arctic region in Canada. Apart from their nutritional value, country foods also provide important socio-cultural benefits including:

- Contributes to physical fitness and good health
- Is a favorite outdoor recreation activity
- Provides people with healthy food
- Keeps people "in tune with" nature
- Favours sharing in the community
- Builds one's pride and confidence
- Is an essential part of culture
- Provides skills in survival

FIGURE 1: PERCENTAGE OF INUIT HOUSEHOLDS CONSUMING MEAT AND FISH AS COUNTRY FOODS, BY REGION



Source: Harvesting and Community Well-being among Inuit in the Canadian Arctic: Preliminary Findings from the 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic. Statistics Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.

THE ROLES OF WOMEN AND MEN IN HARVESTING

While the literature on gender status in hunter/gatherer societies remains divided regarding issues including the centrality of gender within these societies and assumptions about the relationship between hunting and gender, in Nunavut, the roles of men and women in hunting have not changed dramatically over the last several decades. In the early to mid twentieth century, gender roles in traditional activities were clearly delineated. "In the camps, women also sewed the clothing and the tents that kept their families warm and dry and there appeared to be a mutual respect for the contributions that both men and women made to the family's survival" stated one woman participating in this study.

In the Inuit communities of Nunavut, men are *primarily* although not *exclusively* responsible for various tasks at different stages of hunting including preparing firearms, loading the **kamotik**, shooting, and butchering. Women are *primarily* although not *exclusively* responsible for tasks including purchasing and preparing the food, bedding and shelter, caring for the family, setting up the shelter and preparing meals. Table 3 highlights the gendered distribution of hunting responsibilities. According to participants in this study, in the past, these tasks were often the *exclusive* domain of men or women and there was little sharing of responsibilities. Today, only some tasks (i.e. care of guns and the maintenance of skidoos and other heavy equipment for the men and preparation of food and collection of bedding and clothing for the women) are *usually* the exclusive domain of one or the other.

In comparison to previous generations, women and men in Cambridge Bay and Chesterfield Inlet state that they work together on the majority of tasks related to hunting and fishing and that these tasks are complementary.

Butchering caribou on Victoria Island - photo by D Anderson.

TABLE 3: HARVESTING RESPONSIBILITIES IN NUNAVUT

Hunting activities	**Men**	**Women**	**Both**
Activities prior to hunting	Purchase ammunition	Purchase food supplies	Choose destination
	Prepare guns	Prepare food	
	Prepare skidoo	Prepare bedding and household supplies	
	Pack **kamotik**		
	Maintain heavy equipment		
Activities prior to hunting (in camp)	Set up stove, lantern	Set up tent and bedding platform	
		Make tea Prepare meals	
		Care of children	
Activities during hunting	Shoot the gun	Fish	Hunt gamefowl, caribou
	Hunt seal Hunt whale	Berry picking and other wild food gathering	
Activities following hunting	Skin, eviscerate	Pluck geese	Cut up meat
		Prepare the meat	Distribute meat in community

Clearly, men's and women's roles overlap as is evident during the caribou hunt:

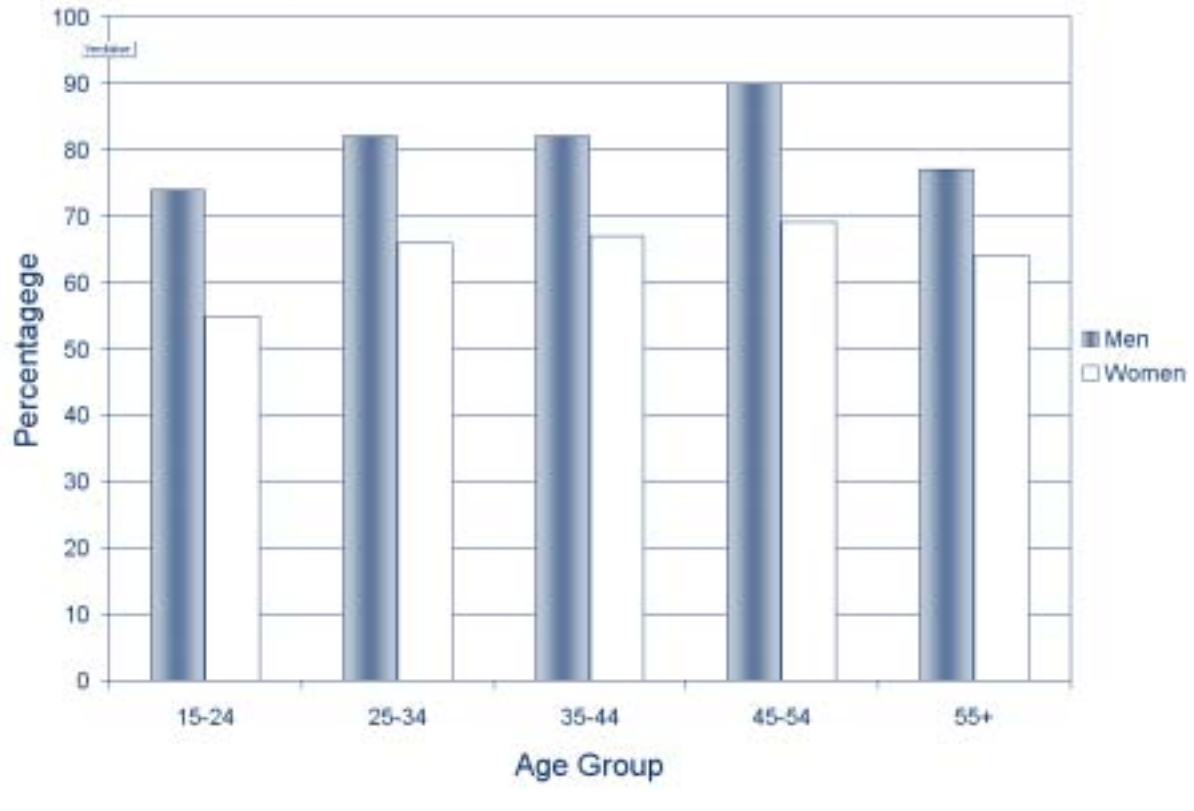
> *The caribou harvest includes hunting, butchering, preparing and cooking caribou meat as well as all of the traditions that surround these activities. Each activity flows into the next and may be either carried out by one person or handed from one person to another. In any case, people like to work together to share in the important task of harvesting caribou for their communities.*
>
> (Thorpe et al., 2002, p. 52).

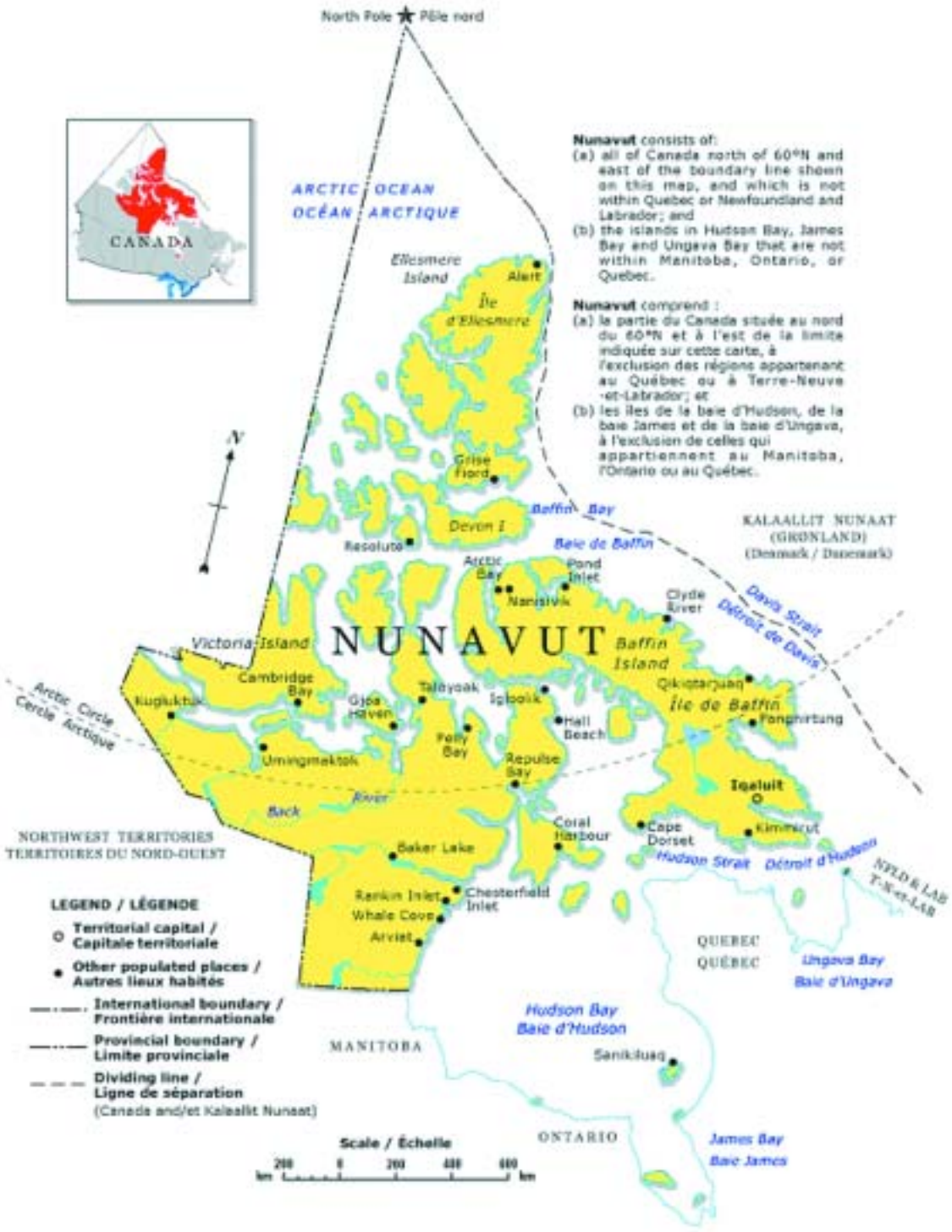
The high participation rate of both men and women in harvesting activities in Nunavut is mirrored across Canada as is reflected in Figure 2.

Source: Statistics Canada, Ottawa, Ontario. Harvesting and community well-being among Inuit in the Canadian Arctic: Preliminary findings from the 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic.

In Nunavut, the term "hunter" is equated with tasks related to firearms – namely, maintaining guns, loading them and shooting animals and gamefowl. These jobs were carried out much more frequently by men in this study. Although many women in this study did handle guns and shoot, some women evinced some discomfort about admitting to this and feared the opinion of others. However, it was clear that hunting is understood by women and men to be a complex process involving interdependent and complementary tasks in which both men and women are involved rather than a series of distinct activities.

FIGURE 2: INUIT HARVESTING COUNTRY FOOD BY AGE AND SEX IN THE CANADIAN ARCTIC





Source: Natual Resources, Canada. www.atlas.g.ca 2006.

Presentation of preliminary project results. Photo by J. Kafarowski.

Hunters and Trappers Organizations in Nunavut

Following the 1993 Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA), twenty-seven Hunters and Trappers Organizations (HTOs) and three Regional Wildlife Organizations (RWOs) were formed in Nunavut. The functions of these HTOs are outlined according to section 5.7.3. of the NLCA:

a) The regulation of harvesting practices and techniques among members, including the use of non-quota limitations
b) The allocation and enforcement of community basic needs levels and adjusted basic needs levels among members;
c) The assignment to non-members, with or without valuable consideration and conditions, of any portion of community basic needs levels and adjusted basic needs levels; and generally, the management of harvesting among members.

Each community established its own Hunters and Trappers Organization to which members are elected. HTOs are primarily responsible for managing local wildlife issues and allocating quotas at the community level while RWOs carry out similar tasks at the regional level. Both bodies are also responsible for implementing and enforcing relevant policies developed by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, Environment Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada and other federal government departments. The board of RWOs is comprised of representatives from community HTOs. Each of the Regional Wildlife Organizations appoints one member to the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board which is the co-management board made up of appointees from the territorial and federal governments and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami.[4] The Nunavut Wildlife Management Board has extensive discretionary

"Us young guys, we ask our elders what to do. Most of us do what our elders say to us and find out opinions of other people. You gotta be right there with the people."
Chesterfield Inlet board member

powers related to the management and protection of wildlife and wildlife habitat and the direction of wildlife research.

In Cambridge Bay and Chesterfield Inlet, members of the board indicate that the HTO is one of the most significant wildlife organizations in the community and that they work extensively with other wildlife-related government departments. According to board members in these communities, the main responsibilities of HTOs are to:

- Represent members of the community
- Set quotas
- Guide and maintain sports-hunting camps
- Regulate community wildlife issues
- Purchase equipment
- Help members access their rights under the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement
- Work with government
- Deliver programs for other agencies

GENDER REPRESENTATION IN HUNTERS AND TRAPPERS ORGANIZATIONS

As outlined in Kafarowski (2004), the boards of Hunters and Trappers Organizations in Nunavut are dominated by men. In the Kivalliq region (the location of the first study site- Chesterfield Inlet), only 18% of board members were women in 2002 and this increased slightly to 20% in 2005. In the Kitikmeot region (the location of the second study site- Cambridge Bay), only 5% of HTO board members were women between 2002-2005. Additionally, only one woman sits on the board of the three Regional Wildlife Organizations combined. A particularly low percentage of women is represented at the board level of the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board. The maximum number of female members of the board of the NWMB in any one given term from the Board's inception in 1994 until 2005 has been two.

"It's important that women sit on the board because there are ladies who go out hunting to provide for their families too. Women can contribute and help to voice concerns. There are women out there that are intelligent. They should make radio announcements and invite us in. We don't bite!"
Cambridge Bay community resident

In a (1995) UN Report by the Secretary-General on women and the environment, it was noted that in most natural resource management groups in developed countries: "the usual inequality of power existed, i.e. the pyramidal structure, with women under-represented in the top managerial positions despite the constant rhetoric praising women as natural conservationists more connected than men to an ethic of caring for the earth and more affected by unfriendly environmental actions"
(UN, 1995: 285).

Few significant differences exist between board members in Cambridge Bay and Chesterfield Inlet. All Cambridge Bay board members are over the age of 40, are employed in the community and are not active in other organizations. In Chesterfield Inlet, most board members are over the age of 50 with some being retired and some are still employed in the community. Most are not active with other groups. Board members of both sexes initially joined the HTO board because they want to learn more about wildlife and want to assist the community. States one member in Chesterfield Inlet: "There was a vacant spot and I am interested in what the HTO is doing so I wanted to work for the community concerning wildlife issues". Others follow a specific agenda such as wishing to gain assistance in acquiring equipment or finding a job as a guide.

The Legend of Sedna

Sedna was a beautiful young woman who lived with her father. She was very vain and had no intention of marrying just any man who came along. One day, her father said to her, “Sedna, we will soon have nothing left to eat. You need a husband to take care of you. You must marry the next hunter who asks for your hand”. But Sedna ignored her father. She just kept brushing her hair and admiring herself in the water.

Not long afterwards, a hunter arrived. He was dressed elegantly in furs but his face was hidden. Sedna’s father said to the man, “If you are looking for a woman to marry, I have a beautiful daughter. Sedna reluctantly got into the man’s kayak. Soon they came to an island. Sedna looked around. The hunter stood before Sedna and pulled down his hood letting out an evil laugh. Her husband was a raven in disguise!

Sedna screamed and tried to run away but the bird trapped her on a ledge of a cliff. Sedna’s new home was a few tufts of animal hair and feathers strewn about on the cold, hard rock. For food, she had only raw fish brought by her raven husband.

From a distant shore, her father heard Sedna’s cries. He paddled for days through the icy waters to try and rescue her. On seeing her father, Sedna hugged him and scrambled into the kayak. They paddled away as fast as they could. Then, Sedna saw the black raven approaching. It hurled itself at the kayak, flapping his wings and whipping up a violent storm.

Sedna fell into the sea. She struggled desperately trying to climb into the kayak, gripping the sides of the kayak with her fingers. Her frozen fingers broke off and fell into the sea turning into seals, whales and other marine mammals. Sedna could struggle no more and sank back into the ocean.

But Sedna did not perish. She became the goddess of the sea and lives at the bottom of the ocean. However, she is still filled with anguish and rage at what happened to her and it is her anger which churns up the raging waters and causes storms. Hunters of marine mammals have great respect for her.

Reasons for Gender Imbalance in Hunters and Trappers Organizations

Hunters and Trappers Organizations are perceived primarily as groups for experienced hunters and this is not a woman's traditional role in Inuit society. Stated one Chesterfield Inlet board member: "Us Inuit always had men as our leaders and they had more knowledge but ladies and men should be more equal. Physically, we are weaker but through knowledge, we are now equal". Staff in some fisheries-related organizations in Nunavut recognize that hunters and trappers groups are often conservative, patriarchal organizations.

It is likely that more men sit on these boards because their skills as hunters and trappers are recognized and validated by the community. In most communities in Nunavut including Cambridge Bay and Chesterfield Inlet, many men hunt and the majority of women fish. Despite the fact that Hunters and Trappers Organizations are mandated to manage all wildlife (including fish), higher status is accorded to males who hunt rather than women who fish. This higher status, in part, contributes to the greater number of male members at the board level of these organizations.

Males, more than females, retain their position on the board for many years and there is no restriction on the number of years any one board member may serve. This may result in a board membership that is reluctant to relinquish its power by admitting new members (including women) with innovative ideas. Many HTO board members are male elders recognized as experienced hunters and trappers. While the wisdom represented by elders is undoubtedly beneficial, it may also intimidate younger people and deter them from applying to the board. Organizational representatives report that although some women are outspoken and have no difficulty participating openly in public meetings, many women would be inhibited by groups in which the majority of those present are male elders.

Although remuneration is provided for board members, there is no reimbursement specifically for child or elder care costs that may be incurred as a result of board meetings. This is another barrier to women who often are not able to make the significant time commitment required of full-time board members. States an organizational representative:

Most younger women in the communities have 9-5 jobs in the community and so don't have the time. There are definitely more women than men in full-time government jobs there. It's hard when you work full-time and have a family too.

One challenge in many smaller communities is that there is often a restricted pool of individuals who join committees. This is particularly the case with dynamic women who do manage to combine working full-time outside the home with family and community commitments. Women are also mindful of the informal controls that exist in most remote northern communities regarding sitting on too many boards. Only a certain number of board/committee positions offering an honoraria exist in any one community and women are sensitive to the perception that "you are taking a job away from someone else if you sit on too many boards." Also, women appear likelier to sit on boards pertaining to health and education and other fields stereotypically associated with women, than those related to natural resources and wildlife management.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN AS BOARD MEMBERS

Community residents in Nunavut indicate that board experience is valuable for all individuals and would provide an excellent

opportunity for young women and men to learn about wildlife management. Establishing and managing harvesting quotas, dealing with conflicts over resource use, and addressing the bureaucratic details of wildlife management are skills acquired as a board member.

> *We should encourage young people because we can't live forever, our end could come at any time. There should be someone who could carry it on if we pass it on to them.*
>
> Nunavut resident

However, most HTOs do not allow any youth members to join the board although youth are able to attend meetings. Most Hunters and Trappers Organizations impose an age limit of 18 years for board members that relates directly to the age required to obtain a license to hunt.

Organizational representatives report that increasing the diversity of the board membership through involving more women and young people has a positive impact on board effectiveness. The boards of Hunters and Trappers Organizations that are comprised of a combination of elders, experienced hunters/trappers/fishers and business people (including women) are often the most effective. This diversity ensures that a wide spectrum of opinions and experience is represented and that all aspects of an issue are argued. Both community and organizational representatives emphasize that the presence of women on the board only improves the efficiency of Hunters and Trappers Organizations.

> *Women have different views and opinions about HTO issues than men. Women can offer a new way of looking at things and a fresher perspective. They think differently than men. Women show they have to have a say when it comes to HTO stuff. I think the current board in Cambridge Bay is quite successful and they have lots of women on the board so it is important.*
>
> Cambridge Bay community resident

Participants in this study stated that female board members of hunters and trappers groups bring different issues to the table than male members. While recognizing and engaging in discussions regarding economic and environmental aspects of managing wildlife, women also raised questions about fostering traditional skills in youth; food (in)security and initiating related socio-cultural activities that focused on the family. Female board members embraced a more holistic concept of hunting and fishing than was evident amongst many male members. In particular, both female and male board members emphasized that women had strong communication and financial skills. As many board members point out, board meetings are long and drawn-out and that if women were running the meetings, the meetings would be concluded much earlier with all the work done. Certainly, Hunters and Trappers Organizations are charged with much work to oversee and administer in the community but many women assert that:

Women get right down to the point and are very efficient while men talk forever. Women are more conscious of time and they need to manage time the wisest. They need to find the most efficient way of doing this. They will try newer ways of doing things to be efficient while men use tried and true ways.

Board members in Cambridge Bay and Chesterfield Inlet supported involving more women at the board level. One male Chesterfield Inlet HTO board member stressed that equality was the cornerstone of the home he was raised in:

This is how I have been taught. You have to make it work good. It has to be equal. My granny told me you have to be 50-50 no mat-

ter what. Everything is equal – if it isn't, nothing will work. Ladies are getting more involved now. We have been trying to tell women to get into these organizations. They go hunting with us and they are more talkative and make more sense and share ideas to talk about.

STRATEGIES TOWARDS ATTAINING GENDER BALANCE ON HTO BOARDS

1. Community groups working together

In partnership with this Arctic Council project, Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association of Canada has conducted extensive research into engaging more women in decision-making roles in Arctic fisheries and wildlife management. Informal and formal partnerships have been forged as a result of interviews and community presentations related to this research and the gender and decision-making in Arctic fisheries and wildlife issue now has a more elevated profile in certain communities in Nunavut. The continuing support of relevant territorial and national government departments is necessary to promote the objectives of this project but local women's groups may also exert influence over HTO board members and the community residents who elect them. Representatives from Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) took part in the community presentations and their support would also help to encourage more Inuit women to join HTO boards. NTI has recently initiated the "Women's Roles in Harvesting" program which provides funding for women wishing to launch small-scale projects related to harvesting activities. These connections between Pauktuutit, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, local women's groups and Hunters and Trappers Organizations should be fostered.

"If women do join and are prepared to take on a decision-making role, they are often not given the opportunity to do so or they are offered the job of secretary or treasurer, tasks which are not regarded as being as important or as influential. Some women do not take up positions of chairperson or president because they lack confidence and they are often made to feel they have nothing of value to contribute… In addition to these barriers, women have a limited time to participate because of family, domestic and community work, which is traditionally undertaken by women, as well as paid employment commitments"

(Brasell-Jones, 1998, p. 6).

Individuals within these groups must ensure that the gender and decision-making issue maintains its relevance within the community. Representatives of these groups can speak about the issue on local radio and at HTO/RWO board meetings and other local residents can be engaged in discussions. Representatives should also assume an active role in nominating women for election and for encouraging women who have an interest in joining the Hunters and Trappers Organizations.

2. HTO boards committed to involving more women

Through giving permission for research to be conducted in their own communities and interviews to be carried out with their board members, the HTO boards in Cambridge Bay and Chesterfield Inlet indicated their support for involving more women as HTO board members. Although many board members were enthusiastic in supporting women, it was clear that other board members were not. Additionally, some community residents stated that HTO board members were not welcoming of new female board members and that the HTO office had a "boys club" atmosphere. It is unlikely that HTO board members in Cambridge Bay and Chesterfield Inlet on their own would initiate strategies directed at recruiting more women. However, if Pauktuutit representatives made presentations at HTO meetings and other community representatives continued to support this issue, it is likely that the HTO boards would be supportive.

3. Broadening the mandate of the HTOs

Currently, HTO boards focus on regulating

quotas, assigning licences, monitoring wildlife infractions and allocating new machinery - all areas traditionally dealt with by men. Yet, as Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated determined prior to launching the "Women's Roles in Harvesting" program, hunting and fishing also involves preparing clothes for the hunter, planning activities for the family and ensuring that traditional knowledge related to harvesting is maintained – all areas usually addressed by women. In order for more women to feel welcome on HTO boards and to feel that there is a role for them, the HTO mandate must be broadened to recognize and validate these other harvesting activities.

4. Involving youth members
As identified earlier, youth are not currently able to join HTO boards and even though HTO meetings are open to the public, youth rarely attend. Yet, participation in the meetings is an excellent opportunity for young women and men to learn about current wildlife issues in their own community and to benefit from the experience and wisdom of older board members. It enables them to become involved in decision-making processes and to work with government representatives, thereby preparing them for further education and employment in the natural resources management field. Several board members raised the possibility of creating a joint seat on the board for an elder/youth partnership.

Conclusion

Gender imbalance on the boards of Hunters and Trappers Organizations at the community, regional, and territorial levels in the Canadian Arctic may result in poor wildlife management decisions that are not reflective of the diverse perspectives represented in the community. As has been outlined, individuals work within a local organization then progress to the regional and territorial levels (if they so desire), gaining greater experience in wildlife decision-making at each stage. Board members at the territorial level are then highly knowledgeable and capable of engaging actively

Woman coordinating youth activity about the role of the HTOs. Photo: J. Kafarowski.

in making decisions- and making policies. The invisibility of Inuit women in environmental decision and policy-making processes at the territorial level as it pertains to wildlife management, can be traced to the gender imbalance that exists on community hunters and trappers boards. Ongoing environmental and political change in the Canadian Arctic requires that all individuals – women and men, elders and youth – participate actively and equally in these processes and that their perspectives and contributions are valued.

ENDNOTES

[1] Also referred to as Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) or local knowledge. See Thorpe, Hakongak, Eyegetok and the Kitikmeot Elders.

[2] In Nunavut, these organizations are the Qikiqtaani Inuit Association, Kivalliq Inuit Association and Kitikmeot Inuit Association.

[3] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association, and Inuit Circumpolar Conference (Canada) are the three major national Inuit organizations in Canada.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Territorial/Local

- That NTI, Pauktuutit and HTOs work together to broaden the mandate of HTOs to include traditional women's work related to harvesting
- That HTO boards provide mentoring opportunities to allow youth members and elders to work together
- That HTOs in Nunavut establish a sub-committee for women to increase opportunities for women's participation in decision-making and to establish a policy committed to working towards gender parity on their board
- That the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board and Regional Wildlife Organizations establish policies to work towards a chieving gender parity on their boards

National

- That Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association be formally recognized by the Canadian government as a Designated Inuit Organization with secured ongoing capital funding
- That opportunities for establishing a network of local, regional, territorial and national women's organizations in the Canadian North be initiated (similar to Femina Borealis in Scandinavia)

International

- That government bodies at all levels support community-based initiatives increasing the representation of women in decision-making roles in fisheries and wildlife
- That the Sustainable Development Working Group request that all future projects be required to integrate and demonstrate gender-based analysis (using guidelines such as those developed by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada) in its project proposals and that each partner demonstrate how it will be accomplished

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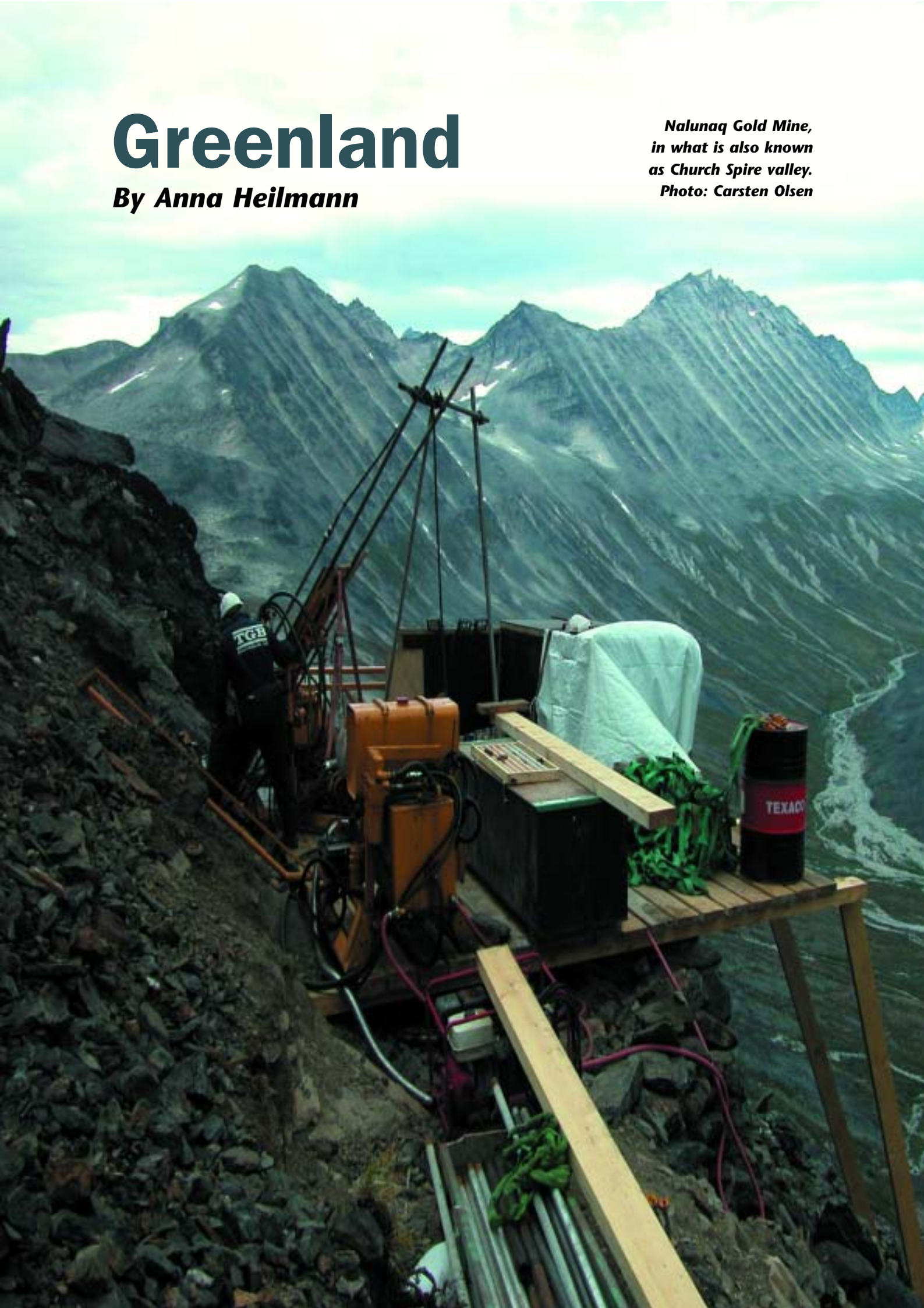
Greenland

By Anna Heilmann



Nalunaq Gold Mine, in what is also known as Church Spire valley. Photo: Carsten Olsen

The missing gender equality status debate in Greenland

Photo: Greenland Resources A/S

Greenland is a former colony to Denmark. Greenland gained Home Rule 1st of May 1979. In the following the administration of mineral exploitation will be described, where "Den fastboende befolkning i Grønland har grundlæggende rettigheder til Grønlands natur-givning ressourcer" [The population living in Greenland have fundamental rights to the natural resources of Greenland", own translation] but where the administration regarding mineral exploitation is a complex decision making process, and where the state of Denmark and the Greenlandic Home Rule have got mutual decision-making competence and a mutual veto.

About 55% of the Greenlandic Home Rule income in 2005 came from the block grants *"naalagaaffimmiit"* from the state of Denmark. As of 1st of January 2006, 11% of the inhabitants of Greenland were born outside Greenland, that is mainly so-called *"tikisitat"* or "summoned" workers. The summoned workers are mainly Danish, highly educated, and called to fill positions where there is no local labour. At the same time, national unemployment was 7,2% in the first quarter of 2006[1]. These numbers are a result of the very low educational level in Greenland.

Female students outnumber males in the educational system. 53,5% of the students who has started a qualifying education, has been women[2]. In the further and higher educations 57,1% of the students are women and 42,9% men.

[1] *Data from Statistics Greenland at www.statGreen.gl*
[2] *Statistics Greenland (2004:1): Uddannelse.*

The administration of the mineral resources as a case

By Anna Heilmann

The administration of the extractive mineral resource sector is a good example of why a debate about gender equality is so difficult to start in a formerly colonized country such as Greenland, with an indigenous population, where the Danish state still claims sovereignty over the underground resources of Greenland.

In an interview presented later in this chapter, Jørgen Wæver Johansen, Minister of Housing, Infrastructure, Minerals and Petroleum, when asked whether gender equality or Greenlandization is most important in relation to the policy on mineral exploitation in Greenland, replied that it is "Naturally, Greenlandization, in any way necessary". Jørgen Wæver Johansen is former Minister of gender equality and held the post when the law on gender equality was made, so actually it is one of the most gender equality-minded ministers who states the above.

This prioritizing can be seen in every aspect of politics in Greenland.

CASE: THE SEQI OLIVINE MINE, 2005

The Swedish company Minelco AB has taken over all the stocks in the Greenlandic mineral company Seqi Olivine A/S, and the entrepreneurial company MT Højgaard & Schultz are responsible for running of the mine. Olivine is used for turning iron ore into iron and steal. One of the main buyers of the olivine is the mother company of Minelco, LKAB, which is the main producer of iron ore in the world.

The olivine mine was opened in August 2005 close to Maniitsoq. The production in the mine had not properly started up at the summer 2006, the infrastructure was still being established. The municipality of Maniitsoq expects a lot from the mine and used the picture of the first shipment of the test production in December 2005 as their Christmas greeting card of 2005 and as a front page of the municipality year book for 2005.

In June 2006 there were 45-50 persons working in the mine. The work force mainly

Seqi Olivine Mine. Photo: Daniel Heilmann.

Seqi mine staff in the dining hall.
Photo: Daniel Heilmann.

consists of local people from Maniitsoq. Minelco has four employees, including 2 laboratory technicians (Swedish women) and a geologist. As to running of the worker camp, a Greenlandic company from Maniitsoq has the responsibility of the catering and cleaning, employing 10 Greenlanders. 5 of these are women[1].

A so-called follow-up meeting in Maniitsoq was held 23rd and 24th of August 2006, with focus on the labour market and the educational aspects at the olivine mine. Participating in the meeting were Minister of Housing, Infrastructure and Minerals and Petroleum Mr Jørgen Wæver Johansen, Minister of Industry, Agriculture and Labour Mr Siverth K. Heilmann, Mayor of the municipality of Maniitsoq Søren Lyberth, Executive manager in Seqi Olivine A/S Robert Näslund, officials from the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum and other public and private interested parties.

The list of the participants of the meeting showed 48 names and/or titles of the public and private interested parties. The list showed the name of one woman. It was the Greenlandic executive manager in the Working Environment Authority.

The rest of the female participants at the meeting were not named on the list, but included the administrator of the catering company, 2 members of the municipality board (there are 3 women in the municipality board, which consists of 11 members) and the representatives of the municipality office, from the office of business and labour.

DEFINITIONS OF "LOCAL LABOUR"

Statistics Greenland, in cooperation with the municipality of Maniitsoq, have made statistics of the age distribution amongst the personnel at MT Højgaard[2]. During a presentation about "Present and future recruitment needs at the mine", where numbers of employees and their municipality affiliation was presented, I asked whether there are gender distribution statistics available, and what is being done to make the mine/camp attractive for women. There are no statistics regarding the gender distribution, but in a paper from the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum about "The Seqi olivine mine"[3], it is mentioned that all of the 29 MT Højgaard employees were male. A point was made of just how difficult it is just to hire and maintain Greenlandic labour. This is a very central problem in the whole of Greenland when it comes to skilled positions.

[1] *Information from the female Greenlandic coowner/administrator for the catering company in Maniitsoq.*
[2] *Greenlandic Home Rule, The Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum (july 2006): "Olivin-minen Seqi". A presentation to the follow-up meeting in Maniitsoq with focus on the labour market and the educational aspects at the olivine mine.*
[3] *Greenlandic Home Rule, The Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum (july 2006): "Olivin-minen Seqi". A presentation to the follow-up meeting in Maniitsoq with focus on the labour market and the educational aspects at the olivine mine.*

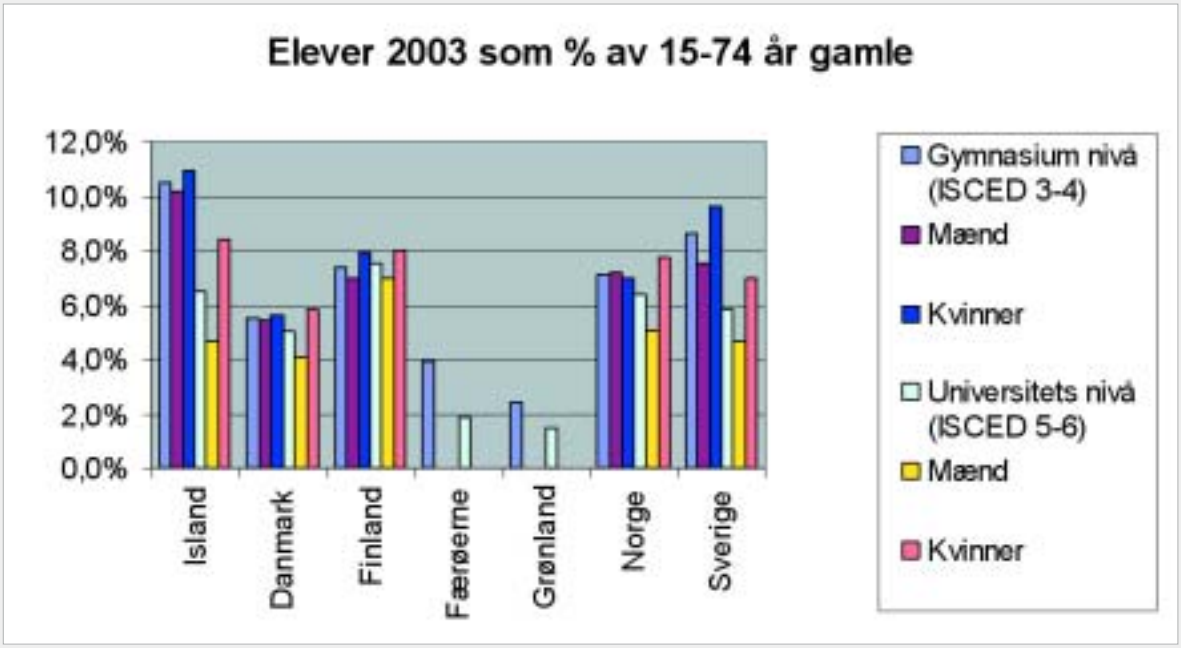
Greenland Maniitsoq meeting, August 23rd and 24th, 2006. Wall art pictures "Sassuma Arnaa", "the sea woman" with the sea animals emerging from her hair. In other parts of Inuit lands she is also known as "Zedna", "she down below" (see box page 29). Photo: Anna Heilmann.

From the government's proposal for an educational plan in Greenland

"The educational level of the work force is too low. Out of the about 40.000 persons between the ages of 15 and 62 years (the potential workforce in Greenland), only 1/3 have a qualifying education. The present educational patterns maintain this structure. Only 15% of the pupils in any given year from primary school continue directly to further education. After 2 years, only 40% of the group will has started an education. A huge percentage of drop-outs and low intake to the educations maintain the low educational level of the work force on the long run. To many citizens, it takes away welfare and quality of life and limits economic growth. Sadly, lack of language skills are still today an essential impediment both for young peoples education and for supplementary training of the labour force. This is due to the fact that the educational system today to a big extent requires knowledge of the Danish language, since the teachers often are Danish and educational materials only to small extent are in Greenlandic[1]."

[1] *Department for Culture, Education, Research and The Church, Department of Industry, Agriculture and Labour and Department of finances (December 2005): "Landsstyrets forslag til uddannelsesplan". (Author's translation).*

STUDENTS AT HIGH SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY LEVEL 2003, ARCTIC COUNTRIES



Sources: Respektive landes statistiske bureauer, indsamlet af Ivar Jonsson.

Minelco explained that when they were seeking 4 laboratory technicians to the mine in the whole of Greenland, through the medias and the employment offices, there was not one single applicant. They ended up bringing in workers from Sweden. There was giggling amongst the meeting participants at my question, and an atmosphere of

Seqi workers. Photo: Daniel Heilmann.

"How can anyone ask about making the mine attractive for women, when you cannot even attract adequate numbers of Greenlandic workers?" It has proved difficult for the company to recruit qualified Greenlandic labour, for example mechanics, specialists to establish the habour and laboratory technicians. The executive manager of the mine said that the company did a lot to attract Greenlandic labour. Among different projects they also have excursions for students from ATI, the Fish Industry School in Maniitsoq, who also offer a laboratory technician line. The educational system in Greenland is mainly used by Greenlandic students, and there are mainly women in the laboratory technician education in ATI, for example.

During the meeting, the question of local labour was raised several times. When the labour organisation talk about local labour, they mean ethnic Greenlanders. When the companies talk about local labour, they mean workers living in Maniitsoq. A majority of the private companies in Greenland are owned and run by so-called "persons born outside Greenland". These are mainly Danish

people, perhaps married to Greenlanders, some of whom have actually lived most of their lives in Greenland.

When the mining company talks about local labour, they mean labour *registered in the national registration office in Greenland.* They must legitimize their presence by requesting employees register as Greenlandic citizens and pay tax in Greenland. This affects municipalities' tax incomes, and the concept of Greenlandization. It is a political wish that the mining companies apparently do a lot to accommodate in order to receive goodwill. Those companies must also legitimize themselves to the local and national politicians who are mainly Greenlandic.

Gender as expressed in the mineral company materials

The term Greenlandization (Kalaalinngorsaaneq)

An analysis by Susanne Tobiassen[1] of the term Greenlandization shows that there is no unambiguous definition, but that there are two forms of Greenlandization which broadly formulate the politics of Greenlandization.

The first form of Greenlandization is structural Greenlandization. Here it is the political/administrative dimension of the Greenlandization politic of the home rule, where the management of and the responsibility of the internal Greenlandic affairs characterize the overall structural Greenlandization. It is reflected in the taking over of the Home Rule of the state tasks. Education and qualification of Greenlanders to take over the different jobs now held by summoned Danish labour now has, are also part of structural Greenlandization.

The other form of Greenlandization is the cultural Greenlandization. The form is about accepting identity and culture and continuation of the cultural heritage in accordance with the new conditions at the society. The Greenlandic language is secured as the main language through the legislation. Maintaining the villages, which in the name of the Danification politics were depopulated, are being fullfilled through the goal of maintaining the scattered settlements.

The writer of the article means that several matters indicate that the Greenlandization politics have still not been fullfilled. This is mainly caused by the lack of preconditions or the too many barriers that can be related to the Greenlandization process and the necessary phases. Education is paramount here, because the development of the essential human resources could not keep up with Home Rule's quick taking over of the tasks from the Danish state.

[1] *Tobiassen, Susanne (1998): "Grønlandiseret forvaltning?" in Petersen, Hanne and Janussen, Jakob (red.): "Retsforhold og Samfund i Grønland", Ilisimatusarfik, Nuuk.*

In the Maniitsoq meeting documents, gender is mentioned in a paper on "Working conditions and job opportunities in the mineral sector"[4]. It is found in a chapter on working environment and safety: "**Mining work is traditionally a man's work, and a major part of the workers in the existing mines are men. But gender is not a hinder against either physically hard labour or working in the mines. The mining work employs mainly men, but the rest of the functions in mines as well as in the administration, etc, are more evenly distributed amongst the sexes. Statistics from the mining branches at other countries shows, that this differs between countries. In Canada the share is about 7%, in Great Britain the share is at 10%, while it is up at 13% in USA[5]. There is a rising tendency that mining companies internationally develop and implement equal status politicies. Fx in Australia the companies are required an annual report regarding equalization of the sexes at working places.**"(p 41).
In the same material gender is mentioned very little at a paper on "The Seqi olivine mine", in a chapter on "Gender, distribution regarding age, settlement and educational qualifications". Here it says that all the entrepreneurial- and mining educated in Greenland are men. "**Such a one-sided recruitment on one sex necessitates a focus on what objectives and subjective relations that keep women from applying to education and jobs within this business. It is relevant to both central authorities, educational institutions and business to actively participate in changing this one-sided recruitment on one sex.**" In the conclusion, about the entrepreneurial- and mining

[4] *Greenland Home Rule, Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum (june 2006): "Arbejdsbetingelser og jobmuligheder i råstofsektoren". Paper amongst the materials at the follow-up meeting in Maniitsoq with focus regarding the labour market and the educational aspects at the olivine mine.*
[5] *International Labour Organization, 2002, p. 15.*

educated it further says that "There are not recruited women at all to the education. There must be carried out concrete initiatives to motivate non-skilled women to take the education as Arctic entrepreneurs."

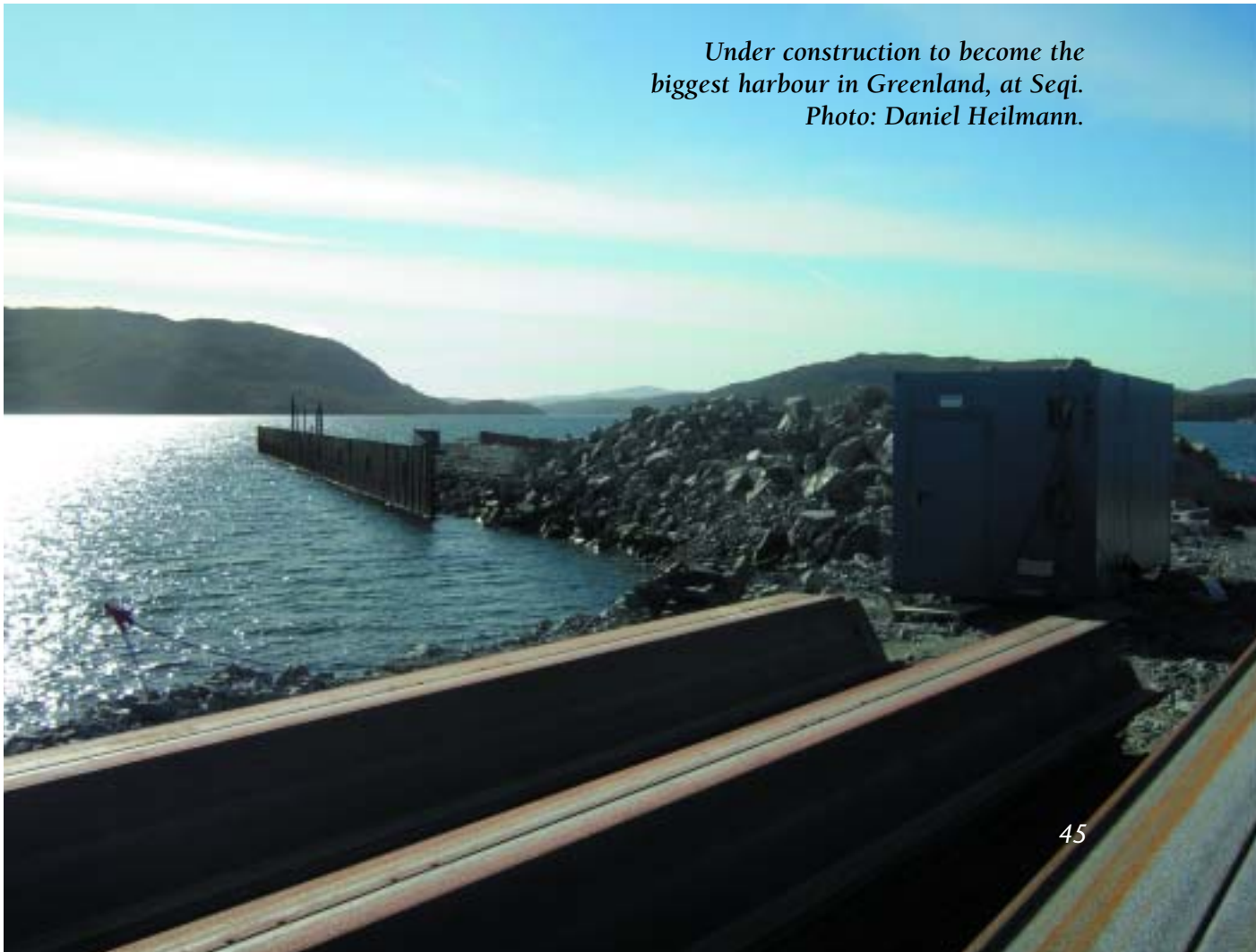
It can be concluded that during the preparations to the follow-up meeting there has been **thinking** about gender. But there is no action behind the thought.

THE BACKGROUND HISTORY

In the very first law regarding Greenlandic underground resources, Royal Decree nr 153, of the 27th of April 1935, it was established in §1 that "Råstoffer i Grønlands jordbund tilhører den danske stat"[6] [Resources in the Greenlandic underground are the property of the Danish State]. Many years later, Law nr. 166 of the 12th of May 1965 stated that the Minister for Greenland under the Danish government should "fastsætte de nærmere koncessionsbetingelser" [state more detailed concession licencing terms]. At the same time, it was stated that the Minister, prior to issuing a concession, should present the case to a special committee in the Danish parliament, and likewise get a statement from the Greenlandic Landsråd. This so-called "Minelov" [Mine Law] didn't change the stated principle from the 1932 Minelov, that the rights to the minerals in the underground of Greenland belonged to the state. During the negotiations between the state of Denmark and the Greenlandic Landsråd[7] regarding Home Rule in 1979, the question of the rights to the Greenlandic underground resources was a sensitive point, in fact the resource question almost ended the negotia-

[6] *The history of the administration of the mineral sector is described in Vesterbirk, Lars (1998): "Råstofforvaltning" i Petersen, Hanne and Janussen, Jakob (red.): "Retsforhold og Samfund i Grønland", Ilisimatusarfik, Nuuk.*

[7] *Grønlands Landsråd was actually 2 seprate Divisional councils until 1951, in North and South Greenland, created to advice the Danish Government on the politics in Greenland. The single National Council introduced in 1951 was replaced by the introduction of Home Rule of Greenland in 1979.*



Under construction to become the biggest harbour in Greenland, at Seqi. Photo: Daniel Heilmann.

tions. The partners in the negotiations were so opposed that the solution had to be found outside the normal division of "common and separate issues" in the Home Rule agreement. The area didn't became a Greenlandic responsibility – it is not part of the law of Home Rule, which became Law Nr. 577 of 29th of November 1978 regarding Home Rule of Greenland. It was put on a special mutual area, as an integrated part of the total arrangement of Home Rule as Law Nr. 585 of 29th November 1978 on Mineral Resources in Greenland.[8].

THE RIGHTS AND THE DECISION-MAKING POWERS OVER THE UNDERGROUND

The question regarding the rights to the underground of Greenland was made as a compromise between Greenland and Denmark written as § 8 in the Law of Home Rule of Greenland who states that "The population living in Greenland have fundamental rights to the natural resources of Greenland", (own translation), where the compromise finds expression in exactly the same §, subsection 2 which state that "Til sikring af den fastboende befolknings rettigheder med hensyn til de ikke-levende ressourcer og til sikring af rigsfællesskabets interesser fastsættes det ved lov, at forundelse, efteforskning og udnyttelse af nævnte ressourcer finder sted i henhold til aftale mellem regeringen og landsstyret" ["To secure the rights of the population living in Greenland in regards to non-living resources and to secure the interests of the nation, it is being laid down by law, that preliminary study, exploration and exploitation of the mentioned resources take place by agreement between the Danish government and the Greenlandic Government." Own translation]. As Lars Vesterbirk[9] writes, the provision in § 8 at the Law of Home Rule does not mention the question of the rights as such, but instead it states what is decisive in practice, and that is who has the rights to dispose over the mineral resources in the underground resources of Greenland. The Government of Greenland and the Government of Denmark can do that jointly after agreement. At the introduction of the Home Rule of Greenland the joint decision-making powers and the right to mutual veto between the Home Rule of Greenland and the Danish Government was introduced.

To ensure that the Greenlandic as well as as the Danish decision-makers have equal insight in the area of mineral resources, the Joint Committee on Mineral Resources in Greenland *"Kalaallit Nunaani Artortussiassat Aatsitassanit Pisut Pillugit Ataatsimiititaliaq"* was established to deal with questions concerning Mineral Ressources in Greenland. As a secretariat for the Joint Committee on Mineral Resources in Greenland, the Bureau of Minerals of Resources was established as an agency under the Ministry of Environment and Energy in Denmark.

THE ECONOMIC QUESTION

The reason that the question regarding the rights to the underground of resources in Greenland was a sensitive point in Home Rule negotiations was the expenses of the Danish state to Greenland. At the introduction of Home Rule, the deal was that Greenland should not lose anything financially. The transfers from the Danish State should correspond to the expenses the state had had administering Greenland. The areas was delegated to the Greenlandic Home Rule as the years went by, and with the delegations followed the financial transfers through the block grants negotiations. The 2005 block grants were of DKK 3.068.600.000.

In addition to the block grant, the Danish State has other expenses over the national budget. It is tasks as defence, finances of the state, foreign affairs, administration of the criminal law and prison service and administration.

At the introduction of the Home Rule of Greenland a provision was introduced that the income from the consessioned companies in Greenland must be used "in settlement of

[8] *Skydsbjerg, Henrik (1999): "GRØNLAND, 20 år med hjemmestyre", Forlaget Atuagkat, Viborg.*
[9] *Ibid.*

the annual Danish Budgets regarding expenses regarding Greenland, which are defrayed by the Ministry of Greenland, KGH[10] and the Ministry of Church". Additional incomes over and above the block grants, should hereby be distributed after agreements between the Home Rule of Greenland and the Danish State.

The Law of Mineral Resources in Greenland has since been changed in 1991, 1993 and in 1998. By the change in 1991, amongst other matters, the income distribution between the Home Rule of Greenland and the Danish State was changed, so that the incomes are now distributed 50/50 up to DKK 500 mill per year. Additional income is

[10] *KGH – Den Kongelige Grønlands Handel, a state owned company, was responsble for trade, production and shipping in Greenland.*

The Mineral Ressources in Greenland today

(From the Joint Committee on Mineral Resources report) By the change in the Law of Mineral Resources in 1998:

- The administration of the Mineral Resources under the Danish Ministry of Environment- and Energy was closed down and the tasks were transferred to the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum under the Home Rule of Greenland pr 1st of july 1998.
- The Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum are organized and well-defined regarding to the administration of the Home Rule in such a manner that the Home Rule of Greenland and the Danish State have full insight in grants, personnel and administration of the tasks.
- The executives of the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum are appointed by the Greenlandic Home Rule after agreements between the Danish Government and the Greenlandic Government
- The Danish State is ensured influence regarding the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum regarding organisation, grants, usage and prioritizing of the resources, employment of management positions in wagegroup 36 and up, through consultations
- Drawing rights on the Geological Survey of Denmark and Greenland (GEUS), National Environmental Research Institute(DMU), The Danish Energy Authority (EMS) and Danish Environmenta Protection Agency (MST) on informations, data, counselling and assistance.
- Admission to results of surveys and research in GEUS and DMU.
- Authority administrations of the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum of hydrocarbon activities are based on professional councelling/assistance from GEUS, DMU, ENS and MST.
- Administration of the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum and the Joint Committee on Mineral Resources is financed by an increase of the block grants.
- The Danish State established a "State unit" in ENS, with a 3 person staff, tasked with councelling and serving the Minister and the Danish members of the Joint Committee on Mineral Resources, they also participate in the processing of all applications, participate in inspections, participate in the Fællesrådet meetings, and have full insight and full admission to all the materials to do with the Law of Mineral Resources of Greenland.

After the 1998 change of the Law of Mineral Resources of Greenland it can be concluded that the Government of Greenland today is the last link in the decision-making process, and has the right to grant consessions for surveying, exploration and exploitation. Previously this power rested with the Minister of Environment and Energy in Denmark.

distributed after concrete negotiations between the Danish Government and the Greenlandic Government. The change in 1993 was about the separation of the hydropower area from the Law of Mineral Resources, so that it came under the administration of the Home Rule of Greenland. The 1998 change in the Law of Mineral Resources in Greenland is often referred to as the manner in which the Government of Greenland and the Danish Minister of the area changed roles in the Law of Mineral Resources[11].

The work for the future arrangement

THE UNDERGROUND RESOURCES AT THE REPORT OF GREENLAND IN THE THE JOINT DANISH GREENLANDIC COMMISSION OF SELF GOVERMENT

On the 25th anniversary of the introduction of the Home Rule in Greenland, Danish Premier Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen and Greenlandic Premier Minister Hans Enoksen cosigned the terms of reference for a joint Danish-Greenlandic commission to make suggestions on how Greenlandic self-determination can be increased within the existing nation. Prior to this, there have been discussions that the Anorak[12], the Home Rule of Greenland, no longer fits the body – being actual circumstances. Among other things, Greenland has in greater and greater extent managed its own foreign affairs, though this is against the current agreement.

The Commission is composed of members of the Parliament of Greenland and the Danish Parliament, There are eight members from the Greenlandic Parliament, of whom two Greenlandic men who are also members of the Danish Parliament. Six of those eight members of the Greenlandic Parliament are men, two are women. There are eight members from the Danish Parliament, six of whom are men, two women.

The Comission is expected to deliver a report by the end of 2007. The report must consider and make suggestions as to how the Greenlandic authorities can take over further decision-making powers, what is possible on the basis of the constitution and to make suggestions to legislation for a new arrangement, including the financial situation between Greenland and Denmark.

There are 3 working groups under the Joint Danish Greenlandic Commission of Self Goverment, including a working group on non-living resources in Greenland. Members in this working group are four politicians, where two are from Greenland including the chair, and two from Denmark. The four experts in the working group are from the Danish Energy Authority, the Ministry of State, one Danish official from the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum in Greenland and one Greenlandic official from the Department of Selfgovernment from the Home Rule of Greenland. All are men.

The terms of reference of this working group are as follows: "In the light of the constitutional possibilities for the

Greenlandic authorities to take over the area of non-living resources in Greenland, the working group must consider and make suggestions for future models for taking over the area, including how a future coo-peration between Greenlandic and Danish authorities can be organised, should the occasion rise. A possible need of technical-administrative cooperation and a model for financing such cooperation must be taken into considerations, should the occasion rise.

The question of the connection between eventual incomes from a minerals exploitation in Greenland and a new order concerning the economic relations between Denmark and Greenland are being discussed in the working group concerning economy."

[11] *As it is written in the chapter regarding the mineral sector in the report of the Joint Danish Greenlandic Commission of Self Goverment from 2006.*
[12] *Greenlandic jacket.*

Photo: Greenland Resources A/S.

The economy in the work of self government

An article headlined: "Chilling degrees between Denmark and Greenland"[13] discusses the negotiations in the commission working groups. The Greenlandic member of the working group on economic and industrial development, Per Berthelsen, describes the negotiations: "To me it seems that Denmark does not want to go into a dialogue with Greenland about the future economic relations. They want to dictate what is going to happen." Again according to Per Berthelsen, the Danish chair of the working group, social democrat Frank Jensen, rejected absolutely all the Greenlandic politicians' wishes for a future financial order, which would ease Greenland's way to self government. "Denmark wants Greenland to finance the self government, and that is, in my opinion, not the spirit of the terms of reference for the self government commission. Denmark is gambling with Greenland's future instead of cooperating. There is no dialogue, but we are two rival camps, holding on to our demands. I am deeply concerned about the harsh tone from the Danish side" (own translation).

In the next edition of the newspaper[14] Frank Jensen, member of the Danish Parliament and chair of the working group on economy and industrial development replied to the critique by letter. He did not want to go into a public discussion of the concrete work of the working group, because the discussion must be inside the working group, but he

[13] *AG nr. 42, June 1st 2006.*
[14] *AG nr. 43, June 1st 2006.*

goes through the Berthelsen article point by point. Later in the letter he states that "I have difficulties with understanding that increased Danish grants should lead to increased independence and increased selfgovernment, which seems to be the point of view in the article" (own translation).

On October 5th 2006, Greenlandic member of the Danish Parliament, Lars-Emil Johansen went to the platform in the Danish Parliament at the opening debate at the session of the Parliament. Among other subjects at his speech, he mentioned the administration of minerals: "Why await the coming findings of resources which with scary certainty will bring unrest and disharmony between us, because the system has not been designed for this new situation in time? I have earlier pointed that there is already an internationally recognized solution, which could have been created with our future together with Denmark in mind. It is called Free Association. As regards to the revenues, which must come from oil and gas, these should be gathered in an Greenlandic oil fund, after the Norwegian model"[15].

After this speech, Danish member of the work group of economy and industrial development in the commission of selfgovernment, Søren Espersen (from the party Dansk Folkeparti), criticized Lars-Emil Johansen for poisoning the air at the work in the commission. However, Espersen agrees to the oil fund model as be an excellent solution. "The decisive factor is how the returns from the fund are distributed. It is the opinion of Dansk Folkeparti that the Danish State must have a big share of the revenues. The Faroese model has been discussed earlier, where the Faroese have the rights to dispose over the underground resources and can keep all the revees. Personally I think it was a historical mistake when the Prime Minister at the time, Poul Schlüter, entered the agreement in 1992. And there is no reason to repeat a mistake." Søren Espersen said this in an interview in a Greenlandic newspaper[16].

[15] *As quoted in Greenlandic newspaper AG nr 78, October 10th 2006.*
[16] *Ibid.*

Photo: Carsten Olsen.

The administration – The interested parties

THE INTERESTED PARTIES IN THE MINERAL SECTOR IN GREENLAND

The mineral sector in Greenland includes large expenses for the participants, as shown below.

Chapter 3 in the report of the the Joint Danish Greenlandic Commission of Self Goverment on Minerals:

The socioeconomic aspects

The socioeconomic aspects of the mineral resources activities in Greenland include the exploration of minerals and gathering of scientific data in the area of minerals and the grantings from the law of finances to the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum.

The grants in the law of finance of the Greenlandic Parliament for 2002 to the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum are as follows:

- DKK 12,5 mill to cover the administration of the Bureau (22 positions) and to cover the expenses to the Joint Committee on Mineral Resources in Greenland.
- DKK 16,3 mill to projects regarding minerals, targeted to exploration on hydrocarbons and minerals
- DKK 5 mill to cover expenses to service contracts in regards to mineral resources at Greenland Resources Ltd.

In addition to that, GEUS, DMU and ENS are spending about DKK 45 mill annually on research, documentation, assistance and councelling, reltated to Greenland, and in the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum GEUS are using approximately DKK 35 mill and DMU approximately DKK 7 mill.

The Budget of the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum for 2002 was approximately DKK 34 mill. In the same year, the administration expenses budget under the law of finances for 2002 amounted to approximately DKK 4,3 billions. The Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum represent approximately 0,8% of the mentioned expenses to administration.

According to statistics for research for Greenland in the years of 1995-2000, an approximate contribution to the area of research and development for Greenland amounts to DKK 1.052 mill in the years 1993-2001.

As shown in the tables, there can be striking fluctuations from year to year depending on activities. Therefore the tables must be taken with some reservations.
The following informations can be gathered from the research statistics of the period mentioned.

TABLE 1. RESEARCH EXPENSES, MINERALS, 1995-2000. DKK MILL*)

Year	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	1995-2000
DKK mill	69,5	67,5	104,7	109,0	46,8	97,5	495,0

*) Source: Research statistics for Greenland 1995-2000. Research and development in Greenland and by Danish research institutions.

TABLE 2. EXPENSES TO GATHERING OF SEISMIC DATA ON OIL/GAS FIELDS IN WESTGREENLAND, 1993-2001. DKK MILL*)

År	1993-95	1996-98	1999-2001	1993-2001
Mio. kr.	26,3	33,9	86,7	146,9

*) Source: Research statistics for Greenland 1995-2000. Research and development in Greenland and by Danish research institutions.

Note: The expenses are calculated out of number of gathered km of seismic data, recalculated to DKK mill by a factor estimated out of expenses assessments from the industry.

TABLE 3. FYLLA CONSESSION OIL EXPLORATIONS EXPENSES, 1998-2000. DKK MILL.*)

Year	1998	1999	2000	1998-2000
DKK Mill	5,7	2,7	321,2	329,6

*) Source: Research statistics for Greenland 1995-2000. Research and development in Greenland and by Danish research institutions.
Note: The numbers in table 1-3 do not include activities conducted by foreign companies. The information mentioned above covers activities within the sector of minerals, which is a joint area between Greenland and Denmark.

Exploration within the sector of minerals is concentrated on the area of minerals and the area of oil-/gas.

All geophysic data, chemical analysis, geological mapping and drillings are sent to the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum, which in cooperation with GEUS register and analyse the incoming data, then included in the geological research in Greenland. Under other social aspects can be mentioned pollution response preparedness, the legal and judicial competence of the Home Rule and finally knowledge of all data concerning the minerals.

The Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum under Greenland Home Rule

The Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum under The Home Rule of Greenland administers minerals in Greenland. It is the additional goal of the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum to secure a qualified marketing of the potential of minerals in Greenland towards concessions on the area of minerals in surveys, exploration and exploitations. The primary task of the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum is a contious administration of the survey, exploration and exploitation concessions, and they have complete administrative authority over this. A principle which secures an effective administration of authority in the area of minerals.

In addition, the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum functions as secretariat to the Joint Committee on Mineral Resources in Greenland. The Joint Committee consist of a Chair and 6 to 10 memers. For the time being is appointed 10 members besides the Chair. The Chair is appointed by the queen for 4 years after joint recommendation from the Government of Greenland and The Ministry of Environment and Energy in Denmark. The danish Government and the Greenlandic Government appoints each the half of the members of the Committee. Their task is to continuously follow the development in the area of minerals, and to give recommendations

to among other things concessions to surveys, explorations and exploitations to the Greenlandic and Danish Governments.

The Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum participate in financing and conduction of a number of projects which can give new knowledge about the potentials in minerals. That way, the authorities actively seek to sharpen the interest of the private companies in exploration activities in Greenland. The mineral hunting competition called *"Ujarassiorit"* is one such initiative. Seismic surveys and airborn geophysic surveys are also included in such projects.

On request, the distribution of gender among the staff was received immediately. But the ethnic background of the staff could not be described, since it is not registred in wage- or employment systems and it is considered to be against international conventions to register such information about individuals. The following information comes from another relilable source, personal information.

Greenland Resources A/S drilling in Nuuk. Photo: Carsten Olsen.

GREENLAND RESOURCES LTD.

In connection with their taking over of the administration tasks regarding the mineral resources of Greenland, the Greenlandic Government decided that the Mineral Resources area should be divided between the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum, who adminster tasks regarding concessions, and a public (limited) Mineral company established for the purpose, Greenland Resources Ltd.

Today, Greenland Resources Ltd. offers overall solutions for mining and exploration companies in Greenland, including recruitment, drilling tasks, food, rent out of equipments, councelling and transportation by sea and helicopter. They market the Greenlandic opportunities as regards mineral ressources, including councelling the Greenlandic business community on the mineral sector in Greenland. Further tasks of Greenland Resources Ltd. is to promote the Greenlandic business community to the exploration companies at relevant international fairs, and to be in charge of the targeted marketing of Greenland and the Greenlandic business community to potential investors and exploration companies. In addition to the above mentioned tasks, Greenland Resources Ltd. must establish preparedness in the Greenlandic business community through information on service tasks to exploration companies, and support and coordinate service tasks in regards to exploration in Greenland. They also conduct supplementary fieldwork, project- and marketing analysis and developmental tasks in connection to exploitation of industry minerals at small scale/low technology mining. As to the trading of minerals, it is the task of Greenland Resources Ltd. to increase the international knowledge of

	Management functions	**Academic / specialist**	**Secretary functions**
Male Grl (Da)	(3)	(7)	1
Women Grl (Da)		(3)	2
Foreign			1

precious and semi-precious minerals, to strengthen the trade by making suggestions for a quality norm for precious stones and capacity-building for precious stone producers by offering courses and to increase the interest to gathering and manufacturing through development of the producers union. Finally, Greenland Resources Ltd. must continuously investigate the possibilities for exploiting Greenland's potential to establish larger production facilities with the necessary infrastructure, and to give assistance in this regards. →

Staff and board:

	Board	Management	Academic/specialist	Secretarial
Male, Grl (Da)	2(2)	1 (1)	2 (1)	
Women Grl (Da)				3
Foreign				

Greenland Resources Ltd. is 100% owned by Greenland Home Rule, which appoints members to the board, normally for a period of 2 years. The present board members are one Danish chair (male), two Greenlandic men and one Danish man.

NUNAOIL

The NunaOil Ltd share capital is held 50/50 by the Greenlandic Home Rule and DONG Ltd[17]. The purpose of the company is administration of the activities regarding hydrocarbon in Greenland and connected tasks outside of Greenland. In the long run it is the hope that the company concessions will be developed to commercially producing oil/gas fields, that give an attractive yield to the shareholders. NunaOil Ltd participate as a nonpaying partner in all the concessions given to the oil companies that seek to survey for oil and gas and off Greenland. In the case of commercially viable findings of oil or gas NunaOil Ltd must pay off its share of the development and production costs.

The main tasks of the company are to:

- participate as an active partner in hydrocarbons concessions in Greenland
- contribute to making the oilcompanies interested in investments in surveys for oil in Greenland, by informing on geological, logistic and administrative relations
- build up capacity fitting their function as a professional oil company in a future oil industry in Greenland
- initiate and invest in the gathering of relevant data from surveys, alone or with partners, marketing Greenland as an area for oil surveys, and eventually sell data to interested oilcompanies
- take part in the upgrading of the local work force and see that competitive Greenlandic companies to the biggest possible extent are getting involved in oil activities as the activities of oil surveys in Greenland are developing.
- ensure the flow of ongoing information and enlightment regarding the petroleum activities towards the Greenlandic society, both independently and in cooperation with the authorities
- advice the authorities, primarily on commercial relations
- inform about benefits and risks regarding surveys and the production of oil and gas in Greenland.

[17] *DONG Energy was established in 2006 as a result of a merger of 6 the Danish energy companies DONG, Elsam, ENERGI E2, Nesa, Københavns Energis elaktiviteter and Frederiksberg Forsyning. DONG has been searching for and produced oil and natural gas since 1984, and as state owned company buildt up the Danish gas infrastructure.*

There are 5 employees in NunaOil Ltd, which is distributed like this:

	Board	Management	Academic/specialist	Secretarial
Male, Grl (Da)	(5)	1	1 (1)	1
Women Grl (Da)	1			1

3 of the board members are apponited by DONG Ltd. and 3 by the Government of Greenland. The Chair of the board is a Danish male, appointed by the Government of Greenland. The only Greenlander in the board is also female. The rest are Danish and male.

NUNAMINERALS LTD

NunaMinerals Ltd was established in 1998. The company is quoted on the Dansk AMP stock exchange. The purpose of NunaMinerals Ltd is to develop and exploit the nature-given Mineral resources of Greenland on a commercial basis.

The 7 employees are distributed by gender, administrative level and ethnic background as follows:

	Board	Management	Academic /specialist	Secretarial
Male, Grl (Da)	1(4)	1	(4)	
Women Grl (Da)			(1)	1

The board has a Greenlandic chair. The rest of the board members consist of three Danes and a Swede, all male.

GEUS, THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF DENMARK AND GREENLAND (DANMARKS OG GRØNLANDS GEOLOGISKE UNDERSØGELSER)

GEUS is a research and advisory institution in the Danish Ministry of the Environment. The work field of the Geological Survey of Denmark and Greenland (GEUS) – geoscientific studies, research, consultancy and geological mapping – primarily covers Denmark and Greenland.

GEUS is governed by an independent Board of Governors composed of representatives from major user groups. Besides co-operating governmental agencies, science and private enterprise are represented, together with two representatives appointed by the staff. The board has 14 members. The chair holds a doctorate, and the rest are representatives from institutions like Geographical Institute of University of Copenhagen, Geological Institute of University of

GEUS' overall mission is to provide, to use, and to disseminate knowledge of geological materials, processes and relations that is important for the use and protection of geological resources in Denmark and Greenland. Part of this mission is to support administrative and legislative work in Danish Ministries and the Greenland Home Rule Authority, by providing state-of-the-art geoscientific knowledge of inter-national standard. GEUS is thereby active in promoting the mineral potentials of Greenland. GEUS also contributes to the administration of the mineral area in Greenland.

GEUS' main tasks are geological mapping, data collection and storage, to carry out research projects, to give advice, and to disseminate geoscientific knowledge.

Aarhus, Niels Bohr Institute of University of Copenhagen, Divisjon for vitenskap of Norges Forskningsråd, Geological Museum of University of Copenhagen, Storstrøms county, Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum of Greenland Home Rule, staff from GEUS, Danish Environmental Protection Agency, National Forest and Nature Agency and Danish Energy Agency.

7 of the 14 board members are women. The three members who have relations to Greenland are all men. One of them has a Greenlandic father, professor Minik Rosing from Geological Museum of the University of Copenhagen, the other two are Danish, male officials from the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum from Greenlandic Home Rule. Peter Appel is a Dutch geologist, currently working as senior researcher in GEUS. He explains that GGU, the Geological Survey of Greenland used to be an independent institution at Geological Museum for many years. Then in late nineties GGU was fusioned with Geological Survey of Denmark for many reasons. The practical reasons gave greater synergy amongst the administration and the staff. The political reason was that Greenland Home Rule expressed a wish to move GGU to Greenland:

Peter Appel. Photo: Anna Heilmann.

"It was not a good idea, because it takes very long work periods to conduct a decent geological survey. Foreign staff in Greenland just don't stay very long. As for the professional environment, there are not adequately large libraries, etc. So you cannot really establish a geological survey in Greenland. Therefore we were fusioned with the Geological Survey Denmark. Greenland Government accepted it, and thought it was a good idea. Their only demand was that the part of the budgets which is meant for research regarding Greenland should be maintained separate from the rest. And the demand was fair enough. You must be able to see that there is a certain amount of the money was used to Greenland. It must not be possible that suddenly, all the money goes to Denmark. And it was fine. We have maintained that. You can always see how much of the financing is regarding surveys regarding Greenland."

Per today, out of the total budget of GEUS of DKK 227 million, DKK 43 million go to the geological surveys of Greenland.

As to the GEUS' contribution to the administration of the mineral area in Greenland, Peter Appel says:
"We have a very close cooperation with the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum in Greenland. Say, if a company applies for a concession in Greenland, GEUS helps them with the case work, and give a written opinion. This spring, for example, a company applied for a concession to extract 60 tonnes of rubies. They sent the application to the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum, who forwarded it to me, since I am the one who knows something about rubies, and I give a statement. Do I, or rather GEUS, think it looks reasonable or not. And I sent my comment to the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum, who looked at my comment and evaluated if it was reasonable. If there are reasonable arguments for the application and in the comments, then the application is forwarded to the Joint Committee on Mineral Resources in Greenland. They have the final say.

Before the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum was established in Greenland, we sent the application with comments to the members of the Joint Committee on Mineral Resources in

Greenland. Now the Bureau are in charge of all this, because the contact with the Greenlandic politicians is much better like this."

When asked whether they have some influence on the administration of the applications through their work, Peter Appel replies: *"We give a professional statement We don't say whether it is a good idea for them to be granted a concession or not. Most of the applications are companies applying for surveys in a certain limited area. They send the application to the Bureau, who send it to us. And we make a map, so that there will be no uncertainty at all as to where the area is. And that no other companies have concessions in those areas. It is our job to check that. In most of the concession applications, we don't do more than that. We don't take a stand or anything, we just see that the area is ok, and no other companies hold concessions of the areas."*

And if a company is granted a concession? *"Then the company MUST send a report to the Bureau once a year. And the Bureau sends a copy of the report to us. And we evaluate whether the report is acceptable. We have more staff here at GEUS to evaluate the reports. The Bureau do not have enough staff to check all these reports. The Bureau have some criterias regarding what is necessary to include in the report, we check that."*

THE DANISH ENERGY AUTHORITY (ENERGISTYRELSEN)

The Danish Energy Authority is an authority under the Danish Ministry of Transport and Energy. The Danish Energy Authority carries out tasks, nationally and internationally, in relation to the production, supply and consumption of energy. This means that they are for the whole chain of tasks linked to the production of energy and its transportation through pipelines to the stage where oil, natural gas, heat, electricity etc. are utilised for energy services by the consumer.

The Danish Energy Authority advices The Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum with technical expertice regarding the regulation of mineral survey activities. It is the task of the Danish Energy Authority to advise the Danish government on subjects regarding the arrangement at the Greenlandic Law of Minerals .

NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE (DANMARKS MILJØUNDERSØGELSER)

The National Environmental Research Institute is an independent research institute under the Danish Ministry of the Environment. The main task of NERI is to provide an adequate knowledge as a foundation for environmental decisions at all levels. NERI's experts in the department of Arctic Environment advices the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum with the administration of concessions.

NERI undertakes scientific consultancy work, monitoring of nature and the environment as well as applied and strategic research. NERI's task is to establish a scientific foundation for environmental policy decisions. They evaluate and control how the Greenlandic environment is influenced by the mineral exploitations activities, and participates in the AMAP international surveillance and assessment of the arctic environment. Finally, NERI does research on the global environment and climate change.

MINISTER OF MINERALS AND PETROLEUM IN GREENLAND, JØRGEN WÆVER JOHANSEN

Interviewed August 24th, 2006 at Hotel Maniitsoq.

A: Do you imagine having Greenlandic employees in your bureau in the future?
J: It is the goal. But let me give you an example, when we apply for personnel to a task, fx when we applied for an executive, the one I appointed was "the Greenlandic one". Meaning the person had been in Greenland for 17 years, it was the reason we appointed him. The rest of the applicants were Danish, all of them.
The educational level in Greenland can't be changed overnight. The Greenlandic geologists

Jørgen Wæver Johansen.

we have now, they work for other companies. Our former head of department, a Greenlandic geologist, is now an executive in Nuna Oil. Another Greenlandic geologist is an executive in NunaMinerals. We also used to have a third Greenlandic geologist, but he is now employed by Greenland Resources, on track for the position when the current executive retires. A fourth Greenlandic geologist works for Greenland Resources. The Greenlandic geologists we know of, they work in non-public offices, they work in the private sector, in resource-related areas.

For example there is a Greenlandic female petroleum lawyer. I know that she is working with the negotiations with EU in Bruxelles.

The work the Greenlandic specialists are doing even when it is not work for my bureau, is good for Greenland. Those people are also working to ensure better conditions for us in Greenland.

A: Is it possible to sense whether the staff is Greenlandic or Danish?

J: Of course, it is possible. But the important thing here is, that my responsibility is to see that the political goals are implemented as the government want it, whether the staff is Greenlandic or Danish. It means that we have mixed staff, but the political responsibility is in the hands of the indigenous population, they are the ones who make the final decisions. When we consider the political system here, on both sides, the Greenlandic Home Rule and the Danish Government have the veto. When we take the indigenous women, 3 out of 8 Landsstyremedlemmer are women and in the Greenlandic parliament there are 42% women.

A: As to the mineral resources, Greenland have the veto, but we don't own the land..

J: We really do own it. But regarding the agreements now the public incomes up to DKK 500 mill are divided half and half. This is the agreement so far. Working groups under the Joint Danish Greenlandic Commission of Self Goverment, are to determine the future organisation of the tasks. It is a goal from Greenland to be treated like the Faroe Islands at the least. The Faroe Islands took total resposibility regarding their resources in 1992. It means that both the expenses and the income are theirs. We must be treated the same way.

A: How do you imagine that Greenland can own the land more in the future?

J: No, ownership... Greenland no doubt owns the land. But now we have agreed to be part of the state of Denmark. Inside the kingdom. And here we have to play by the rules we ourselves have agreed to. But we are working on changing all this, total control of the governing, legislation and the expenses and the incomes must be in the hands of Greenland.

A: This can be called Greenlandization, right?

J: That's it. If this becomes a reality, then the Joint Committee on Mineral Resources in Greenland will be no more. It means that Denmark have absolutely no say regarding Greenlandic resources.

A: Will this be accepted?
J: .. If we want to change the legislation as regards the resources, then we change them. If we want to reject an applicant we reject them. We don't have to ask anyone. We expect these agreements will be finished in 2007. But no matter what, this is the future we are heading towards, right. I can't imagine a worse agreement than the recommendations from the Joint Danish Greenlandic Commission of Self Goverment deliberations. This is not sustainable. It will be the same as if we dissolve them.
A: When I took a picture at the meeting yesterday, and looked at the pictures when I got home, all the persons in the picture were men. The only women in the picture were the Icelandic women who came to tell us about the Icelandic experiences. If we make policies to ensure getting more women into Greenlandic resource management, what would you do?
J: I think the work of increasing the educational level in our country has been good. But the educations that have been and are now being offered have not focused on creation of values. The focus has been on administration, teaching. What are the topics at the University, Ilisimatusarfik? You can become a priest, cand. Scient. adm., which is public employment at administrative level, or you can study culture and society and the Greenlandic language. All of those are fine. But you can supplement with more focus on creation of values in the future.

As an example I can mention that since the Home Rule was implemented, and even before, the primary exports from Greenland were fish and products from fishery. How come we didn't focus more on how we can inspire the students of our country to study how to trade our fisheries products abroad to a higher value, to the benefit of Greenland and to the fishery?

How come we haven't been looking for better opportunities for the students interested in geology, resources, the oil-industry? We are now improving our educational policy. HTX (the technical high school) was created to support the students interested in technology, and HHX (the mercantile high school) to support the students interested in trade. And the last class to start HHX was almost only women, right. But also if we gave more focus to the students interested in becoming geologists, biologists etc from high school level, then we could Greenlandize our staff much faster.
A: So, when I ask how Greenlandizing is to be accomplished, then the answer is that we must rely on education?
J: Without education, then I can't replace my staff. Right now, when Greenlanders qualify as geologists or in other resource-related fields, then private corporations takes them. The public sector can't compete when it comes to salaries.
A: And the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum rely heavily on surveys of Greenland from institutions such as GEUS and such. Can we finance those, if we take over the responsibility?
J: If they can supplement our national income, of course we must finance them. And there is no doubt that the resource area will benefit Greenland much more in the future. Therefore, our dependency on foreign, and especially on Danish advice, this is something we have already started working to change. Once we are independent, we stand helplessly still if GEUS don't wish to give advice to us. We must improve the competence in Greenland as best as we can. And we must use specialists from other countries than Denmark more.
A: And if we imagine institutions like GEUS being established here…?
J: Of course we need institutions like GEUS to advice us..
A: .. and maybe we don't have Greenlandic specialists to work at them?
J: We will always be like that. No matter how much we cry, we are only 57.000 inhabitants in Greenland. So, unless we all get lots of children, it will take us a long time, many years to stop being dependent on specialists from abroad. A country of only 57.000 people, this is what scholars call critical mass, lower than the number of

inhabitants a country must have to be able to supply themselves with everything. We are no way near the number.

The Icelanders… as we heard in the presentation yesterday, during big constructions, then up to 80% of the workers come from Poland, China and other countries. And when you look at Icelandic fish processing plants, then almost all of the employees, perhaps besides the executives, they are Polish.

A: So imagine we establish something like GEUS in Greenland, of course it will be named something else…

J: "Kalaalius" hahaha... [Greenland is in Greenland called **Kalaallit Nunaat** – Land of Kalaaleq]

A: .. .if we Greenlandize the staff, if you have to choose between greenlandization or gender equality concerns. Which of those two are we going to choose?

J: I think those two support each other. We know that the women's educational levels are higher. It means that when we work for Greenlandization, no doubt more women will come here. Of course depending on their fields of interest, women will become a majority here.

A: But still, among Greenlanders, it is the men who become geologists?

Trucks at Seqi work camp. Photo: Daniel Heilmann.

J: We cannot force the women to become geologists, but they can be encouraged.

A: But how can we make this attractive for women? How can you make geology more attractive for women?

J: Well, loking at the educational levels and the number of women in teaching, then you are supposed to say that because there are so many more women in teaching, then we must make education more attractive to men.

A: That's right. It is your job! When we worked with fisheries we are amazed that it is such a male-dominated sector. In every level of the decision-making. But then we realized there is an area which is more extreme than fisheries: natural resource extraction. Here it is even more male-dominated. For example at the meeting yesterday, or meetings like these, there are almost only men. And when you look at the participants at the meeting, they are almost only Danes. In the fisheries there are more Greenlanders. But in the mineral resources, not only are there almost only men, they are also almost only Danish. I think it is very interesting. So between Greenlandization and gender equality, which?

J: Where ever we are, I think, the priority must be Greenlandization. Any way necessary! The olivine mine here, with up to 50 people working there, the goal for the future must be that only greenlanders must work there.

Yesterday at the meeting there was an Icelandic presentation with many indicators of sustainability. And this meeting had that very same goal in mind, how can you develop the resources in Greenland sustainably. I expect that in the coming years we will work on finding indicators of the environment, working environment, economy, family relations and gender distribution in the companies. Which indicators do we want to use towards the mining corporations? Here I have no doubt that we will pay close attention to gender distribution amongst the employees.

A: When we had lunch yesterday at the meeting, because I had that question about gender, they offered me work there and were asking me questions. I told them

about the higher educational levels of the Greenlandic women and that maybe Greenlandic women are more stable workers, so a strategy of looking for women to drive those trucks could result in faster Greenlandization. But in Greenland you don't think like that. It is only Greenlandization. Perhaps if we combine those two, the process will become faster?
J: Yes, it might be. The mine here is small, so if you have those interests in Maniitsoq I think it is possible to try it out. But I think that if people from Maniitsoq want to be a part of it, then other people will not do that for them, people from Maniitsoq must ensure this through cooperation.

Because of the educational level and the size of the population in Greenland, then we must accept employing foreing staff for many years to come. But they don't have to be in charge, right? This is the important point. You are right that so far the most of our resource staff comes from Denmark. But for the indigenous part, when it comes to the decisions we can veto everything we want to veto. And I think the participation of the women in the decision process is absolutely nothing to be ashamed of.

INTERVIEW WITH LARS- EMIL JOHANSEN, MEMBER OF THE GREENLANDIC PARLIAMENT, AND ONE OF THE 2 GREENLANDIC MEMBERS OF THE DANISH PARLIAMENT

Copenhagen, September 6th, 2006.

Member of the Joint Greenlandic Danish Commission of Self Goverment. Chair of the working group under the Joint Danish Greenlandic Commission of Self Goverment on Internastional law. He was a member of the Commission of Home Rule prior to the introduction of the Home Rule of Greenland and is often regarded as the father of the famous statement "The population living in Greenland have fundamental roghts to the natural resources of Greenland". He has been a member of the government in Greenland many times and has also been Premier Minister.

A: Regarding ownership to land, is it possible to say that we own our land in Greenland?
LEJ: Yes. It is possible to say that we own our land. This is based on UN conventions. The UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the UN

From an autobiography by Svend Haugaard.

Svend Haugaard was member of the Danish Parliament for Det Radikale Venstre, and was member of the Commission of Home Rule during the negotiations about Home Rule in Greenland.

> "In a country 50 times bigger than Denmark and with only 1/100th of the population it will not be possible to have complete selfgovernment, and there can never be equal terms there and here. Differences in income and living conditions will continue to exist, if there are not enormous oilresources found. Should you wish this, it must be out of the wish to be able to remove the gift relation. In return there might arise a danger for easy incomes. This was foreseen by a regulation in the Home Rule agreement, which commits such incomes to future and not immediate use. This must be maintained."

(Haugaard, Svend (1989): Ikke ord uden gerning. Gyldendal, pp. 151-152, own translation)

Lars-Emil Johansen. Photo: Siumut.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. According to those conventions, all peoples have ownership over their land and resources. Professor Peter Germer wrote a paper a long time ago regarding the Greenlandic Home Rule, where he pointed out that Greenlanders already own their land.

But of course, the Danish constitution is a big barrier. The Danish constitution establishes ownership. Above all sovreignty – ownership and sovreignty – that is what we are discussing right now.

To clarify the law, our aim is to get ownership rights, sovreignty and decision-making power, *aalajangiisussaaneq*. That those shall be the Greenlanders'. But when you are part of the state of Denmark then in the end sovreignty, that must be Danish. Basically, it means that Greenlanders as peoples cannot sell our country to others.

A: … because?

LEJ: We don't have the sovreignty. that belongs to Denmark. So we cannot borrow money with our country or our minerals as security. Because sovreignty belongs to Denmark. And it will remain so as long as Greenland is part of the state of Denmark. It means we own the land, but with limited ownership rights, if you can say that. According to the UN we have the total ownership, but with regards to the Danish constitution we have limited ownership. […] It is a big barrier. The discussion is regarding ownership to land, and remaining part of the state of Denmark.

A: The different working groups under the the Joint Greenlandic Danish Commission of Self Goverment work with the resource area in different ways?

LEJ: It is evident that Danish and Greenlandic members have very different ways of thinking. I am the chair of the working group on State and Human Rights.

A: And the matter of the underground resources is discussed there?

LEJ: There has been a working group regarding the underground resources, but they have put the matter of ownership of the land to our working group. But our aim is, and I expect it will be fullfilled, that the people of Greenland own their land. Meaning that the matter of consessions for mineral exploitation will be on the hands of the Greenlanders. Incomes from minerals will belong to Greenlanders and be under the responsibility of Greenlanders. But the sovreignty belongs to Denmark. It means we cannot sell our land, or we cannot borrow money with our land as security. Only when we become independent that sovreignty will be ours. It means that total ownership to the land can be moved to Greenland only when we become independent.

A: What is the goal of your working group?

LEJ: The time between Home Rule and independence is an intermezzo. It is called Self Government. We want to reach a point where ownership rights are secured for our country, but we recognize that the sovreignty belongs to Denmark.

A: Is that your goal?

LEJ: No, that is what is in the law, right,

From a Greenlandic newspaper[1], on Lars-Emil Johansens 60th birthday:

"It caused mentioning on the "New in Names" pages of the leading daily papers, under headlines including "Mouthpiece for Greenlanders", "The big old firstman of Greenland" and "Round physique –sharp mind". (...) In Jyllands-Posten, where Lars-Emil Johansen has contributed discussion articles, they say simply: "His new ideal for the development of Greenland is the ultimate self government – real detachment from Denmark, but with status as associated country. He is on the line with the most radical politicians, but the Government of Greenland and the position of the party is moderate". 14 days earlier, an editorial in the same paper accused Lars-Emil Johansen of leading a "destructive debate" in regards to a statement about how Greenland should keep all the revenues from a coming oil industry, and that the Block Grant is a far bigger advantage to Denmark than the Government wants to admit. "(...) the radical self government politicians are by now so far out in their argumentation, that they are forced to use self-invented and non-proveable political theses, while younger politicians contentedly await the results", they say of the veteran of 35 years in Greenlandic and Danish politics."

[1] *AG, nr. 74. 26th september 2006*

that is our goal now. Our aim is that total decision-making power must be moved to Greenland. the Joint Committee on Mineral Resources in Greenland must be dissolved. Total control must be moved to Greenland. All of the income to go to Greenland. That kind of an arrangement is our goal.

A: The goal of the Greenlanders in the working group, or is it also the goal of the Danish members? When you say "it is our goal", who is "we"? Your working group, or the commission, or..?

LEJ: Yes. The goal of our working group.

A: Also the Danish members?

LEJ: We are close to making the Danish members go there to, by dragging them there. *Tukimmersortorujussuit*, but they have dug their heels in. Even the danish Minister of Justice now seems much easier to talk to. One of the biggest problems has been how to interpret the Danish constitution. If interpreted strictly, then the total decision-making power, is with the Danes. But the Danes have loosened up in the latest years, perhaps unintentionally. Matters which shouldn't be allowed according to the constitution have been accepted. For example, matters regarding foreign policy have been run by us to a larger extent during the Home Rule. According to the constitution we couldn't do that, if the constitution were to be interpreted rigidly. And right now, we are discussing that we wish the constitution should not be interpreted so strictly regarding ownership to land. And we are close to reaching an agreement.

A: But once you have delivered your work, it could be it isn't followed, right? You never know?

LEJ: I certainly expect it will be followed. Because almost all the parties have members at our working group. Especially the Danish parties. And there is not much disagreement between the Greenlandic parties on those questions. Atassut and Demokraatit have no members in our working group, but from Denmark Venstre, Enhedsliste and Radikale Venstre have members in our working group. I certainly expect that after enormous disagreements within the commission any agreement we can reach will be respected, that our agreement will be followed.

The incomes must become a Greenlandic responsibility. But of course, perhaps Greenland and Denmark can reach an agreement. In our discussions we have reached the point where Greenland gets full responsibility for the total incomes and expenses.

I can only tell you about the landmarks at our discussions. I can not predict the results. But I expect this will be the result. Ownership rights, understood as governing rights. Ownership as responsibility. That Greenland gets the total responsibility. And Greenland receives the incomes, and pay the expenses themselves.

A: I've read Frank Jensen's article. He said he doesn't support that?

LEJ: I don't know. I haven't asked Frank Jensen for his opinion. He is not a part of our working group.He is the chair at the working group on economy.

A: So this other working group can recommend something else than your working group?

LEJ: It is our working group that can make recommendations regarding natural resources, and ownership, financial governing rights. For example, when you have the ownership, then the owner has the responsibility and the decision-making power over the incomes and expenses.

A: Regarding the finances, the word block grants, it's like subsidies, the name itself sounds like aid or charity. Do you ever discuss that?

LEJ: Yes, we certainly do discuss that. In political discussions. But we don't discuss it explicitly within our working group. The Danes named it block grants when Home Rule came. Previously it was called Denmark's grant to Greenland, granted through the Ministry for Greenland, account 2 of the finance law. When Home Rule was introduced, they started calling it block grants. And now the Danes talk about how when Greenland gets a part of the oil adventure, when we are swimming in oil revenues, then we must pay them back. But I mean that by using the Danes' own words, we must reply that a grant is not a loan which must be paid back. If that word is used, then those moneys are gifts. But if we are talking about money that must be paid back, then we must call the money something else from now on.

I don't think this will be much of a barrier.

But it is a good question, if Greenland gets loads of money, does Greenland want to give Denmark money? Does Greenland want to give block grants to Denmark? Denmark has lots of money, but it could be that Greenlanders feel we need to secure our following generations, a connection to Denmark, or our feelings of having relations to Denmark; if we wish to solve this, it can be discussed whether there should be payments. Greenlanders must decide that.

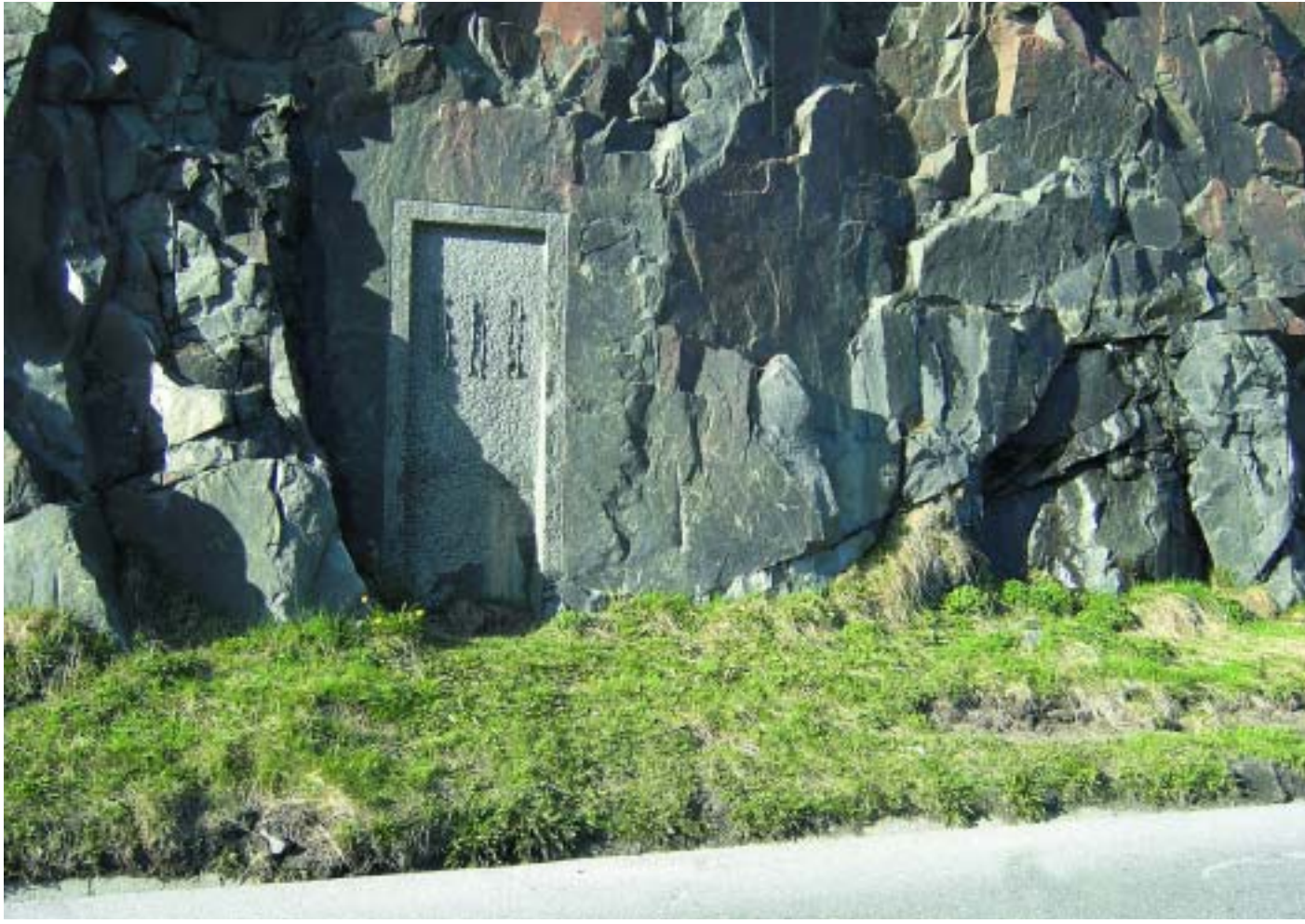
A: When you discuss block grants, do you mention expenses regarding membership to NATO in the discussions?

LEJ: Oh, we do!

A: How?

LEJ: We certainly do. But those figures cannot be proven in numbers. There is nothing written in the law of finances on how much they make on us, right. These are *iluanaarutit*, invisible gains. Of course you can see in the NATO agreement that Denmark must use 2% at least of its GNP, or 3% at most, on military expenses and defense. The GNP of Denmark is right now DKK 1300 billion a year at least. Then Denmark should have used DKK 26 billion if they must use 2%. Or DKK 39 billion if they must use 3%. Denmark use DKK 18 billion. The reasons this large difference between what they ought to use and what they actually use is accepted is that the Americans have military bases in Greenland, bases that NATO uses as well. It can be documented in the memo from the meeting between president Johnson of the USA and the then Danish Premier Minister Jens Otto Kragh and Danish minister of foreign affairs Per Hækkerup. It is documented in the DIS-reports[18]. These documents shows a memo from Minister of

[18] *Dansk Institut for Internationale Studier (2005): "Danmark under den kolde krig", København, bind II, siderne 693-694. www.diis.dk.*



From Qaqortoq, South Greenland. Photo: Anna Heilmann.

Defense McNamarra to President Johnson prior to a meeting with Danish prime minister Jens Otto Kragh, which says that Denmark must not be critized for paying so little to NATO, because Denmark support NATO immensely, through Greenland. And also in Jens Otto Kraghs autobiography, he writes that when Denmark is critized for their smaller contribution to NATO, they just mention Greenland. Former danish Minister of Foreign Affairs Uffe Ellemann Jensen's book "Din egen dag er for kort"[19] says the same.

So this cannot be documented to be in the law or with commas and numbers. But the size of GNP can be calculated, you can check that. It is DKK 1300 billion at the least, perhaps DKK 1400 billion now. Military expenses must be 2%, how much should they use, and how much do they actually use now; take this difference. This number is how much the Danes gain from Greenland. It is really brilliant. For example, if they use DKK 18 billion, and they should have used DKK 26 billion. It means that they save DKK 8 billion each year through us. Then they make us believe that they give us DKK 3 billion. But they gain DKK 5 billion through us, through this. But it is very difficult to put a number with commas of those indirect benefits.

Also, Denmark's export to the USA can be found in official export datas. In one year, Denmark's export to the USA rose with DKK 10 billion. DKK 10 billion in one year, out of DKK 50 billion, which is Denmark's export to the USA now. One of the reasons was the upgrading of the Thule radar, the missile shield which made it possible to be used to defence. Here the weapon industry in Denmark gained immensely on Greenland, several billion. Those numbers are very difficult to document, difficult to put numbers on. Therefore we just don't talk about it. But then we say, okay, let us look at your payments of DKK 3 billion each year, right.

[19] *Ellemann-Jensen, Uffe (1999): "Din egen dag er kort", Aschehoug.*

When your payments are paid for, then the responsibility.. we don't owe you one more penny. When we have closed this. On the other side we can say other calculations are possible.

A: Why don't you use this?

LEJ: When you reach this point in the discussion, you have come to a point where there are no conclusions. But of course it can still be used. If everything becomes impossible, if the Danes become impossible, then we can use the Danes' own saying "ris til egen bak" [hoist by their own petard].

A: And when you look at the resource management in Greenland, in the companies and the bureaus in Greenland, where the staff is mainly Danish, does this mean that mineral exploitation is still run by Danes?

LEJ: In the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum, the staff is mainly Danish. But they have Greenlandic references, they are not staffed from Denmark. This was changed when the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum was moved to Greenland. The staff are ethnic Danes. But they have political references, from Greenlandic politicians.

We recently had a meeting in the Joint Committee on Mineral Resources in Greenland in Maniitsoq…

A: Why in Maniitsoq?

LEJ: Maniitsoq is becoming a major mining community. Seqi has opened, and there may be another mine opening, bigger than Seqi. There are probably possibilities for opening big mines with diamonds and platinum. At this meeting, the majority of the Greenlandic politicians present were women. Many of the members couldn't come, so substitutes came, and they are mainly women.

But you are right, women are invisible in the area. It is not written anywhere that it is prohibited for women. But women, mainly Greenlandic women, are perhaps not interested in this area? For example, you mentioned fisheries and mineral exploitation. Women had previously not been interested in fisheries politics; social affairs and education were more interesting to women. But thankfully, this is changing. We have also had a female Minister of Finances in Greenland. And women participate more in the fisheries committee in parliament. I don't know why women are not interested in mineral resource matters.

A: But in the minerals are the resources, right. If the resources are in the men's power, then we have a major democratic inequality.

LEJ: But there are many sides to this, right. We now fight with Greenlanders in the one side and Danes on the other side. We are struggling to move the power from Denmark to Greenland. This is the most important thing. When we have gained that power, then we can divide it amongst ourselves, between men and women, I mean we must debate this more deeply.

A: Greenlandization must be a priority?

LEJ: How do we define Greenlandization? The question is what comes first? To get Greenlandic staff is also one of the steps to Greenlandization. But the first step is to move the power from Denmark to Greenland.

A: When Greenlandization became my project focus for this report, I found that in the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum and in the mineral- and petroleum-related companies the staff is mainly Danish. Then I checked the staff at other departments. But in the Department of Industry there are only Danes. The Department of Fisheries and Hunting employs lots of Greenlanders, both as managers and administrative staff. Greenland's natural resources are in the Department of Fisheries and Hunting, Department of Industry and in the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum.

When we are working with non-living resources, then Greenlanders disappear. In our report we talk a lot about how to make male-dominated areas attractive to women, right. If you take the management of resources of Greenland, how can you make the Department of Industry and the Department of Minerals and Petroleum attractive for Greenlanders?

LEJ: I don't know. I think that we Greenlanders must say to ourselves that we must work harder on matters regarding finances and

money. Up until now, matters regarding finances and economy are not much in our Greenlandic minds. We joke about "when Danes speak, they speak only of money". We Greenlanders talk about our living conditions, our feelings, right. But we must change our way of thinking. We must gain power when it comes to management of business and industry if we want to take total control of power in our country. We must have more Greenlanders there.

A: When I asked Jørgen Wæver Johansen about his staff, who are mainly Danish, he took hiring the deputy minister as an example. They hired a Danish man who had been many years in Greenland, as being the most Greenlandic amongst the applicants, no Greenlanders who applied for the job. When I apply for a job as an academic, then I will check first who can become good colleagues to me. I will not apply for a job at a solely Danish office. But then that will always be the excuse, right, "Greenlanders didn't apply for the job". It is like that. But how to make it attractive. Why is it not attractive for Greenlanders to work in offices that work with resource management? Those places are offices of power.

LEJ: I think they must be very attractive places.

A: Then how come no Greenlanders apply for those jobs?

LEJ: The problem is within ourselves. We Greenlanders, we must change our way of thinking. Our lack of interest of finances and economy. We must reverse it.

A: Then there is the language as a means of power, right. For example in Seqi. Villagers in Atammik, the closest inhabited place to the mine, they complain that they feel they have been given empty hope of work[20]. All the managers are Danish. If Greenlanders want to work there but they can't speak Danish, they are not needed. In the management of our resources, being Greenlandic has no value. That way it cannot be attractive for Greenlanders. As long as the power is Danish-speaking, the power will always be in the hands of the Danes.

LEJ: I think we must make more strict, more clear decisions in Greenland, right. It is painful, what we up till now have been afraid of. For example, that offices and companies must have Greenlandic leaders. If you want to be a manager in Greenland, you must be Greenlandic. To have the Greenlandic language, to feel Greenlandic, right.That decision is very easy to understand. And it can be fullfilled. A demand. We can start with the companies owned by the Home Rule or the administration of the Home Rule. Because they hold a big responsibility in the society, right, feelings are important in the society. Once we start making those decisions, then there will be more space for Greenlanders. We Greenlanders are too meek, we accept that power is in the hands of others now.

A: So when your working group comes with recommendations, it could be a demand to mining companies, based on Human Rights, that people working in their country can work using their own language. As it is now, you cannot work in Seqi for example, if you don't speak Danish. It really is like that now.

LEJ: When we gain total power, only then can we make the laws. We must get away from mutual decision-making powers. When we have self-governance, then mining will be totally the responsibility of Greenlanders. Only then will Greenlanders have the a chance to make the decisions they want, in parliament and the government. Without prior negotiations with the Danes. This matter you mentioned can never be a negotiation matter, to be agreed between Greenlanders and Danes.

A: The inequality in power between Denmark and Greenland, like language problems and lack of decision-making powers, is it because we have been colonized, that management runs like that?

LEJ: This is a long an painful process. We are on the road to independence that I have

[20] *Radioavisen, den 16. februar 2006. www.knr.gl.*

outlined, but we must not forget the history, like family ties and personal feelings. We will have to put ourselves first, which is hard, and it is hard to find the right way to do it.

Our Home Rule administration is staffed with lots of Danes. We cannot just wait for their replacements. We must supervise this and create jobs to be staffed with Greenlanders. We must demand of our companies that they must have Greenlandic managers within a certain amount of time. Only when those steps has been taken, then we have mental decolonizing, and our own self-confidence can start to grow.

A: Or the reverse? Once we have mentally decolonized ourselves, then we can become managers?

LEJ: I myself have also been thinking like that, but this mental colonizing task will just grow even bigger if we don't stop it. For example, when you look at the discussion, when I say something a bit strong about Greenlandisizing, then I am opposed by fellow Greenlanders. Mental colonization is that strong. Right. The Danes don't disagree that much.

A: You mean that the colonizing isn't that unconscious?

LEJ: I mean that looking at colonizing from the Danish point of view, it really isn't unconscious. Danes are keeping hold of Greenland very consciously. That is this way of organizing, structuring we must get more used to. Administer, right. Greenlandisizing, hiring Greenlanders in the staff, we must be more ambitious to organize this. We must administer this, organized. Not just have it as a goal in the discussions, but through actions. Right now we lack action. Like saying that in the offices and corporations of Home Rule at least one of the managers must be Greenlandic. Among the top leaders. And to say the staff must be Greenlandic, in this office. It is necessary the staff is Greenlandic. Of course this must be done following the international legislations,but it is possible. To make our opinions in certain questions regarding greenlandization as an angle. Just like if we now discuss privatizing. If the Home Rule holdings are going to be privatized now, then most likely the result will be Danification. Because today the number of Greenlanders who can buy corporations is limited. Therefore we must start by demanding that they must have Greenlandic staff, Greenlandic managers. To demand this.

A: There must be some kind of means of power in the staffing of offices, when you keep hiring Danes, when the argument is that Greenlanders don't apply for this job?

LEJ: It is because we don't have demands. It is still not a demand that they must be Greenlandic, right. When it becomes a demand, then of course applicants will become Greenlandic. In many job ads, for example, administration is run very Danish, right. Therefore Danes are more drawn to it. But if we make administration more Greenlandic, and this can only happen if we have Greenlandic staff, then it will become more attractive. And also to those who wish to study, right. Today it is not a bait to have workplaces that are not much Greenlandic, even though they are owned by Greenlanders, they are run in a not very Greenlandic manners.

But when it comes to mining I mean it is important that this fight we have right now, that is what we run now. To move the decision-making powers from Denmark to Greenland. As it is now, it is staffed mostly by ethnic Danes, but is now run from Greenland. For example it is evident which of the Danes in the Joint Committee on Mineral Resources in Greenland who are Danes from Denmark and who are Danes who work in Greenland. The difference between them is very big. You can really tell where their loyalty is.

There are Danes who work in Greenland and who are loyal to Greenland. It is very evident for example in the area of mining. But there are also Danes who runs big corporations, who are not very loyal to Greenland. There I point this out, we cannot just wait for Greenlanders to apply for jobs, but we must create jobs that must be staffed by Greenlanders. It is likely we will demand this from the government this year. That they create a certain amount of jobs for Greenlanders. Danes are very clever when it

comes to resources, they can smell everything that smells of money.

A: If the Faroese model is going to be used to Greenland, then we must pay the expenses to institutions like GEUS. Do you see yourself working with GEUS or..?

LEJ: We had a vision about it once. When we made an agreement to move the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum to Greenland in 1997. Then it was discussed to keep the Greenlandic department in GEUS apart from the rest, and that they should work for Greenland from there. Then GEUS moved deeper into Danish matters. Now they discuss moving it to Copenhagen University. It is deeper integrated to the Danes. Therefore it is necessary that Greenland establishes something like GEUS for its own in Greenland. If we are to keep our independence from the Danes.

A: I visited GEUS this morning. Of course they have lots of arguments as to why it is impossible to move GEUS to Greenland. That the expertise will disappear if moved to Greenland, and the network will be lost.

LEJ: It doesn't seem like Greenland can think otherwise in the long run. No matter how important GEUS, the Danish institution, is, we must create something to replace it. We must have our own geological surveys in Greenland. We can't become an oil producing country or exploit our minerals if we don't have our own geological survey.

A: Is it Greenlandization to create something like GEUS with solely Danish staff, for example in Nuuk? And call it Greenlandization because it has a Greenlandic manager, is it truly Greenlanzation then?

LEJ: It is Greenlandization, although it isn't a complete Greenlandization. If it is a complete Greenlandization, then all the staff would be Greenlandic. But I think we must make up our minds regarding employing other nationalities other than Danes also. It could result in a feeling of being a part of globalization, and not just being related only to Danes. I don't understand Greenlandization to mean that all the staff is only Greenlandic, we must have an open mind to have expertise from other nationalities also, not only from Denmark. But the decision-making, the responsibility, and also the loyalty, must be in Greenland.

A: Can you explain more about the working groups?

LEJ: We make a draft to the law about self-governance, to consider Greenlanders as a people based on the human rights principle. The working group on economics works on what to do with the Block Grant. Everytime we have an income of DKK1, will there be DKK1 taken from the Block Grant? Then there is the working group on minerals. They have finished their work, except that they gave the task of assessing ownership to land to the working group for state og human rights.

A: I haven't been looking at the other working groups, believing they don't have anything to do with minerals!

LEJ: But right now minerals and petroleum are mixed up in everything.

A: That is the interesting part! Our resources!

LEJ: Mineral exploitation has already started. Molybden in east Greenland, close to Illoqqortoormiit. Gold in Nanortalik, Rubies in Qeqertarsuatsiaat – it has already begun. Gold can be exploited in Nuuk any minute now. South of Atammik there is platinum and diamonds. Exploitations of all those minerals are all starting up.

There is a wish to start surveys west of Nuussuaq. When the licensing round was opened this summer, the biggest oil companies in the world fought for the licenses. Because it is most likely that there is lots of oil. Seismic data are now being evaluated. If it is true, then there can be several 100 billion barrels of oil for the next 30 years. Right now one barrel of oil costs US$ 75. In today's oil prices, we could have oil for the next 30 years to the value of 200 billion.

Between Upernavik and Avanersuaq, west of Baffin Bay, at the bottom of the ocean, there may be oil. In east Greenland, we expect to find oil fields the size of the oil fields in Saudi Arabia. Therefore, in the next coming years, discussions of the Block Grant will have no relevance at all. That sum is so small, we will no longer be needing it, if the

Lars-Emil Johansen. Photo: Siumut.

expectations are fullfilled. In the next 5-10 years.

A: Then do you believe we will still be under the state of Denmark if we have loads of money?

LEJ: That is our first test. The first test to both Danes and Greenlanders. Are we bound only by money, or are we bound by something else. Some people believe we are only bound by money. But I believe…

A: Perhaps we will be giving Denmark grants in the future?

LEJ: That is how it can very well be. Or that Greenland have some form of payments to Denmark.

A: What do you believe?

LEJ: I personally mean that if we can use the benefits between Greenland and Denmark. If we can stop having the Danes as managers but work together with them instead.

A: Are they our managers now?

LEJ: Yes. We are very much run by them, they are big barriers to us. This annoying constitution that we never did ratify, that they forced us to use. If we can get away from those matters. If we can talk together as equals. For many Greenlanders, the Danish educational system is of big interest. We can also make agreements regarding those matters, we can pay for them. We can use the Danish educational system, to have a well educated Greenland. There can be other matters as well. For example, we can travel in Denmark without needing to have a passport. To work in Denmark with a work permit. To have holidays in Denmark. If there can be made some agreements. It could also be necessary to have some cooperation in foreign affairs. If we can make arrangements like those. Stop the power struggles and become equals. If we can have a Free Association it could be good.

A: There are now lots of discussions about changing the constitution in Denmark now. Can't it be changed out of the wishes of Greenland?

LEJ: There can be some principal decisions made regarding that. But out of my knowledge of Danish politicians through many years, I really don't expect that the Danes will change even one comma because of Greenlanders.

A: Why not?

LEJ: The Danes think only of themselves. They never made a constitution for our sake. They made a constitution for their own sake. That is what every nations does. Therefore we must have a constitution for our sake. One we make ourselves.

A: Then it can be said that the Danes still truly consider us as their colony?
LEJ: When it comes to their constitution, they treat us as their colony. Perhaps they don't consider us like that. But they treat us like their colony.
A: Can I write that in the report?
LEJ: Yes. These are matters that could have been overcome otherwise. For example being bound only by money.
A: The constitution is only a tool?
LEJ: There is nothing in the constitution saying that it is prohibited to have a Free Association with Greenland. But many Danish officials will say that it is impossible. It can happen only when you get out of the constitution. Then I tell them that we have never ever entered your constitution. It was your decision. Of course Greenlanders like Jørgen Fleischer thinks that the National Counsil (Landsråd, which had a consultant role for the Danish Government until the introduction of the Home Rule of Greenland in 1979) accepted it. But no parliament has this power on behalf of their people, to make a decision regarding a constitution. Even the Danish constitution can't be changed by a decision made by the Danish parliament only. It can only happen if the parliament decides, and then people must vote, and after that another decision must be made for a change. If we were equals, then the respect to us would also have been bigger.
A: What about now, is it only because they think we are cute that they have Greenland as a part of the state of Denmark?
LEJ: No, they don't even think we are cute! It all comes back to those 2% of BNP, their obligations to NATO. They use 18 billion when they should have used 26 billion. They may not think we are cute, but we save them some DKK 8-10 billion.
A: But how come they have Greenland as a part of the state of Denmark?
LEJ: Because they earn money by having us as a part of Denmark. The Danish membership of the security council is partly due to Greenland. Greenland ice as a part of the climate research is a benefit to Denmark.
A: Why don't you use these as weapons?
LEJ: We use them as weapons, but they are difficult to point out with commas and all. And those matters are not much supported by Greenlanders. I personally use them very much as weapons. For example, simply the matter that Denmark saves more than DKK 10 billion through us, but we think that we are an expense to Denmark, because of the DKK 3 billion in Block Grants. Denmark makes money on us, we just have difficulties proving this.

But it doesn't mean that we will receive DKK 8 billion if we split from Denmark, which is what Denmark gains through us. No doubt Denmark will get higher expenses to military and defense. Then they will be have to use DKK 26 billion to DKK 30 billion on military and defense. And no doubt Denmark's exports to USA would fall to Greenland. The upgradings of the Thule radar will fall to Greenland. Right now, Denmark gets the benefits, through Greenland.

No doubt Denmark and Greenland will meet in a different way if Greenland starts to have lots of oil revenues or so. As the late Greenlandic author Hans Lynge used to say when he was asked how Greenland would use the oil revenues; "Denmark is a nice country, so we will buy it". When I told the anecdote at a meeting in the Faroe Island, a Faroese replied that if we wish to buy Denmark, we will be have to buy Denmark from the Icelandics first!

From the AHDR, "trends and forecasts" of economic systems chapter:

Furs and whales are still used in customary economy to a great extend [sic], but they are no longer the most sought-after resources. For more than a century, the vast quantities of mineral resources, especially hydrocarbons, have taken over that role in the Arctic. The exploitation is likely to continue in years to come, subject to the conjunction of three principal factors.

Firstly, the exploitation woul dbe contingent on the rising prices of metals that are abundant in the Arctic, such as nickel and gold, which would render exploitation of distant deposits profitable, nonwithstanding generally high costs of production and transportation. This presupposes that, in the long run, the demand for these metals should remain strong.

Secondly, despite the weak increase in demand for petroleum over the past few years, economic and geopolitical factors have given non-POPEC countries a new role in proucti-on. In particular, suply is rising in Russia (which has become the second largest exporter in the world), in Canada, and in the United States. A considerable portion of the reserves under development is situated in the northern parts of these countries: in Western Siberia, in the Northwest Territories and the Mackenzie River Delta, in Alaska, and in the Beaufort Sea.

Thirdly, world gas consumption has been growing. In the coming decades, more new gas pipeline projects transporting this fuel from the Arctic to markets, including southern Canada, the United States, Western Europe, and the very fast growing market of China, would intensify this type of exploitation. Taken together, these trends, if realized, wil perpetuate the Arctic's global economic role as a vast reservoir of resources.

(AHDR 2004:79-80)

Iceland

By Anna Karlsdóttir

Iceland dilapidated building
Photo: Anna Karlsdóttir

Women and fisheries follow-up survey

By Anna Karlsdóttir, University of Iceland

On March 4th 2005, former Minister of Fisheries Árni M. Mathiesen set up a committee, the objective of which was to investigate what job functions women filled in the largest fisheries companies in Iceland. The reason for the appointment was the lack of prominent women among leaders in the sector. Mr. Árni Mathiesen thereby responded to the general findings of the Arctic Council's work from 2002-2004 and its report on Women's Participation in Decision-Making Processes in Fishery Resource Management in the Arctic.

The committee was composed of six members, and one committee secretary. Six of 7 members were women deriving from industry, universities and a law company. The ratio of women in this committee is unusual for committees set up my the Ministry of Fisheries, and it certainly is an incremental improvement of women's representation in the ministries committees in general.

The committee came to the conclusion that conducting a survey focusing on gendered division of labour, generational division and the company managers' perceptions of women's roles would be required to meet the standards given by the Minister. The survey design was developed with regard to a survey compiled for the European Commission Directorate General for Fisheries, conducted in 2001. The commission agreed that it would be crucial to investigate carefully what is causing women's lack of visibility in the sector, and saw the survey as a step in assessing the real situation of women within fishery companies, getting closer to an answer on what jobs women hold and how their roles are perceived by executives of the companies

The survey was distributed among the largest companies with annual revenues exceeding ISK 500 million. Acquisitions and amalgamations between companies in 2004 meant that 29 companies were in the sample encompassing both fishing and/or fish processing companies. The commission received responses from 18 companies, employing 2359 people, approximately 20% of the total labour force involved in the fishery sector in Iceland.

Table 1: Number of employed, divided by gender, in fisheries and fish processing 1998-2004

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Fisheries							
Women	780	840	800	730	720	680	860
Men	5940	5860	5410	5060	5130	4800	4320
Total	6720	6700	6210	5790	5850	5480	5180
Fish processing							
Women	3930	3400	3130	3040	3010	2800	2630
Men	4070	3780	3470	3530	3520	3560	3920
Total	8000	7180	6600	6570	6530	6360	6550

As prescribed by law nr. 96/2000 on equal gender status and rights, the objective of the law is to establish and maintain equal rights and opportunities for women and men and equalise their situation in all sectors of society. Furthermore, all individuals should be given equal opportunities to enjoy their own capacities and to develop their abilities independent of gender. According to the law, one way in which this is achievable is to encourage equal access for women vs. men in decision-making and policy-making in society, as well as enabling sound coordination between family- and work life and thus improve the status of women and improve their possibilities in society.[1]

Both genders, women and men, have stakes in natural resource extraction and development. Thus, decisions made on that affects them alike. Policy-making and creation of law-based framework is much likelier to sustain welfare if both women and men are taken in to account in the decision-making process.

Main questions in the survey focused on enterprise organisation, nature of activities, gender division and ratio, gender ratio in executive positions and boards, age composition, and duty factor. Additional question focused on overtime, methods for recruitment, auxiliary education and availability of courses, flexible work arrangements and equal rights policies in human resource management of the company. Finally perceptual questions were posed, such as whether women were drawn to certain positions more than others, whether they avoided overtime or avoided responsibilities, if they were more competent leaders than male leaders and whether it would benefit the company to increase number of women in leading positions and boards.

Results show that dominating organisation of enterprise is joint stock companies (50%) and private stock companies (50%). Most companies are involved in fishing and/or fish processing of round fish, the fewest are involved in shrimp fishing or processing.

Table 2

Activities of the company?	
Fishing	16
Round fish processing	12
Shrimp processing	2
Pelagic processing	5
Salt Cod/bacalau processing	6
Other	8

The ratio of women in the total workforce among responding companies is 39%. Work security is much less for women than men, in the sense that the ratio of women workforce in part time jobs, temporary jobs or seasonal jobs is much greater than for men, or 72%.

Table 3. Work arrangement divided by gender

Gender division in work arrangements	**Number of women**	**Women %**	**Number of men**	**Total Number**
Full time job	502	30	1187	1689
Part time job	153	88	21	174
Seasonal or temporary job	139	60	93	232
Foreign workers	134	51	130	264
Total	928	39	1431	2359

[1] *Lög nr. 96/2000 um jafna stöðu og jafnan rétt kvenna og karla.*

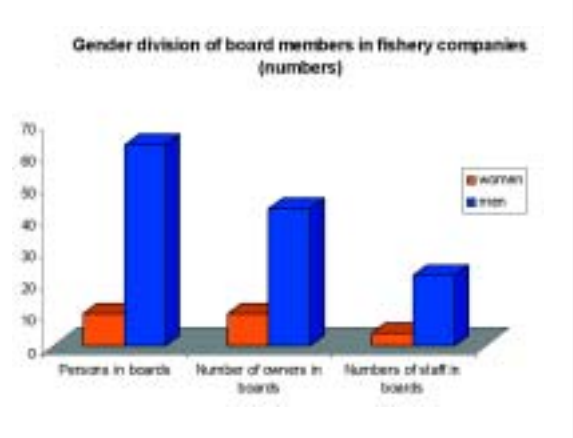
The results of the survey show that 25% of men involved as staff in the companies are aged between 30-45 %, whereas only 15% of women are that age. Only 9% of women occupied are below thirty. The gender ratio is equal after the age of 60. Overtime arrangements are very varied, but women on average work 4 hours overtime per week, while men's average is 6,5 hours pr. week.

Table 4. Number of persons divided by gender and job functions in responding fishery companies.

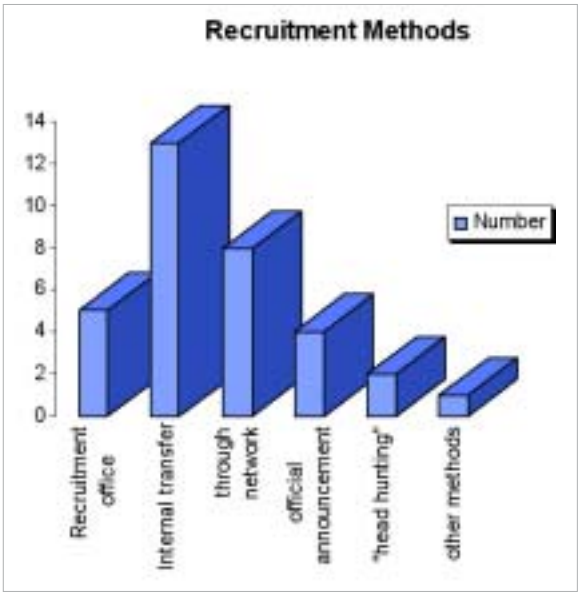
Number of persons in following job functions	Number of companies Women	Number of companies Men
Board	6	17
General Director/Chief Manager	4	16
Chief financial officer	8	6
Marketing director	1	5
Processing foreman	3	12
Shipping director	1	11
Quality manager	9	5
Research and Development	3	3
Human resource manager	4	4
Unloading fish	1	12
Foreman position	6	13
Processing	12	9
Packing	10	3
Machine work	7	12
Fishing	2	13
General office work	17	8
Other	3	7

Number of persons divided by gender and job functions in responding fishery companies.

Women's ratio in the boards of the companies participating in the survey is low. According to respondents, 10 out of 73 board members are women, only 14%. There is a mismatch between **Fyrirtækjaskrá**, the official firm registry, and the respondents' answers. According to the firm registry 5 women are board members, or only 7%.

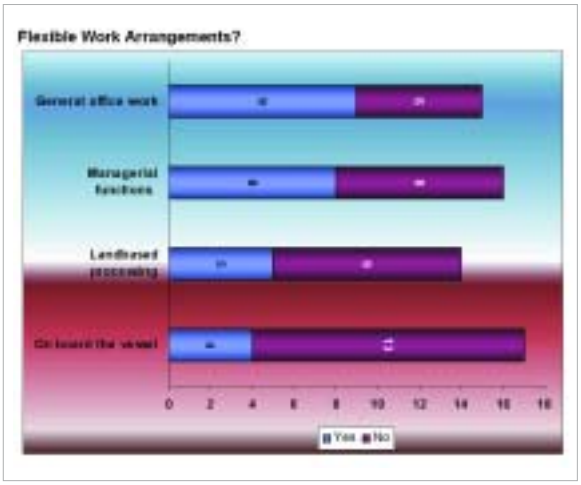


Most companies use staff transfer or professional or social networks as method of recruitment practice.



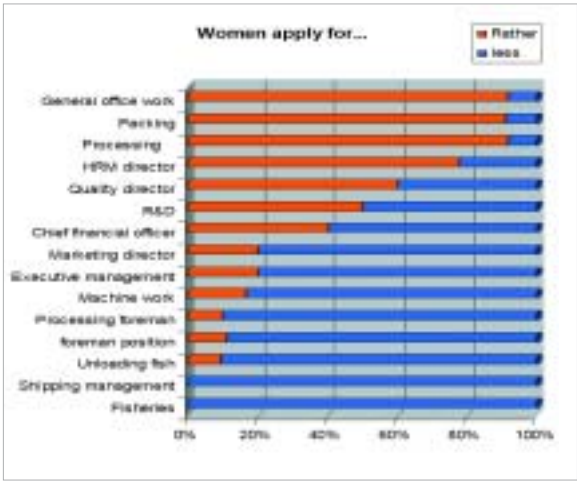
Most of the companies offer course activities. 16 out of 18 companies sent staff on work-related courses, while eight had sent workers on capacity-building courses and four had sent their staff on hobby-related courses.

Only four of 17 companies in fishing, and five of 14 in landbased fish processing offer flexible work arrangements for their staff. On the other hand, half of them (9) offer flexible work hours for executives and administrative staff.



Only five of 18 companies meet the law requirements to provide a written equal rights policy. Only three of five companies have an implementation plan or active policy on equal rights. Those five companies also prove more positive towards women in general in the survey. The attitude towards women and equal rights is less positive among the rest, the companies not meeting law requirements. Almost half of the respondents think that an equal rights policy will not improve the status of women in their company, while seven companies do not have an opinion. Only three companies believe in the values of equal rights policies as a steering tool to achieve increased equality.

Approximately 44% of respondents did not perceive a gender difference in women seeking certain leading positions. Neither did they perceive that women do apply for certain general positions. All respondents do believe that women apply less for jobs in management of shipping business and only one company thinks that women tend to apply for jobs in processing management. The respondents seem to agree on women's rather applying for human resource management positions, quality management positions and within research and development, than for managing director positions, chief financial officer positions and marketing director positions.



The respondents perceive that women are not avoiding overtime to a greater extent than male staff, and a majority of respondents do not agree to the statement that women avoid increased responsibilities. Most of the respondents perceive that women managers

would benefit their companies. Eight of the respondent did agree that women were more dutiful than their male colleagues; seven companies were neutral to the statement.

It thus seems that companies within the fishery sector are improving women's status, though it seems a long way for them to achieve equal status within managerial functions. It is the impression of the committee that twenty to thirty years ago the landscape of managers in the sector was solely occupied by male managers in functions like chief financial officers, human resource managers positions, quality assurance managing positions and in research and development.

All the same, the fishery sector is still male dominated as 70% of jobs within the sector, fisheries and processing alike, are occupied by men. In fishery business the ratio of men is even greater, or 83,4%. Women represent 40% in fish processing.

The results of the survey showed that women occupy only 14% of board seats, which is a slightly higher ratio than among the 100 largest corporations in Iceland. Board participation is remunerated in more than half of responding companies. Presumably the requirement to compensated boards is greater than in companies that don't remunerate their board members. Most of the companies surveyed are family enterprises (72%) and 73% of the board members are also owners of the operations. 36% of board members are staff. Representation in boards thus seems to rest on the principle of ownership, in which women to lesser extent are represented, than as staff.

SUMMARY OF THE COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS:

On the background of these findings the committee recommends following actions taken.

That actions will be taken to implement further laws requiring companies to fulfill the equal right requirements with a 40/60 ratio aim, and to develop strategies to punish companies if they don't respond to the requirements after a certain period of adaptation to new policies.

That increased emphasis is put into coordinating education related to fisheries into the school system in efforts to restore the image of the sector and respect for it, by strengthening and developing vocational skills and manual and technological knowledge related to it.

That various strategies will be developed to campaign for better image of the sector in various areas, especially among the young population.

Photo: Anna Karlsdóttir.

Women's role and situation in the fishery sector in the Eastfjords of Iceland

By Anna Karlsdóttir, University of Iceland

ABSTRACT

Profound transformation of the industrial structure in Eastfjords of Iceland is taking place. Heavy industrial development based on aluminium smelter and hydroelectric power development construct a new era in the modernisation of East Iceland. The fishery sector has been decreasing in importance in the last decades, both in relation to jobs, as well as source of GNP. The national and local authorities expectation is thus that the new industrial development in the region will spur the otherwise devolusive region, and that it will increase job alternatives to select from for inhabitants in the area.

There is something in the air – Seyðisfjörður sky, late summer evening. Photo: Anna Karlsdóttir.

The objective of the research is to gain an insight into the participation of women in resource development, and their situation and role in the fisheries in the Eastfjords during times of societal transformation that focus on construction of heavy industry. Eighteen qualitative interviews were conducted with women that work in the fishery and fish processing companies in the area. The main conclusion after processing and analyzing the interviews is that women's role and status in the fishery sector has not altered nor have there been new occupational possibilities created.

INTRODUCTION

In the last years, the Icelandic Eastfjords have been characterised by great industrial structural changes because of a megaproject development based on hydro-electric power plant construction in Kárahnjúkar Area, north of Vatnajökull, and construction of an aluminium smelter by Reyðarfjörður. Some turmoil has been connected to this mega project imposed by the national government. The major argument for construction of this kind is improved regional economic development and increased job possibilities for men and women inhabitants in the area. This research was compiled in the spring and summer of 2006 with important support from the Research fund of the University of Iceland, The Student Innovation Fund and the Ministry of Fisheries, and a crucial back-up from the Research Center for women and gender studies at the University of Iceland. The project is a part of the "women and natural resources in the rural north" project. It is furthermore a project that will proceed during the International Polar Year as the Icelandic contribution to the "Processes of socio-economic changes in the Circumpolar North, with focus on gender and intra-generational relations" project approved by the ICSU (International Council for Science) within the Human Dimension program of IPY 2007-2008.

The main objective of the research is to investigate women's participation in the fishery sector in the Eastfjords, in times of deep-seated change in the communities impacted.

BACKGROUND

During the last years, profound changes have taken place in the east region of Iceland due to a state-initiated hydropower project in the Kárahnjúkar area and the construction of the hitherto largest aluminium smelter in Reyðarfjörður. Involving 3 large dams (the largest being 190 metres high) and a 57km^2 reservoir, it will supply electricity to an aluminium smelter to be built by Alcoa. It is being built in the East Icelandic highlands and will fundamentally alter the fragile environment of the area. Five hundred nesting sites of the rare pink-footed goose

will be flooded, and Iceland's only reindeer herd is likely to diminish. According to independent studies wetlands downstream are also likely to be impacted. The aluminium smelter will need 400 permanent staff in several different functions. They comprise such fields as electricians, mechanics, specialist in labs (biology, chemical engineering etc), manufacturing functions and administrative staff. The Alcoa human resource management policy is to recruit women equally with men. The Alcoa staff is already being recruited gradually but full activities will start 2007/ 2008.

On the background of this development, it is interesting to examine the perceptions of women living in the impact area of the project. To what extent do women influence resource development in own local community? Are they empowered to exercise influence on the fate of their own regional habitat by initiating or speaking up about development and business opportunities. Are women's opinions listened to in the workplace? How do the women see the future shaped for their families and children in the region?

The Icelandic parliament had discussed a scheme to engage in power development by building a hydropower plant in order to mobilise possibilities for heavy industrial development in East Iceland. In short, the Althingi decided on the issue with different decisions (involving different rivers and variations of power development) in 1954, again in 1964, later in 1974 and 1979, 1981 and 1990. It was thus not a new subject in the parliament during the 125.parliament gathering in late 1999 (Alþingi Íslands 1999).

Regional development was stagnating during the 1990s and massive migration of especially young people seeking further education or other occupational possibilities was widely observed. In 1999, the government of Iceland signed a treaty meant to initiate the hydro-power dam to enable the build-up of an aluminium smelter, thus diversifying occupational possibilities in the region. At first Norwegian Hydro had plans to be involved but withdrew. After the government had various negotiations with several Aluminium corporations, Alcoa decided to build a plant.

During the parliamentary debate the government's approach to the issue was that this form of resource extraction development in the region would be crucial for strengthening the regional development in the area, and they argued that they were acting against the outmigration. In short, the MP's opposing were unsatisfied with those arguments and demanded new environmental impact assessments in order to more wholly assess the impacts on nature and wildlife, the economy and the Eastfjord communities.

The project received at last the green light in 2003 and the same year the construction began. The multiplicatory effects of such a large-scale project are hard to describe. The construction activities have required extra manpower and there has been an influx of migrant workers from all over the country and from abroad. 1200 migrant workers, mainly from China, Poland and the Baltic states have got occupational opportunities in the area, as well as hundreds of East-Icelanders and Icelanders from other areas. This controversial political issue was widely debated in public arenas as well as by NGOs

and environmental activist groups, both nationally and internationally. However, little is known about the effects and possibilities of women, especially those making living from the decreasing occupations in the primary industries, predominantly the fishery sector, and agriculture.

Around 1000 people from all over the country were gathered in the Reyðarfjörður Sports Hall to witness the signing of the contract of an aluminium smelter plant in Reyðarfjörður after nearly three decades of waiting (Reyðarfjörður 2003). Great expectations were related to this single largest construction project in Icelandic history, which is a mega-project even in international context (Kjartan Ólafsson 2003).

Soon it became evident that the increased occupational opportunities were by large bridged by foreign migrant labour, predominantly from Poland, Portugal and China. As an example, by the end of 2005 example the east-municipalities had gained an extra 1544 Polish, Portuguese and Chinese inhabitants (Hagstofan 2006).

Little effort had been devoted to research the social impacts of the project or more precise knowledge on what impact it ha for women. In 2003 a parliamentary resolution was signed (March 11th, 2003) stating that a research project was to be carried out to monitor the actual effects of the construction projects in East-Iceland. Since 2003 the Regional Research Center at University of Akureyri, with Kjartan Ólafsson as Sociologist in charge, has been responsible for this project. The research so far has mainly focused on general social and economic multiplicatory effects of construction activities, as well as systematically conducting perceptual surveys in the region (Kjartan Ólafsson 2004).

PARTICIPATION IN STRATEGY-MAKING, AND FOCUS ON WOMEN

Local participation in future strategy-making became visible through democratic forums in brainstorming workshops on the future visions set by local inhabitants, held in 2002. Many women attended the future workshop, and the main results were that inhabitants found job opportunities to have become less varied. In the discussion about prospects for the multiplicatory effects of an eventual megaproject development, there was a lot of discussion about equal rights and jobs with in the aluminium smelter plant. Inhabitants found that jobs in tourism, forestry and aquaculture rested within near future, while it did surprisingly not explicitly include the fishery sector as one of the economic sectors for the future of the area (Íbúaþing 2002).

Alcoa and the state power company (Landsvirkjun) did initiate an advisory panel on sustainable development in the east region. The appointed representatives came from a wide variety of institutions,

"Men have hitherto been leading in the implementation of sustainable development but things have moved slowly. Female perspectives and their experience and wisdom might be the motivating power needed to speed this process"

(Umhverfisráðuneytið – sterkari saman)

and

"It is clear that women, not less than men have great interests in extraction of natural resources of the country and sea, as decisions upon it have as much impact on womens lifes as mens. Womens perspectives can strengthen the conditions for improved management and decision-making. Another approach, where women's stands as well as men's are taken equally into consideration, could improve possibilties for finding better solutions on sustainable use of the country's natural resources."

(Sterkari saman – jafnrétti og sjálfbær þróun).

municipalities and industries. Women represented 36% of the persons active in panel, and 50% of the consultants in the panel. The objective of the advisory panel on sustainable development was to develop a consensus on ratios for the use of assessing the achievement of Alcoa and the State power company towards sustainable development, in the construction, the operation of the hydropower plant and for the aluminium smelter (Alcoa – Landsvirkjun, Sjálfbærni-verkefni, Áfangaskþrsla 2006).

One of the by-products of the work of the advisory panel was a publication/flyer about equal rights and sustainable development (Umhverfisráðuneytið 2005). Two quotes from this brief publication are interesting from an equal rights perspective. They are merely a declaration of will, rather than a reality.

Alcoa's human resource strategy for the Reyðarfjörður plant has from the beginning taken equal rights into account. The company has from the beginning decided that their objective on women labour shold be 50%, they have actively pursued that goal in their human resource management and recruitment strategy.

Tengslanet austfirskra kvenna (Network of Eastfjord women) has been established, a regional women's network with over 150 members, aimed at capacity-building in the region. The participants are predominantly educated women in the region, trying to exercise influence i.e. in business and job development in the region. Only one participant is from the primary industries. She is a farmer, head of a board for women in agriculture in Iceland. None of the participants have fishery related jobs or fisheries activities backgrounds.

The project

METHODOLOGY

The interview participants were eighteen women. They lived in the area from Djúpavogur, located 122 km south of the new aluminium plant in Reyðarfjörður, and Vopnafjörður, 169 km north of the core activities. In what follows there will be given an account of the preparation of the project, the methodology applied, data collection and process of analysis.

METHODOLOGY APPLIED

The main aim of the project is not to quantify impacts or gain a quantitative structural overview in the region. The main aim above all is to put us in the shoes of a few individuals and understand their perspectives (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998). The main methodologies applied in qualitative research methods are participatory observation and open interviews. In participatory observation, the investigator is in the field and observes the social interaction of the participant as it happens. Open interviews are conducted so the investigator can achieve deeper understanding of the experience and perceptions of informants (Bogdan og Bilken 1982).

The investigators need to be careful not to impose their own views, beliefs, perceptions and formerly constructed ideas into the interview by posing questions in a certain way. The also need to be alert to other ways of influencing the informant in the interview situation. Optimally all perspectives are equal in qualitative research and the emphasis is put on the validity rather than appropriateness (Bogdan og Bilken, 1982). This applies with Donna Haraway's notion of partial and situated knowledges, emphasizing that an omniscient, detached observese stance is not possible in any kind of scholarly research (Gibson – Graham 1994). Central to the concept of situated knowledges is the idea that there is no one truth out there to be uncovered and, as a result, all knowledge is partial and linked to the contexts in which it is created (Nightingale 2003).

PREPARATION PHASE

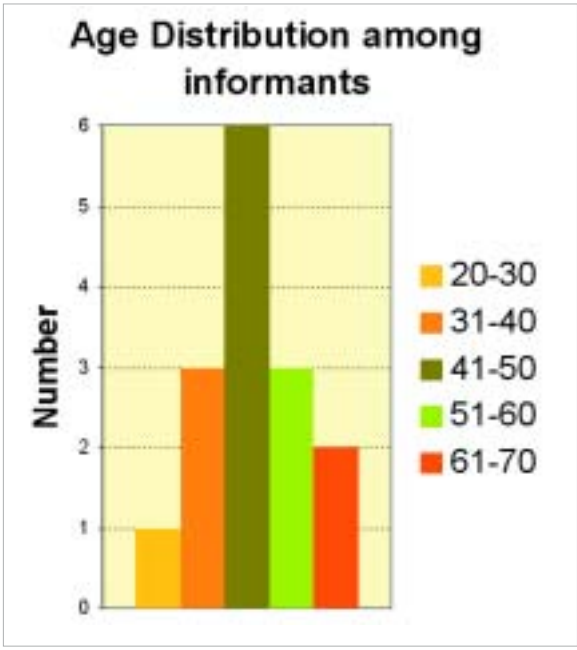
The investigation started by collecting information on the number of inhabitants in the eastfjords region delimited. That given, all companies/firms working within fisheries and fish processing were registered on background of information from the telephone book, from the firm registry and additional information retrieved from individual key informants. Operating managers or foremen of the operations were contacted and asked for a list of number of staff and their names, and on the women staff ratio in the companies. Additionally, information on the name and function of the women within the companies were retrieved. A number of women were picked out randomly from the lists and were then contacted by phone. They were introduced to the aims of the project and asked to participate in a semi structured interview.

PARTICIPANTS

The investigation was aimed at women that work in the fisheries sector, or that had recently stopped working there. According to the appointed ministry committee on women's situation in the largest fisheries companies in Iceland (2006, see above), the largest group of women involved in fisheries or fish processing is 30-45 years old. That applies to our informants in the fish processing in the eastfjords, too. Most of the women are around forty years old, one is thirty, and one is recently pensioned.
All of them have long vocational experience from fisheries in common. Two of the women are of foreign descent.

Most of the women work in the fish processing plants, in trimming and packing and other blue collar functions related to working in a fish processing plant. Three of them work with administrative assignments related to the operation of fishery companies, as middle managers, they also have experience from the floor of the plants. Two of the women had worked in the local labour union and as elected representatives of the staff within their workplaces.

In addition to these interviews, informal interviews were conducted with ten key



agents in the area to gain an impression of the atmosphere and the governing **stemning**, or "public mood", because of construction activities, and the situation the fishery sector in Iceland is living with. This account does not report that perspective of the study.

DATA COLLECTION

Data collection encompassed 16 semi structured interviews with individuals and one interview with two participants at a time. Certain ideas on subjects were formerly taken into regard in which the objective was to answer the research questions. Those comprised:

What is the role of women in fisheries during times of transformation in the East region and the construction of heavy industry?

What are the values behind their participation in the fishery sector?

How is the decision making among the women connected to the job they now hold, the future perspectives on job and the changes in occupation?
All the interviews except two took place in the homes of the informants. The last two interviews were done in the workplace. All the interviews were digitally recorded and then transcribed. After each interview the

most interesting points were synthesised. The research data encompassed 286 pages of transcribed interviews. In the following, the conclusions and discussion of the findings of previously described study are presented.

DISCUSSION

After processing the data, the subject could be disaggregated into several themes. In this part, the following themes will be presented, analysed and interpreted: Values behind occupational participation among women, perceptions towards work, perceptions towards megaproject development and the implementation of heavy industry in the region. Last, but not least, the women's expectations and plans for the future will be represented. Other interesting themes derived from the analysis are perceptions towards societal issues and politics, mobile and foreign labour issues in the fisheries and other sectors and discussion about men. Those themes will not be treated here.

Breiðdalsvík woman. Photo: Anna Karlsdóttir.

THE FISHERY SECTOR IN EAST COASTAL COMMUNITIES

The population of East Iceland counts 14.477 inhabitants (Hagstofan, 2006) and the constituency here is defined from Vopnafjörður in the north to Djúpivogur in the south. The fishery sector has been the mainstay of the economy for decades but its importance has diminished there like in other parts of the country in the last five years or so. Eight fishery companies including processing and shipping businesses operate in the investigation area, which encompasses several coastal communities /villages. Those are Djúpivogur, Breiðdalsvík, Stöðvarfjörður, Fáskrúðsfjörður, Eskifjörður, Neskaupsstaður og Vopnafjörður.

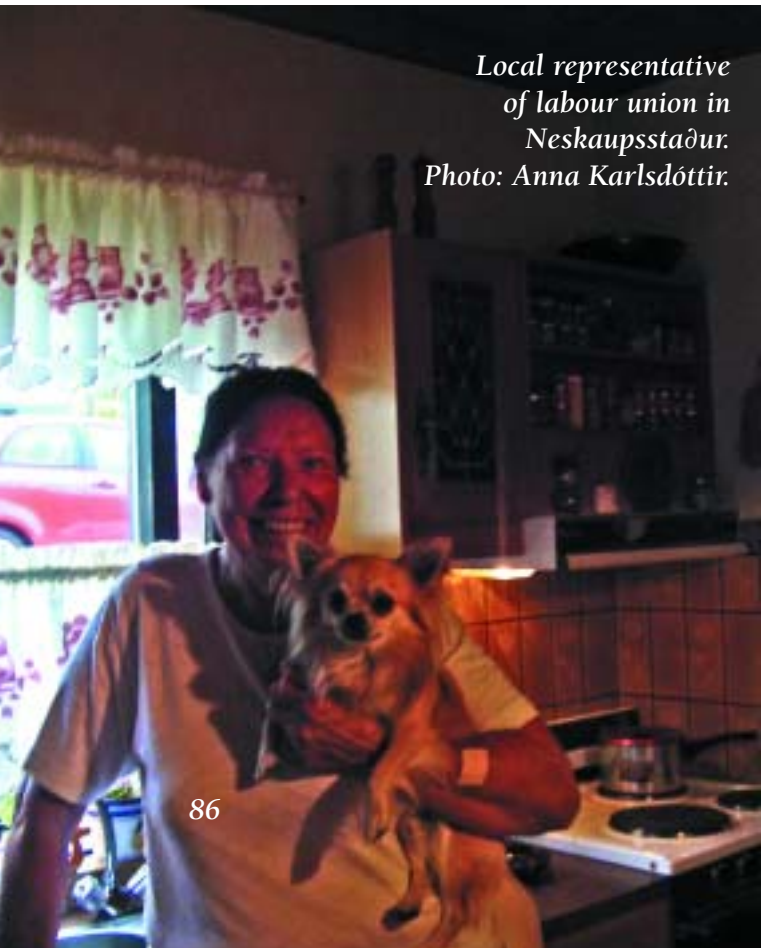
The population of Djúpavíkurhreppur, the municipality of Djúpavogur and surrounding rural area is 458 people. One fish-processing plant is in operation,owned and managed by a larger company called Vísir, with headquarters in South Iceland. 52 people are employed there, theref 23 women. The population in Breiðdalshreppur in the municipality of Breiðdalsvík is 232 people. The local fish-processing company called Fossvík employs 25 people where the majority is women. The municpality Fjarðarbyggð comprises the coastal communities of Reyðarfjörður, Eskifjörður and Neskaupstaður, Fáskrúðsfjörður and Stöðvarfjörður with surrounding rural areas count a population of 4.844. Skútuklöpp is the fishery company in Stöðvarfjörður. 6 people work there, half of them women. In Fáskrúðsfjörður Loðnuvinnslan is the main and only operating fishing plant where 160 people work, thereof 45 women. In Eskifjörður the company Eskja employs 153 people, thereof 34 women. Síldarvinnslan in Neskaupsstaður is the largest workplace with 205 employed, whereof 30 are women. As for Brimberg in Seyðisfjörður, where the population is 731, 45 work in the company. 35 of them are women. 725 people live in Vopnafjörður municipality and the surrounding rural area. The fish processing company in town is one

of the largest fishery companies in Iceland. The company, HB Grandi has one of its establishments there and 132 people's livelihoods depend on jobs there. 32 women are among the employees. (Samband Íslenskra sveitarfélaga, 2006 og Hagstofa Íslands, 2006). Thus 778 people work in the fishery companies in the area. Small scale inshore fishery boats are not included in this account. The fishery sector plays a crucial role in the coastal communities for occupation in the area and is very important for the participation of women in the labour market in the small coastal villages where choice between job alternatives is almost nonexistent.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF JOBS IN FISHERIES AND FISH PROCESSING 1995-2004 DIVIDED BY GENDER, IN THE RURAL AREAS OF ICELAND (OUTSIDE REYKJAVIK).

	Fisheries - Male	Fisheries - Female	Fish processing	Fish processing - female
1995	5200	500	4000	4000
1996	5000	500	3900	3500
1997	4700	300	3300	3700
1998	4300	500	3000	3600
1999	4800	800	3100	2400
2000	4200	800	3500	2700
2001	3900	500	3200	2900
2002	3500	400	2800	3000
2003	3700	300	2500	2400
2004	3200	400	2300	2500

Source: Hagstofa Íslands 2006.



Local representative of labour union in Neskaupsstaður. Photo: Anna Karlsdóttir.

VALUES BEHIND WORK PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE FISHERY COMPANIES

Most of the informants except two are born and raised in coastal communities or in the rural areas. Most of the informants' family members worked in the fishery sector while they were being brought up. Most of the women interviewed had earlier had plans to achieve an education but none of them fulfilled their dreams. They started young as workers in the fishing plant. Several different reasons caused them not to follow a further education. Some of them had kids while they were young; others took extended leave from school to earn money. Others said that possibilities were fewer when they were young and that they would have to travel a long way to participate in education. Two of the informants expressed this as follows:

„...then I had a child when I was 16 years old, so going to school was impossible."
„ ...I went to primary school and not more. I had plans to attend more schooling but it never happened."

Most of the women have considered changing work field but they all mentioned that possibilities were few.
„ ... otherwise I would have started working with something totally different here."

According to the women, it is comfortable to coordinate the job at the fish plant with family life as it is easy to take time off when needed. Most of the women said that they could not imagine working shift hours, having to work weekends and take night shifts for similar pay as in the fish processing f.ex in an aluminium smelter. Most of the women say they are not interested in advancement within the company; they do not want to become superior over their colleagues, even if it was offered to them. The reason being that they would feel uncomfortable about giving instructions to the other female colleagues they have been working with for a long time. One of the women phrased it as follows:

„ ...well, I don't think that I am good enough to be able to monitor others' work and criticise it."

The women who were positive towards advancement say it is difficult. Few positions are offered and if they are, typically young male colleagues are recruited, enhancing their possibilities.

„ ... It is rather annoying ... it is always the same people as foremen that monitor herring and salmon processing. In fact I know that I will not be able to advance. The executive calls a guy that knows something about computers to assist him. This has not changed for twenty years, and it will not for the next ten years."

A conclusion can be drawn that in smaller communities fewer possibilities do exist for further education, though it is gradually changing. Uneducated women have not many job possibilities to choose from and therefore they work in the fish processing. It is interesting to reflect on the power of decision-making and agency of women involved, on own life situation. They all say that they would prefer an education but it seems that external circumstances, husbands or family situations have pacified them. It is hard to tell whether husbands or family situation is more influential in setting their life course. The women seem to have low self esteems and they do not feel entitled to rule. The ones that would like a career or to be able to participate in decision-making processes within the companies are not given the opportunity. The general perception is that social adaptation is more important than career.

PERCEPTIONS OF WORK

A certain nostalgia is attached to earlier times in the fishery processing. They agree that it used to be cheerful to work in the herring salting during the golden era of herring fisheries in Iceland, even though this work required much more physical stamina than nowadays. The atmosphere and working conditions have changed significantly in the later years because of increased automatization and newly implemented processing technology. The workplace is noisy and women are placed apart so that keeping up a conversation is not easy. The work has become more monotonous, repetitive and more boring, leaving the imprint that all the earlier attractive and fun perspectives of the work have now been offered up on the altar of an increased requirement for maximum return and efficiency.

„ ... So it is not as it used to be. There was a lot to offer in those days.. This has in fact become quite monotonous. It has become more boring."
„ ... It used to be much more fun to work with this in the old days, but with technology this becomes more monotonous and you tend to get isolated."

Some of the women talk as if they have become stuck in the fish processing, they would leave as soon as the opportunity to do so came about. The general perception is that they comply with it, making it appear as if they were happy, and they should be happy while there is some work available.

„ ... But you never intended this to be the future work. You just enter into the job in the summer season and then you get stuck somehow. Especially when you end up in an isolated village like this…If you are here you just end up in this."
„ ... There is nothing else to get. I don't want to work here there is just nothing else."

Other women are relatively content and do not want to work in other fields even if available.

„ ...I like working with fish, I can only imagine myself working with fish."

In spite of different perceptions, none of the women speak negatively about the work in the fish processing. The women seem to choose the role of adequacy and contentment. They talk about the work as being consistent and well paid job with regard to flexibility and work hours. They try to make their conditions bearable with a positive attitude, even in the cases where work hours have been cut because of the companies' rationalisation actions, making their salaries not fit to take care of their families.

There are several examples supporting that work in fish processing is perceived of as last resort work. This view is however not as outspoken in the coastal communities that have historically based living hood on fisheries, and where one or several in each family are connected with the sector. The image of the modern fish processing worker is that she is stupid and has learning disabilities. The women phrased this as follows:

, ,... People think that we don't have a brain."

These findings are supported by other studies conducted by Guðbjörg Linda Rafnsdóttir (1997). She has characterised this class of women workers as valkyrie heroines, where they women rely first and foremostly on themselves, they do not complain about their standard of living nor do they make demands of their employer, the labour union or other governing institutions. The Icelandic society's perception is that powerful women are supposed to have the capacity to continue even when undergoing distress. In that way the oppression is maintained and the women become slaves to the system.

, ,... People think that the people involved in fisheries are slow of mind and are unable to learn."
„ ...No, not exactly here but somehow this view exists somewhat, everywhere, we know that. Then there are people that don't want to catch the smell of fish and say they will never enter a plant."

By the same token, even though not acknowledged, there are significant manual skills and knowledge attached to this work-field, as well as the physical load involved. Working in a badly paid job that does not enjoy respect must inevitably lead to low self-esteem and depressive atmosphere within the workplace in the long term.

PERCEPTION TOWARDS A MEGAPROJECT

As devolusive as perspectives were for employment in the Eastfjords region by the millennium, a new supply of jobs to the region should have been a well received and sorely needed injection to fuel the regional economy. Some of the informants mentioned that they would have preferred that other paths had been chosen to resolve the problems of the region and to strengthen conditions for growth and development of new jobs. Outmigration, especially of young people between 20 and 40, was a fact, and the outmigration of women left the region with

Old fisheries and harbourfront buildings in Eskifjörður. Photo: Anna Karlsdóttir.

a gender imbalance more serious than in other parts of the country (Gíslason og Ólafsson, Norut 2005). One of the women answered the question about what was her point of departure for the decision taken about hydro-electric power plant construction and processing of aluminium as follows:

, ,... I felt it was exciting, but never believed it would come true. It had become rather sad and apathetic in the coastal communities. ... I think that if this had not been initiated many more people would have left."

Several women expressed concern over the alteration of the fragile environment in the inland where the power development construction was taking place, even though they did not disagree entirely with the project. One of the women phrased it as follows:

,, ... I don't know what to say because I sit by both ends of the table. I am not exalted by the Kárahnjúkar project; I am not in favour of the Kárahnjúkar plant. I think it is a frightening alteration of the nature ...but then it is also positive."

In spite of positive feelings and general pleasure with the ongoing changes, the women do not want to work with the construction activities. They mention distances, the bad state of the road connections and family conditions as main reasons behind not participating. Furthermore they feel that working in an aluminium smelter is not an interesting work field:

,, ...Well, I would find something else to do, I would try it but I am not sure I would stop by for a long time... I don't think aluminium smelters are interesting."

The possibilities of seeking jobs in the

aluminium smelter in Reyðarfjörður is partly dependent on where they live in the region, as well as bad roads. It is not favourable for family people to commute a long way especially when the roads are sometimes impassable during wintertime. Neither do the long shift hours attract the women responsible for children at home, as it can prove hard to leave if conditions require it at home.

„ ... It can take one and a half hour in the wintertime just to pass the Oddskarð (mountain road) in fog and slippery conditions. It is not at all fun."

The women say that they have not felt significant changes in their own conditions during the construction phase, even if their husbands have changed jobs and started working in connection with the construction. They mainly feel a certain positive difference in increase of service availability, such as an increased selection of food retail and houseware stores. Other than that they do express that they themselves are not touched by the development. It is men that gain increased job possibilities in connection with the construction. For example, several of the informants' husbands that used to work in the fisheries have gotten new jobs, seemingly because manual and machinery skills have become a valuable currency during the construction phase. It also seems as if they more freely can get jobs involving commuting even a long way, that male inhabitants have greater freedom compared to women, to be away from home for a longer time.

„ ...There are lots of men working elsewhere ...my husband started working in Kárahnjúkar in 2001 ...then he is just there. He works 12 days in a row and is back home for six days in between."

„ ...I would not do it. I think that it is much rather they (men) that take the risk of driving more and they have greater freedom to leave home."

The women in this study can not see increased possibilities connected to the construction. It is furthermore interesting that neither do they identify significant changes in welfare. In general, they have a tendency to distance themselves from the activities when talking about construction and job possibilities by saying such things as "This is not for me but for some others". We interpret this to mean that there is a limited will to express clear views, opinion and longings. This can partly be related to a harsh critique of the mega project development in the press as well as in public opinion lately.

Family life is a priority for the women in the survey. Photo: Anna Karlsdóttir.

FUTURE VISIONS

The aluminium smelter does not have a prominent place in the future visions of our informants, not for the women themselves, nor for their children's future perspectives according to the interviews. The informants put emphasis on their wish that their kids should seek further education. Some educational supply is offered for young inhabitants and some of the informants' children are students in high-school or vocational training schools in the eastfjord area. Some others say that their kids seek education in Akureyri (north Iceland) and others in Reykjavik (the capital). Most of the women seem not to be able to imagine that their children will be working in the aluminium smelter, nor that the future they will choose to live as grown-ups in the town/area where they were brought up in. They mention the small size and few possibilities for highly educated labour as main reason for their grown-up kids not to be drawn back to the area. Two of the women phrase it, as follows:.

,, ...Luckily we have got some young people back here, but the problem is that we need to have something appropriate for them to do. We need jobs here."

,, ...I don't know. I am not sure that the aluminium smelter and surrounding activity will change visions or perspectives a whole lot. It all depends on what education they will choose, because this is not that a large community."

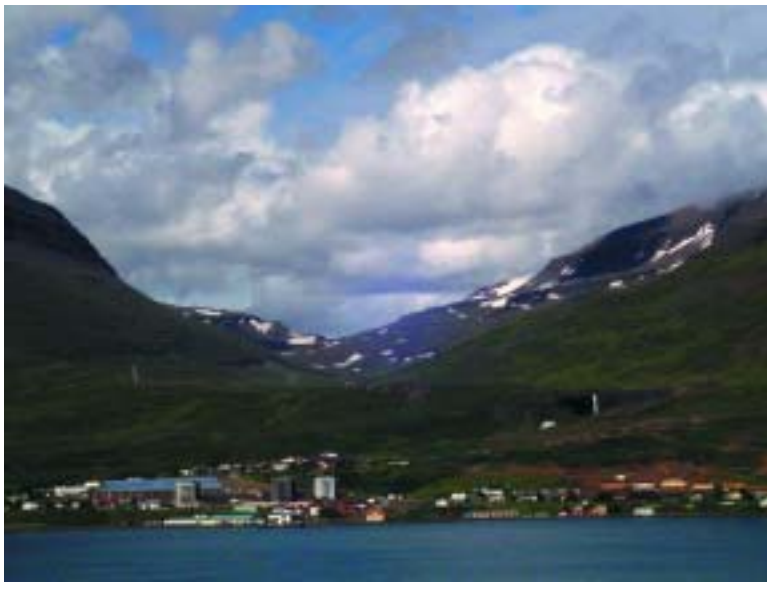
Only one of the informants has devoted any thought to how to benefit from new conditions to create innovative possibilities for her home community. Even though the idea initially came from her husband, she has made it hers and looks forward to competing for assignments related to the operation of the smelter.

,, ...So they are (husband and a friend) working on the idea of establishing a laundry... and they are aiming at bidding on the wash from the smelter, when the invitation to bids will be sent out. In that connection we are hoping that jobs will become available for the local women here that are now out of work. I am excited about this idea."

None of the women except one mentions innovations within the fishery or fish processing as a future vision. The only informant mentioning the fisheries talks about fishing methods that are more caring to the fish material and that enables higher prices for the products.

,, I don't quite get it, this development of always emphasising bigger and bigger vessels, bigger and more capable fishing gear, to fish those smaller and smaller pivots (local phrasing for small fish). It would be much wiser to take more by longliners, export cod and haddock on ice in boxes. We should be able to market this as luxury products, rather than bulk products."

These findings are interesting as they shed light on a few ideas about the future perspectives of the field they are working in. One of the companies in fish processing has already distinguished itself by processing fish for the school cafés and other public institutions in the capital area of Reykjavík.



Reyðarfjörður. Photo: Anna Karlsdóttir.

The old smithy is now a local museum, tourism is the main hope as the job market in small rural settlements gets less diverse. Photo: Anna Karlsdóttir.

According to the women, tourism and service related to tourism is the most non-utilised resource in the region of Eastfjords. The informants mention tourism development as the most exciting field to be made into productive use for the region. Some of the women seem surprised at being questioned about natural resources and what kind of development they perceive as most important. This possibly indicates, that they are not accustomed to think in those terms.

„...but it is of course the business of tourism. It is being strengthened somewhat already. This is one of the natural resources we can take more advantage of. There is such natural beauty here, you can go sea angling and there are some great possibilities for excursions in the nature."

It is a food for thought that talking about resource development feels alien to the women. This group of women seems not to be influential or participating in any decision-making about the future natural resource management of their communities, even though some of them have extensive local knowledge and life experience. Their voice is not imperative in the public debate about business, occupational or natural resource development in the region. It is therefore thinkable that answers reflect public opinion in the rural setting of Iceland, as politically it has continuously been agitated for tourism as the strategy resolving problems in the labour market in rural Iceland.

When those findings are compared, we are able to identify a mismatch between the government's intentions and implementations and the perceptions of the inhabitants of the region. The paradox being that alterations of the nature in favour of power development and the aluminium smelter is counteraffecting the possibilities for wildlife and nature-based tourism.

The interviewed women's future visions do not include megaproject development or job creation related to the construction. On the contrary, their future visions include perspectives that the heavy industry development will impact negatively. Furthermore most of the women do not see their children working in this new field of industry in the future.

The women can not imagine living somewhere else than in the Eastfjord communities in the future. They all agreed that they liked living there. They mention close relations to other inhabitants and relatives and living somewhere where everybody knows each other as the main motivating factor. They mentioned that it was good to raise kids in a restful environment, where more time was available to devote to family than in the capital area. Also, the communities are close to nature.

„ Because I enjoy living here. I would for example never thrive in an apartment building in Reykjavík, never. I am a child of the nature and I need to go out for a walk, things like that. I just see them as necessary for me."

On the road to Stöðvarfjörður. Photo: Anna Karlsdóttir.

Summary and Conclusion

Great changes of industrial structure are happening in the East region of Iceland because of the hydropower energy project connected with Kárahnjúkar and the construction of the aluminium smelter. The fishery sector is in regression there as in other areas of the country. The development has thus been perceived by the government to increase job opportunities for inhabitants in the area.

The qualitative study among women in the fisheries sector in the East of Iceland was aimed at shedding light on the participation of women in natural resource development, and to gain insight into their role in the fisheries in the region during a phase of profound transformation in Eastern communities.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this limited study. Firstly, the flexibility of working in the fisheries makes it possible for women to coordinate work life with family life, compared to new working fields outside of their home community, i.e. such as in the aluminium smelter or spin-off service activities. While it is hard to get jobs for educated women in the smaller communities because of the scale and scope of the local labour market, the job possibilities for unskilled women are also very limited, making it even harder to shift field of occupation.

Jobs in the fisheries have become more monotonous and isolating which leads to loss of charm and the positive atmosphere earlier associated with the fishery communities.

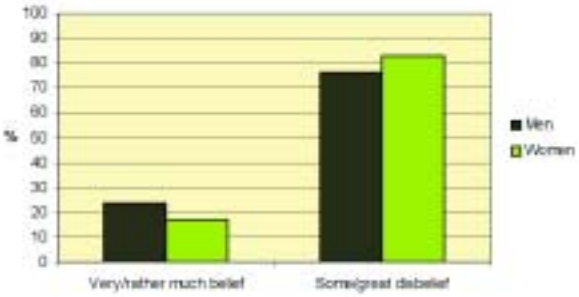
Social adaptation in the workplace is considered to be more important than career, as the women see few possibilities in that direction. The women choose to be content and make the best out of current conditions, in spite of badly paid work and a job which is devoted little respect. The women do not envision increased job possibilities in connection with the structural changes in the region. Bad road connections and distances to overcome are partly the reason, as well as their expressed concern over a work shift system that is not beneficial to women responsible for homes, family and kids. The women in general do not identify increased opportunities in innovations or jobs connected to the aluminium activities or the fisheries. Rather, they focus on tourism development as a means of new opportunities where the natural landscape offers many opportunities according to their views.

The general conclusion that can be drawn is that the roles of women in fisheries have not changed significantly, nor have opportunities or job creations, in spite of the biggest construction operation in Icelandic history, and the largest single governmentally imposed employment intervention in later times in Iceland.

Closing Remarks

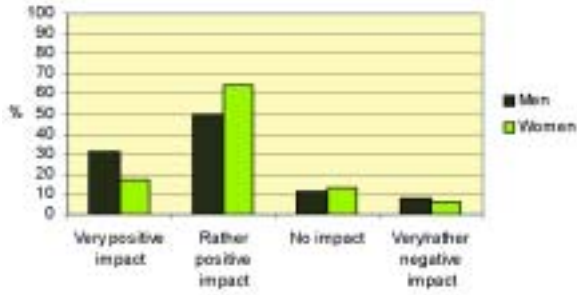
With those findings, it became evident that some of them might be specific to the women involved in the fisheries, and that they could not be generalised for the perceptions and experiences of inhabitants of the region. The question still remained to what extent those perceptions were transferable to women in the region. We were fortunate be able to borrow statistical findings from a perceptual survey conducted in 2004, with a sample of 3000 inhabitants and a response rate of 50%. The following findings are striking, giving the fact that the survey was conducted during a phase of expectation while the construction phase was still at its peak.

According to the findings of the survey, the expectations towards improved financial situation connected with the construction of the aluminium smelter show that over 80% of the women, and 75% male inhabitants had serious doubts.



Do you believe or disbelieve in own improved financial sitation in connection with the Reyðarfjörður aluminium smelter. By Courtesy of Kjartan Ólafsson 2006.

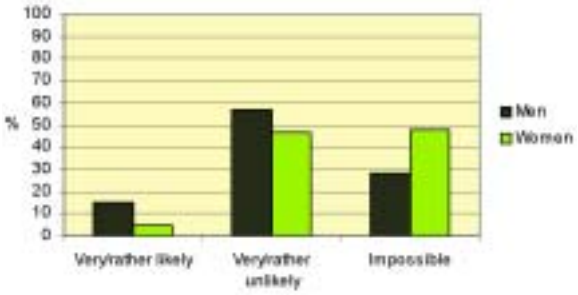
A little less than 80% of women and 65% men had little or no expectation towards that their financial situation would improve because of the Hydro-power plant construction.



Do you believe or disbelieve in own improved financial situation in connection with Kárahnjúkar Dam project. By Courtesy of Kjartan Ólafsson 2006.

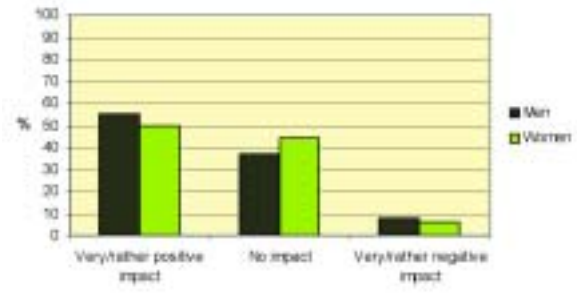
The majority of respondents thought it likely or out of the question that they would apply

for jobs either in connection with the hydropower construction or in the construction of the aluminium smelter.



How likely or unlikely is it that you will apply for job in connection with the construction in Kárahnjúkar area, or in the Alcoa Plant? By Courtesy of Kjartan Ólafsson 2006.

When asked whether the activities in Reyðarfjörður would have positive or negative impacts to the community, the respondents were in doubt, as can be seen from following graph.



Do you think that operation of Reyðarfjörður Aluminium plant will have positive or negative impacts in your community? By courtesy of Kjartan Ólafsson 2006.

The findings show that women were slightly more sceptical than men, but in general there seems to be a hesitant response by the inhabitants in general.

The employment situation of women in the region was not prominent in the decision-making process by the parliament during Althingis' discussion in 1999. Two MP's from the region did explictly express opposing views, one for, one against.

Arnfríður Sveinsdóttir spoke in favour of the arguments put forward, that this action of government would be crucial for future occupational development in the region. The other suppleant MP, Berglind Halldórsdóttir, was one of the few that discussed women's occupation situation specifically.

"What should the women do? The best educational and occupational opportunities are in the southwest part of the country, and abroad. Should women just turn back behind the stove… Shouldn't it be a priority to think about women's occupational opportunities in the area?" (Alþingi – umræða 16.november 1999).

No MP felt the urge to answer the question, even though MP's from all parties, both women and men participated in discussions about the project. Almost six hours later, a female MP, Þórunn Sveinbjarnardóttir responded and made women's issues an agenda.

"..The impact of women politics has never been a priority in the strategy building of regional development in this country as its effects demonstrate….It is obvious that one ideas regional development policy of the government will never come true if it only is meant for half of the nation. We need to give us, that this is not the case. Then women need to be taken into account as agents in the development of occupations in the rural areas. Women on their own conditions, women as full participants in the labour market, women as financially independent indiviuals and not as attachments of men that possibly will be hired at the aluminium smelter in Reyðarfjörður. Rural areas without women are doomed to be futureless." (Alþingi – umræða 16.november 1999).

Given the situation now (2006), it is worthwhile asking why the Aluminium smelter is the only workplace in the region so enthusiastically working on achieving equal rights in its human resource management and

recruitment policies. Again, it is worthwhile asking what is gained if the jobs gained by women within the smelter predominantly are in the lower stratum of the company, first and foremostly comprising jobs in cantinas, cleaning etc. If that will be the case, the situation will merely be the same as in the fisheries. A male-dominated sector where women are represented, but soon they will seek other opportunities.

The security of a blooming regional settlement and the access of women to decision-making in natural resource development does not only rest on how many women will be recruited to the aluminium smelter – but more on how many women freely choose to settle in the long term, and that they are given equal opportunities in educated jobs as well as non-specialised functions, in leadership roles as well as in decision-making.

Capacity-building for women needs to be seen in a broader context in the area than only in the aluminium industry, and must encompass all female inhabitants. A key factor in this respect is the diversification of employment opportunities in different communities so that it is possible to get a job in the hometown. A monotonous strategy towards a commuter culture of work camps is neither a sustainable community strategy, nor a secure base of natural resource management.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Much appreciation is devoted to two student assistants, Sunna Þórðardóttir, a master student at the University of Ícelánd, and Auður Magndís Leiknisdóttir a master student at London School of Economics. I could no have managed without their enthusiastic and positive attitude as well as their work efforts.

Many thanks to Irm Elingsdóttir and Guðbjörg Linda Rafnsdóttir for mental support all the way through. Also many thanks to sociologist Kjartan Ólafsson, who lent us his statistical information from the perceptual survey conducted in 2004.

Many thanks to informants and other informal key people in the Eastfjords. Thanks to the heroines of the fisheries. Thanks to funding provided by the Research fund of the University of Iceland and the Icelandic Ministry of Fisheries.

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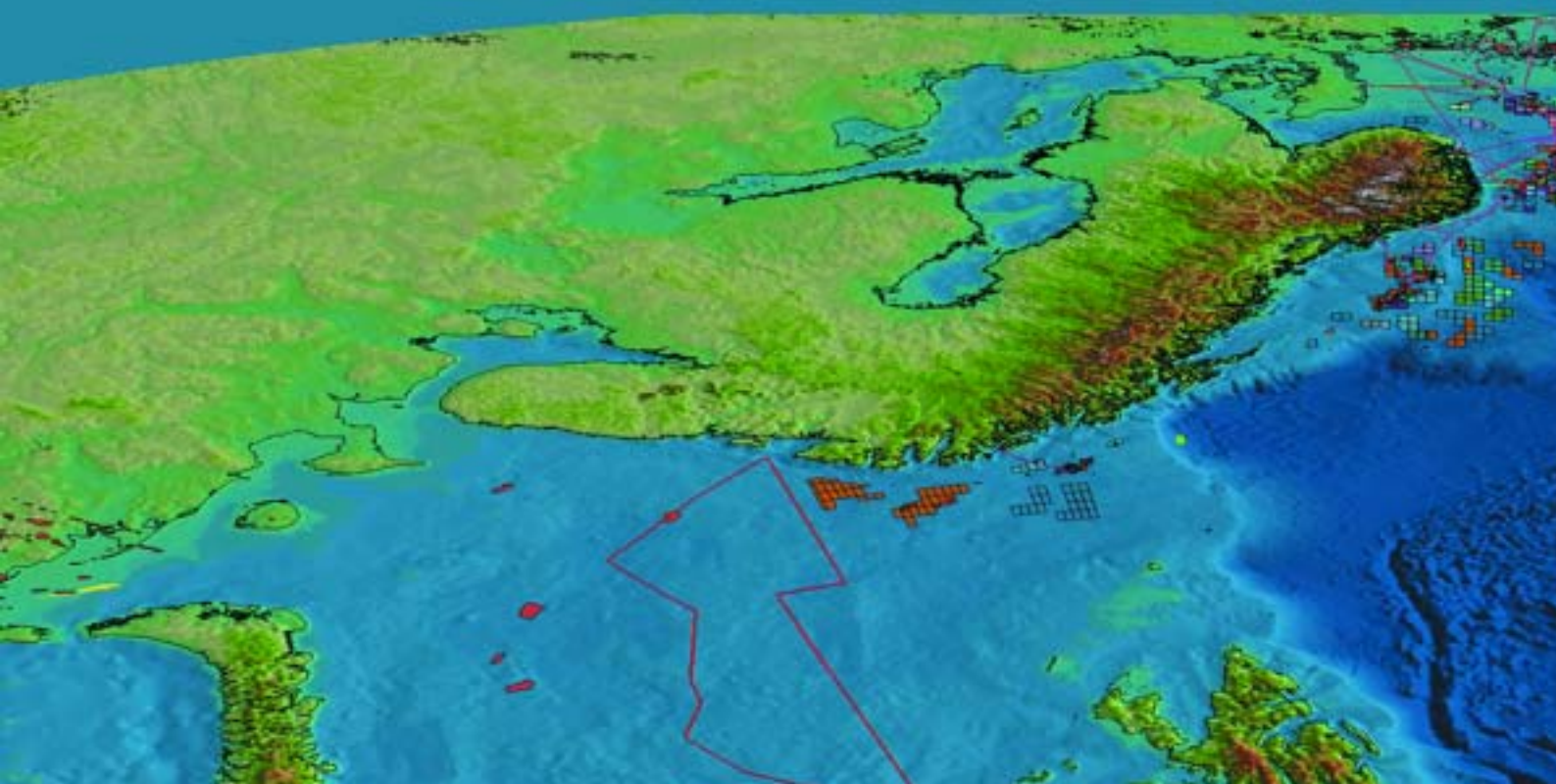
Norway

By Bente Aasjord

Petroleum creates new imaginations. Photo: Statoil



The role and power of women in development of the petroleum sector in Northern Norway

WOMEN AND PETROLEUM - AN EXPERIMENT IN THE NORTH?

"The petroleum era" in northern Norway is in its infancy, and in the public debate great expectations are linked to what is described as "the coming oil adventure in the north". Political focus is now moved north. The government has defined the north as Norway's most important strategic policy area. Various research groups have made scenarios where the coming petroleum exploration will turn Northern Norway and the Barents Region into an economical focal point. To illustrate and underline this, new maps are presented, where Norway is seen from the north instead of south. Other, more sober perspectives, show that a development for the better of the region and its communities is not self-evident, but requires well-aimed strategies and efforts. These discussions are important in contemporary Norway and that is why we have chosen the petroleum sector for the Norwegian part of this project.

The development of new industries represents a potential for change. This is also highlighted in the social impact studies that form the background for the impact study of year round petroleum activity in the area Lofoten – Barents Sea[1]: *Women and petroleum* can become a focal point, an experiment in the North, it says. In this context, it not the map that is turned upside down, but the traditional gender patterns. The report points at three factors that might make such a vision a reality: Firstly, that the petroleum industry is in its infancy in the north; secondly, that the government wishes to slow down the centralisation process and migration from the north, and thirdly, that women are highly educated. But the report also points out that to make such a vision a reality presents challenges in formulating strategies, where a focus on the role of women must be included in the core of the sector's visions.

AIM AND FOCUS OF THE PROJECT

The Norwegian part of the project has three aims: The first is to analyse women's participation and influence in different parts of the petroleum sector. The second is to focus on both possibilities and hindrances for women's participation and thus establish a basis for the formulations of strategies for change. The third is to place women and petroleum on the political agenda through the formulation and presentation of strategies for increased focus and public debate. We want to make our contribution to making gender and petroleum a legitimate and natural part of the strategy and discourse of the petroleum sector. With this in mind, we have focused on an open and inclusive process, creating dialogue or cooperation with different players, both at government level, in the industry and in science.

In this presentation we have a broad approach to the petroleum sector; we define it to include the industry as such, public policies, media and science and research. It is self-evident that we cannot, even with this approach, cover all parts of the sector. We have therefore chosen some relevant parts and some indicators of women's position and influence. We have concentrated the analysis around three main arenas defined as the industry, politics and bureaucracy and the discursive level.

[1] *OED, KU-samfunn, petroleum activity in Lofoten and the Barents Sea. Final report Asplan Viak, Stavanger.*

THE INDUSTRY

We have not performed any separate study of women's role in the petroleum industry, but reflect and discuss material from two different studies. One is the OED's 2002 study (OED 2003). This study shows employment in different parts of the petroleum industry, disaggregated by gender. The other is NORUT's mapping of women's and men's representation and influence made for the oil- and energy sector (Lotherington 2006). We have supplemented these studies with two interviews with Statoil leaders.

POLITICS AND BUREAUCRACY

In this field we have studied the percentage of women in the Energy and Environmental Committee of Parliament from 1993 till today. We have also presented figures on gender and management positions in the OED, and studied a selection of governmental or semi-governmental companies/entities in the petroleum field. In addition, we have interviewed former Minister of Oil and Energy, Marit Arnstad and Divisional Director of OD, Bente Nyland.

THE DISCURSIVE LEVEL

Here we have studied three different indicators, and analysed them by gender profile:

- Media, as represented by a regional newspaper in Northern Norway
- Petroleum conferences; we have participated in five petroleum conferences from local to international level
- Scenario studies, where we have looked at three different reports focusing on development features linked to the development of the petroleum sector in the Barents Region.

THE POWER PERSPECTIVE

Power is about participation, positions, networks, knowledge, language and terms. The basis for our analysis of gender-based power relations in the Norwegian petroleum sector is a broad definition of power. In our frame of understanding, power is not only power relations that can be quantified. We also focus on discursive power relations. These forms of power are cultural or institutionalised presumptions that maintain or recreate hierarchical gender structures. One feat that makes such presumptions and frames of understanding so influential, is the lack of consciousness of their presence, thus such presumptions are taken for given, as a part of a natural order, and no questions are asked. Throughout the project we met these presumptions, and one situation can serve as an example: We told one of the directors of a Norwegian oil company that while the level of education among young women in Finnmark is the same or higher than in the rest of the country, the level of education among men in the same age groups is 10% lower than in the rest of the country[2].

"Good", the director said "this will improve women's chances of finding a suitable spouse when these men come north to work on the Snøhvit project". He obviously did not see the high level of education among women as a resource for the petroleum industry, but as a resource for making them capable of catching the men with higher education coming from the south of Norway to work in developing the Northern Norwegian petroleum industry.

Discursive power is rarely as obvious as in this example. Usually, the links between discursive power and its consequences are more complex and less visible. In this example, it is easy to see that the presumptions of this director are setting up barriers, both for the industry and for women in Finnmark. Discursive power is difficult to spot when gender is not on the agenda and this happens when various petroleum arenas are regarded as gender neutral.

[2] *See Kramvig (2005), based on figures from SSB (Statistics Norway).*

Knowledge is power. Accordingly, analysing gender-based power relations in the petroleum sector must take into account that research on gender and petroleum traditionally has not questioned the lack of women in positions of power and influence in the sector. This corresponds to our findings in an earlier project on women in the Arctic fisheries sector (Sloan (ed) et al, 2004).

Generally, and in light of the national importance of the petroleum sector, there are few studies focusing on gender relations in the sector. There was, for example, no focus on the question in the latest national power study. Typically, studies of the role of women in the petroleum sector tend to focus on arenas and roles where women are represented, like catering, or the how the "North Sea Widows" adapt their lives and family situations to having an absentee husband working on a platform. Some data on gender and the sector are available; both on where you find women and on women in leading positions, and these will be presented in this report. Since petroleum is a typical male bastion, the focus of this study will be on arenas where it is expected that women are poorly represented. This does in no way imply any disregard of the women who do have leading positions.

WHY WOMEN AND PETROLEUM?

Petroleum is Norway's largest export industry, and represents 25% of all value creation in the country. Close to 80 000 people are employed in petroleum related activities[3]. The lack of women's participation and influence in such an important economic sector is a democratic problem in itself. In addition, the development of the petroleum sector in the North influences a series of policy fields to a larger extent than what was the case in the petroleum activity in the North Sea, encompassing for example environmental policies, foreign affairs and security issues (Johnsen 2006).

- The sector is of strategic importance, regionally, nationally and globally.
- The environmental questions linked to petroleum production affect both global and local issues. Arctic environments are particularly vulnerable. Petroleum in the North also forms a challenge to other arctic industries like fisheries, marine aquaculture and tourism.
- The petroleum activity may influence settlement patterns, employment and social structures, including arctic society's culture and identity.

The absence of women's influence and participation can also lead to a development where important perspectives are left out of the debate. Gendered analyses show that women's political preferences differ from men's. Women tend to be more radical than men do (see f .ex Canadian studies: Terry 1984; Kopinak 1987; Wearing and Wearing 1991; Everitt 1998b). This difference is also evident when it comes to environmental issues. Women are generally less inclined to take environmental risks than are men. They can therefore be more critical and may be more likely to question industrial activity that can have a negative impact on environment and health. We also see this tendency when it comes to men's and women's attitudes to petroleum activity in northern marine areas. Polls show that women are more sceptical than men[4].

Different preferences, possibilities and consequences for women and men mean that a petroleum development where women are under-represented in the sector, might not

[3] *FACTS – the Norwegian Petroleum sector 2006. Ministry of Petroleum and Energy http://www.odin.no/filarkiv/278568/Fakta-eng2.pdf*

[4] *2005 survey on attitudes to petroleum actvities in the Barents Sea. 62% of men are postitive, but only 42% of women. Survey by "Norsk Respons", referred in Avisa Nordland June 6th, 2005.*

reflect the view of the population as a whole. Additionally, it increases the risk of a development that lacks a necessary and adequate spectre of perspectives. In other words: Including women is not only a question of democracy. It can also be an advantage for the sector and the rest of society, because it increases the diversity needed to develop a sector which is capable of meeting the demands and challenges of the outside world.

PETROLEUM INFLUENCES WOMEN AND MEN DIFFERENTLY

The percentage of women in the petroleum industry nationally was 15% in 2002, while in Northern Norway it was 14% (OED 2002). In the 1990s, Statoil had a stated ambition to have 20% women in leading positions by the end of the year 2000. The real percentage in 2005 was 15, but the company is still aiming at the original goal of 20% (Statoil Magazine 2002). They also have a goal of 20% women in the Snøhvit project. At present it is 16 to 17%. In the extractive organisation, 2 out of 10 are women. It seems the goals have been reached at a managerial level, but not in the rest of the organisation.

The gender differentiation, both in the sector and in society as a whole, means that the development of the petroleum sector influences women and men differently. This is also the experience from the construction of Snøhvit, which started in the summer of 2002. Since the project is the first offshore construction in the Barents Sea, it is often seen as a pilot project for the development of the petroleum sector in the Barents Sea. In a real-time evaluation report on regional development patterns generated by the construction of Snøhvit, Abelsen et al (2005) demonstrate that the project seen as a whole has generated more job opportunities for men than for women, and thus increased the percentage of employed men in Hammerfest from 52 to 55%. When it comes to changes in the employment pattern among Hammerfest residents, the pattern is different. From 2001 to 2003, the net employment growth for women was 92 and for men 45 (ibid). The report explains this by identifying where available and competent labour to fill the new jobs is to be found. Local industries with increasing employment are in the sectors that traditionally employ women, whilst the substantial increase in "imported" labour related to the Snøhvit construction has taken place in traditionally male-dominated professions.

In addition to more job opportunities, the establishment of Snøhvit has generated several positive developments for the Hammerfest region. From a continuously decreasing population in the 1990s, the trend is turned to a definite population growth, birth surplus and a younger population (Abelsen et al 2005).

But the real-time evaluation has also registered negative changes in the wellbeing of the population after the start of the Snøhvit construction. And these too are affecting women and men differently. The number of nights spent at the crisis centre for women in Hammerfest increased drastically in 2003, a fact which is thought to be linked to an increase in substance abuse in relationships (ibid). In the same period, the number of reports to the child abuse authorities is more than doubled. There are no reports of similar increases in the rest of Finnmark.

GENDER EQUALITY SETBACK?

In the SSB[5] equality index, established in 2000, Hammerfest was on top in the years 2000, 2001 and 2002. Gender equality in the coming petroleum city was, according to SSB, the best in Norway. In 2003 Hammerfest was third and in 2004 number 19. Compared to other municipalities, Hammerfest was weakening its equality standards in three fields; the percentage of women in the municipality board after the 2003 local elections, women's percentage of the work

[5] *Statistics Norway.*

force and the percentage of women in the 20-39 age group (Abelsen et al 2005). The report links the later two directly to the establishment of Snøhvit. Nor can we exclude the possibility that the percentage of women in the municipality board was indirectly influenced by the project. Several issues may be relevant: Was the local public debate "masculinised" as a result of the coming project? Did women feel that the "true adventure" as named by Statoil concerned them as much as men did? Did issues in local politics that usually appeal to women come in the background?

The Industry

LACK OF LABOUR

Norwegian industry is characterised by a shortage of (skilled) workers. So, too, in the petroleum industry. A special challenge is that the petroleum industry is characterised by a strong gender divide. A low percentage of women is thus not only a sign that the petroleum industry is a typical male arena. It can also be a sign that the sector is facing considerable labour market challenges, because it, for many women, is not seen as relevant or desirable neither when they chose an education nor among those who have the relevant skills. It is not only a question of letting women in, but also of whether women consider the oil industry a relevant sector in which to seek employment.

Compared to the rest of the OECD area, Norwegian work life and industry is characterised by high work force participation and low unemployment ratios. Also Norwegian women's employment is among the highest in the OECD area. This is especially interesting taking into account that the birth rate in Norway is among the highest in the industrialised countries – number 4. A high level of participation in professional life is no hindrance for a high fertility rate. This has to be seen in connection with general social welfare and family policies. According to Statistics Norway figures for 2006, 68% of the women and 75% of the men participate in the work force[6]. These figures show that it is among women we find the highest potential for increase.

As mentioned earlier, figures from the Ministry of Oil and Energy (OED 2003), show that 15% of the work force in the Norwegian petroleum sector are women, in Northern Norway 14%. Both nationally and in Northern Norway, the percentage of women is higher in land-based activities than offshore. We will now see in which parts of the sector women are employed.

EMPLOYMENT IN THE PETROLEUM SECTOR IN NORWAY AND NORTHERN NORWAY, ON LAND AND OFF SHORE (AUG 2002, (OED 2003)

	On shore			Off shore			All		
Gender	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Northern Norway	380	90	470	298	19	417	678	109 (14%)	787
Norway	42287	10165	52452	26959	2296	29255	69246	12461 (15%)	81707

[6] *www. SSB.no*

EMPLOYMENT BASED ON COMPANY CATEGORY, GENDER, LAND BASED AND OFF SHORE (AUG. 2002) (OECD 2003)

	On shore			Off shore			sum			
	m	w	total	m	w	total	m	w	total	Proportional empl. of women
Oil Companies	7943	3445	11388	6025	842	6867	13968	4287	18255	23,5 %
Drilling companies	605 (66%)	318 (34%)	923	5294	147 (3%)	5441	5899	465	6364	7,3%
Transport and shipping	1340	389	1729	5383	149 (3%)	5532	6723	538	7261	7,4%
Industry and construction services	16573	1981	18554	5596	59 (1%)	5655	22169	2040	24209	8,4%
Service companies	3904	781	4685	2883	145	3028	6787	926	7713	12,0%
Engineering companies	6571	1456	8027	627	4	631	7198	1460	8658	16,9%
Bases	562	137	699	3		3	565	137	702	19,5%
Catering staff	110 (64%)	62 (36%)	172	952 (51%)	922 (49%)	1874	1062	984	2046	48,1%
Landing and distribution plants	1989	593	2582				1989	593	2582	23,0%
Other goods and services	1467	502	1969	171	6	177	1638	508	2146	23,7%
Total	42287	10165	52452	26959	2296	29255	69246	12461	81707	15,3%

The figures show that women are represented in all company categories, but with substantial variation. The highest percentage of women is found in catering; the lowest in drilling. No categories have more than 50% women. Figures based on these categories say something about in which part of the sector women are represented, but nothing about their power and influence. The high percentage of women in catering might give reason to suspect a low representation in positions of influence.

- I'M THE GARDENER THAT MAKES THE FLOWERS GROW

Unni Fjær is educated as a civil engineer, at NTNU, (the Norwegian Technical Nature Science University), plus economic studies. She works as the platform director at the Norne oil field, which is a part of the Haltenbanken field in Mid Norway.

Why did you choose this education, and how did you enter the petroleum sector?
– My high school teachers encouraged me. They ignited my interest in mathematics and physics. I had electro as my first choice, but didn't pass. The second choice was engines. Only 10% of the engine students at NTNU were women. Coming from a small coastal community, I was not quite confident to go to the city and start studying with all those boys. But soon I became a part of the social setting. It was actually no problem, the girls kept together. We also got friends among the boys. I specialised by doing petroleum related studies on engines, compressors and gas turbines – some of them as jobs for Statoil. After the studies, I worked as a researcher, first at SINTEF, then at Statoil's own research centre in Trondheim.

Unni Fjær, platform director at Norne. Photo: Bente Aasjord.

Unni Fjær went offshore in 1997, first at the Sleipner platform, then at Åsgard. These are also parts of the Haltenbanken field in Mid Norway, which was built out from the mid 1990s. In 2004 she was placed on the Norne field, as the platform director.

- This was great fun. The Norne platform is a floating installation, a boat with flexible oil tubes connected to small rigs placed around. Compared to other platforms on Haltenbanken, Norne has a small crew, only 80 men.

You say 'men' – there must be some other women there?

- Did I? I seem to adopt the traditional terminology.

Being the chief of Norne, means administering both a production plant and a "hotel" where the staff lives. This also includes the administration of the drilling rigs and all operating ships. *It is a great responsibility; tell me how you do this.* – I'm the gardener that makes the flowers grow, not the "Macho Boss". Only in a state of readiness or crises, the decision lines go military. Only in such cases do I make all decisions.

Apropos state of readiness, last winter the hurricane "Narve" ravaged the coast, and you were offshore during the worst period. I heard you interviewed on the local radio, but you seemed quite calm. Wasn't it rough out there, I mean, the meteorologists reported huge waves, up to 17 meters?

- The waves were 30 meters high. But we did not suffer, the situation was maybe worse on land. The journalist wanted a dramatic story, but the situation was under control. There was no point in upsetting the families on shore.

Back to the start at Norne: How was it to enter this position as a woman?

- I had no fears of my own ability to manage the job. I knew I could. But maybe some of the male staff had thoughts like "Is she good enough? Does this fit us?" and so on. It would be funny to know what they really thought. After all, on Norne, there has been little focus on gender. Many of the men around me are used to having women around. I don't think they give much thoughts to the fact that I'm a woman.

The gender distribution on Norne is traditional. There are few women, and most of them are in catering and other service jobs. In running and maintenance there are very few women.

- For me, it is a goal to get women into all kinds of jobs. Statoil must show that women are present in the entire organisation. But to reach this goal, it is necessary that women choose the relevant education. It is not difficult to get jobs, but you have to be qualified to be in position. But of course, to take the needed education, you have to dare to do it, and you must be motivated. To get girls and women interested and motivated for this sector, we may have to start the motivation at the secondary school level. Boys are always on the offensive, interested, they want high salaries. To catch girls' attentions, we have to inform, we must show possibilities and the choices. Everybody can do it, but they have to want it. Petroleum is a very exiting sector, something happens all the time. It is definitely no disadvantage to be a woman. Everybody knows who you are.

But don't you think that many of women's choices are made even before secondary school? Don't you think that possibilities youth see as relevant are formed in kinder garden, or in the toys shops?

- Of course, this is also an arena that designs mental possibilities. The pink "walls" in the toyshop, covered with Barbies and other dolls, do not encourage girls to get interested in technology and mathematics.

Fjær says that one important precondition for being in a top position, is to learn to handle failing.


Toy shops show gender expectations. Photos: Bente Aasjord.

- Women are often afraid to fail, much more so than men. This might keep them away from entering leading positions. "Why should I? It's windy up there, and some may talk." Such questions are often stopping women from going to the top. To enter leader positions means to learn to accept failing. Nobody is perfect. To get to the top you also need support. You need somebody to support you, somebody that tells you that you'll manage.

She is married and has two children, a girl (14) and a boy (11). She works two weeks off shore, and stays 4 weeks on shore. Even if she is "off" during these four weeks, there are always some job things to follow up, this is a part of being a leader. *How do you combine the job with family life?*

– I have a very good husband. When we got our first child, he had the same amount of maternity leave as me. This was a good thing, he learned what had to be done, he followed up well-baby clinic, and so on. In the beginning of my off shore carrier, I phoned him all the time and nagged about everything he had to remember. When I stopped this, life became better for both of us. Now I have no worries about how they are doing at home. However, when I come home after two weeks away, the house has to be clean and tidy. Otherwise, I get angry! I enjoy having two different lives. The housewife existence is pleasant; I'm anonymous and have quiet days. But it can also be dull. Then it is very good to get back to work again. But this can only work if you manage to find good solutions. Being divorced must be extra challenging, but I know several divorced families that manage.

The NORUT study

A survey of men's and women's representation and influence in the oil and energy sector has just been finalised (Lotherington et al 2006). The scope of the study is thus not solely the petroleum industry, but the entire energy sector[7].

The study is based on two quantitative questionnaires, one companies study covering a total of 471 companies, and an individuals study of 1250 board members and 4750 leaders. The companies study has a participation percentage of 40, while the individual studies had a response rate of less than 10%.

The companies study showed that the companies that responded had 20% women on the boards and that the percentage increased with the size of the company. In 6% of the

[7] *The survey comprises member companies of the Norwegian Oil Industry Association, Oil &gas and Electro and Energy, both members of the Norwegian Electricity Industry Association*

companies the chairman of the board was a woman. In the management of the companies there were 15% women and 11% of the top management were women. In management, the size of the company does not seem to influence the women ratio. Other findings of the study were that women leaders in the sector are younger than the male leaders, and that women leaders have a higher level of education than the men. More than 90% of the leaders were married or lived with a partner. A majority of them had children.

In addition, the companies study showed that a small part of the companies have ambitions, plans of action and tools directed at increasing the women ratio among leaders and board members. 20% of the companies that responded had concrete equality targets, and 23% had, over the last three years, made efforts to increase the number of women. Only 8% of the companies, however, had a plan of action for geder equality.

The study indicates that internal recruitment is the most common way to recruit leaders. The study also showed that leading positions are only seldom advertised. Since the percentage of women is already low, the praxis of internal recruitment means that the companies have a far smaller number of women to choose from than they would have had if positions had been advertised. It also means that personal relations and networks in the workplace play an important role in recruitment to leading positions in the oil and energy sector. The report highlights this fact as particularly important in developing strategies and tools for recruiting more women to the higher managerial levels of the sector.

Recruitment to boards show the same tendency: It happens through networks. In one case only the study reports a case of recruiting as a result of a specific initiative to increase the percentage of women. The use of databases of relevant female candidates therefore seems to be an untapped potential in getting more women on the boards.

The individual questionnaire study showed that both board members and leaders felt that they have influence. The percentage that reported having concrete influence on decisions was higher among men than women. No women reported rarely having any impact, whilst 5% of the men reported this. Among leaders, too, men reported a higher degree of influence, but the differences were not substantial.

The majority of both men and women board members reported a wish to be re-elected, and the women more so than the men. Just above one third of both men and women wanted to become leaders at a higher level than the present. Both of these facts indicate that there is no major difference between women's and men's ambition levels when it comes to the desire and willingness to take management or board responsibilities.

The report concludes that the sector is facing a series of challenges in recruiting women into leading positions in management and boards. One challenge regards women who are in the sector already. These are an important target group, especially since recruiting to leading positions to such a high degree is done internally. The report suggests capacity-building efforts for women within the sector.

The other challenge regards the question of how the oil and energy sector can make itself interesting for women. The situation in the labour market indicates that this will be a growing challenge for the sector. The NORUT report suggests that changes in recruiting processes can be important, both when it comes to advertising, interview situations and working conditions.

The third challenge indicated in the report is to increase the recruitment base. This is partly linked to the idea of what is regarded and defined as relevant competence. The report suggests that companies follow old beaten tracks, and do not sufficiently take into account that their needs in terms of

competence have changed and that women have important capacities that the sector needs. Secondly, a precondition for expanding the recruitment base is for more girls to choose relevant paths of education.

DOES THE NORUT REPORT SHOW IMPROVEMENTS?

Before we leave the NORUT study, we will briefly discuss its findings. Based on the fact that the overall ratio of women in the petroleum sector is a mere 15%, it is surprising that the percentage in leadership is the same. Is it likely that women are as well represented in leadership as in the sector as a whole? The question becomes even more relevant in light of the OED figures that indicate a women percentage of between 46 and 49 in catering, there is reason to ask how representative the figures are for the petroleum industry. This includes both the response ratio and how representative those who responded are for the sector as a whole. 40% responded to the company survey. When using questionnaires, it can not be ruled out that the companies who chose to answer were those who already had gender equality and women's participation as a focus and priority. That might explain why the percentage of women leaders is as high as the percentage of women in the sector as a whole. Would the findings be different had the study been based on telephone interviews?

Similar questions can be asked when it comes to the findings regarding women on the boards of oil industry companies. Are the study's findings of 23% women on the boards representative for the industry, or could it be that the most "women-friendly" companies, with a relatively high percentage of women on their boards, have responded to the questionnaire?

In the individual study of leaders and chairmen of the boards the response ratio is even lower. Less than 10% of the 1250 who constituted the survey population of board members responded to the questionnaire, as did less than 8% of those who constituted the population of leaders. Among those who responded, there were 27% women 73% men. The relatively large percentage of women supports the impression that the selection may not be representative and that respondents with a focus on and interest in the questions are overrepresented.

An alternative explanation might be that the knowledge and competence needed in leadership is different and less "typically male" than in the rest of the organisation. This is relevant in fields like economy, personnel and EDB, all of which are fields that also women have conquered. This explanation might be relevant in regard to the women ratio at the operation of the Snøhvit field, which is higher in management than in the organisation as a whole.

In any case, the methodical issues we have identified give reason to discuss whether the reported women ratios in management and boards are representative, both for the energy sector as a whole and for the petroleum industry, which is our focus. That questions can be raised regarding the representability of parts of the study's findings, does not, however, render the study worthless. If certain aspects of the methodology have led to possible distortions, it is likely that the reported figures of women's influence and power in the petroleum sector are an overestimate. If so, the conclusions in the NORUT report and the OED's comments to it, that a continuous focus on gender and petroleum[8] is necessary, become even more relevant.

[8] *Press release from the Ministry of Oil and Energy 26.06.2006 http://www.dep.no/oed/norsk/aktuelt/pressesenter/pressem/026011-070021/dok-bn.html*

The Norwegian Parliament, Stortingsarkivet. Photo: Teigens fotoatelier as

Politics and Bureaucracy

In the petroleum-related public administration, the participation of women is generally better than in the industry. This also goes for administrative leading positions and political positions. That does not mean equal representation of men and women. In the following we will provide a picture of what it looks like in *Stortinget*, the Norwegian Parliament, and in the Ministry of Petroleum and Energy.

PARLIAMENT

In the 1993-1997 parliamentary term, the women ratio in Parliament reached an all-time high of 39,4%. It dropped to 36,4% in the two next periods, 1997-2005 and increased again to 37,9% after the 2005 elections[9]. Energy policy is in Parliament handled by the Committee on Energy and Environment. We have studied the gender distribution in this committee over the four parliamentary periods of 1993-1997, 1997-2001, 2001-2005 and 2005-2009. We have studied the women ratio in the committee as a whole and in its leadership[10]. For the entire period of 1997-2009, there have been a total of 84 members. 62 were men, 22 women (26%). In the leadership of the committee, there have been a total of 13 representatives, 10 men and 3 women. For the last three periods, the percentage of women has gone down to less than 23, and there have been no women in the committee leadership. The women percentage in the Committee on Energy and Environment is thus lower than in Parliament as a whole.

It is in the first of the four periods (1993-1997) we find the highest percentage of women on the committee. This should be seen in connection with a Parliament with a higher percentage of women than in the later periods. This is also the only period where there have been women in the leadership of the committee. In that period the committee had 15 members, and a majority of these (8, or 53%) where women. All leaders for the period (one chair, two vice chairs) were women. In the next period (1997-2001) the figures were totally different. That committee had a total of 19 members, and just four of these were women (21%).

[9] *Kilden. Information- and Documentation Centre for women and gender research. http://kilden.forskningsradet.no/artikkel/vis.html?tid=37173*

[10] *During a parliamentary period there will be several changes in the composition of the committee and its leadership, usually due to changes in government. We have chosen to count all representatives which have been on the committee during a given parliamentary period.*

None of the alltogether five representatives who were leaders during this period were women. In the 2001-2005 period, the committee had a total of 13 members. Five of these were women, all chairs and vice chairs were men. In the present period (2005-2009), the committee has 15 members, 10 men and 5 women (33%). The chair and two vice chairs are all men.

Looking at the party representations, we see that it is the Labour Party that over the 1993-2009 period has had the most women on the committee (13). No other parties have had more than 3 women over the same period. Distribution is as follows: Christian Democratic Party 3 women, Conservatives, Centre Party, Socialistic Left Party have all had 2 women on the committee, while the Progress Party and the Liberal Party did not have any women on the committee at all. The big difference between Labour and the Conservatives (13 and 2 respectively), shows a marked difference in the representation of women between the parties. Of the three women who have been committee chairs or vice chairs, two come from Labour, one from the Centre Party.

MINISTRY OF OIL AND ENERGY AND THE PETROLEUM DIRECTORATE

The Gender Equality Law states that public authorities shall intensify the activity and accountability obligation to promote gender equality at all levels of society. Accordingly, the Ministry of Oil and Energy stared a project to map the influence of women and men in the energy sector. The NORUT report referred to above is a part of this project.

In adherence to the accountability obligation, the Ministry of Oil and Energy reports annually on the gender equality status in the Ministry and in underlying agencies. As of March 1st 2005, the women ratio among employees is as follows[11]:

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AMONG EMPLOYEES, LEADERS AND NEWLY RECRUITED. MARCH 1ST 2005

	Number of Employees			Leaders			Newly recruited		
	Total[1]	women	Percentage women	Total	women	Percentage women	Total 2004	women	Percentage women
Ministry of Oil and Energy	137	61	45	41	12	29	12	6	50
Petroleum Directorate	211	95	45	11	6	55	2	1	50

[1] *Source: (Statens sentrale tjenestemannsregister), Department of Employer's Affairs staff overview as of March 1st 2005.*

As seen in the table above, the percentage of women both in the Ministry and in the Directorate is considerably higher than in the industry and also higher than in the Parliamentary committee on Energy and Environment. An interesting feat is that the percentage of women leaders in the Petroleum Directorate is 55%, however, this is out of a population of no more than 11. Another positive feat is that the share of women among new recruits in both the Ministry and the Directorate is 50%. Both agencies have an employment policy with defined goals and practices, including employment procedures, challenging tasks involving responsibility, the responsibility of the leaders to promote equal tasks for women and men, encouraging women to apply for positions where the proscribed 40% of each gender has not been reached etc.

[11] *http://www.statsbudsjettet.dep.no/2006/dokumenter/html/fagdep/oed/kap04.htm*

Bente Nyland - director in the Norwegian Petroleum Directorate

Originally from Nordland County, Bente Nyland now lives in Stavanger and is a director in the Norwegian Petroleum Directorate, with special responsibilities for new areas and exploratory models and analyses. She trained as a geologist, when she studied there were 20% women, now it's more like 40%.

So, the oil industry. How male-dominated is it really?
- I guess it is, but mostly because it always has been. There used to be hard, physical rigg work, all this dirt and grubbiness image, but now it's changing. The oil industry is becoming an IT industry, perfect for the Nintendo generation. Statoil is now the biggest IT company in Norway! Their biggest challenge now is to get the qualified staff they need. We actually see that they have to go abroad to find them.

The eternal question of how to get young people to choose sciences in school?
- I think the oil industry has an image problem. Most Norwegians have a very low consciousness level when it comes to the oil industry, I think they see the industry as something it's not. And TV shows like "Offshore" just serve to entrench the myths. They don't seem to be able to show off their technological sides, the challenges… But yes, it's a science-driven industry. We need to get at the teachers, provide courses for them, inspire them so they can inspire their students. Motivation and information – and at an early level. I think that is central in getting young Norwegians interested, and I don't see why there should be gendered differences.

And what about women trying to enter the industry, women applicants?
- When I started in the oil industry, women worked in catering and hospitality, now they're process technicians and there's even a female platform chief at the Norne. I guess most companies see that a gender mix is better! The women who apply are as good or better as the men, and they do get the jobs they apply for. Leaders, the ones who do the hirings, they are of an age where they grew up with gender equality as an issue. So I don't think they see hiring a woman as a problem at all. But it seems to me the non-Norwegian companies are actually better at the women-men ratio than the Norwegian companies are, at least I see more female executives there. Here in Norway I see women as administrators, case workers, and academic positions. There are few in higher, and executive positions.

What positions are you talking about?
- Well, it's my experience that it is difficult to get women to apply for leadership positions. I guess women want to be asked, if you know what I mean, they aren't pushy, really. They all want to be "good girls"… And some just prefer to work with what they actually trained to do, if you specialised in geology, administration may not be your choice in life! Then there's the whole issue of family responsibility – it means they need flexibility both at home and at work. Quite a few decide they can't handle the pressure of that. And in some departments – well, they claim to be trying, but I suspect the "glass ceiling" is still in operation in some places. Company culture may be too hard. And as for the "men hire men" old-boys' network, I guess in some places you still have to be at the right water cooler at the right time.

And in the Petroleum Directorate?
- Well, the biggest problem here is getting good people; gender is really not an issue. Like the leadership team here, we've been 50/50 for a long time now. Unfortunately, one of the women is leaving, and it's really hard to find another to take her place. It's not hard to find a woman who's qualified; it's hard to find one who's willing.

So, petroleum developments in the North?
- Well, it is really worrying me that petroleum seems to be considered a load-bearing wall, and we don't get policies to add support. Snow White and Goliath just aren't enough to build development on, not on their own.

And the public debate about development in the north?
- Well, when it comes to the spin-off effects for the North, some people seem to have really lost the plot. It seems they think there will be a Melkøya processing plant on every little island up north, and that will never happen. We need to focus on the immediate areas and the possibilities the developments brings for supplement industries. What are the possibilities there? The oil and gas in themselves will not bring many jobs; it is all a question of property taxes, and not jobs, but delivery industries, both services and goods. This is the chance for the northern counties to establish themselves as part of Norway's international reputation as a main operator. And that is a question of using their unique advantages. Can Lofoten fishermen and Saami reindeer herders use their specialist knowledge of for instance clothing in extreme conditions? Is there any other Saami traditional knowledge that it is possible to turn into specialist services for the conditions? The question is; what can we deliver to this industry?

So what developments do you see in the future in the north?
- I see that the development is market-driven, and shaped by events far from here. There is a push for exploring and developing the Nordland VI and VII fields, to continue what is going on in the Barents Sea. It will be very interesting to see what happens with Russia, this is a new opening for the contested areas. Statoil and Hydro going for Shtockmann, possible negotiations for the sea sovereignty… It will all need careful political and administrative handling, and with that I mean locally as well as regionally and nationally.
What I guess I think is missing is a proper debate of values. I mean, we as a nation are making so much money out of oil and gas; it has "saved" our country I guess you can say. What are we spending it on? With the tax levels on the industry, should this not be debated? Our wealth is based on energy use. Also, ethnicity is not a factor in the discussions. Maybe we need a good quarrel, about Saami rights? It's a question of preserving a culture, the basis for a way of life. And these are modern times, Saami women have very high educational levels – they should be perfect for jobs in the industry, aren't they?

Other state or state-initiated entities

In addition to the political and bureaucratic level, there are various institutions and forums that in different ways play a role in petroleum politics. These are state-owned companies or corporative forums that discuss the frameworks for petroleum politics.

PETORO AS

The objects of the company are, on behalf of the state and at the expense and risk of the state, to hold the responsibility for and to attend to the commercial aspects related to the state's direct involvement in petroleum activities on the Norwegian continental shelf, and business associated herewith. The present board of seven members has three women and a woman chair.

INTSOK

INTSOK is an association of Norwegian oil and gas partners, established in 1997 by the Norwegian oil and gas industry and the Norwegian government. INTSOKs objective is to work with companies throughout the industry to expand the business activities in the international oil and gas markets on the basis of the industry's leading edge experience, technology and expertise. INTSOK presents itself as an effective vehicle for promoting the Norwegian offshore industry's capabilities to key clients in overseas markets and providing market information to its partners.

INTSOK is a network-based organisation where the partners exchange experience and knowledge of market developments internationally. The organisation encourages active dialogue between oil companies, technology suppliers, service companies and governments. The Norwegian Government actively supports INTSOK's initiatives, and the activities are financed jointly by the industry and the government.

The INTSOK board has twelve members from the industry, the authorities, the Labour Organisation and research. The board has seven men and five women. The chair and vice chair are men.

OG 21

"OG 21" is an abbreviation for Oil and Gas in the 21st century, and is a Task Force established by the Ministry of Petroleum and Energy (MPE) of Norway in 2001[12]. Their task is to help the petroleum industry formulate a national technology strategy for added value and competitive advantage in the oil and gas industry. The objective is to develop a more co-ordinated and focused approach to research and development throughout the oil and gas industry. The present board has 13 members, of which 6 are women. The chair and two vicechairs are men.

KON-KRAFT – TOP EXECUTIVE FORUM

The three state and state-initiated entities above comply with the 40% rule. That is not the case with the forum we are now about to present.

The Ministry of Petroleum and Energy works closely with the Norwegian oil and gas industry to strengthen the competitiveness of the Norwegian continental shelf- and supply industry. In 1999 a process to strengthen the competitiveness of the Norwegian oil and gas industry was initiated. Called KonKraft, this process is aimed at working on crucial issues that influence the industry, such as financial relations, extraction rates, tax systems for Norwegian companies, internationalisation, research and development, health, safety and environment measures etc. KonKraft has also focused on creating more sympathy and interest for the industry among youth.

To give KonKraft sufficient leverage, a meeting place was established in 2000 after an OED initiative, where the industry and the authorities could discuss the percieved important challenges and make concrete suggestions for solutions. This meeting place has been named *Toppledерforum,* Top Executive Forum. Their ambition is to strengthen the competitiveness of the Norwegian continental shelf and to secure the competitiveness of the Norwegian supply industry at home and abroad. The forum is led by the Minister of Petroleum and Energy.

The forum is a forum for discussion and does not make decisions. Top executives are invited by the Minister to participate in the Forum. Invitations are personal, and if a top executive from a particular company or organisation can not participate, there is no opportunity to send a replacement or deputy. In the forum we find the top executives of oil companies, supply industry, labour and employer organisations, research institutions and the authorities. The forum presently has 38 members, 32 men and 6 women[13]. In the Executive Committee of seven, there are no women.

The forum has a committee/working group, who prepare agendas for the meetings and invite speakers. The introductions are followed by debate, but no decisions are made. Minutes are prepared after each meeting. The forum is asked to debate crucial challenges for the industry, but has no clearly

[12] *See www.OG21.org*
[13] *Jon-Egil Johnsen, KonKraft, personal communication*

defined task. As already mentioned, KonKraft's agenda and objective include crucial questions linked to Norwegian petroleum policy. The participation of the top executives from the industry and relevant organisations in the Top Executive Forum indicates that the forum has influence and political weight, as was the rationale behind establishing it. According to the gender equality legislation there has to be at least 40% of each gender on public councils and committees. The law applies generally to all committees, boards, councils and the like that are appointed by a public entity. The Top Executive Forum is established on the initiative of the Minister of Oil and Energy, and the minister appoints the participants. These are criteria that suggest that the law applies to the forum. Normally, there are two more conditions for the law to apply. One is that the forum has had a mandate or task. The second that it is assumed that the work of the group shall materialise in an end product (report, study, account)

We contacted the Equality ombudsman to have their opinion on whether the gender equality legislation applies to the Top Executive Forum. After considering the case it is the view of the ombudsman that the Top Executive Forum is "probably not covered by the 40% rule in § 21 of the gender equality law". This assessment they base on the fact that the Top Executive Forum is limited to discussions and does not make formal decisions. However, the ombudsman also expresses the view that the Top Executive Forum is an important forum for an important industry and that ideally, it should have had a more equal gender representation[14].

Formally, the Top Executive Forum does not seem to fall under the 40% rule. From a gender equality perspective, it is a paradox that a political forum established with the intention of giving KonKraft political weight

Marit Arnstad. - Meeting places where energy politics are designed and discussed, like seminars and conferences, are very important arenas. Photo: Bente Aasjord.

is not covered by the Norwegian gender equality legislation. That the forum does not make decisions does not mean that the forum not have political influence, maybe quite the opposite. The problem with the weak representation of women can easily be solved by the minister, though inviting more women to participate in the forum, since invitations are personal.

- GENDER MAINSTREAMING IS NEEDED TO GET THINGS MOVING

Marit Arnstad Lawyer in international law, advisor for the Schødt law firm in Trondheim. Arnstad was Minister of Oil and Energy in the Centre Government, 1997-2000.

[14] *Juridical adviser Margrethe Søbstad. Personal communication.*

You were one of the first female Norwegian ministers for oil and energy, did you meet any reactions because of that?
- In politics and bureaucracy I did not meet with any reactions or responses in that direction. Remember that in Norwegian politics and bureaucracy, women have already entered the field, also in top positions.

What about the petroleum industry, where women are so few, how did they receive you?
- The traditional view of the petroleum industry is the "industrial man" and the "catering woman". And there are very few female top leaders. But this view is slowly changing. In the 1990s, companies like Statoil began to focus on gender. As a minister, I never felt that it was a problem to be a woman. My experience was that I was respected.

The Norwegian energy sector is still one of the sectors where the government is relatively powerful and has a direct influence, in particular through the concession system. The state takes direct part in the activity, and it can change the policy. The minister for oil and energy thereby has significant influence and is able to use direct means of power.

- Being aware of that, the industry knew that they had to listen to me, says Marit.

One thing we remember, and what no Norwegian minister did before her (or has done since) was her decision to reduce the North Sea extraction rate in order to keep the oil price high. At the time, Norway was the world's second biggest oil exporter. One central argument behind this decision was Norway's responsibility to take into consideration the climate change: High oil production means lower prices and increased consumption. The decision was not popular in the industry.

- Being a female oil and energy minister in Norway, was one thing, it was not always the same when I was abroad. In international meetings, I was often the only woman. During my period as minister, I only met one female colleague. She was from Angola. Sometimes, representatives or colleagues from other states talked to the secretary general - believing that he was the minister and I his secretary. But nobody in the ministry ever used this situation to enhance their power. They kindly explained that I was the minister, and the right person to ask.

The most special experience she remembers was in Saudi Arabia.

- A journalist interviewed me for the newspaper, but he didn't know how to use the interview. The newspaper had never interviewed a woman. He took a picture of me, but he couldn't use it because there has never been a photo of a woman in a Saudi newspaper.

In East-West energy dialogues, Saudi Arabia is powerful. It was strange for Saudi representatives to meet a female oil minister. But Ms Arnstad felt that they respected her, in particular when she voiced her disagreement in the discussions.

- At that time, I still breastfed my son, so he had to go with me on long travels. In this setting I felt that Saudi men could be more tolerant and "soft" than Western men. They paid more attention to children than Western men normally do. And nobody reacted when I breastfed my son in the Saudi oil minister's private plane.

What are your thoughts on women's roles in the coming petroleum era in Northern Norway?

- The traditional view of the oil sector is the industrial man, and the catering women. This "setting" is on its way out. In the development of "Snøhvit", the future offshore petroleum extraction will be managed from land, with subsea solutions. This can lead to changes in the gender balance in the sector. Women are highly educated, and they have good grades, often better than men. Further, the coming technological change in the sector will generate a need for other kinds of knowledge than before. We will need more staff trained in IT, geology, organisation and marke-

ting, all fields in which many women are educated. In other words, the petroleum sector needs women, and the need for the kind of knowledge that women have is increasing.

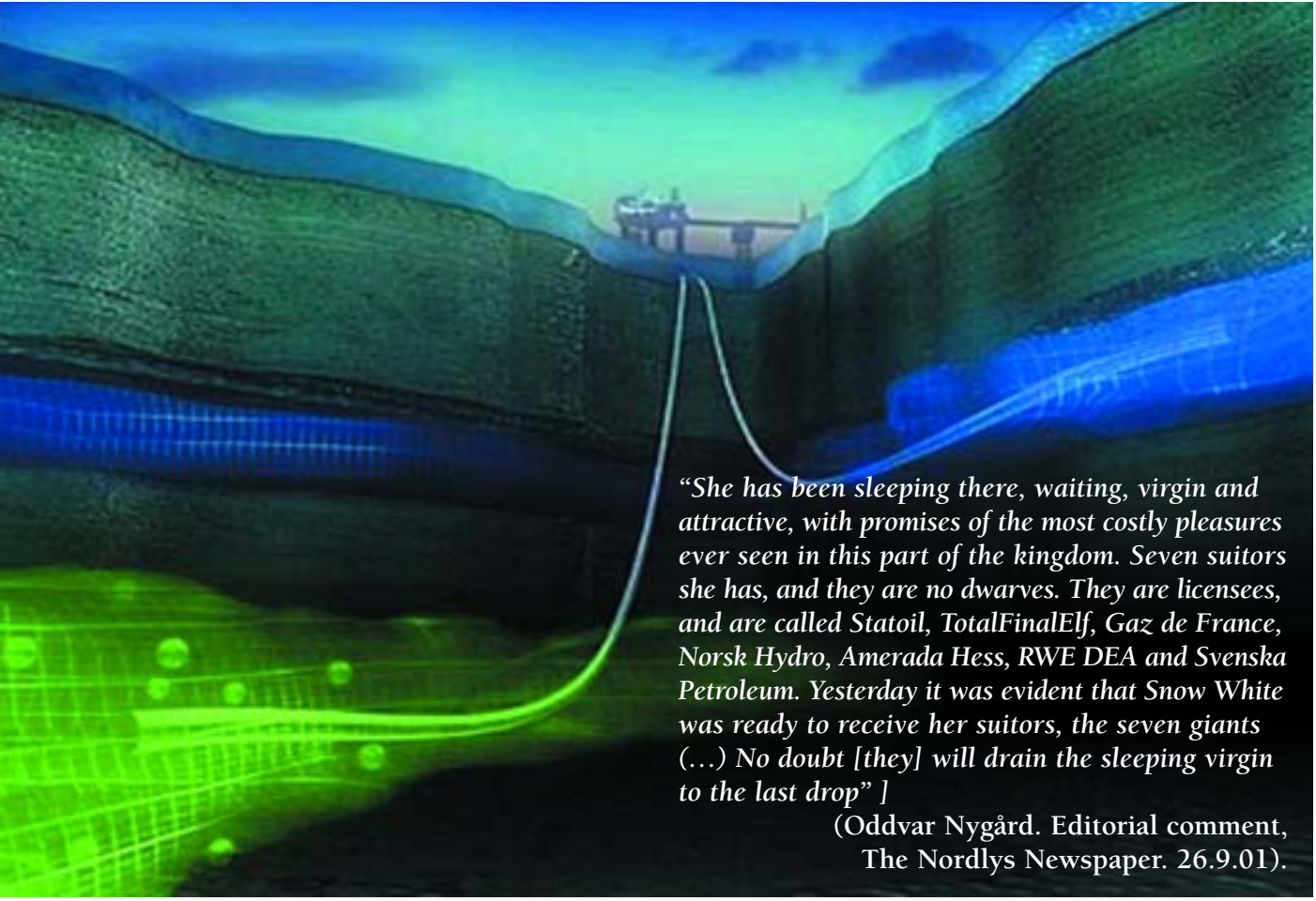
But, will this automatically change the sector's gender balance?
- No, that's another question. Firstly, petroleum has a culture that may not appeal to most women. The view of the sector is still very masculine, even though the oil companies have become more aware, and they try to show other views than the traditional one. They try, but somehow I feel that this is "half-hearted". Secondly, young people today are concerned about the reputation of all forms of commercial activity. Companies that do not take this into consideration will not be able to get the best qualified persons. The oil sector has recognised this too late. The fact that the administrative director of Statoil uses 30% of his time to take care of the company's public image tells much about how important this is.

Thirdly, the leadership of the oil sector has to include women, both in the top administration and in the boards. This is important, not only in order to increase the pluralism of views and the companies' reputation. It is also important that the sector has female role models. Women often refuse to enter arenas that only consist of men. The oil companies indeed have a job to do. But they are not the worst part of the sector. My experience is that the sub-suppliers are poorly developed in this sense. They are hidden behind the oil companies' backs, and have not at the same extent been scrutinised by the media. This part of the sector gives less attention to reputation in general and gender in particular. They have a long way to go.

Do you support gender quotation and the new obligation of 40% of each gender in a company's board?
- Oh yes! The threat of sanctions will work. Gender mainstreaming is needed to get things moving!

Petroleum is a driving force in the new and increased Norwegian focus on the Arctic and the High North. This generates an increased focus on political fields that have been and still are "masculine": energy, geo politics, sovereignty, security affairs and so on. What can be done to increase women's participation in these arenas?
- I see your point. Issues in the High North, such as the disputed area in the Barents Sea between Russia and Norway, the Grey Zone, are male dominated. So many women are educated in international law and political science. They also get the best grades. Why do these women not enter these arenas? Do they lack self-confidence, and if not, how long will it take? This is my frustration; this is hard for me to understand. Why do women seem to refuse to enter so very important arenas? Decisions about sovereignty, energy and security affairs are of high importance for us all! It is about well-being, rights, environment and peace. Why does this seem to be so strange for women? Sooner or later it has to come to a change!

But how?
- Meeting places where energy politics are designed and discussed, like seminars and conferences, are very important arenas. The persons that organise these meeting places are playing key roles. They define and design the themes; they decide which speakers to ask etc. I think that regional and county levels have to be more aware of the gender dimension. It is of great importance that they send women as representatives to meet the industry. But also the oil sectors' organisations, such as the Norwegian Petroleum Society, must increase their attention to female participation. The arenas we are talking about now are very important, but at the same time maybe the easiest to change.



The Snøhvit Gas Field: Photo: Statoil.

The Discursive Level

There is no doubt. The gas field off Finnmark is female. She plays the leading part in the opening scene of the North Norwegian petroleum drama. She is lovely, virgin and innocent. And the giants who are going to exploit the "virgin" – "to the last drop" – are male. In any case in the modern fairy tale in which this new era is wrapped. Who is writing, directing and doing the scenography in this drama? Who creates the presumptions of what the possibilities and the challenges are for the Northern Norwegian petroleum era? Who establishes the norms and ideas for the political decisions taken?

How women are represented in leading positions in the oil sector is just one of several ways the roles of women are expressed. We shall now look at the third indicator, the discursive level. Here we are looking at power and influence through the way women are represented in different arenas where petroleum policy is made, defined and redefined. We have chosen three different arenas: media, conferences and scenario analysis. Each is studied in a gender perspective.

MEDIA: MEN WRITING AND MEN TALKING

We have studied petroleum-related articles in the "Nordlys" regional newspaper from 1995 to 2005. We chose Nordlys, because the newspaper is a regional newspaper, with a focus on the North and Northern Norwegian politics and society. Among central decision-makers, both in parliament and in the government, Nordlys is regarded as a significant "voice" from the north. The petroleum articles do not have the character of local news, rather regional issues and the issues on the High North – often seen in a national or international context. Therefore we see this data as relevant for our study.

The data material is news articles and commentaries found in the archives of the Barents Sea Office of Friends of the Earth Norway, where newspaper cuttings are

collected, dated and sorted chronologically for the entire period. The articles we have studied comprise of all petroleum articles archived from Nordlys in the period. This does not mean that absolutely everything Nordlys has written on petroleum is found in this archive, but based on information from the Barents Sea Office, some 90% of the newspaper's coverage of petroleum and petroleum-related issues is found here. A large proportion of them relate to whether petroleum activity should be allowed in the region, both from an environmental and a fishing industry view. This is natural, since the impact studies made in relation to the opening of the Barents Sea, several drilling concessions and the Snøhvit construction happened in this period.

We have analysed the articles from a gender perspective, and made a quantitative registration of who have written the articles, who is interviewed and whether gender has been an issue. Additionally, the study has given a qualitative impression on the angles chosen and what interests are illuminated or given space to present their views. For the period as a whole, we have registered 339 petroleum-related articles in Nordlys. Most of them are news items. A few are commentaries written by the newspaper's own journalists. Letters to the editor are excluded. Also editorials are excluded as there is no way of telling who wrote them.[15] A small number of the news articles, produced by agencies (NTB or ANB), are not signed. These are included, but we have just registered who is interviewed or referred to. Some articles are written by more than one journalist. For these reasons there is a discrepancy between the number of articles and the number of journalists. These differences do not, however, change the gender balance in the study.

For the period as a whole we found that 254 of the signed articles where written by men, while 55 where written by women journalists. Of petroleum-related commentaries, we found 13 articles by male and 2 by female writers. If we split the material into two time series, the last half of the 1990s and the first five years after the turn of the century, we find that the percentage of female petroleum journalists has increased dramatically, from 9 to 35%. More women journalists in Nordlys write about petroleum now than in the last half of the 1990s.

There are also marked gender differences when it comes to the people interviewed, and the percentage of women has been stable at 16% for the entire period. For the entire period, 577 men are interviewed or referred to, 95 women. In this connection it is also interesting that in the period covered, there have been two women Ministers of Oil and Energy, and two female Ministers of Environment. A possible explanation for the low percentage of women amongst those interviewed can be that various representatives for the petroleum industry and related industries seem to be interviewed far more frequently than bureaucrats and politicians, who have a much higher women ratio. One journalist favourite is, for example, Statoil information director Sverre Kojedal, both when he worked at Staoil in Harstad and in his present capacity at Melkøya, Hammerfest.

In a gender perspective there are many interesting sides to the study. The large proportion of male interviewees means that women are poorly represented in the petroleum policy debate through editorial and commentary material in Nordlys. If the situation is similar in the rest of the press, it means that the public debate around petroleum issues is strongly dominated by men, and usually men who represent the petroleum industry. That women are underrepresented is a democratic problem in itself. As mentioned initially, women are system-

[15] Most editorials are written by the editor, but newspapers regularly make exceptions with journalists who have particular knowledge of an issue.

atically more sceptical to petroleum activity in the ocean areas off Northern Norway than are men, which makes the discussion on democracy even more interesting. Women's under-representation implies that the media debate is in danger of being turned in a more pro petroleum direction than if the interviewees were more evenly distributed between men and women. This is an urgent question, since the relationship between environmental and extrcaction interests have, directly or indirectly, been the major issue in the articles printed in Nordlys.

The other point is that the articles in Nordlys are presented as gender neutral, even though there is a strong male dominance. Only four of the articles we read discussed the issue of gender imbalance in this sector. This indicates that gender equality does not have a political focus and that the gender gap in the petroleum sector is taken for granted. The absence of debate and focus on the issue reproduces and constitutes the deficit of women as normal, as part of the natural order.

When, on rare occasions, gender is an issue, there are good examples showing that the newspaper is aware of the situation or maybe rather that they have let themselves be informed. Below is an editorial referring to a women's conference arranged by the Northern Feminist University in Kirkenes in winter 2005. It can stand as an illustration of the importance of placing the issue on the agenda.

Men only?

Editorial : Nordlys 02.12.05.

Women are in danger of being excluded from the petroleum development in the north, fears NORUT researcher Britt Kramvig. At the international women's conference in Kirkenes she warned that masculine values dominate when Northern Norway is contemplating its future. Much of this future will be built on oil and gas. Experts estimate that 25% of global petroleum reserves are hidden in the High North. During the next generation this will bring us fully into the oil era. The NORUT researcher fears that the masculine images will attract the boys, while girls feel excluded. We understand Kramvik, and believe she is giving the warning at the right time. The preparations of Northern Norway for the oil and gas era will speed up in the near future and it is crucial that we are not caught in a masculine trap. This is particularly important in Northern Norway. In a number of municipalities the picture today is that the girls move resulting in municipalities with a distorted gender balance. If we are to create a healthy future for Northern Norway, young women must find it attractive to stay, or to move back home again. (This was also apparent on Tuesday when the municipality of Narvik asked its inhabitants what should be Narvik's priorities towards the year 2020. We believe the message from the leader of the youth council, Liss Marthine Jensen, is representative of young people in the North; "give us challenging jobs, security and good cultural experiences".) Oil and gas can give interesting jobs for the next generation of northerners. But it is unforgivable if we behave in a way that makes girls feel excluded. We hope headmaster Jarle Aarbakke of the University of Tromsø and Edel Storelvmo, headmaster of the Narvik University College, pay attention to Kramvik's words. They will find themselves at the centre of creating education opportunities for the petroleum era in the High North. A hard job, but in line with the expectations of Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jonas Gahr Støre. With its technological cluster, Narvik will be a key in the answer Northern Norway gives Støre. Now we know that credible answers also have to be given to what will attract the girls.

THE CONFERENCES: BY MEN, FOR MEN

In the project period, we have participated at several different conferences on the petroleum development in the High North. The conferences span from the local to the international level.

"FISH AND OIL" – CONFERENCE IN BØ IN VESTERÅLEN, JULY 2005:

- The participants represent a broad sector of society. We have organisations, industry, research and development institutions and common people, said industrial consultant in Bø municipality and member of the organising committee, Arne Osnes, to Vesterålen Online 22.07.2005

The mayor of Andøy municipality, Jonni Solsvik, also a member of the organising committee, said to the same web site: "This train is leaving the platform in 2006, and in my view this conference should end in a demand from Vesterålen, and from the country of Nordland, yes, from the entire Northern Norway – that the management plan for the ocean areas must conclude that the oil fields Nordland six and seven must be opened. I think this conference has the guts to do just that".

The program committee. Photo:Vesterålen Online.

The conference was held as a part of "Reginedagan", a summer festival named after the writer Regine Normann from Bø. Of the speakers there were 16 men and 3 women. Based on the list of participants, there were 82 men and 14 women in the audience. The organising committee consisted of seven men.

RESEARCH DAYS IN BODØ. SEPTEMBER 2005

This seminar in September 2005, called "Oil drilling in the north – reflections on environmental ethics", was organised by the ethics network at Bodø University College. The number of participants and their gender distribution was not recorded, but of the four announced speakers, there was one woman. She was prevented from attending, and was replaced by a man.

AMAP INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM. NOVEMBER 14TH AND 15TH 2005. ST. PETERSBURG

AMAP (the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme) is one of five working groups under the Arctic Council. AMAP was established in 1991 to implement the environmental strategy of the Arctic Council.

AMAP's primary role is to advice governments in the Arctic countries (Canada, Denmark/Greenland, Iceland, Sweden, Finland, Russia, USA and Norway) on issues related to threats caused by pollution in the Arctic.

The aim of the international symposium was to present knowledge and information on the ongoing AMAP Oil and Gas Asessment, surveillance of the ecological, health related and socioeconomic impact of oil and gas activities in the Arctic. There were 164 participants at the conference. Of these 47 were women (28%). The scientific committee for the symposium had 14 members, 12 men and 2 women.

THE 2005 BODØ SEMINAR. DECEMBER 15TH 2005. BODØ

"Sustainable petroleum activity in Nordland VI and VII – why and how". Norwegian Petroleum Society in collaboration with Nordland County. This collaboration included financial support from the Nordland County authorities.

According to the organisers, the aim of the seminar was to use lectures and debate to "present the latest information about the petroleum activity. The organisers wish to have central questions about the opening of the oil fields outside Nordland answered: Maybe the lectures, debate and conclusions of the seminar form an important contribution to the coming decision process on the Management plan"[16]

The seminar addressed companies, organisations, the authorities and management and interested individuals who could get to know the issues through participation in the seminar. It was also intended as a meeting place for professionals, updating their knowledge and networks. The seminar had a male mediator and 12 lecturers, of which 2 were women. There were 72 participants, 60 men (83%) and 12 women (17%).

OPERATION NORTH: NHO ANNUAL CONFERENCE 2006 – JANUARY 4TH IN OSLO

Lofoten A sea of possibilities – for whom? Photo©: Bård Løken, Samfoto.

"Vast opportunities are open to Norway in the High North. We have the know-how and the competence; we have the resources and the technology. A new industrial era is possible. With people, development and environment as the focal point, the resources of the ocean can provide very interesting possibilities for Norway, and not least Northern Norway."

From the Operation North conference programme.

The conference had a little more than 870 participants, whereof 555 were men (64%) and 315 were women (36%). Compared to the participation at other conferences we attended, this is the one with the highest percentage of female participants. Looking at the lecturers, panellists, commentators and mediator, however, the women ratio is much lower. There was a total of 45 people in these roles. Of these 35 were men (78%) and 10 were women (22%). There was also a marked male majority among the journalists covering the event: According to the media registration, there were 83 journalists; 66 men (80%) and 17 women (20%)[17].

[16] *Information about the Bodø Seminar at the NPF website: http://www.npf.no/course.php?id=538&time=187*
[17] *http://coreweb.nhosp.no/konferanse2006.no/html/files/Program_aarskonf_3.pdf*

Future Scenarios – a future without women?

Along with growing expectations for petroleum exploitation in the Barents Sea, scenario reports are appearing. They all point to great opportunities, employment increase, infrastructure and affluence as a result of increased petroleum activity in the Barents Sea. Another common denominator is that they cover various conditions influenced by the petroleum development, everything from local employment to foreign affairs and geopolitics. We have looked at three different reports; two from ECON and one from Barlinhaug Consulting.

"BIG OIL PLAYGROUND, RUSSIAN BEAR RESERVE OR EUROPEAN PERIPHERY?"

This analysis (ECON 2004) is directed at the possible oil and gas exploration in Northwest Russia. The report describes Russian conditions, and what basic factors and possible political developments will influence petroleum development in Northwest Russia. As a starting point for the scenarios, present and future social, economical, environmental and political developments are analysed and discussed. The scenarios represent very different development possibilities both in terms of the likelihood of a petroleum boom, and how the outside world (with a focus on Europe, USA and China) may be influenced by a Russian petroleum development, both through being involved in the extraction of oil and as energy receivers.

The report focuses on social and health-related characteristics of Russia in general and Northwest Russia in particular. A main premise of the scenarios is that there will be fewer people in the region and therefore a lack of workers. From a gender perspective, it is striking that the life expectancy of Russian men has dropped dramatically as a result of a worsening social situation after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, to 58,9 years. For women it is 72,3. In the different parts of Northwest Russia life expectancy varies from 60,3 years (Murmask Oblast) to 56,6 years (Republic of Karelen). The health conditions and low life expectancy for men are particularly linked to alcoholism.

This is one of two issues through the entire report that has any gender perspective. Since health and low life expectancy is identified as a serious challenge in finding enough skilled workers, it is striking that the report does not discuss the problem more thoroughly. Alcoholism among men does not only cause a lower life expectancy among men. It also makes it likely that men are a more unstable work force than women. This indicates that women's life conditions and employment possibilities can be of importance in securing skilled labour in Russia. In spite of significant gender differences, the scenario analysis does not discuss this as a condition for development in Northwest Russia.

In this connection it is worth mentioning that Statoil in Latvia has 45% women in management. One explanation can be that women seem to have been more capable than men in adapting to the restructuring of the labour market in Latvia after the collapse of the wall[18].

The other issue were the scenario analysis describes women, though indirectly, is in regards to the danger of prostitution: "A possible negative factor could be increased incidence of sexually transmitted diseases

[18] *See interview with Anette Brunovskvis at FAFO, in Statoil Magazine no 3, 2002.*

related to prostitution use in fly-in labour communities" (ECON 2004:35) This is specified in the scenario called "Big Oil Playground". Here women are not described as such, but as "camp followers":

> "Even more was the sudden realisation in 2011-12 of an emerging epidemic of sexually transmitted diseases that had quietly developed among the (onshore) workers in 'fly-in-fly-out' camps in the Timan-Pechora basin of Nenets and Komi. As in such temporary settlements elsewhere, workers had a habit of killing time with and spending money on a growing number of camp followers" (ibid:116).

Except for what we have mentioned above, the report has no gender perspective. Women are healthier and live longer than men, and therefore represent a potential for a more stable work force. But the only role the report consigns to women in the petroleum development in Northwest Russia is that of the prostitute.

"RINGER I VANNET"

This scenario analysis is produced for the Confederation of Norwegian Enterprise (NHO) and presented as a scenario for the petroleum development in Northern Norway at the NHO conference mentioned earlier; "Operation North" in 2006. Initially, ECON writes that the "task has been to describe a positive scenario, where we succeed, and not necessarily the most likely one" (ECON 2006).

The report draws a picture of the "Gulf of Barents" as Europe's most important gas province, where Norwegian companies are solidly anchored as operators and suppliers of technology, goods and services. In this scenario Norway is "turned upside down". "From a situation of people leaving the region, unemployment and state efforts, Northern Norway was changed to a pressure area with a dynamic and strong international business community."

The report is "gender neutral", i.e.the picture drawn, both of employment and industrial development, does not have any focus on gender. Gender is not an issue. Thus an image of a development positive for the entire population, both men and women, can be created. In doing so, a series of challenges linked to the labour market (which in such a scenario is likely to be even more gender divided than it is in the North today), is under-communicated.

PETROLEUM ACTIVITY IN THE BARENTS SEA. CONSTRUCTION PERSPECTIVES AND RIPPLE EFFECTS

This report (Barlinhaug 2005) describes gender at two instances. One is linked to the effect of the Snøhvit construction on employment in the municipality of Hammerfest. The second instance where the report mentions women is in the challenge for local development in making petroleum attractive for women and youth. With this description, the image that the petroleum industry does not concern women, but that women "also" should have a good life, is maintained and re-established. Between the lines; the petroleum development is inherently attractive for men, and we have to make it attractive for women, too. It is positive that the report describes women and the conditions required to make a region attractive for them. But the report, which is very imaginative on other issues, and has actually turned the map of Norway upside down on its front page, is quite traditional when it comes to gender roles.

"TIMES WILL CHANGE"

"Snøhvit", named after the fairytale princess Snow White, is by its operator Statoil called "the true adventure". "She" is the first gas field development in the Barents Sea and so far the world's most northerly facility. Snøhvit ranks as an advanced technological project, and the first Norwegian offshore development with no surface installations. Snøhvit represents Europe's first export facility for liquefied natural gas (LNG), with

The Melkøya LNG plant outside Hammerfest. Photo: Bente Aasjord.

landing and production of natural gas on Melkøya outside Hammerfest[19].

The Snøhvit development has created activity and optimism in Hammerfest and the western part of Finnmark County. Roughly 13 000 people have so far been involved in the work building the Hammerfest LNG plant at Melkøya. Of these, 3.500 people hail from the three most northerly Norwegian counties. Many think – or hope – that Snøhvit will be the model for further petroleum offshore developments in the Arctic, both on the Norwegian and the Russian side of the Barents Sea.

As shown initially, one of the impact analysis reports made as a basis for the petroleum development in the Northern Norway, suggested women and increased female participation as a target area. As remarked by several persons interviewed here, technological changes, in particular sub sea solutions like the Snøhvit development, generate new possibilities for women. So far, Snøhvit has not brought many signs of change in that direction. According to Sverre Kojedal, public affairs manager at Snøhvit Statoil Hammerfest, the goal to increase the female proportion is not reached:

[19] *Snøhvit was discovered in 1984. All the fields primarily contain natural gas with small quantities of condensate (light oil). The Snøhvit area comprises the Snøhvit, Albatross and Askeladd fields, which lie in the Hammerfest Basin of the Barents Sea about 140 kilometres north-west of Hammerfest in northern Norway.*

Sverre Kojedal, Statoil. - Snøhvit has followed the traditional pattern. Photo Statoil.

- Snøhvit has followed the traditional pattern. There are few women; most of them work in catering and cleaning. In production, with about 180 workers, we have a female proportion of 16-17%; among them some engineers and process workers.

- The petroleum development in the North Sea showed the importance of getting female workers on the platforms. This is not just a question of the social life. It is a matter of good enough standards of safety, health and environment. At the first stage in the North Sea, when men were alone out there, they were not concerned about hygiene, be it for themselves or around them. The standards suffered, and so did the safety. When the women entered the platforms, this changed dramatically. The platforms became civilized – the standards increased and the men stopped shouting and acting like "baboons". The whole culture changed. Pluralism and both feminine and masculine culture are needed to get good results.

- This means that when appointing people, we choose women when they have the same qualification as men. Traditionally, being on a platform meant heavy work. Today the worker needs a good head, not big muscles. In future developments we'll need more geologists, economists and programmers. These are fields in which many women are educated.

But still – it seems that the petroleum industry fails to get hold of women. What is Statoil's strategy for becoming more attractive for skilled women workers?

- Statoil has no strategy for getting more female applicants to jobs in the company. Time will change as leaders recognise the worth of increased gender balance. I do not believe in moralizing.

Conclusions

The aim of this project has been to analyse and document gender-based power relations in the Norwegian petroleum sector. We have also discussed what consequences these relations have, for women, for the petroleum sector and for society as a whole. As an important and prominent sector in Norwegian politics and economy, there has till now been surprisingly few studies and little research focus on power relations in the sector. When it comes to gender-based circumstances and power relations, the picture is even clearer. However, ours is the second of two projects in 2005-2006 dealing with gender relations in the energy sector. There have been no earlier studies on the issue. These two projects may be the start of a new way of thinking where gender is receiving increased attention in the energy and petroleum sector. Whether this will be the case, though, relies on the focus on the issue being kept up and being followed with political action.

LACK OF FOCUS

In various ways, this project has shown the lack of focus and knowledge of women's role in the petroleum sector. This implies that the strong male dominance in the sector is seen as "normal" and taken for granted. The lack of focus on the issue is apparent in the lack of statistics and data on women's participation and positions, and the lack of political focus and attention to the issue. Our findings support the conclusion in the NORUT study, that gender and petroleum should have far more attention on the scientific and industrial agenda than today. If not, we risk that women do not get any role in the petroleum development in Northern Norway. That would be a loss for the petroleum sector, because it lacks highly educated workers. It would also be a loss for society, both because it represents a democracy problem, and because it could result in a petroleum development in the North that gives local communities with increased women deficits.

Northern Norway as a region cannot afford an emerging petroleum sector which is making an already gender divided labour market even more gender divided. Northern Norway of the future, and the economic and political processes that are driving development, must be seen as relevant for both men and women. This report might therefore serve as input to the creation of a petroleum strategy for Northern Norway and Arctic areas.

A central conclusion in this report is that the petroleum sector is very gender divided and very male dominated. This is especially prominent in the industry and in the public debate. In the distribution of positions in bureaucracy and in Parliament, the situation is slightly better, but even here women are not equal to men. However, the picture is complex. At all the three levels we have studied, there are good exemplas of women with influence and leading positions, but this is not the rule.

Our study indicates that at present we do not have good and non-disputable figures for women's positions in the petroleum industry. The figures from the two assessments of women's role in the oil industry (OED and NORUT) are partly non-conclusive and possibly contradictory. It is, therefore, uncertain whether the power and influence in the petroleum industry is increasing. The overall impression of the industry is that it still is male dominated, and that the role of women is mainly in catering.

A positive feature is that the big oil companies – like Statoil – are aware of the women deficit, and they define and acknowledge it as a problem. The latter, both because of the lack of skilled labour, and because of what is seen as politically correct and modern. We see it as positive and promising that Statoil has shown considerable interest for our project, both in providing the information we asked for, participation at seminars, and in interviews. The same can be said about OLF. The petroleum industry is both proud of, and wants to exhibit, the women they have in leading positions. There seems, however, to be a lack of a proactive strategy to recruit more women.

THE BUREAUCRACY IS AHEAD

Politics and bureaucracy is the field of the petroleum sector where women have the highest representation when it comes to power and influence, but also there we find a mixed picture. Both the Ministry of Oil and Energy and the Petroleum Directorate have a relatively high percentage of women in high positions. But all the same; in the leading positions there are more men and the top leaders are mostly men. The high ratio of women in the bureaucracy is not mirrored in Parliament, though. Here it is worth noting that the women ratio in the parliament oil and energy committee is substantially lower than in the rest of Parliament. Further, it is a paradox that the percentage of women on the committee was substantially higher ten years ago than in the later parliamentary periods. This last point challenges *Etterslepshypotesen*, the gender lag hypothesis (Raaum 1995), based

on the expectation that the hierarchical and functional division of labour between the sexes will diminish with time.

TOP EXECUTIVE FORUM

A big equality gap on the political arena is the OED initiated Top Executive Forum. This may also be one of the most important and influential petroleum policy arenas. Here, the women are few and far between, and the reason is obvious: Top executives are men. Whether the 40% rule applies to the Top Executive Forum is not black and white. Applying the rule on the Top Executive Forum could, however, have been both a suitable and strategically wise method of recruiting more women to the top positions in the industry.

THE SECTOR'S IMAGE PROBLEM

Our analysis of the discursive level indicates that gender equality and the power of women in the petroleum sector cannot be limited to counting heads in top jobs and other formal positions. The discursive field is heavily male-dominated. Men are in charge of the agenda, the ideas and the framework for the public debate on petroleum issues. And men are the most prominent opinion carriers. The activities in the north are influenced by this. As the Nordland research Institute suggested in its impact study, till now women's participation has definitely not been an important issue for the petroleum development in Northern Norway. There are very few female opinion leaders and few female voices. In this field nobody seems interested in turning the map upside down

Taking into account that women are better represented in politics and bureaucracy than in the industry, it is surprising that the public debate on petroleum is so very male-dominated. Why do women have leading positions in the petroleum bureaucracy and at the same time are absent in the public debate? It cannot be explained by gender-divided educational choices. We believe the reason for the strong male dominance at the discursive level is complex: One obvious explanation is that the public debate to a large extent is orchestrated by men. Men organise the conferences on petroleum, men make the introductions, men are listening, men write the scenario reports on petroleum and the bulk of those writing articles and being interviewed are men. Men choose men.

Another explanation is the widely held opinion that to work in the sector and to be a legitimate participant in the debate, you need to have traditional petroleum competence, like engineering or a geological education. As mentioned by our interviewees, the players organising the petroleum debate do not seem to reflect or take into account that the technological development in the sector, especially in IT, has made the sector more accessible to women. Participation in the public debate and in political processes also requires skills in social science and management, a competence many women have. The skewed focus on competence was pointed out by our interviewees, and corresponds with the opinions of various players we met during this project. This indicates that the petroleum sector and its political arenas are seen as less relevant for women than they actually are. For the sector this is a serious problem.

The discursive power relations and the sector's image problem imply that the male dominance in the sector can not solely be explained as a result of women's educational choices. To do that is to individualise the problem to the choice each woman makes, thereby moving focus away from circumstances that make the sector look unattractive to women.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To increase women's participation and influence in the petroleum sector we recommend a series of measures:

It is important to keep a continuous knowledge and research focus on women's participation and influence in the petroleum sector, both in terms of quantitative data, and the myths and ideas that influence the sector's

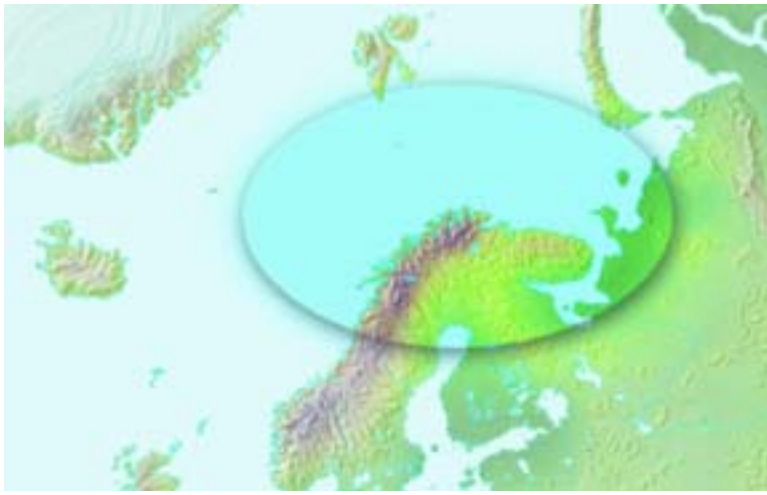
image. Regarding quantitative data, we recommend the establishment of accessible data bases that make continuous tracking of the development of gender equality issues at different levels in the sector.

There needs to be a continuous political focus on the role of women in the sector. To increase the participation and influence of women at all levels, it needs to be an integral part of the petroleum policies' basic principles and visions. Since petroleum is such an important driving force in the High North Policy of the Norwegian government, increased participation and influence for women in the sector should also be a part if the High North policy. It is crucial that the government make the issue visible so that it becomes a legitimate part of public debate.

It is also of high importance that politically appointed arenas that directly or indirectly influence policy making follow the standards for gender equality. This includes, maybe even more importantly, political bodies where there is doubt about whether the 40% rule applies. The Top Executive Forum should have a considerably better gender balance than todays.

Media, conference organisers and knowledge producers contributing to establishing and forming the petroleum policy agenda could benefit from increasing their level of consciousness and gender focus. Both in terms of increasing the women ratio among those who create the arena for public debate (journalists, conference organisers, scenario authors etc) and in terms of choosing opinion carriers who become voices in the public debate. Public economic contributors to petroleum conferences can have requirement criteria as to gender balance, for example in the organising committee and among lecturers.

The petroleum industry and the supply industry should take their image problem seriously. Many women do not see them as



relevant, neither when they choose an education nor when they are looking at the job market. The image problem can not be solved solely through expressing a wish to employ more women, and by displaying women in the company PR material. It has to be followed by conscious strategies and directed efforts from the companies' side.

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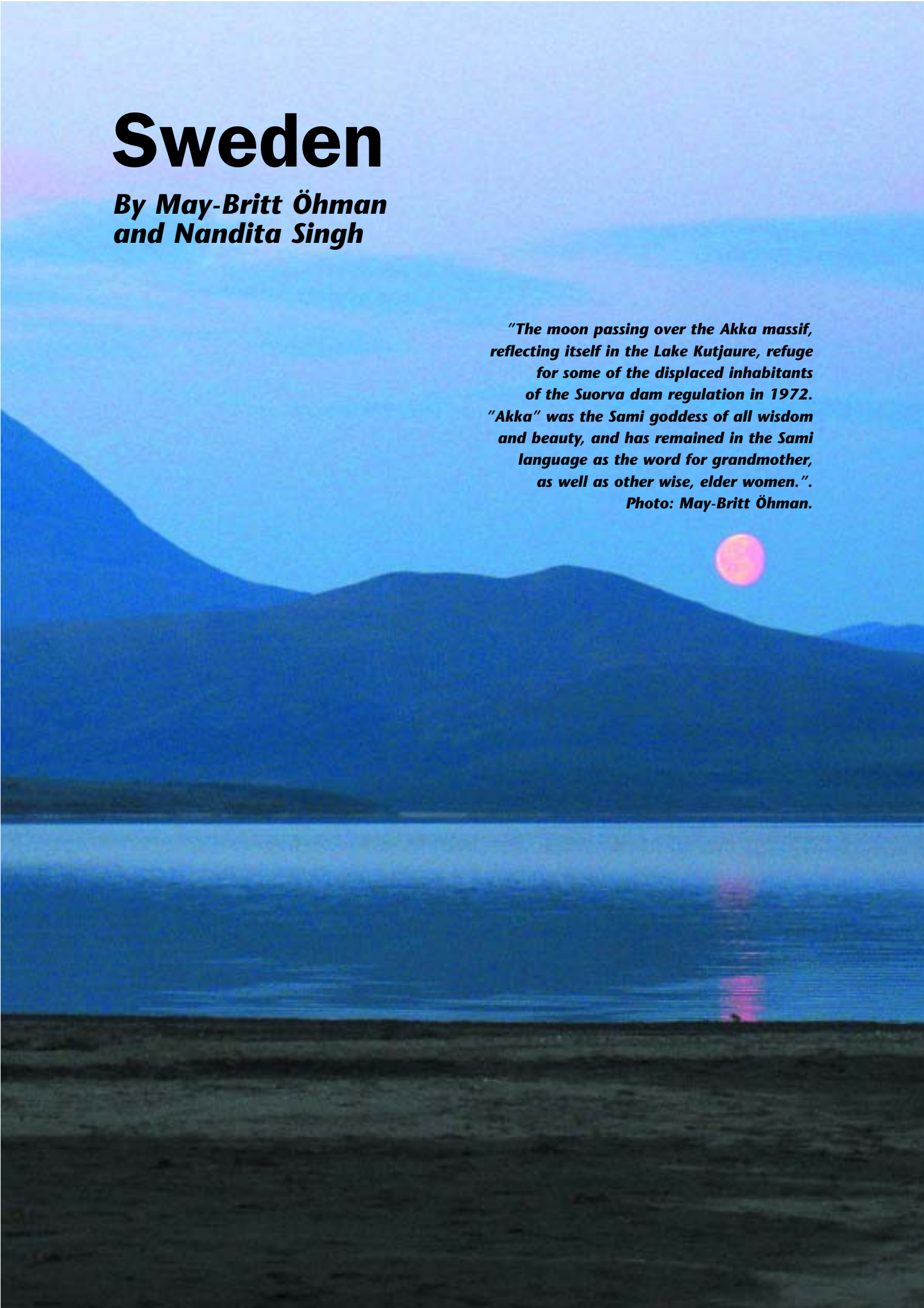
Sweden

By May-Britt Öhman and Nandita Singh



"The moon passing over the Akka massif, reflecting itself in the Lake Kutjaure, refuge for some of the displaced inhabitants of the Suorva dam regulation in 1972. "Akka" was the Sami goddess of all wisdom and beauty, and has remained in the Sami language as the word for grandmother, as well as other wise, elder women.". Photo: May-Britt Öhman.

The Lule River: Hydro power exploitation in the Northern parts of Sweden

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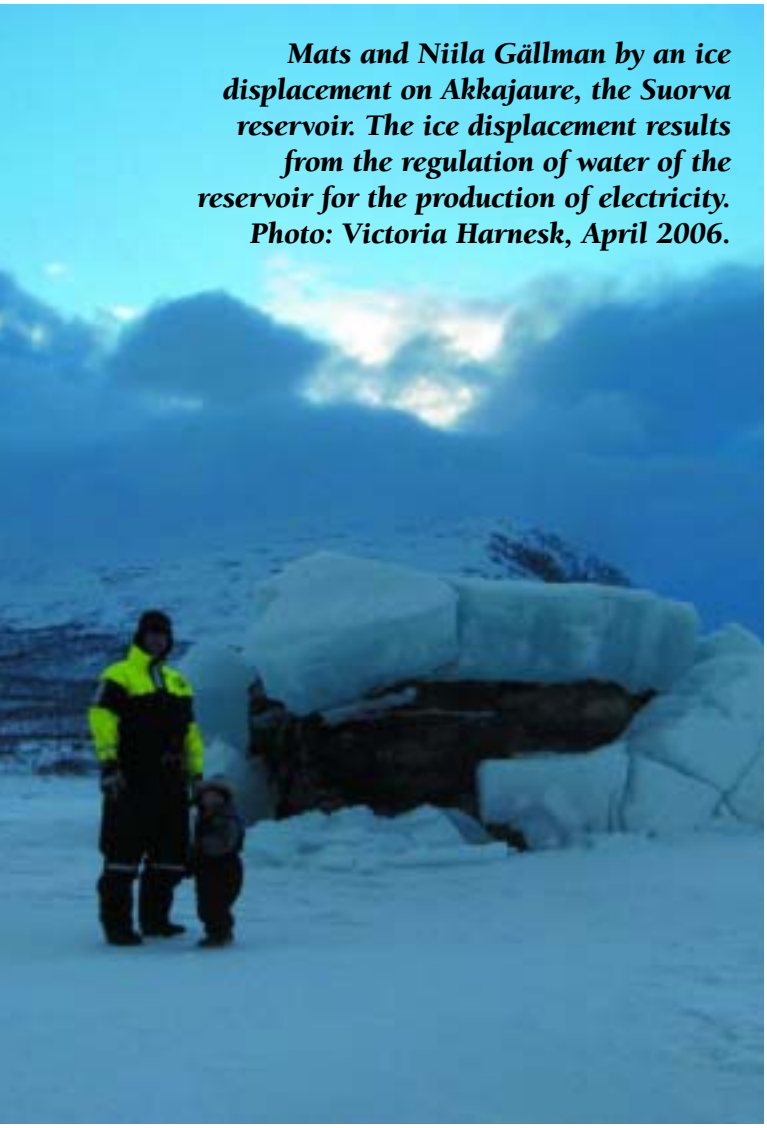
The regulation has most of all destroyed the migration route above Suorva. The letting out of water causes ice barriers. These are due to the storms bared of snow and very slippery, pointing in different angles. Add to this cracks and holes in the ice. […] To dare to go out on such a lake with a herd of pregnant reindeer does is a sure death[1].



Mats and Niila Gällman by an ice displacement on Akkajaure, the Suorva reservoir. The ice displacement results from the regulation of water of the reservoir for the production of electricity. Photo: Victoria Harnesk, April 2006.

The words above come from Ms Inger Utsi (1914-1984) a female reindeer herder and Saami, describing some of the impacts on the reindeer herders of the hydro power exploitation in Sweden. Her words are part of an article published during the height of Swedish hydropower exploitation in the 1950s. However, her words did not help much, about a decade later, the fourth and last regulation of the Suorva dam took place. When Ms Utsi wrote these words, the regulation level was 18 meters. Today, the former five small mountain lakes have been turned into one single large reservoir, the largest reservoir in Sweden, with a water levels that fluctuate more than 30 meters, according to the demand for electricity in the southern parts of Sweden and neighboring countries, linked to the water through long transmission wires stretching out over the landscape.

In most cases of largescale hydropower exploitation, there are also ethnical dimensions present, as the exploited territories often are inhabited by ethnical minorities with little political influence. In the north of Sweden, Sapmi, where the Swedish rivers are the biggest and consequently most part of the hydro-electricity is produced, the territory appropriated for the exploitation has for many thousands of years been inhabited by the Saami population. In this respect, hydro-power exploitation touches deeply upon the relations between the Swedish state and an indigenous group and their traditional land rights.

The Lule River system, referred to by Ms Utsi in the quote above, is the starting point

[1] *Inger Utsi, "Vattnet över bräddarna" in Sveriges Natur 1958:4, 118-120.*

Reindeer herd on the frozen Suorva reservoir, at the site of the former source lake Akkajaure in front of the mountain Pålnotjåkko. Photo: Victoria Harnesk, April 2006.

for this article. Focus is on the differing views on the river and its value as natural resource, as a factory for producing electricity, versus a traditional communication route by hydropower exploitation damaged and under certain circumstances turned into a threat to both life and health of animals and humans.

Gender dimensions in regard to hydro power exploitation touch on the construction side – the lack of female representation within the planning, construction and management of hydropower plants, including the decision-making regarding the use of electricity – as well as on the impact side, the people negatively affected by hydro power exploitation. As a result of imbalanced gender structures, it seems as though women, as a group, tend to suffer bigger losses than men.

THE "BIG DAM ERA" AND THE CREATION OF LARGE RESERVOIRS

In the 20th century, large-scale hydropower construction and electricity became a model for energy supply, a symbol of progress and of modernization.

Hydropower is, as the name indicates, energy taken from water. Electricity is provided by using the potential energy of water falling from a higher level to a lower one. A problem within hydropower production is that electricity has to be consumed immediately; it cannot be stored. The consumption of electricity varies over 24 hours, over the year and over long periods, depending on a number of climatic, economic and political factors. The demand does not correspond to the natural flow of a river. All rivers have their own unique flow of water, depending on climatic and environmental context. The solution to the problem is to save the water in reservoirs, and to release it according to the need for electricity. The larger the hydropower plant, i.e. the greater its capacity measured in megawatts, the larger the water storage facility – the regulating reservoir – has to be. In consequence, hydropower plants with a high capacity demand large reservoirs. Or at least, this is the technical solution that has come to prevail throughout the 20th century.

The large Suorva regulation dam, on the Lule River in Sapmi, turning five small lakes into one inland sea. The tour boat takes tourists from the village Vaisa to the Ritsem tourist station. When water is low in the dam, people can cross over by foot. The photo also shows part of the transmission wires taking the electricity produced to the cities and neighbouring countries. Photo: May-Britt Öhman, July 2004.

The main conflict issue regarding large scale hydro power is the construction of large dams, the blocking of water courses and inundating vast areas of land with the consequence that people are dislocated from their traditional income opportunities. Furthermore, the everyday regulation of water brings about difficulties for people living along the river systems and the reservoirs.

The creation of the reservoirs has a number of serious negative impacts on the local inhabitants. Land is inundated, to various degrees, and consequently land for pasture, agriculture and forestry is lost. Ecological and social impacts of the inundation depend on the local context. The main hydro power exploitation in Sweden has taken place in the northern parts, in Sapmi – or "Norrland" corresponding to about two thirds of the Swedish national territory. As hydropower construction began in the area, any land and water not judicially proved to belong to a private person was considered to belong to the Swedish state, thus free to initiate industrial activity[2]. The inhabitants, many of them belonging to the Saami ethnic group, descendants of Saami or part Saami, suffered extensive losses. A particularly severe blow was inflicted on a traditional Saami economic activity, reindeer-herding.

The basis for the introduction of the big dam era in Sweden has been described by the historian Eva Jakobsson. In her doctoral thesis, Jakobsson identified a specific group of actors, whom she calls "hydropower developers"[3]. These were (male) engineers who owned hydropower companies, leaders in the Swedish state hydropower production, consultant engineers in the water development area, and water rights lawyers who campaigned and won the battle that paved the way for large-scale hydropower construction in Sweden at the beginning of the 20th century [4]. Prior to 1918, the complete harnessing of a river was prohibited by law, and thus no large-scale hydropower plant could make use of the water according to the demand for electricity. With the new Water Act, the principle of "reasonable use" was established. If the "benefit" of the regulation could be proved three times greater than the damage, engineering projects and water regulation would be allowed. One important tactic of the hydropower developers in achieving their objective was to depoliticize the controversial issue of water regulation. Through this arrangement, the decision-making process was shifted from the political

[2] *Cf. Gertrude Hanes-Nutti, Samernas rättsliga ställning vid de tre första Suorva regleringarna, unpublished (Dept of History, Umeå University, 1988).*
[3] *Eva Jakobsson, Industrialisering av älvar: studier kring svensk vattenkraftutbyggnad 1900-1918 (Göteborg, 1996).*
[4] *Jakobsson does not discuss this in terms of gender, however, all the persons referred to in her study are male.*

agenda to special water courts. These water courts were staffed not only by lawyers, but also by technicians. Thus a highly political issue was handed over to technicians and bureaucrats. Against this background, large-scale hydropower construction could take off; the "industrialization" of the Swedish rivers, as Jakobsson describes it, could start[5].

The industrialization of the rivers was dependent on another important factor, the financing of the hydropower projects. At the start of the 20th century, hydropower plants in Sweden were built mainly by private companies. As the potential of the rivers of the northern part of Sweden was discovered, the State Power Board, established in 1909, became the prominent player, and paved the way for far bigger investments, technological development of transmission lines and consequently large-scale projects. The hydropower exploitation of the northern parts, in Sapmi, took off with furious haste. It was part of a national strategy to make use of the dormant resources of northern Sweden[6].

For the Saami, it was in the specific water courts that the battles had to be fought, and most of the time lost. While Saami people did protest against exploitation, the arena for negotiations was the water courts, within which one was demanded to be able to proceed according to Swedish law and legal institutional practice. Patrik Lantto has shown how the hydro power exploitation served as a catalyst for Saami ethnic mobilization. In the 1950s, the recently established national association

Reindeers and Saami resting on the frozen lake Malgomaj in the Ångerman river system during spring migration, before regulation, the sledge raide going from the coast zone towards the mountains, some time between 1913-1925. The people on the photo are, judged by their clothes, probably south Saami. Photo: Lage Dahlberg/Västerbottens Museum.

of Saami villages and Saami organizations, SSR, started to protest against the regulation of the water. The SSR encouraged Saami people to be active in the judicial processes, and to be sceptical and cautious of the short-term compensations promised by the State Power board[7].

SAPMI VERSUS THE SWEDISH STATE

All large-scale hydropower exploitation has extensive impacts on the local inhabitants. In the Saami reindeer herding context, the major part of the impacts are linked to the annual migration route for the reindeer herd. The migration routes are cyclic and follow the climate. The reindeer herd spends the summer in the mountain region, avoiding the mosquitoes. As the first snow comes, the reindeer herd starts walking eastwards, towards warmer climate for pasture. In the spring, the reindeer herd starts its

[5] *Ibid., 251ff.*
[6] *Jakobsson describes it as the establishment of a "Swedish system", Jakobsson 65-109. See also Evert Vedung and Magnus Brandel, Vattenkraften, staten och de politiska partierna (Nora, 2001), 24f, 35f; Sverker Sörlin, Sverker Sörlin, Framtidslandet: debatten om Norrland och naturresurserna under det industriella genombrottet (Stockholm, 1988), 94ff; Patrik Lantto, Att göra sin stämma hörd: Svenska samernas riksförbund, samerörelsen och svensk samepolitik 1950-1962 (Umeå, 2003), 90ff; Andrea Amft, Sápmi i förändringens tid: en studie i svenska samers levnadsvillkor under 1900-talet ur ett genus- och etnicitetsperspektiv (Umeå, 2002), 44.*
[7] *Lantto, Att göra sin stämma hörd.*

migration westwards, to the mountains, as the first mosquitoes show up[8]. The migration route has traditionally followed the rivers, as transportation on or alongside frozen rivers and lakes is easy. With the regulation of the reservoirs, these routes have been destroyed. The regulation up and down of the water levels turns the ice brittle, and destroys the shorelines.

Furthermore, along the migration route, the pasture for the reindeer is provided by the nature. Also in this respect, the hydro power exploitation has impacted negatively. The best pasture is to be found close to the river, with its fertile and varied vegetation. Resulting from the construction of large reservoirs, the microclimate has changed. A damp fog often appears by the reservoirs, and as the temperature decreases this fog turns into an ice layer on the vegetation, obstructing the pasture for the reindeer. The consequence is that the reindeer herders have to look for new areas for pasture[9]. However, as the reindeer herders also compete for the land with other interests, forestry, mining, tourism etc, every part of pasture lost brings about extra costs and work for the individual reindeer herder, seriously challenging and complicating the future of the reindeer herding[10].

The damaged migration routes roads have led some Saami villages to start moving their reindeer by truck, which has brought about extensive costs. The activity has become a lot more expensive, and this has even caused some to give it up[11]. For reindeer owners with small herds, these costs are likely to make the whole enterprise much too expensive.

The working environment of the reindeer herders has also been affected. The animals have to be collected at certain times and the herders sometimes have to cross the reservoirs in order to succeed. These reservoirs are dangerous at any time of the year. When the water is open, the size of the reservoirs makes them windy and thus difficult to navigate. In winter the ice is brittle and treacherous due to the changing water levels, caused by peak demands – long term and short term regulation of the water in the reservoirs. This has contributed to making reindeer-herding one of the most dangerous economic activities in Sweden[12].

[8] For a historical investigation on traditional migration routes see for instance Ernst Manker, The nomadism of the Swedish mountain lapps: the siidas and their migratory routes in 1945 (Uppsala, 1953).
[9] May-Britt Öhman and Camilla Sandström, "Sapmi's vita kol: En exposé över tillämpbara perspektiv på kraft, konflikt och kulturella kuriositeter längs Norrlands älvar", conference paper at Teknikhistoriska dagar, Luleå, Sweden, March 15-17, 2004.
[10] Agriculture had earlier been a complementary activity, with exchanges between reindeer-owning peasants and Saami reindeer herders. This relation changed in the early 20th century, due to Swedish state policy, and instead agriculture also became a competing interest. See for instance Åsa Nordin, "Samerna och jordbruksbefolkningens renar – om skötesrensystemet i början av 1900-talet" in Peter Sköld and Patrik Lantto, Den komplexa kontinenten: Staterna på Nordkalotten och samerna i ett historiskt perspektiv (Umeå, 2000), 173-198. Recently activities within tourism and ecologism have also become competitors for the territory. Hugo Beach, "Negotiating nature in Swedish Lapland: Ecology and Economics of Saami Reindeer Management" in Eric Alden Smith & Joan McCarter (eds.) Contested Arctic: Indigenous people, industrial states and the circumpolar environment (Seattle, 1997).
[11] Amft, 43f.
[12] S Hassler, R Johansson, P Sjölander, H Grönberg, L Damber. Causes of death in the Saami population of Sweden, 1961-2000. Southern Lapland Research Department, Vilhelmina. Centre for Musculoskeletal Research, University of Gävle. Department of Radiation Sciences/Oncology, Umeå University. no.1, 2003. See also Inger Utsi, "Vattnet över bräddarna" in Sveriges Natur 1958:4, 49, 118-120.

Amma and Sunna Spik, Lule Sámis of the Sirges Sámi village, Aktse-Njunjes group, during spring migration, heading for their summer residence by the lake Sitojaure of the Lule River system, 1946. Lake Sitojaure is still unregulated. Photo: Lars Hermodsson/ Ajtte Svenskt Fjäll- och Samemuseum.

Apart from the destruction of communications and migration routes, yet another complication of the damming for hydropower exploitation is the loss of fishery, which is an important ancillary occupation for reindeer herders. The fishery in the rivers of Sapmi was extensive before regulation; afterwards it has become seriously damaged. In the case of the Suorva reservoir, the trees were not removed before the flooding and after regulation the nets are damaged by the wood debris[13].

Within the field of political science, the term NIMBY ("Not In My Back Yard") syndrome is used to describe the often fierce local opposition to environmentally hazardous industrial activities, considered necessary for the public good or for the benefit of a whole nation[14]. Opposition to hydropower exploitation conducted by a state company in the name of progress and for the alleged benefit of a whole nation could be cited as a perfect illustration of the NIMBY syndrome. However, the NIMBY syndrome assumes a state in which there is space for opposition. It also assumes that affected people are informed of the project plans and their consequences, have enough skills to deal with judicial processes, and have the time and organization to make their voices heard. Finally, and maybe most importantly, for the resistance to be successful, the people affected have to be considered the rightful owners of the land to be inundated or otherwise damaged. When it comes to large-scale hydropower exploitation or other industrial exploitation in "remote areas", it seems appropriate to describe these areas as a sort of "nobody's backyard". The ones objecting and protesting are unimportant, they are "nobodies"[15].

Saami people have protested against the hydro power exploitations individually and through organizations. Yet, still today, the conflicting views between the Saami and the Swedish state is to a large extent silenced, a non issue for debate on the political arena.

[13] *See Inger Utsi, "Vattnet över bräddarna".*
[14] *See for instance Michael E. Kraft and Bruce B. Clary, "Citizen participation and the NIMBY syndrome: public response to radioactive waste disposal", The Western Political Quarterly, 1991:2, 299-328; Euston Quah and K.C. Tan, Siting environmentally unwanted facilities: Risks, trade-offs and choices (Cheltenham, UK, Northampton, MA, 2002).*
[15] *Only in a few cases has opposition from indigenous people towards hydropower exploitation been fierce, although even then not very successful in the end. The alliance between Indian environmentalists and local inhabitants of the Narmada rivers is an exception, as is the opposition of Saami people in Norway when fighting against the Norwegian state over the River Alta. May-Britt Öhman, Världsbankens miljöpolicy: specialstudie i fallet Narmada, unpublished paper (Dept. of Pol. Sciences, Uppsala University, 1993); Nils Roar Saeltun, "The Alta hydropower development: Hydropower vs environmentalists and indigenous interest groups – the great showdown", International Water History Association Conference Papers, Bergen, Norway, 10-12 August 2001; Robert Paine, Ethnodrama and the 'Fourth World': The Saami Action Group in Norway, 1979-1981 in Dyck (ed), 190-235.*

To understand why, it is important to recognize that this rests on a depiction of Sapmi as a "remote area", an "empty land", a "terra nullius" or "nobody's backyard", considered a part of Swedish territory, with the Swedish state as owner.

An important issue related to this are the land rights of the Saami peoples versus the Swedish state, an issue which still remains unresolved in the 21st century. Saami do not retain rights to the land and water in their environment comparable to actual ownership. This is based on an understanding of the nature of Saami livelihoods: hunting, fishing and reindeer husbandry are not considered to need possession of land. Still today, the issue of who has the rights to the territory has not been settled. An indicator of this are the problems in regard to the Swedish ratification of the ILO convention no 169 of 1989, which states the right of indigenous peoples to their traditional territory[16].

GENDER DIMENSIONS OF THE NEGATIVE IMPACTS

While the whole reindeer herding community have suffered extensive losses due to hydropower exploitation, there are also specific gender dimensions. First of all, the Swedish legislation on reindeer herding has relied on the assumption that the reindeer herder is a man, and that women involved are part of the household, not owners and herders in their own rights. Very little research has so far been made in this regard. However, preliminary investigations show that this has led to compensations being negotiated and paid to the male reindeer herders, leaving the women outside of the process and in cases of being unmarried or widows, also being left completely without compensation[17].

Secondly, studies indicate that the difficulties arising from hydropower exploitation have rendered the yearly migrations more and more difficult, resulting in reindeer herding becoming a male activity. In a book based on her academic investigation of the impact of the Suorva regulations on the people of the Sirges Saami village, Gertrude Hanes describes how the deteriorated ice conditions after the second and the third regulation (1937-1941 and 1942-1944) of the Suorva dam impacted on the yearly migrations for the reindeer. Water gathered on top of the frozen lake, cracks in the ice and the hanging ice by the shores seriously complicated life for the reindeer and the reindeer herders. Sleds broke and reindeer were hurt, and sometimes reindeer even fell down into the cracks in the ice. The reindeer herders were also worried for their children, who easily could fall down into the cracks in the ice. Furthermore, the opportunities to pasture for the reindeer during migration disappeared, as the islets were flooded and the herders had to bring moss to feed them. After these regulations, the annual migrations became complicated, and eventually the lifestyle of the herder families changed. The family disintegrated, as the family had to move separately from the reindeer herd, leaving the hard work of following the reindeer to the men. Consequently, Hanes argues, the reindeer herd and the family were separated during both spring and autumn migrations, and taking care of the reindeer herd became an activity mainly dealt with by the men[18].

[16] See Kaisa Korpijaakko, "Land ownership among the Saami of Sweden-Finland: theory and practice" in Roger Kvist (ed.), Saami readings III, 79-89 ILO - the International Labour Organisation - is a United Nations organization. Concerning the Swedish discussion on ratification of the convention see, for instance, Sven Heurgren, Samerna – ett ursprungsfolk i Sverige: Frågan om Sveriges anslutning till ILO:s konvention nr 169, SOU 1999:25 (Stockholm, 1999); Robert Johansson and Maria Klang, Konflikterna i lappmarken – är ILO 169 lösningen? (Luleå 2003).
[17] Maria Utsi, Personal interview, August 11, 2006, Kutjaure; Christina Mörtberg, Telephone c ommunication, January 10, 2005.
[18] Getrude Hanes, Vaisaluokta under 100 år (Kiruna, 2000), 118 f.

All in all, the ever harder strains on reindeer herding have led to the tradition being abandoned, and even more so by women. Reindeer herding is hard work, filled with risks and injuries, and women being physically weaker, these aspects turns it even harder for women.

CONFLICTING PERSPECTIVES ON THE WATER COURSES: THE LULE RIVER CASE

In the era of hydro power exploitation, the rivers have been turned into factories producing electricity, and other usages of the water courses to a large extent neglected. In this sense, it is important to use the Lule River as an example to point out how in a historical perspective, this single-purpose use has changed the landscape, impacting both on the physical and the emotional landscape. The view on how to use the river and lakes, as well as the emotional links to them, depends in very much on physical position. While representatives of the Swedish state power board talk in terms of megawatts of electricity produced, benefits for the whole nation, as well as in terms of economic compensation for the losses, accordingly claiming the conflicts to be solved, the perspective of the inhabitants of the area rarely corresponds to this view. Furthermore, while state representatives have referred to the area as a wilderness, roadless, sparsely populated and underdeveloped, the perspective of the local inhabitants is the opposite. To the inhabitants this is "home", the mountain lakes and the rivers form a part of a livelihood, the river is used as a road, and despite the compensations paid and made, the hydro power exploitation with its impacts is still today an open wound.

To exemplify the conflicting views between the Swedish state representatives and the local

The Lule river hydro power system, from the website of the state power company, Vattenfall AB, in 2006. On the image the Lule river is presented as a blue line, indicating a continuous flow. The dark squares shows the location of the fifteen hydro power stations. However, the Lule river is no longer a river, but a series of reservoirs, separated by kilometers of dry river bed, a factory for producing electricity. The largest station Harsprånget, and the station where new capacity increasing technology – the "Powerformer" – is tested, are pointed out. Source: http://www.vattenfall.se/downloads/produktion/VF_epd_lule_alv.pdf .

inhabitants viewing the region as their home and the river as their route, the example of Lule River serves well.

THE LULE RIVER AS HYDRO POWER FACTORY

The Lule River is today the most hydroelectrically developed river in Sweden. The first hydroelectric plant was inaugurated at Porjus in 1915[19]. Construction of the first stage of the great reservoir at Suorva, upstream from Porjus, took place between 1919 and 1923. Since then the Suorva Dam has been enlarged three times, to its present level and size[20]. Over the years the Lule

[19] Staffan Hansson, Porjus – En vision för industriell utveckling i övre Norrland (Luleå, 1994), 272; Nils Forsgren, Porjus: Pionjärverket i ödemarken (Stockholm, 1982), 76.

[20] The second and third regulations took place in 1937-1941 and 1942-1944. The last regulation took place in 1966-1972. Tore Nilsson, Fyra gånger Suorva- en tillbakablick på regleringsarbetena i Suorva (Stockholm, 1972), 10; Nils Forsgren, Suorva: Dammbygget i vildmarken (Stockholm, 1987), 123.

River has been made into an energy-producing factory, with fifteen hydropower plants and a total installed capacity of 4350 MW, or an annual output of 13.6 TWh. The Lule River alone now produces a third of all the electricity from hydropower in Sweden, and almost half of all electricity produced by the State power company, Vattenfall AB[21].

Thirty-seven years after the first regulation of the river at Suorva, Mr. Åke Rusck, the then General Manager of the State Power Board, expressed his views on hydropower exploitation in Sapmi at a conference on the future of the administrative district of Norrbotten. In his speech, Mr. Rusck told a story of how the State Power Board first entered "pure wilderness", to build the Porjus hydropower station[22]. Mr. Rusck continued by stating that Sweden had a great advantage in its access to harnessable waterfalls "of which most are located in Norrland" at a low cost[23]. The Lule River would become the most productive river in Sweden, providing "12.5 billion kWh per year"[24].

Besides the high figures for the Lule River's energy potential, Mr. Rusck's address is full of verbal images of the future, of how the State Power Board will bring wealth and progress, by means of large-scale hydropower exploitation in "Norrland", both to the region and the whole country. In the reprint of the speech, the Messaure Dam on the Lule River, at that time under construction, is pictured together with a sevenfold image of the Cheops pyramid in Egypt. The subtitle reads: "The dam at Messaure will have a volume corresponding to seven Cheops pyramids"[25]. At the end of his speech, Mr. Rusck referred to the cost of the exploitation for protection of the environment and tourism. He stated that the development would improve the prospects for tourism, through the construction of "better communications"[26]. In the speech by Mr Rusck there was no mention whatever of the Saami as an ethnic group or of their dependence on traditional economic activities damaged by large-scale exploitation[27]. The "local inhabitants", though, are mentioned, as Mr. Rusck states that a "few" of them would have to move, but that their losses were to be fully covered:

"I will not deny that damage often occurs – people have to move, homes are abandoned. It is of course not enough to claim that the water law ensures more than full compensation for this. The problem is not only economic, it has also a human aspect. The State Power Board also tries in various ways to alleviate this dislocation – whenever the person concerned so wishes, we try to help him to a new estate. […] On the other hand there will be quite a few people that will have to leave their homes on account of these new hydropower constructions in the Lule River"[28].

[21] *Vattenfall, "Vattenfall AB Elproduktion certifierade miljövarudeklaration för el från Lule Älv, 20020315", www.vattenfall.se/downloads/produktion/VF_epd_lule_alv.pdf, (February 2, 2005).*
[22] *Åke Rusck "Ett 20 års program för 2 miljarder" in Folke Thunborg (ed), Jorden, skogen, malmen, vattenkraften i morgondagens Norrbotten (Stockholm, 1956), 208.*
[23] *Ibid., 203, 206.*
[24] *Ibid., 208.*
[25] *Ibid., 214.*
[26] *Ibid., 223.*
[27] *See also Lantto, Att göra sin stämma hörd, 97.*
[28] *Rusck, 203-224, 221.*

By the 1980s, the exploitation of Sweden's rivers had run into fierce opposition and at the time there were a number of campaigns against further hydroelectric power in Sweden[29]. Probably in response to the criticism, the State Power Board produced five folders dealing with different aspects of the impact of hydropower on different economic activities and the environment. In the folder dedicated to the problems of the Saami people, entitled "Hydropower and Reindeer Management" it is stated that there are a number of negative impacts of hydropower exploitation, but that there are also positive effects, such as the construction of roads to facilitate transport to the benefit of the local inhabitants and their economic activities[30]. Furthermore, it is also declared that the State Power Board and the Swedish state have paid for the construction of fences, specific enclosed work areas, reindeer-herder cottages, slaughter-houses, roads, migration routes and bridges for the animals, as well as paying compensation for the damage:

"The power companies have aimed to give full indemnity for damage and intrusion through a combination of measures and financial compensation. […] The power companies have now settled the issues of damages and intrusion with most of the Saami villages affected by hydropower exploitation"[31].

One example is mentioned, the Sirkas (Sirges) Saami village, which according to the folder received SEK 11.7 million in 1983 for damage to fishery, and in 1984 an amount of SEK 10 million for damage to reindeer-herding.[32] Together with the amount of money that is mentioned, a statistical perspective is used to show that reindeer-herding has not suffered any great losses. In six diagrams and a table it is stated that the actual number of reindeer has not gone down as a consequence of hydropower exploitation[33].

Finally, entering the 21st century, the State Power Board had developed an environmentally friendly profile. In the age of the Internet, the strategies and achievements in "life cycle analysis", environmental protection, and risk analysis of the company are presented on the State Power Board homepage in downloadable documents[34]. In this setting, the issue of reindeer-herding has almost completely vanished. On the company website, the term "reindeer-herding" is mentioned once, when referring to the effect of hydropower exploitation on the activities:

"Hydropower exploitation affects agriculture, forestry and reindeer-herding in different ways. The most concrete is the loss of land and damage to land due to inundation for water regulation. On the other hand the water flow becomes more uniform with less risk of flooding"[35].

[29] *See Vedung and Brandel.*
[30] *Torvald Lif, Vattenkraften och rennäringen (Vällingby, 1986). The other folders deal with fishery, tourism, demography/employment/municipal economy, and natural environment. The author of the 19-page folder on "hydropower and reindeer herding" is according to the introductory text Mr Torvald Lif, of the State Power Board unit for investigations and water court cases. The main information in the folder derives from two state reports from the 1960s concerning the reindeer-herding land areas, and another concerning the reindeer-herding economy of 1983 together with statistics on the number of reindeer within certain Saami villages. The official reports referred to are: Renbetsmarkerna, SOU 1966:12, the Appendix 5 of "Betänkande avgivet av 1964 års svensk-norska renbeteskommission" and Rennäringens ekonomi, SOU 1983:67. The statistics concerning number of reindeers are from Norrbotten, so called "Renlängder".*
[31] *Lif, 18.*
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] *Ibid., 5, 12, 13, 33,35.*
[34] *Vattenfall, www.vattenfall.se. (September 24, 2004).*

The Lule River is no longer a river but a series of reservoirs, forming a staircase: Dry river bed downstream of the Ligga hydro power plant. Photo: May-Britt Öhman, July 2004.

The same sentence is found in the document on life cycle analysis of electricity production by the State Power Board[36]. In the environmental declaration on the Lule River[37], a number of risks – environmental and health hazards – related to hydropower dams and power plants during and after construction are discussed. Yet this document says nothing about risks or health hazards faced by reindeer herders[38]. On the main Internet site, describing how hydropower is adapted to the environment, hydroelectricity is referred to as an "economic, renewable resource which is in principle free from environmentally damaging depletion"[39].

THE LULE RIVER AS ROAD AND THE SOURCE LAKES AS "HOME"

Apart from being the most hydropower developed river in Sweden, the Lule River has another story. The Lule River is assumed to have received its name from the Saami

[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Vattenfall and Explicare AB, "Livscykelanalys av Vattenfalls el, 2004", http://www.vattenfall.se/downloads/produktion/lcasve_maj04.pdf. (September 24, 2004),6.*
[37] *On environmental product declarations see further for instance http://www.environdec.com/, (October 18, 2004); Karin Jönsson, Communicating the environmental characteristics of products: the use of environmental product declarations in the building, energy and automotive industries (Lund, 2000).*
[38] *Vattenfall, "Vattenfall AB Elproduktions Certifierade Miljövarudeklaration för el från Lule älv", http://www.vattenfall.se/downloads/produktion/VF_epd_lule_alv.pdf, (January 31, 2005).*
[39] *Vattenfall, "Vattenkraft", http://www.vattenfall.se/om_vattenfall/var_verksamhet/forskning_och_utveckling/vattenkraft, (January 31, 2005).*

language, Lulij-jokko, meaning the river of the Forest Saami or the river of the Easterners[40]. The Lule River was for many centuries a central highway between two seas, the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Bothnia, and as such an important cultural and economic link between eastern and western societies[41]. As a consequence of the hydropower exploitation transport has been made much more difficult, both in summer and in winter. The former water link between the two seas has been replaced by a bitumen road, built to give access to the different construction sites. The river is nowadays no longer a river but instead a series of reservoirs, like a staircase. At the hydropower sites, the water disappears underground for some kilometres, leaving the old watercourse bare, like an open wound in the landscape. In winter time, the ice that used to provide safe and easily accessible "roads" is damaged by constant variation of the water level, in response to the peak demands of electricity in the Swedish cities.

There are several examples on how the hydro power exploitation has impacted on the emotions and cultural values of the displaced Saami peoples. Lennart Pittja has expressed some of the emotions, speaking of sadness over the intrusion into the landscape of the power lines. One consequence is that the children no longer have to learn to find their way in the terrain via traditional knowledge, because instead they just follow the power lines[42]. Other examples of these emotional and cultural values, and the sense of being expelled from one's own land, are expressed in the poetry of Paulus and Inger Utsi, of Vaisa (part of the Sirges Saami village). Paulus and Inger Utsi started writing poetry in response to the regulation of the Suorva Dam in the 1940s.

Vaisa, by the Suorva Dam, is one of the villages used by the State Power Board in support of the assertion that compensation has been adequate. The view of the affected people, though, seems quite different when interpreted through the poetry of the poets Paulus and Inger Utsi43. Their poetry writing, published in the 1960s, became an emotional response to the exploitation of the area. The poetry of Paulus and Inger came to serve as a sort of a wake-up call to Saami people, expressing the sense of loss of ancient traditions and cherished landscapes[44]. Newspapers have written about the poetry, and Paulus appeared on radio and television and at concerts. Some of the texts were also out to music and have reached Saami youth as well as an international audience[45].

[40] Lars-Erik Edlund, "Luleå, Harads, Gerosriset – Ortnamnsstrukturer i norra Sverige" in Evert Baudou (ed.), Att leva vid älven – Åtta forskare om människor och resurser i Lule älvdal, (Ceweförlaget, 1996), 111-131, 112.
[41] Phebe Fjällström, "Humanekologiskt system i Lule älvdal – fjällbygd, skogsbygd, kustbygd", in Baudou (ed.) Att leva vid älven, 79-110, 83.
[42] Lennart Pittja, "The impact of dams on Sámi land and culture", in Nordic Dam-building in the south, Proceedings of an international conference in Stockholm, 3-4 August, 1994 (Stockholm, 1994).
[43] Paulus Utsi lived from 1918-1974, and his wife Inger Utsi, from 1914-1984. Their life and poetry has been described by amongst other Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, "Med språket med språket" in Paulus Utsi, Följ stigen: texter 1941-1974 (Kautokeino, 2000).
[44] Paulus became internationally renowned, while his wife Inger only after the death of her husband officially claimed to be a part of the creative process when she presented herself as co-author of the second collection, Giela Gielain, in 1980. See for instance Harald Gaski, Saami culture in a new era: the Norwegian experience, (Kárásjohka, 1997); Israel Ruong, "Saame Poetry", in Martin Allwood (Gen. Ed.) Modern Scandinavian Poetry (Mullsjö and Walnut Creek, Calif., 1986), 147-156.
[45] Erik-Oscar Oscarsson, "recension av Paulus Utsi, Följ stigen: texter 1941-1974", Oknytt, Holmsund, 2000:3/4, 95-96; Valkeapää, 35-55, 53;

Molested village
In anguish breathes the village
Fleeing in terror from new waters
The water rises to the dwellings
Toiling to move the tents
smooth slopes, green pastures
they must leave with heavy hearts
Hard the roads they wander
bearing the weight of their burdens
to a new place to live
Without mercy the Saami
are driven to move
Landscape, streams, lakes
become deeps, sounds, open seas
their bounds unseen
The lake's high water draws nigh
the molesting winds do blow

Ráfehisvuođa siste
Ráfehisvuođa siste vuoigná siida
ođđačázi baluin báhtaraddet
Dulvi báisa oruhagaide
Váigatvuođain gođiid sirdit
jalges dievaird, ruonas gittiid
losses mielain fertejit guođđit
Golgangeainnut váivin šaddet
lossa noađđebáttiid vuolde
ođđa báikai saji dahkat
Árpmukeahtta sápmelaččat
rissejuvvun johtimii
Luonddueanan,jogat, jávrrit
fávlin, nuorrin, áhpin šaddet
oaidnemeahttun ravddat
Jávrri dulvi lahkanadda
ráfehisvuođa biekkat bossut

Old Vaisa
In the heat of the summer you shone
like a star on the mountainside
High mountains rising to heaven
You were the loveliest of villages

Warmly you embraced
every soul in your bosom

Little blue lakes
have become a sea
Light breezes are now strong winds
the waves dash hard

Boares Váisa
Geassebáhkkan don báitet
degu násti várregilggas
Alla várit áimmu ravddas
Čábbasmus leat siidan leamaš

Liekkusvouođainat vuosta váldet
juohke sielu iežat fátmai

Jávrražat mat alihahtte
leat mearran muktašuvvan
Biekkažat leat ožžun vuoimmi
bárut doidet garrasit

Paulus and Inger Utsi

These two poems are by Paulus and Inger Utsi, from the second collection, Giela Gielain, 1980. The poems are originally written in the North Saami language and translated into English via Swedish[46]. "Molested Village" describes how the people of a village flee the rising waters in fear, carrying their old homes, how former creeks and lakes turn into an open sea – the Suorva dam. It says that there is no mercy for the Saami, they are forced to move. The second poem is a tribute to their village "Old Vaisa", which was inundated by the Suorva dam. So far, few studies have been made on the impacts of water regulation on the reindeer herding community in Sweden. In August 2006, Ms Maria Utsi, a former inhabitant of the inundated Vaisa village was interviewed. Her words further strengthens the notion of the dislocated inhabitants as refugees, and that the conflict with the state is an ongoing, albeit silenced conflict. Already at the onset

[46] *Translation into Swedish by Elli Sivi Näkkäläjärvi and Per Mikael Utsi, translation from Swedish into English by Bernard Vowles/May-Britt Öhman.*

of the interview, Ms Utsi referred to herself as a "refugee" from the final Suorva dam regulation in 1971, which turned the Suorva dam into an open sea. When asked about the events, she says she does not remember much about it, and that it hurts to talk about this time. She does not really want to remember, as it was much too traumatic and painful. At the time, she was a grown woman, married with children, and she and her husband opted to find a new place for their summer residence, where they stay every year from May to September. They moved to Kutjaure, a few hours walk from Vaisa (Vaisaluokta), on the other side of the mountain. To Ms Utsi, it is painful to think about how the places were she used to play as a child, and where her children would play, the flat grounds, are now gone, and the inhabitants are forced to live on the mountain slopes. Stress is another part of livelihood experienced after the last regulation of the Suorva dam. When Ms Utsi talks about her family and friends that stayed in the displaced Vaisa she says: "They are always worried about leaving their boats, they have to make sure the boats are well tied or they might drift away on the dam. Even when they come to visit us here, where we have no such problems, they are still worried about the boats and cannot relax"[47]. Also the way of life has changed, Ms Utsi says. Before, the inhabitants would stay in their residence for the whole summer period. Nowadays, the inhabitants of the villages close to the dam do not stay long. They come to the villages mainly to take care of the reindeers for a few weeks in the summer season, and then go back to their city homes[48].

Niila Gällman falling on the slippery ice of the Suorva reservoir, helped by his father Mats. Water on the ice turns it slippery, and the cracks are a result of the water regulation, turning the reservoir to a death trap in severe circumstances. Photo: Victoria Harnesk, April 2006.

Prospects for the future

Although the Saami have opposed the hydro power exploitation, it was mainly due to the resistance from environmental and tourism organizations that the Swedish big dam era construction phase finally came to an end. By the early 1960s, the opponents of large-scale hydropower construction managed to get themselves onto the national political agenda and to assemble political support to slow down the exploitation of certain rivers. Still, they did not manage to completely stop further hydropower exploitation until the 1990s. Only in 1993 did the Swedish parliament pass a law which stopped further hydropower exploitation of a number of Swedish rivers[49]. Most the major rivers rising within and flowing through the land of Sapmi are now regulated[50].

[47] *Maria Utsi, 2006.*
[48] *Maria Utsi, 2006.*
[49] *Vedung and Brandel, 32ff, 60-68, 397, 408; Jonas Anshelm, Vattenkraft och naturskydd: en analys av opinionen mot vattenkraftutbyggnaden i Sverige 1950-1990 (Linköping, 1992).*
[50] *Four rivers in Sapmi are supposedly protected from hydropower exploitation. However, one of them, the Vindel, has a confluence with a regulated river, the Ume, and thus its status as an unexploited river has been questioned.*

SAAMI PROTESTS AND PROPOSALS

Since the Saami national organization SSR started its work in the 1950s, they have on several occasions highlighted the negative impacts on the Saami communities and reindeer herding activities. In 1953, the SSR wrote to the Swedish Government demanding that profit from the hydropower plants in Sapmi should be distributed among Saami people, in the form of funds for education and research. However, despite the political action taken to highlight the views of the Saami, the demands and proposals from the SSR were much left unheard by the Swedish state representatives. For instance, in the instructions for the establishment of the state hydropower enquiry in Norrland in 1955, the Saami and their reindeer-herding activities were not mentioned. In the report presented two years later by the commission, the issues were still not mentioned. Also the state inquiry commission on electric power of 1943, which published its main report in 1954, although touching upon the hydropower exploitation and its impact in Norrland, did not mention the Saami and their reindeer-herding[51].

Protests have been made by Saami, both as invididuals and groups, against the hydro power exploitations, and proposals have been made regarding how to make use of the profit to strengthen the Saami culture. Furthermore, also the Swedish state has acknowledged the damage that would be imposed on the Saami population as a consequence of the hydro power exploitation. For instance, during the 20th century, the State Power Board has financed several scientific investigations of the Saami villages and Saami traditional activities, the first as early as 1922, followed by other studies in the 1940s[52]. However, despite Saami protests and proposals, and Swedish state-financed investigations regarding the impacts on the Saami, the issue of negative impacts on the Saami communities has to a large extent been left aside but could, if political decisions are made, be opened for renegotiations and changes in the everyday management of the reservoirs.

Ms Maria Utsi, displaced inhabitant since the Suorva dam regulation of 1971, also raised the issue of financial compensation. Ms Utsi says that after the last regulation, a financial compensation was to be paid to the Saami village inhabitants. However, the financial compensation that was to be paid corresponded to a month's salary for a low-level civil servant, and in return the receivers of the compensation had to sign an agreement that they were satisfied. Ms Utsi and her husband, together with a few other people, refused to sign the agreement, and were then left without any compensation whatsoever. When asked about why they refused to sign, Ms Utsi says that the money they were offered was nothing in comparison with what they lost, and to sign an agreement would have been to sell out the land that their descendants had the right to inherit. Raising the issue of the possibility of reopening the compensations today, Ms Utsi stated that paying directly to the affected people would create internal conflicts, and that it would be better to arrange for facilitating the life of the people living there. Ms Utsi mentioned the maintenance of the ice track over the Suorva dam as one important issue to deal with. Raising the issue of whether Ms Utsi

[51] *See Lantto, Att göra sin stämma hörd, 105 f, referring to Norrländska vattenkraftfrågor: Betänkande avgivet av norrländska vattenkraftutredningen (Stockholm 1957) + annexes and SOU 1954:12 Elkraftförsörjningen, (Stockholm 1954), 303-308, 463-473.*

[52] *See Ernst Manker, Lapsk kultur vid Stora Lule älvs källsjöar: en etnografisk inventering inom uppdämningsområdet vid Suorva (Uppsala, 1944); Ernst Manker, The nomadism of the Swedish mountain lapps: the siidas and their migratory routes in 1945 (Uppsala, 1953). Ernst Manker, Lappmarks gravar: Dödsföreställningar och gravskick i lappmarkerna, anteckningar av Ernst Manker (Uppsala, 1961)*

Ms Maria Utsi, Saami reindeer herder and displaced inhabitant of the village Vaisa by the Suorva reservoir, at the new residence by lake Kutjaure, with one of her reindeer herding daughters, Stina, and granddaughters, Maja and Mirja. Photo: May-Britt Öhman, August 2006.

and her family wished to have electricity from the hydro power plants, the answer was negative. They wish to continue to live as they have, the only electrical facility in the residence being a small diesel power plant to provide electricity for the washing machine. The next door neighbour, the brother in law of Maria, uses solar cells to provide electricity to the radio and lamps[53].

Regarding the female involvement in the negotiations for compensations, Ms Utsi stated that it was dealt with by the men. Women did not participate at all, and her explanation is that women taking part was not customary at the time[54]. However, historically as today, women are reindeer herders in their own rights and not only as spouses of male reindeer herders. Ms Utsi stated that reindeer herding, being physically hard work, is even harder for women than men, as they are physically weaker. However, in order to achieve gender equality, recognizing that women like Ms Utsi's daughters are reindeer herders, renegotiation of the compensations and everyday management of the reservoirs could improve the situation. But this would have to be done in part by highlighting the specific complexities and difficulties for female reindeer herders.

Another issue recognized by female Saami reindeer herders by the Suorva dam, is the effect of the regulation of the waters, up and down thirty meters, which turns the frozen reservoir into a death trap for both people

[53] *Maria Utsi, 2006.*
[54] *Maria Utsi, 2006.*

and animals. Even before the last regulation, when the regulation level was eighteen meters, the situation was hazardous as described in the initial quotation by Ms Inger Utsi from 1958. In 2006, the situation is worse. In April 2006, at the request from the author, photos were taken by a female Saami and reindeer herder, Ms Victoria Harnesk, showing the difficulties caused by regulation. Ice barriers by the lake shores make it extremely complicated to move from frozen lake to shore, and are also dangerous for children using them when playing. The ice becomes slippery due to water gathering on the ice, and cracks in the ice are life threatening to both reindeer and human. Ms Harnesk tells of how she once almost dropped her then two year old daughter into one of the cracks in the ice. Furthermore, simply taking the photos, Ms Harnesk says, was extremely dangerous. It was impossible, due to the risks, to stop the snow mobile to take the photos she would have wished in order to show the really hazardous places on the frozen lake[55].

QUESTIONING HYDRO POWER PLANTS AS SYMBOLS OF PROGRESS AND "BEST" TECHNOLOGY

Large-scale hydropower plants, and the whole "big dam era" is not a question of introducing the "best technology", but rather a question of symbols. Large-scale technology is closely linked to symbols within male-dominated engineering activities[56]. Regarding the first hydropower plant on the Lule River, Porjus, completed in 1915, Staffan Hansson has shown that although the arguments used when debating and deciding to construct the Porjus hydropower plant were all about great visions of industrial development, these expectations failed soon after construction was completed. The great industrial projects that were envisioned when starting construction were shelved. The State power board then both helped the existing consumers finance the use of electricity and started a quest for exploiting new markets focusing on electrical utilities for household equipment and electrical heating[57]. Neither can the view that large-scale hydropower plants automatically lead to industrialization be historically proved. Mats Fridlund has shown how the close cooperation between the State power company and the Swedish enterprise ASEA led to the development of the technology needed for high-tension power lines. Through these high-tension lines, the State power company could make use of electricity produced in the hydropower plants in the very north of Sweden in the south of Sweden as well as for export to Denmark and further to the rest of Europe[58]. Hence, the construction of large-scale hydropower plants as such did not bring about industrialization in Sweden, it was much more complicated than that, involving a number of other actors and contexts, and not the least, massive state funding.

To fully understand hydropower technology, it is important to see that the capacity of the hydropower plant depends not only on the water available, but also on each technical component of the construction, as well as the daily management, including maintenance of the technical components, of the plant. For instance, a recent technological innovation, the "Powerformer", shows that

[55] Victoria Harnesk, of Änonjalme by the Suorva dam, Email communication, April 2006.
[56] Ruth Oldenziel, Making technology masculine. Men, Women and Modern Machines in America 1870-1945, (Amsterdam University Press, 1999).
[57] Staffan Hansson, Porjus – En vision för industriell utveckling i övre Norrland (Luleå, 1994)
[58] Mats Fridlund, Den gemensamma utvecklingen. Staten, storföretaget och samarbetet kring den svenska elkrafttekniken (Stockholm, Symposion, 1999)

the capacity of hydro power plants can be increased by using new technology[59]. With an increased capacity of each hydropower plant, fewer hydropower plants might be used and less regulation of water levels can be the result. This would also be the effect if political decisions were made to use other sources for production of electricity, including measures taken to reduce the consumption of electricity.

The usage of the water courses by the State power company are today considered "free", as compensations to both Saami reindeer herders and formal landowners are considered to have been made in the past, and their rights to compensations are not included in the calculations of the costs for the production of electricity. Changing the view on the cost of the usage of the water courses could bring about a different usage of the water and would consequently have an impact on how the water levels in the reservoirs are managed, which could be beneficiary to the local inhabitants, including the Saami reindeer herders.

Conclusion

The big dam era in Sweden is a result of male networks with specific interest in the development of hydro power, setting the agenda in the early 20th century by moving the highly political issue of blocking water courses from the political arena to specific courts, within which interests that opposed the hydro power development was weakened. The view of large-scale hydropower plants as equating progress is also a product of political decision-making, ideology and cultural expressions rather than actual development of a "best" technology.

In the North of Sweden, where the major part of the hydropower exploitation has taken place, and the majority of hydropower electricity is produced, Saami reindeer herding has suffered particularly hard. The Saami reindeer herders, by the Swedish state considered as non-formal landowners, have been left with little and many times no compensations. Even today the sector and livelihood of Saami reindeer herders are affected by the water regulations. In the compensation processes the Swedish state mainly turned to the male reindeer herders, leaving the women aside in negotiations and in compensations. Furthermore, studies suggest that the hydropower exploitation has contributed to the masculinization of the sector.

While the exploitation of the water courses has taken place in the past, and a decision to stop further exploitation – of unexploited rivers – was taken in 1993 by the Swedish parliament, there are still possibilities to change things to the better for the local inhabitants and Saami reindeer herders. Hydropower technology, with its regulation of water levels linked to the production of electricity, is the result of political decision-making. However, the negative effects experienced by the local inhabitants and Saami reindeer herding community, have to a large extent been rendered invisible by the Swedish state as representatives all through the 20th century have claimed, and continue to claim, that full compensations have been made and that the conflict has been solved.

By visibilising the existing conflict, the severe impacts of water regulation on the Saami reindeer herders in general, and on the Saami female reindeer herders in particular, as well as the conflicting use regarding the water

[59] Personal communication, Kjell Isaksson, Technical manager at the State Power Board, Porjus, June 21, 1999; Cf. Peter Fröst, Hans Bergström, Camilla Freby and Pernilla Hanssen, "Water power – improvement of existing power stations and prospects for new plants: Powerformer TM" ALSTOM Power, Västerås, 2001, http://www.energikontor-so.com/Localaction/Powerformer_V%C3%A4xj%C3%B6_010119.PDF, (October 28, 2004).

courses, prospects for change may come about. Changes can thus be made, both in terms of ideology, political decisions made, as well as in terms of technological management.

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Women and the Hydro Power Exploitation and Production of the Lule River

By Maria Udén, Luleå University of Technology

THE PAST

When the Lule River was first exploited for hydro power production in the first decade of the 20th century, Swedish law gave women few possibilities to inform or participate in the decision-making processes. At that time, the norm said that women should have a lesser position in the family and in public life. Thus, women were not considered juridical persons in the full meaning, which among other things meant that they did not control their own possessions. Women were not allowed to vote, and it was not allowed to appoint women for leading positions within the state or its administration. Furthermore, women were prohibited from studying topical subjects such as engineering.

This situation was just about to improve. Both norms and practices were changing. Thus, from 1921 married women achieved their majority at the age of 21 and were given equal status to men in the new Matrimonial Code. This was the last step in a process which had started in 1863 from when unmarried women gained majority at the age of 25, in 1884 this was lowered to 21. The law regulating reindeer herding, however, did not change accordingly. Women's position in reindeer herding and thus as indigenous individuals was in fact weakened. From 1928 to 1974, women were expected to practice reindeer herding rights only as household members and as subjects of male reindeer herders. Women could not as individuals legally possess such rights, something which contrasted to earlier practice.

In sum, we cannot expect women's roles in the early history of the hydro power exploitation of the Lule River to have been other than subordinate, supplementary, or in other cases staged on an informal arena. Neither the educational background, nor rights to land and water, nor legislative power to run the process was in hands of women. This has gradually changed, but not with the same pace in all sectors involved, and it is not possible to say that the situation to this date has developed into a truly gender balanced state.

[60] *May-Britt Öhman "On visible places and invisibilized peoples: Swedish state supported hydro power exploitation of indigenous peoples' territories" in Baraldi, Fors and Houltz, (eds) Taking place : the spatial contexts of science, technology, and business (Sagamore Beach, Mass. 2006).*

Women and the Hydro Power Exploitation and Production of the Lule River

By Maria Udén, Luleå University of Technology

THE PRESENT

Today gender discrimination is prohibited in Sweden. Since the 1990s, at least 40% of the Members of Parliament have been women and women steadily make up at least 20-25% of the engineering students.

The major exploitation projects in the Lule River are a past stage. Thus, construction work and other jobs associated with construction projects are no longer offered. Additionally, the implementation of new technologies means that employment opportunities in maintenance and control in connection to the plants and distribution lines are decreasing. In the Jokkmokk district, the centre of the hydro power exploitation and production of the Lule River, the population was 5,522 inhabitants in June 2006, which is less than half its population in 1960 (11,533 persons). In the last decade alone, the population in Jokkmokk has decreased with 1,000 persons or fifteen (15) per cent.

Still, the energy sector is more economically important than ever. Vattenfall AB is the former public authority, now stately owned company, which May-Britt Öhman's article is referred to as the State Power Board. Vattenfall AB is today the parent company in the Vattenfall Group, which in 2005 generated SEK 129,158 million[1] in net sales from its activities in seven European countries. The group management of Vattenfall AB consists of eight (8) men, and one (1) woman. Of the board members eleven (11) are men, while three (3) are women. Most employees in Vattenfall AB are men. Of its employees in Sweden 76% are men, 24% are women (figures for 2005). The employment opportunities offered in connection to the hydro power plants, including service and maintenance of the power distribution lines, are mostly occupied by men. Not only hydro power production, but overall questions such as choice of energy strategies appear to be regarded as "male" questions. Shall we regard it an encouraging fact that today, if not an equal share, at least a certain share of the employees and the management of the key hydro power company Vattenfall are women? When adding more facts to the equation the picture gets quite ambiguous. To present a compelling example The Lule River runs through Norrbotten County in all its length. In 2000 the County Administrative Board of Norrbotten published a strategic 226-page report on future energy scenarios for the region. Out of the thirteen appointed authors, twelve are men, one is woman. In the acknowledgements an additional twelve men are thanked for their contributions, but no women[2].

(Sources for statistics: Statistics Sweden, Annual Report 2005 of Vattenfall AB)

[1] *Approximately €13 697 million.*
[2] *Pettersson, Tord (edt) Energin och framtiden i Norrbotten, Norrbotten County Administrative Board, 2000, http://www.bd.lst.se/publishedObjects/10000872/5_00.pdf.)*

WOMEN AND THE WATER FRAMEWORK DIRECTIVE IN NORTH SWEDEN

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In the wake of the problems confronting European waters, a new environmental legislative framework has been adopted in the EU since December 2000. Known as the EU Water Framework Directive (henceforth referred as WFD), it is of crucial importance for the governance of freshwater resources in the region. The implementation of WFD is grounded in the process of public participation – an active involvement of all interested parties, including the users. It is important to view this process and its outputs as a gendered phenomenon. Important public participation issues are: How to reach beyond the organized sector to the unorganized water users? How to involve the various local user groups in policy decision-making? How to promote social learning given the fixed objectives of the WFD? How to ensure gender equity in the process? The relevance of these issues in the context of the rural North is explored in this brief write-up.

THE EU WATER FRAMEWORK DIRECTIVE

The aim of WFD is to make the management of European water resources more efficient and enforceable, and to achieve 'good water status' for all waters by 2015. The purpose is to ultimately contribute to the provision of sufficient supply of good quality surface water and groundwater as needed for sustainable, balanced and equitable water use[1].

The directive promotes a more comprehensive view on water management in the region, including in the scope are all inland surface waters, transitional waters, coastal waters and groundwater. Moreover, all factors affecting water quality, quantity and ecology are also to be handled[2].

The main unit for operationalising the directive is the 'river basin district' where a competent authority is to be set up. Member States of the Union are required to identify the individual river basins lying within their national territory and assign them to individual river basin districts. For each river basin district, environmental objectives are be defined for each water body and a Programme of Measures, including those needed to attain the objectives, are to be derived. Finally, for each river basin district, a 'River Basin Management Plan (RBMP) is to be developed.

The RBMPs are to be published by Member States by 2009 and are to be reviewed and updated by 2015, and every 6 years thereafter. The active involvement of all interested parties, including the users, is to be sought in the implementation of the directive, in particular in the production, review and updating of the plans[3]

WFD IMPLEMENTATION IN SWEDEN

Presently, the WFD is being implemented in Sweden. It has been incorporated into Swedish legislation, the 'Regulation on administration of the quality of water environment' (SFS2004: 660), providing the most detailed instrument for the same. The 119 major watersheds in the country have been assigned to 5 river basin districts (vatten-

[1] *EU (2000) Water Framework Directive 2000/60/EEC.*
[2] *Beatrice Hedelin, "Potential implications of the EU Water Framework Directive in Sweden", European Journal of Spatial Development, Refereed articles May 2005 no. 14.*
[3] *Ibid.*

distrikt), each draining into one of the major sea basins around Sweden[4]. Each district is headed by a regional water authority (vattenmydigheten), responsible for creation and implementation of RBMPs. These are represented by one of the County administrative boards in each district.

The administrative structure laid down under the directive is significantly different from the traditional system of water planning in the country where municipalities have been responsible for long-term land and water planning. However, no legal support has yet been provided for their responsibility to implement planning activities under the WFD[5]. There have been suggestions for creation of better procedures for communication and cooperation between municipalities and Water Authorities[6].

THE SCENARIO IN RURAL NORTH

The larger number of watersheds in rural north of Sweden is administered within the Bottenvikens *vattendistrikt*. The land area is 147.625 km^2 with a population of 492 000. The district consists of the whole of Norrbotten county and a part of the Västerbotten county, with 28 municipalities in all and 30 major watersheds. The district also shares the Torne watershed as an international river basin with Finland and Norway. The vattenmyndigheten for the district lies in the Norrbotten County Office[7]. The organization within the district is summarized as follows:

NV stands for 'Swedish Environmental Protection Agency' (Naturvårdsverket).
2. SGU stands for the 'Geological Survey of Sweden' (Sveriges geologiska undersökning).

*The **vattendelegationen** is the decision-making agency, headed by the **Norrbotten County Governor**, with 4 members from related academia, county offices, etc. The **referensgrupp**, with 11 members from the district, plays a vital role in having a broad representation from municipalities, forestry sector, industry, NGOs, apart from the water authority itself and the county office. It is expected to help create cooperation and dialogue among different water-related activities and organisations. The **beredningssekretariat** provides administrative support to working of the **vattenmyndigheten**[8]. At the local level, environmental offices in the 30 municipalities are to be involved in the implementation of the WFD.*

[4] *These are Bottenviken, Bottenhavet, Västerhavet, Norra Österjön and Södra Österjön.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Boverket, Sweden (2004), 'Vattendirektivet och fysisk planering. Hur kommer den nya vattenplaneringen att påverka den fysiska planeringen enligt plan- och bygglagen. (In Swedish).*
[7] *Source: www.vattenportalen.se*
[8] *Ibid.*

THE SCOPE OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN WFD

A key concept underlying the WFD is the integration of stakeholders and civil society in the process of developing and implementing the RBMPs[9]. The main purpose is to improve decision-making by ensuring that decisions are soundly based on shared knowledges, experiences and scientific evidence, that decisions are influenced by the views and experience of those affected by them, that innovative and creative options are considered and that new arrangements are workable, and acceptable to the public. Thus, long term, widely acceptable solutions in river basin planning can be arrived at, avoiding potential conflicts, problems of management and costs in long term[10].
The critical question is 'Who should be involved?' Using the term 'stakeholder' as synonymous with 'interested party' (the term used in WFD), one of the suggested typologies is as follows[11]:

Professionals – public and private sector organizations, professional voluntary groups and professional NGOs, conservation groups, business, industry, academia, etc.

Authorities, elected people - government departments, municipalities, local authorities, etc.

Local Groups- non-professional organized entities operating at a local level, usefully divided into:

Communities centred on place – attachment centred on place, which includes groups like residents associations and local councils.

Communities centred on interest – e.g. farmers' groups, fishermen, birdwatchers.

Individual citizens, farmers and companies representing themselves.

However, implementation of the public participation component of the WFD has been seen as problematic because the water administration here has been rather regulation-based than participatory. It has been argued that municipal model of water planning has implied active political participation of stakeholders in terms of representation through 'vote'[12] while the new WFD model requires direct participation through 'voice'. Formal procedures for public participation in WFD format have to be developed and put into practice in the country.

Participation of 'minority' water users in rural North: Methodologies for ensuring public participation within WFD framework in the country are being experimented and developed. However, what remains a crucial question is will the voices of the deprived be included? If yes, when and how? In the rural north, among the various competing water users are smaller user groups, notably the **Saami** – who are involved in reindeer-herding and fishing over the entire Bottenvikens *vattendistrikt*. The traditional rights of the Saami to land and water resources in the region have been disputed since long[13]. It remains to be seen as to what an extent their participation as water users is sought under the WFD regime?

Formally, the presence of Saami in the district and the relevance of their economic activities with water use have been recognized. The *referensgrupp* in the district involves participation of the Saami Parliament (Sametinget)[14]. However, it is yet to be seen as to how effective the participation is in ultimate decision-making processes for water planning.

[9] EC (2003) 'Public Participation in relation to the WFD'. CIS for the WFD: Guidance document No. 8.
[10] Ibid., pp 14.
[11] Ibid., pp 16.
[12] H. Heinelt (2002), 'Civic perspectives on a democratic transformation of the EU', in J.R. Grote and B. Gbikpi (Eds.), 'Participatory Governance: Political and Societal Implications'.
[13] Fae Korsmo (1993), 'Swedish Policy and Saami Rights', The Northern Review no. 11: 32-55.
[14] Source: www.vattenportalen.se

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN WATER PLANNING IN SWEDEN

An even more critical issue is the participation of women in the process of implementing WFD. Balanced participation of women has been explicitly recommended in political and public decision-making in Europe because despite existence of *de jure* gender equality here, distribution of power, responsibilities and access to resources continues to be unequal, equality being indispensable for better functioning of society and improvement of quality of life for all[15].

A **gender equality approach** has been adopted in Sweden that aims to ensure that women and men have the same opportunities, rights and responsibilities and have equal say in development of their society through equal representation in all areas and all decision-making levels. Actions at various levels have been undertaken to realize the goal by gender mainstreaming in all sector policies, including environment, particularly in relation to Agenda 21[16].

However, on raising this issue within one of the *vattenmyndigheten*, a lack of gender sensitiveness was recorded when one of the responsible officials commented that 'gender issues in relation to water management are not a concern in Sweden where women's and men's water needs are addressed on an equal footing'[17]. In general too, a look at some of the handbooks and guidelines on adopting the participatory approach in WFD implementation reveals that linkages with gender and women's participation are either conspicuous by their absence or not clearly highlighted.

In relation to the 'administrative' organization, a study in environmental and sanitary engineering in Sweden shows that the organization and processes in local administration are specialist-oriented and that most of these specialists are men, thus marginalizing women's views in issues of concern[18]. Similarly, more holistic action research conducted in the context of Swedish municipalities find gender inequality revolving around **3 R's,** namely, '**representation**' (R1), '**resources**' (R2) and '**realia**' (R3), where neither services are provided equitably to women and men, nor do women enjoy equal participation in decision-making despite greater gender balance with respect to political participation[19]. In the environmental sector, even a tendency to refute the relevance of gender has been noted[20].

If this is the scenario for the whole of Sweden, participation of women in WFD implementation in the rural North itself becomes questionable. A look at the composition of water administration teams in the region reveals that at the formal level, a substantial participation of women is visible. The *vattendelegationen* in the district has two women out of the five members, including the governor. The *referensgrupp* too has 8 women in a group of 21. The Saami member in the group is a woman. The *beredningssekretariat* too has women working. However, what would emerge as a greater concern is the extent and manner of eliciting women's participation from among the different stakeholder groups in the region, particularly from the unorganized user groups, including the minority Saami.

[15] Council of Europe (CE) (2003) Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers to member states on balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision-making.
[16] Ministry of Industry, Employment & Communication (2003), 'National Action Plan for Gender Equality', Stockholm.
[17] Personal communication established with an official in April 2004.
[18] Rydhagen, B. (2002) 'Feminist sanitary engineering as a participatory alternative in South Africa and Sweden'. Blekinge: BIT Diss. No. 2002:06.
[19] Svenska Kommunförbundet (SALA)(1998), 'Härifrån till jämställdheten'. Huvudrapport.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

It is clear that women's participation in implementation of the WFD in Sweden is a matter of concern. Taking that as the reference point, there is a need to introspect into the future prospects of the situation in rural North. There is a need to carry out gender analysis of the various water-use sectors in the region, in terms of the roles, powers and access to resources vis-à-vis the different economic activities. There is also need to know the gender distribution with respect to decision-making positions within the sector. Apart from generating vital gender-based knowledge, this would enable identification of appropriate women stakeholders whose voices need to be heard and considered in the process of water planning in the region under the new WFD regime. Besides, there is also a need to develop effective public participation methodologies and tools that are essentially gender-based. Action along these lines can secure a more balanced participation of women in water resources management not only in northern Sweden but also in the rest of the Arctic region.

From forest in Nellim, Finland. Photo: (c) Matti Snellman www.greenpeace.fi

Finland

By Sanna Ojalammi

A Natural Resource Conflict in Northern Finland –The Nellim forest conflict and local women's gendered perspective

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Throughout history natural resource conflicts have often been struggles between human beings, groups or between two nation-states. Natural resource conflicts and land disputes related to them have increased in today's world. The environmental problems caused by human activities may also increase other environmental problems. Conflict can have many-sided effects and a conflict between two cultures can be a hidden reason between individuals (Peltonen & Villanen 2004: 14). The longer the conflicts endure, they will often include connections to global processes and reveal ecological opinions from the environment. In many conflicts, women have had an active role in peace-making processes. Women have also emphasised their own views in questions related to environment and development.

Women and men may experience place and space gender-specifically

In Finland, natural resource conflicts have increased especially from the end of the 1980s. Many disagreements have been related to space and place and also related to changes in environment and natural resource management (Laine & Peltonen 2004: 1, 9). In Northern Finland and in Lappland, land disputes have had a long and many-sided historical dimension. In natural resource management, the use of natural of resources becomes problematic due to the multi-legal reality concerning natural resources, which exist inside nature protection areas (conservation-, wilderness and building- and water protection laws).

In nature conflicts the nature in place is always spatially changing. Women and men may experience place and space gender-specifically. Place can itself include different place experiences, cultures, social groups and different generations. Places are not so much bounded areas as open and porous networks of social relations. In places "identities" are constructed with other places, rather than without connection to existing places (Massey 1994: 121). Therefore gender-specific experience can be analyzed at different dimensions. Place can be gender-specific and places may have developed differently according to different genders (Virkkala & Carpenter 2000: 27).

We often find that in natural resources, women's user rights to natural resources have been forgotten or the rights have not been specifically targeted to women as women user rights. Therefore these kinds of rights have been remained invisible. Due to modernization, land and natural resource use haves been described as economical, rational and productive. The natural resource use (i.e. fishing) has been connected to male activity, male rights and to the decision-making of men (see Uden 2004). Women's natural resource use has been a less studied area. Women's roles in environmental questions and in natural resource use and decision-making have not been taken into account when designing new state nature laws. This kind of legal blindness to the reality is embedded in the decision-making bodies where the majority of leading members are men (see Amft 2000, Hakkarainen & Koivusalo 1999: 179).

Women often do invisible work at home, in agriculture- and forest economies and

elsewhere at informal sectors. Women, gender and everyday life is ruled out and divided in a gender-specific way in culture and in practice (Jokinen 2005: 14). The hard reality of women's everyday lifves and women's experiences of everyday life cannot be clearly seen in statistics or in local decision-making. In everyday life, the assistance given from the members of the communities, relatives and neighbors is extremely important for the survival of women in everyday activities (see Keskitalo-Foley 2002).

The hard reality of women's everyday lives and women's experiences of everyday life cannot be clearly seen in statistics or in local decision-making

The natural resource use or ownership conflicts or environmental conflicts have often been constraining to women. The conflict situation creates many-sided disputes and includes claims which them-selves may lead to changes and worries in life. Conflict situations can cause stress both physically and psychologically. The conflict can have an affect on income levels. The conflict also may affect the wellness of women's lives and often affects the space/ place experience negatively. The ownership rights related to natural resources also change use of space. It may affect family relations and create quarrels between family members (see Lehtola 2002). The conflict situation may also be demanding and stressful to women because women generally tend to solve conflicts and therefore relate themselves in a feminine way when resolving conflicts and problems (Humm 1995: 45). Conflicts and disputes can also affect women's minds it other ways, which can be seen in other kind of actions such as in art, in music or in literature.

The research described here is part of a planned, bigger project, and will focus on a local natural resource conflict from a gendered perspective. In geography, feminist analysis has not been given a high profile, but during the last decades research questions related to gender issues have increased. The research project will be conducted in three different countries: Finland, Norway and Sweden. All countries have a long history of land/natural resource disputes in different historical context. For centuries state regional policy and planning in every country has affected land use zoning, natural resource management and changed people's property concepts and place-specific spatialities. Since the women's natural resource use is an important part of families' natural resource management strategies, the conflict might hinder women's abilities to use the resources. Natural resource conflicts also affect women's lives negatively both psychologically and physically, which will affect and hinder gendered life routines in the settlement places and surrounding environments.

THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS OF THE MAIN PROJECT ARE:

1. How have land/natural resource disputes affected women's life world and the scale of everyday use of natural resources in Northern Finland, Northern Norway and Palestine?

2. Has the natural resource conflict affected women's (Northern women / Saami women) means of subsistence/production in different countries?

3. How have individual countries' State policies explicitly considered women's perspective in land/natural resource use/ management in each country?

We will here focus on the Finnish example, the conflict in the Nellim forests in North Finland.

The forest conflict in Nellim village in Inari Municipality

In Northern Finland, natural resource conflicts have existed especially in places where forestry and reindeer herding have been practiced side by side. In many areas natural resource conflicts have become enduring. The conflict issues are not only the Saami land and water right conflicts, but also issues of nature protection of old forests have been highly debated.

In Norway, Sweden and Finland Saami reindeer herding is protected and defined as way of living and cultural practice under national law. Also, the UN human rights convention, article 27, allows minority groups to have a right to enjoy and benefit from their own culture in reindeer herding areas (MMM 2003: 16). The local Saami people may also have experienced the natural resource conflicts strongly because they have experienced colonial State history in land politics in their land areas in past centuries. In Sweden and Norway mining and hydroelectronic development has competed with Saami livelihoods to exploit natural resources. In Finland the hydroelectric power plants and reservoirs, forestry, mining, tourism and recreation and finally conservation on Saami reindeer herding pastures have affected the northern lands (Lehtola 2003: 88; 2005: 163). Therefore the Saami people have contested both their cultural and land and water rights in Northern Finland.

The Saami people belong to the indigenous peoples of Finland and today their population number is circa 7500. Altogether, the Saami population is between 60 000 - 100 000.

The mostly hotly disputed areas for natural resource conflicts are found in Northern Finland and in Ylä-Lappi. Ylä-Lappi covers the municipalities of Enontekiö, Inari and Utsjoki and the Lappi herding co-operative in Sodankylä municipality. In Ylä-Lappi area, there are State-owned forests and 40% of them have been protected under the nature conservation law. The same forests are also used as reindeer herding areas (Kyllönen & Raitio 2004: 4). In Ylä-Lappi, State-run forest loggings and infrastructure built for tourism has thoroughly changed natural forests areas outside protected areas. Felling of trees will also affect the value of forests. In Finland, herding law defines that in the Ylä-Lappi area, land areas should not be used in such way that it would harm the Saami reindeer herding. On the other hand, in Lappland other Finns can also practice reindeer herding with the Saami people. The management of reindeer herding differs between traditional Saami and outsiders such as other Finns. The Saami people herd their reindeer on natural pastures and only very rarely are reindeer fed artificial fodder (Heikkilä 2003: 116).

The area of Inari municipality is 90% State-owned lands. In these lands reindeer herding, forestry and tourism are the major way of using local nature and forests in the municipality. Inari municipality is also known for vast wilderness areas and nature reserves such as the Kevo nature protection area and the Lemmenjoki Nature Park. In Inari municipality the on-going natural resource conflict has often been defined as forest protection conflict it is important to keep in mind that large land areas of Inari municipality are used for reindeer herding. In these lands the

Saami reindeer are allowed pasture despite State land and forest ownership status. In Inari, the winter and summer pastures for reindeer have been broken up and today the herding areas are divided into six reindeer herding co-operatives (paliskunnat). In Inari the natural resource dispute can be defined as a conflict where a sustainable natural resource management has been debated. Many current conflict questions in Inari municipality and the Nellim village area have been related to ownership and user rights of natural resources (forest) in the Lappland. Locally the current natural resource conflict is also connected to the Saami indigenous land and water rights issues, which has been on-going for decades in Finland. Thus, in this natural resource conflict the Saami people are struggling their claims to have rights to continue Saami reindeer herding practices and cultural values around Saami reindeer herding as a mode of living in Northern Lappland (Heikkilä 2003: 116).

The Nellim forest conflict in Inari municipality started in year 2000 when the members of local herding co-operatives criticized logging plans of Ylä-Lappi forests areas, which contained Saami herding pastures also. The loggings were carried out by the Finnish Forestgovernment (Metsähallitus). The local herders were afraid that forest logging would destroy the old forests as well as the valuable lichen needed for the reindeers (MMM 2003: 26). In spring 2002, the delegation of local herders visited the Ministries of Agriculture, Environment and Justice in Helsinki. The herders wished that forests loggings would be stopped in some sensitive forest areas. The herders firstly claimed that the land-use of State-owned lands should be sustainable and secondly that the reindeer herding as a cultural practice for the Saami people should be taken into account. Modern State forests activities (forest logging and saw mill industry) should not substitute the centuries-old Saami reindeer herding practices in these lands (Raitio & Rytteri 2005: 122). Saami Council had the same opinion about the forest loggings in the Ylä-Lappi area (see www.saamicouncil.net).

Later on, the forest conflict expanded internationally when in winter year 2005 Greenpeace opened a forest camp field office in the Nellim forest. Greenpeace activists demanded that the forest loggings should be stopped. Later on in spring, some loggings were stopped due to large criticisms against the felling of forest trees. Other Finnish NGOs and WWF Finland tried to make alternative solutions to the logging plans in Ylä-Lappi. The negotiations turned out to be unsuccessful (Raitio & Rytteri 2005: 125). In 2005, the Nellim forest conflict became an international issue. The UN body got involved in the natural resource conflict when the local herders took the logging case and possible threats to herding practices due to forest clearing to the United Nations Human Rights Committee. In August 2005, the forest logging started again in some places. In November 2005, the UN Human Rights Committee demanded that Finnish Forestgovernment should stop the forest loggings in the Nellim area. A year later, in September 2006, the local herders took the logging case to local Finnish Court.

In August 2006, the local forest conflict had settled down since the hottest time year 2005. I interviewed seven local women who were Saami or non-Saami from the Nellim village. Women ranged from different occupations such as local reindeer herders, house- wives, businesswomen and politically active women, some of whom were acting members in the Ivalo/Inari council.

According to my field interviews, most women had suffered because of the natural resource conflict which exists in the Nellim forest lands. Some of them have been suffering psychologically and physically for some years. Many women interviewed said that they did not like being afraid in the village,

that "it is not nice to feel afraid in the village surroundings". The issue of fear had become a common state of affair in the village atmosphere. The women felt sad about that.

Women agreed that the village people were nowadays divided into two distinct groups – one group giving consideration/loyalty/support for the reindeer herders/reindeer herding and another group giving support/loyalty for the forestry/forestry people. One educated woman (school teacher and reindeer herder) was being harassed by a group of male forest workers who were shouting loudly and tooting their car horns at her house yard and nearby her house in the very early morning hours. The reason for their menacing behavior was her known status as a female reindeer herder and thus valuing both nature protection and Greenpeace activism. In these days she also locks her house and store doors regularly.

The family solidarity between different family members had also been broken down among some families. The well-known Saami brothers from the village no longer have any feeling of family connections for each others. The wife of the forest worker had felt the forest conflict very strongly in her personal life. She told me that during the worst conflict periods she cried a lot, and the bad feelings just continue. The major family dispute originated from the position that the woman's husband was a forest worker and his brother was a reindeer herder strongly defending his forest areas from the State forest logging. Therefore there was even no solidarity and common friendship between local children who belonged to the forest workers' families or reindeer herder families.

…it is not nice to feel afraid in the village…

Thus, in the Nellim forest natural resource conflict, the major issues have not only been the state of the natural forest and value of forest as a natural site in a landscape. The old forest areas with lichen became a thoroughly heated issue in the local conflict. Besides the forest issues, the continuity of Saami reindeer herding and its sustainability in these forests lands have been of major importance. The conflict has not only been taking place between the groups of herders or the groups of forest industry people. The forest conflict has also played out between different organizations and finally between members of different cultures, with different identities. Local people (women and men both) fight for their use of space in State lands. In this conflicted space, the different demands are raised about the continuity of reindeer herding, forest industry and sustainable use of nature. Women's voices from the village echo the same view but also reveal the hidden violence and sorrow. The local women have experienced negative place experiences in the past years, but they still demand the right to the sustainable and equal way of use of nature for local inhabitants in the Nellim village area in Northern Lappland. In order to calm down the forest conflict, the modern State forestry industry with large-scale loggings should be minimized in old forest areas. This kind of solution may lead to a peaceful resolution of the Nellim natural resource conflict.

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