

Juridica Lapponica 48

Indigenous Peoples and Gender Equality with Special Reference to Sámi Reindeer Herding

Authored by:

**Maura Hanrahan, Ritva Kylli, Ildikó Asztalos Morell,
Elena Bogdanova et al., & Maria Ackrén**

Preface by:

Kamrul Hossain



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PREFACE

This book is a compilation of five individual contributions that highlight the gender equality perspectives of the indigenous peoples of the Arctic region, with a special focus on the Sámi communities. While the book offers an understanding of gender disparities, it specifically emphasises the reindeer-herding Sámi indigenous communities. It was prepared as one of the deliverables of a project entitled “Deconstructing Structural Inequality: Gender Equality in Reindeer-Herding Sámi Communities,” which was hosted at the Northern Institute for Environmental and Minority Law at the Arctic Centre of the University of Lapland and was funded by the Nordic Gender Equality Fund (NIKK) for two years, from 2018 to 2021. The project’s primary purpose was to build a network of scholars and stakeholders, including the Sámi female reindeer herders, to promote a dialogue on issues of gender inequality, particularly in the context of Finland, Norway and Sweden. However, the project also included participants from the Russian North and Greenland to examine gender equality issues connected to the project’s central theme. The project gathered relevant background knowledge from the existing literature, policy documents and legislation on gender equality that may apply to the Sámi and their reindeer-herding communities, which eventually facilitated dialogues amongst the participants.

The dialogues took place in two intensive workshops organised by the project, whose purpose was to develop a set of possible policy perspectives to help promote an understanding of gender (in)equality and to offer some groundwork for possible policy measures to improve gender equality amongst the reindeer-herding Sámi communities in the three Nordic countries. The first workshop was a physical meeting held in January 2020 in Stockholm, and the second was organised online (due to COVID-19 travel restrictions). The workshops stimulated dialogues on issues that could have direct or indirect effects on gender equality in the Sámi reindeer-herding communities. The project’s participating institutions included the University of Lapland (Finland), the University of Oulu (Finland), Nord University (Norway), Luleå University of Technology (Sweden), the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, (Sweden), the University of Greenland (Greenland) and Northern Arctic Federal University, NArFU (Russia).

Four of the five contributing authors to the book participated as partners in the project, and all five have brought interesting insights related to several crucial aspects that affect gender equality amongst the indigenous communities of the North. The first chapter presents studies concerning concepts, practices and ascribed roles that either limit or promote indigenous women and their expectations and that reinforce colonial gender divisions. This chapter encourages careful consideration of the context of predatory capitalism and male privilege.

The second chapter provides a historical overview of gender equality amongst the Sámi in the area that is nowadays known as Finnish Lapland. The study focuses on the populations of Utsjoki, the northernmost Sámi parish of Finnish Lapland, and Inari, situated on the south side of Utsjoki. The chapter compares the Sámi area of northernmost Finland with Sweden and the rest of northernmost Fennoscandia. It has been argued that, due to their inherited reindeer stock, the reindeer-herding Sámi women have often been economically independent and that there have been many outstanding female reindeer herders in Utsjoki and Inari in past centuries. However, according to the author, there were also certain limitations in women's lives, and the Sámi women of the past were marginalised in a number of ways. The women were usually unable to participate in the social and professional activities of Finnish society, and, though men and women had many similar kinds of duties in reindeer-herding Sámi families, there are historical examples of imbalances in the division of labour. The chapter suggests that, although labour divisions within the reindeer-herding families were sometimes very gendered, the gender roles of Sámi men and women also complemented each other. It further recognises that, despite their heavy domestic workloads, Sámi women often held acknowledged positions in their own communities (reindeer villages) and families.

The third chapter provides an overview of gender research on Sámi reindeer herding in Sweden from the perspective of the gender literature on family farms and agricultural transformation. The study focuses on three topics that have been central to the field: property transfer and succession; gender division of labour; and gendered identities. With a point of departure in (post)colonial perspectives, the chapter highlights how Sámi reindeer herders' experiences emerge at the intersection of (post)colonial and gendered inequalities. It explores how gender and (post)colonial norms and identities are reproduced and challenged and how they constitute and are constituted by structural inequalities. The analysis thus treats (post)colonial gender relations as the outcome of ongoing agentic processes.

The fourth chapter addresses the perspectives of women reindeer herders from the Russian North. The chapter offers several recommendations: to encourage women to establish an official self-employed status in order to support cooperative forms of reindeer-herding husbandry in which women can be employed as reindeer herders; to encourage the semi-nomadic lifestyle of indigenous women; to promote the development of facilities for processing reindeer-herding products managed by reindeer herders' families in the settlements; and to organise production cooperatives of reindeer herders to develop facilities for deep processing of reindeer products and thus increase the profitability of reindeer herding. Finally, the fifth chapter evokes Greenlandic perspectives on reindeer herding. The chapter provides a short history of reindeer husbandry in both mid-west Greenland and southern Greenland, which represents a contrast in that reindeer herding in Greenland is a male-dominated livelihood.

These contributions are not peer-reviewed, and the opinions expressed in the chapters are those of the individual authors. I am grateful to all the contributors for their insightful thoughts and deliberations.

Kamrul Hossain

March 31, 2021

A Caution: The Place of Indigenous Womanhood as a Political Strategy

Maura Hanrahan

Abstract

In their ongoing struggle for socio-economic and health justice, many Indigenous women today employ gendered concepts of pre-colonial Indigenous womanhood as a political strategy. Matriarchy, women's wisdom, respect for women and women's exercise of power are central to these concepts. Contemporary Indigenous women assert themselves specifically as Indigenous women, adopting their own cultural frameworks rather than a Western human rights lens. This privileging of tradition demonstrates the resilience of Indigenous identities and women's commitment to these identities. It also recognises how Indigenous values contrast to predatory capitalism and the harm it inflicts.

Yet, this strategy has inherent pitfalls rooted in assumptions about pre-colonial Indigenous womanhood. For instance, matrilineality does not necessarily translate into matriarchy. In addition, pre-colonial Indigenous women's duties were ascribed, possibly limiting their agency, and there was a potentially restrictive and reductive emphasis on women's biological roles. Twenty-five years ago, Emma LaRocque advised Indigenous women to question the privileging of tradition and if this privileging is liberating or not.

So that Indigenous women's agency and political power are truly advanced, this chapter urges careful thought about these current strategies. A useful lens should consider whether and which concepts, practices and ascribed roles limit or promote Indigenous women, limit Indigenous women's expectations and/or reproduce the colonial gender binary. This chapter encourages careful consideration of the context of predatory capitalism and male privilege. While many Indigenous women and their representative organisations do use such lenses, wider adoption is advised.

Introduction

This chapter explores gendered concepts of pre-colonial Indigenous women and their use as a political strategy among contemporary Indigenous women in Canada. In so doing, they eschew the Western human rights framework in favour of Indigenous cultural perspectives;

this stance reflects the resilience of Indigenous identities and women's commitment to these identities. Indigenous women and their organisations frequently refer to women's roles in the era before European contact to advance their positions today, asserting that Indigenous societies were matriarchal, with power accruing to women. Discourse and scholarship reflect the widespread belief that Indigenous women were respected because they were women and especially because of their role as life-givers and, later, as grandmothers who were sources of wisdom to be handed down to the following generations.

Indigenous women and their organisations are aware of current health disparities and their limited formal political power at all levels, and they formally (and informally) advocate for improved status. The political strategy of choosing to promote assumed gendered pre-European contact roles may be effective in some contexts. It carries with it, however, some pitfalls that may hamper Indigenous women. This chapter offers a caution, reflecting the admonition of Cree-Métis scholar Emma LaRocque (1996) to be 'circumspect in our recall of our tradition' (p. 14). The use of gendered traditions and expressions of culture as a political strategy must be adopted only after an appropriate lens has been applied.

This chapter proceeds with a basic introduction to the Indigenous peoples of Canada and then turns to the status of Indigenous women today. A discussion of Indigenous gender concepts and practices follows. The chapter then focuses on the changes wrought in Indigenous societies after the arrival of Europeans to what is now Canada and how Indigenous women challenge the effects of the traumatic transformations that resulted. Finally, the chapter turns to the potential pitfalls of the gender- and culture-based strategies adopted by Indigenous women and concludes with a caution intended to support the specific political goals of Indigenous women.

Much of the relevant literature and discourse has assumed and addressed two genders, male and female, although lately there have been increased attempts to understand the pre-European contact lives and roles of two-spirited Indigenous people and people of what might be considered other genders. According to Blackfeet-Métis scholar Rosalyn LaPier (2020), the gender binary is 'definitely a European or American-imposed idea about gender' that has been shaped by the influence of Christianity and Christian culture, although recovery is ongoing. Dorais (2020) wrote of a third Inuit gender, in addition to male and female, to which many shamans belonged (p. 80). For reasons of space and to focus on women specifically, this issue is not covered here. Finally, this chapter has limitations in that it makes general

conclusions about diverse populations and histories. These conclusions are, however, based on textual and discourse analysis as well as many years of participation observation, but readers should know that these conclusions cannot be applied to all Indigenous people in Canada. The purpose of this work is not to provide a broad description and characterisation but rather to analyse a political strategy commonly adopted by Indigenous women in this country. The author engages in this analysis as a status Indian of Mi'Kmaq and Irish heritage who shares with many in Canada the goal of the political advancement of Indigenous women.

The Indigenous Peoples of Canada

Canada is home to three Indigenous peoples with constitutional rights: First Nations, formerly known as Indians; Inuit, the people of the Circumpolar North, who also live in Greenland and Alaska; and Métis, the people descended from European fur traders and First Nations women (Belanger, 2018). First Nations are the largest group, living in some 600 communities, designated as reserves, across the country as well as in urban centres (Statistics Canada, 2018). First Nations belong to many linguistic and cultural groups, including Cree, Dene, Mi'Kmaq, Anishnaabe, Haida and Blackfoot. In 2016, there were 977,230 First Nations people in Canada, including 'status' and 'non-status' Indians (the terms used in Canadian law; Statistics Canada, 2018). Status Indians are registered in Ottawa's Indian Register, and their bands and reserves are regulated by the colonially imposed *Indian Act*. This is not the case for non-status Indians. There are over 500,000 Métis concentrated in the prairie provinces (Statistics Canada, 2018); Alberta is the only province in which Métis have land bases, called settlements (Belanger, 2018). The Inuit are a much smaller group at 65,000, with most living in Inuit *Nunangat*, the four official Inuit regions (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami [ITK], 2018, p. 8). In total, Indigenous people make up almost 5% of the total Canadian population. There are over 70 Indigenous languages spoken in Canada, although many are now spoken as a second language after English or French, and speakers are more likely to be older people, causing some concern for language health and survival (Statistics Canada, 2019). Only 1000 people can speak Michif, the Métis tongue, one of many endangered Indigenous languages in Canada.

First Nations, Inuit and Métis have endured numerous multi-generational losses since Europeans arrived. These losses include the loss of land, language, family life and the ability to parenthood, movement and governance structures. Additionally, the decimation of crucial natural resources such as bison (or buffalo) and economies; sedentarisation and resettlement;

punitive legislation such as the banning of the potlatch, the sundance and other ceremonies; the introduction of deadly foreign diseases; and myriad other negative changes have been externally imposed. These losses have added up to a deficit of collective agency for Indigenous people, which has resulted both in suffering and resilience (Hanrahan & Wills, 2015). The Indigenous people of Canada have this history in common with their counterparts globally, thus comprising the Fourth World of people colonised within their own homelands (Manuel & Posluns, 2019).

Indigenous resurgence began in Canada in the late 1960s. Besides rights-based litigation, Indigenous resistance has led to the establishment of First Nations, Inuit and Métis political organisations, such as the Assembly of First Nations (AFN), the ITK and the Métis National Council (MNC). National women's organisations, such as the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) and Pauktuutit: Inuit Women of Canada, are less influential than the AFN, ITK and MNC, which have generally been dominated by male leadership.

The Status of Contemporary Indigenous Women

In Canada today, Indigenous women suffer from both racism and sexism. As Jobin (2016) explained, 'Judged as inferior both by race and by gender, Indigenous women are doubly vulnerable to the assimilationist policies of a patriarchal state' (p. 42). In horror, Razack (2016) described the disappearance of Indigenous women in Canada as 'commonplace' (p. i). Indigenous women and girls are 4.5 times more likely to become victims of murder than other women (Saramo, 2016, p. 204). After longstanding resistance from the conservative government, the federal liberal government responded to grassroots activism and initiated a national inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous women. Most notable in this advocacy was the Sisters in Spirit campaign of the NWAC and a report by Amnesty International. In 2019, the inquiry concluded that the thousands of missing and murdered Indigenous women, with cases going back over several decades, were victims of a 'Canadian genocide' (Barrera, 2019).

As Saramo (2016) wrote, 'Colonialism and patriarchy have attempted to marginalise Indigenous womanhood and have allowed racialised and gendered violence to flourish' (p. 216). This attempt, propelled by the tools of residential schooling, forced sterilisations, the Sixties Scoop (during which large numbers of Indigenous children were taken into care

or adopted out of their communities) and other assimilationist policies, has achieved its goals. As Native American scholar Inés Hernández-Avila asserted about violence against Indigenous women in her country, 'It is because of Native American women's sex that she is hunted down and slaughtered, in fact, singled out, because she has the potential through childbirth to assure the continuation of the people' (quoted in Women's Earth Alliance & Native Youth Sexual Health Network, 2018, p. 207).

It is amid this environment of danger that Indigenous women live, work and strive for recognition and equality. They are keenly aware of the force of ongoing colonialism and invested heavily in the inquiry. Yet, the Trudeau government announced that the police were not bound by the recommendations of the inquiry. While Indigenous women's lives are snuffed out, the neoliberal colonial state allows and even enables its armed police forces to carry on with impunity. Thus, police officers are assigned in droves to Indigenous protests and blockades in the name of land protection while cases of missing and murdered women are ignored.

This occurs despite police forces being deemed culpable in sexual violence against Indigenous women in at least one report based on six weeks of fact finding (Human Rights Watch, 2017). The grandmother of missing First Nations teenager Fonessa Bruyere was told by police, 'Oh, she's just a prostitute, she's probably just on a binge, she'll come home', according to Crystal Bruyere, Fonessa's cousin (quoted in 'Families of Missing', 2015). In this and other cases, police and the state in whose interests they act dismiss Indigenous women as commodified sexual beings, disposable and unworthy of attention. The selling of Indigenous female bodies is associated with post-traumatic stress disorder and is intrinsically traumatising and a violation of basic human rights (Farley et al., 2005). It is part of the horrific legacy of colonialism (Farley et al., 2005).

The fate of missing and murdered Indigenous women represents the extreme end of gendered racism in Canada. Indicators elsewhere on the scale include poor population health and lower life expectancy. Much research illustrates the colonisation of Indigenous women's health. In one breast cancer study, researchers found that survival was more than three times poorer for First Nations women diagnosed at stage 1 than for non-First Nations women (Sheppard et al., 2011). The risk of death after a breast cancer diagnosis was about five times higher among First Nations women with a comorbidity other than diabetes, and was more than five times greater for those with diabetes than for those without a comorbidity (Sheppard et al.,

2011). This means that having a pre-existing comorbidity was the most important factor in explaining the survival disparity among First Nations women with breast cancer (Sheppard et al., 2011). The authors concluded that there is a need to improve the general health status of First Nation women (Sheppard et al., 2011), as their current health status places them at a disadvantage. In 2011, life expectancy was 77.7 years for First Nations women, 82.3 years for Métis women and 76.1 years for Inuit women compared to 87.3 for non-Indigenous women (Tjepkema et al., 2019).

Indigenous women in Canada are under-represented in institutions such as hospital boards, academia and provincial and federal legislatures. This extends to colonial Indigenous structures; there has never been a female chief of the AFN, the national political organisation for the First Nations. Although Canada was founded in 1867, the first Indigenous woman member of parliament was not elected until 1988, when Ethel Blondin-Andrew, a Dene from the Northwest Territories, was elected (Gallant, 2020). Meanwhile, the first Indigenous male member of parliament, Pierre Delorme, a Métis, was elected in 1872 (Barkwell, 2015, pp. 49–50). Of course, there have been and are many Indigenous women in Canada who have overcome the structural oppressions of colonialism; former Chief Roberta Jamieson of the Six Nations of the Grand River, writers Eden Robinson and Tracey Lindberg and scholars like Marie Battiste come immediately to mind. Yet, although she was referring to others, Kathleen Barry might have been speaking of Indigenous women when she wrote, ‘There are no institutions, no politics, no government, where my sex and I have not been dominated, subdued, and robbed of our potential and talents as we are excluded from patriarchal privilege’ (quoted in Griffin, 2015, p. 53).

Indigenous Gender Concepts and Practices

In opposition to the current patriarchal environment, many First Nations communities in Canada claim a matriarchal past in which women were honoured and respected, especially for their role as life givers. Many First Nations societies assert an egalitarian aspect (Cull, 2006). Grandmothers were sources of wisdom, which they passed from one generation to the next. Indigenous women had influence in community decision making, notably in the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) tradition, where they had formal roles as clan mothers who appointed male leaders. Women of the Haudenosaunee, whose land base extends from present-day Ontario and Quebec into New York, are thought to have influenced the early

suffragettes of the United States (Wagner, 2011). The First Nations of Northwest British Columbia reckoned kinship affiliation through the matrilineal (Frost, 2019); thus, female lineage played a central role in identity. Métis women were the keepers of Anishinaabe and Cree knowledge systems, thus preserving the Indigenous ways of their people and engaging in active resistance against the domination of French patriarchal paradigms (Payment, 1996, p. 24). As with First Nations, Métis grandmothers were deemed essential cultural transmitters (Iseke-Barnes, 2009). Métis social organisation has been described as matriorganisation (Brown, 1983). Yet, it is difficult to determine where each pre-European-contact Indigenous society fits on a spectrum of patriarchy to matriarchy, but it is likely that there was such a spectrum.

Even within pre-colonial Indigenous societies, there would have been complexity regarding gender. Roles and responsibilities among Inuit, the Indigenous people of the circumpolar north, were ‘distinctly gendered’ pre-contact (Dorais, 2020, p. 81). These gendered roles and responsibilities were complementary and interfaced with each other (Billson & Mancini, 2007). Broadly, men hunted and engaged in whaling while women reared children, prepared food and made clothing. Women were more familiar with plants while men had a more intimate knowledge of animals (Dorais, 2020, p. 81). The home, the camp or iglu, was largely a female domain, while men’s sphere was larger, extending to the land and sea.

These work and knowledge patterns are reflected in the memoirs of Indigenous Labradorians Paulus Maggo (1999) and Elizabeth Goudie (1973), who were taught ancient, gendered skills from their parents and grandparents. However, Inuit were pragmatic out of necessity; they lived in small mobile groups to better access relatively scarce natural resources dispersed across a large area. To survive in the arctic and subarctic environment, every individual, no matter what gender they held, had to be adaptable and skilled at most tasks (Billson & Mancini, 2007). Goudie (1973), for instance, described how she hunted birds when her husband was away on his trapline, gone seasonally for months at a time.

Lévesque et al. (2016) provided a glimpse into First Nations gender practices. They used four dimensions or organising principles to study women’s and men’s knowledge and skills among the Naskapi of Quebec: differentiation, complementarity, transfer and integration. There was a ‘fairly clear division of tasks’ based on gender (Lévesque et al., 2016, p. 69). Like other Indigenous societies, women engaged mainly in childcare and food preparation while men were hunters. Childhood learning was gendered because adult roles were so differentiated.

However, like Inuit, Naskapi women had to know how to hunt to prevent hunger and starvation while men were away in pursuit of caribou: ‘In this system, although individuals clearly belong to a female or male world, the boundaries between these worlds are continually adjusted to allow for the socio-ecological alliances essential to group survival’ (Lévesque et al., 2016, p. 72). Thus, pre-European-contact gender roles were diverse and complex and reflected the needs dictated by the geophysical environment and local economy. It may be tempting to simplify these roles based on contemporary contexts. In addition, care should be exercised when making conclusions about what political power women accrued based on their gender-based roles and responsibilities.

Colonial Changes

Matriarchal tendencies, where they existed, have been largely lost through colonialism and predatory capitalism, which privileges the white, wealthy and male. In this, they parallel the loss of Indigenous medicinal practices; the reserve system, for instance, confined First Nations to small geographical spaces where they could not access the plants necessary for medicine. Matriarchal aspects of Indigenous cultures, like most aspects of gender, are mainly absent from the historical record; when they appear, they are frequently misunderstood. Some of the early historical accounts come from the Society of Jesus priests, the Jesuits, who lived and preached among Indigenous people from the Mi’Kmaq of Nova Scotia to the Blackfeet of Montana. Father Joseph Francois Lafitau, whose encounters with Indigenous people dated from 1711 to 1717, was one of few who noted gender complexity, although he did not understand it as such:

If there were women with manly courage who prided themselves upon the profession of warrior, which seems to become men alone, there were also men cowardly enough to live as women... they believe they are honoured by debasing themselves to all of women’s occupations; they never marry. (quoted in Cannon, 1998, p. 3).

Other Jesuits interpreted women’s (and men’s) behaviour in a similarly negative manner, viewing it as deviant, improper and to be eradicated (Cannon, 1998). Most aspects of Indigenous lives were invisible to missionaries and explorers; as LaPier (2020) put it, Indigenous lands were ‘places of men’ to the authors of historical accounts. Because European societies were patriarchal, colonisers assumed that Indigenous societies were patriarchal.

The tools of colonialism, chiefly Christian missionary activity and residential schooling, are widely to blame for the erosion of matriarchal traditions in Indigenous communities (Jobin, 2016; LaPier, 2020; Minor, 1992 Turpel-LaFond, 1998). Europeans saw women through a patriarchal lens, developing, at different times, negative images of Indigenous women as ‘drudges’ (LaPier, 2020), ‘Indian princesses’ and ‘easy squaws’ (Acoose, 2016). Colonial elements institutionalised their ideas and harmed Indigenous women through legislation like the *Indian Act*.

Under this legislation, First Nations women lost their status, and the limited benefits that status brings, if they married a man without Indian status; the reverse was not true. Without status, First Nations women had to move away from their reserves, and they could not pass their status onto their children. This changed in 1985 after Sandra Lovelace Nicholas, a Wolastoqiyik woman from New Brunswick, took her case to the United Nations Human Rights Committee, which ruled against Canada (Boyer, 2009). Despite Lovelace Nicholas’ victory, formal power at the reserve or community level is still derived from the *Indian Act*, and it accrues mainly to male leadership.

Indigenous Women Challenge Colonialism and Its Effects

Indigenous women are politically active as Indigenous women. In 2017, the Women of the Métis Nation (WMN; Les Femmes Michif Otipemisiwak in French), an arm of the MNC, declared, ‘We recognize the central role that Métis women play in raising Métis families and value the experiential education and wisdom that results from undertaking this role’ (p. 2). The WMN’s political goals include improved housing, better access to health services, improvements in the socio-economic gaps between Métis men and women and education programmes that better meet women’s needs, referring to the gender and cultural biases in existing national programmes and services initiatives such as the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training Strategy (WMN, 2017, p. 3). Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada have advanced gender-based implementation and accountability mechanisms so that, in the words of Meeka Otway, Inuit women are empowered to ‘set our priorities, and work with government partners to reach our shared goals’ (quoted in Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat, 2017, p. 1). The NWAC (n.d.) mandate is ‘to enhance, promote, and foster the social, economic, cultural and political well-being of First Nations, Métis and Inuit women’. Besides its work on missing and murdered Indigenous women, the NWAC

engages in research and advocacy on a wide range of issues such as forced sterilisation and COVID-19 among incarcerated Indigenous women, often privileging the most marginalised Indigenous women in Canada. In this focus, Indigenous women's organisations defy the colonial capitalist state and make it clear the threat Indigenous people pose to this state.

The Problems of Harkening Back

Reliance on pre-colonial women's roles and responsibilities may be a useful political strategy to empower and motivate Indigenous women. Recognising this, this author suggests caution based on the inherent challenges of this strategy in the current context. LaRoque (1996) said, 'We must ask ourselves whether and to what extent tradition is liberating to us as women' (p. 14). Indigenous people should (and some do) filter what are deemed to be traditions through a lens which privileges the status of contemporary Indigenous women and advances the political position of Indigenous women at all levels of decision making. As LaRoque said, it is important to raise expectations beyond being honoured and respected. Next, this chapter identifies some of the pitfalls associated with the often central place of concepts of pre-colonial Indigenous women and matriarchy in discourse and activism.

Indigenous women's organisations understand how Indigenous women live with, face and oppose the intersectionality that creates multiple forms of discrimination; in other words, Indigenous women know they are 'twice othered' (Acland, 1998, p. 4). This is especially true for Indigenous women of colour. It is unclear if male-dominated organisations and activist groups share these understandings. Indigenous women are celebrated in the rhetoric of Indigenous organisations and in discourse; for instance, an AFN (2014) document reads, 'Empowering First Nation women to embrace their traditional significant role in their communities is an invaluable investment lasting for generations to come' (p. 2).

This is a common statement in Indigenous discourse. The intended message may – or may not – be more complicated than it seems, depending on the source, but it is often received as being about women's roles as life givers and mothers. The National Collaborating Centre for Indigenous Health (NCCIH, 2012) understands that mothering is a practice of love and caring that extends beyond the biological and bodies, as do some scholars (Cull, 2006; Gosselin, 2006), but this is not necessarily a widely held perspective.

Too often Indigenous (and other) people receive proclamations about Indigenous womanhood as motherhood in the colonial (biological) sense because of the dominance of the English language, the interruptions to Indigenous culture and patriarchal colonial notions of motherhood rooted in biology. The hefty emphasis on Indigenous women's roles as life-givers and the sacredness attached to this function is a prevailing theme in contemporary Indigenous communities and organisations and on social media. There is insufficient harkening to what the NCCIH and some scholars see as an older, broader Indigenous sense of motherhood, extending beyond biology to nurturing. This can reduce Indigenous women's roles to biology and bring essentialism into concepts and arguments. This is problematic since not all Indigenous women are life givers or give birth; some eschew this role while others cannot conceive or bring pregnancies to term. Scholars must ask what effect the focus on women's place as life givers is having on some Indigenous women.

Many Indigenous women advance their contemporary rights based on a matriarchal past, which may be assumed, and on women's 'traditional' roles and responsibilities, which may be misunderstood. It is worthwhile to remember that matrilineality does not necessarily translate into matriarchy. Often women's duties were ascribed, and today ascription is often seen solely in positive terms. The title of Anishnaabe writer Jackie Traverse's (2018) colouring book *IKWE: Honouring Women, Life Givers, and Water Protectors* sums this up. Today, advocacy roles are often conferred on women because they are women. In some eastern Canadian First Nations, women are charged with the guardianship of water, which is vital for life. In certain times and places, this is an onerous task. Many First Nations reserves in Canada live with long-term water insecurity and ongoing boil water advisories due to inadequate and/or inappropriate water infrastructure, such as the absence of piped water (Hanrahan, 2017). In addition, some Indigenous communities live with continuing environmental injustice, such as water contaminated with mercury at Grassy Narrows, Ontario due to mining (Ilyniak, 2014). Currently, the population health on Blackfoot reserves in Alberta is threatened by the repeal of progressive coal legislation and proposed coal mining in the local watershed. Protecting water in such circumstances is bound to cause cognitive and emotional dissonance for women who may be powerless to change or even challenge such plans. Yet, gendered expectations about women and water survive in many Indigenous communities, and many women have internalised them.

Ascribed responsibilities can be onerous for those on whom they fall, especially if there is a mismatch between personal inclinations and assigned duties. In the case of water,

the political and economic context, dominated by capitalism and its commodification of land and water, presents additional challenges. This adds to the stress experienced by Indigenous women. A related problem is that women generally lack the resources to mount the campaigns and actions that are needed to combat the pernicious effects of colonialism and ongoing damage due to capitalism. Activism is expensive, and even national Indigenous organisations struggle to target all the issues facing Indigenous people.

Indigenous women in Canada worry about water quality. The danger is that, because of their status as Indigenous women, their efforts might be restricted to water ceremonies. Water ceremonies are undoubtedly meaningful experiences, instilling the value of water in all life. Yet, there is an irony here in that such ceremonies might be shaped by protocols which women may or may not have been part of developing. Ceremonies like these might effectively play a part in underlying political action if ties between ceremony and politics were more obvious and resourced.

There is significant pressure on Indigenous women to preserve Indigenous culture with an emphasis on performative and material culture as well as the ceremonial. This is particularly true of grandmothers. Indigenous women are widely seen as culture bearers and knowledge holders, and it is assumed that Indigenous women know songs and ceremonial practices, have medicinal knowledge and can offer teachings. These things are all learned, however. Thus, this perspective must consider that there has been massive interruption to Indigenous culture and hence to the socialisation of children and cultural transmission, the residential school system being the most pernicious of these interruptions. Accordingly, there may be gaps in knowledge for which no one should feel shame, although some Indigenous women do. Discourse does not always recognise the breadth and depth of the interruptions to Indigenous cultures that have occurred across several centuries, nor does it sufficiently acknowledge the socio-economic and health difficulties with which many Indigenous women live and their relative power and lack of resources.

This leads to the notion of authenticity, another concept that hampers Indigenous women. Jean O'Brien (2010), a White Earth Ojibwe, wrote that the Indigenous cannot be modern. Instead, Indigenous people are relegated to the past, the time before Europeans arrived, the period before history. If they eat pizza or wear blue jeans, borrowing Cruikshank's (1998, p. 68) example, they are judged as inauthentic. In the so-called New World, Indigenous culture does not have permission to change, unlike cultures derived from Europe and despite the massive

changes resulting from contact, all externally imposed. In addition to the Indigenous losses already cited, the 20th and 21st centuries saw rapid technological developments which have affected every part of the globe, including Canada's Indigenous people. It is ludicrous to expect Indigenous people to live the same way they lived before the European invasion, yet that remains an expectation (O'Brien, 2010). It is, of course, an expectation which Indigenous people cannot live up to, which renders them vulnerable to accusations of inauthenticity. The inference derived by some is that Indigenous people are extinct; they are certainly not 'real' Indigenous people. This makes claims to Indigenous land or benefits and even identity invalid. In the case of Indigenous women, this pressure, stated and unstated, adds to the emotional workload of maintaining or developing an identity that fits prevailing ideas about pre-colonial Indigenous womanhood. Both men and women, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, impose these unwritten rules, which may be as simple as mandatory skirt-wearing while drumming or as complex as knowing the intricacies of the medicine wheel. Depending on where these ideas come from, they may or may not be accurate; beliefs may conflict with each other. The tall order of conforming to certain images can be experienced as a burden for contemporary Indigenous women. Further, accusations of inauthenticity are used to dismiss Indigenous women's political aspirations.

Conclusion: Taking a Stand as Indigenous Women

Indigenous women have used the pre-colonial past to advance their rights and promote respect for their responsibilities and positions, including their gendered position, in contemporary communities and at the national and international levels. It is significant that they do not look to the Western human rights framework, instead choosing to build on their own cultural roots. There may be confusion about these roots, and there may be influences from imposed notions of Indigenous womanhood. Yet, as conceived by Indigenous women, their roles and responsibilities prior to European contact delivered them some agency, influence and even power. For these reasons, Indigenous women make assertions specifically as Indigenous women. In so doing, they recognise how precious and good their values are and how much they stand in contrast to damaging predatory capitalism.

To bolster Indigenous women's political power and their agency to make meaningful decisions, the author recommends some careful thought about current strategies, specifically the use of a lens that privileges the advancement of this power and agency. Do concepts, practices

and ascribed roles limit or promote Indigenous women? Do they limit Indigenous women's expectations? Do they reproduce the gender binary derived from colonialism? Is there any danger of essentialism? Which concepts, practices and ascribed roles are possible and useful in the contemporary context of predatory capitalism and male privilege? Many Indigenous women and their representative organisations do use such lenses, but there is a need for these tools to be more widely adopted.

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An Historical Overview of Gender Equality and Sámi Women in Reindeer Herding Communities

Ritva Kylli

Abstract

This chapter provides an historical overview of gender equality of Sámi in the area that is now known as Finnish Lapland. This study focuses on the populations of Utsjoki, the northernmost Sámi parish of Finnish Lapland, and Inari, situated on the south side of the Utsjoki. The Sámi area of northernmost Finland is compared with Sweden and the rest of the northernmost Fennoscandia. Due to their inherited reindeer stock, reindeer herder Sámi women have often been economically independent, and there have been many outstanding female reindeer herders in Utsjoki and Inari during the past centuries. However, there were also certain limitations in women's lives, and Sámi women of the past were marginalised in a number of ways. Women were usually not able to participate in social and professional activities of Finnish society. In reindeer herding Sámi families, men and women had many similar duties, but there are also historical examples of imbalances in the division of labour. Although the gender roles were restricting and labour division was sometimes very gendered, the gender roles of Sámi men and women also complemented each other. Despite their heavy workload in families, Sámi women often held acknowledged positions in their own communities (reindeer villages) and families.

Introduction

In 1716, the Norwegian missionary Thomas von Westen (1682–1727), who worked among the Sámi people in northernmost Norway, gave instructions to two novice missionaries. He mentioned, among other things, 'Qvindernes herredømme og tyrannie over deres maend' – women's dominance and tyranny over their men¹ (von Westen, 1910, 109). This likely referred to the central role of women in Sámi families (Bäckman, 1985, p. 199). Although von Westen's

¹ All translations to English were made by the author.

idea may sound a little surprising, Sámi history has known many prominent women, including those who fought for the rights of the Sámi people.

A well-known example of a prominent Sámi woman is Elsa Laula (1877–1931), who was born in Sweden to a reindeer herding family and married a reindeer herder in 1908. She was one of the first Sámi people to engage in political debate through her writings. Her pamphlet *Inför Lif eller Död? Sanningsord i de Lappska förhållandena* [Do we face life or death? Words of truth about the Lappish situation] was published in 1904. Laula tried to appeal specifically to Sámi women. She wanted them to organise themselves because she recognised the importance of women in the management of social affairs and in making social and power structures more positive for the Sámi people (Hirvonen, 1999, pp. 72–82; Seurujärvi-Kari, 2014).

There were also some Sámi women in Finnish Sápmi who were highly appreciated in their own communities. In his 1927 book *Taka-Lappia*, the Finnish ethnographer Samuli Paulaharju (1875–1944) described a Sámi reindeer herder woman named Juoksan-Kadja. She was married to Oulas-Niila Vuolabba, who moved in 1849 from Finland to northernmost Norway. According to Paulaharju, Niila was a considerate and quiet man, and his wife was quite the opposite. Kadja was the master of her husband, her reindeer flock and their female and male servants: she ‘gave orders, led migratory journeys, bought stuff, and sold reindeer as she pleased’ (Paulaharju, 1927, pp. 103–104). For mighty Sámi women like Kadja, going to the fairs (*markkinat*) was a major spectacle where their festive outfits were greatly admired. From a Lutheran clergymen’s point of view, Juoksan-Kadja was a textbook example of a dominant Sámi woman (von Westen, 1910).

This chapter is an historical overview of gender equality among the Sámi residing in the area that is today known as Finnish Lapland. Historical sources on the Sámi were collected from official and private archives, newspapers, memoirs and travelogues to trace the Sámi women who lived in this area (especially the parish/municipality of Utsjoki) during the past centuries (see Kylli, 2012). One way of keeping track of the histories of Sámi women is to investigate estate inventory deeds (*perukirja*) – lists of the worldly possessions of individual Sámi upon their death. All the animals, houses (e.g. *goahitis*), clothes and other goods that people owned at the time of their deaths were recorded in these deeds (Markkanen, 1988).

This study focuses on the populations of Utsjoki (Ohcejohka in Sámi), the northernmost parish of Finnish Lapland, and also to some measure Inari situated on the south side of the Utsjoki.

Some Sámi families in Utsjoki were fishermen who lived along the Teno River (Deatnu) and caught salmon as they travelled up the river from the Arctic Ocean. These salmon fishers also practiced hunting and cattle raising (see Koivisto, 1903). In Utsjoki, there were also families of Sámi reindeer herders. Reindeer herders spent their summers in Norway on the coast of the Arctic Ocean and wintered in the interior part of Finland. In other words, reindeer herder Sámi of Utsjoki followed their reindeer herds' annual migration cycle. They could cross the border between Finland and Norway freely until the 1850s. This border was closed in 1852, which deeply affected their nomadic way of life. After that, summer pastures had to be found on the Finnish side of the border. Despite this, nomadic reindeer herders continued to travel around with their reindeer herds and live in portable homes even during the late 19th century (Nahkiaisaja, 2016). By the 1920s, all of the reindeer herding Sámi in Utsjoki and Inari had log houses and some even had potato fields near their homes (Paulaharju, 1927, pp. 147, 226).

In Inari (Aanaar in Sámi), Sámi inhabitants were often referred to as fisher Sámi; they lived mostly by fishing and hunting, and they also sometimes kept sheep. Finnish settlements started to form in Inari during the last decades of the 1700s (Nahkiaisaja, 2016). The Sámi living in Finnish Lapland were in constant contact with the northern coast of Norway, but clergymen, rural police chiefs and other officials as well as many researchers and travellers came to Lapland from southern Finland (Kylli, 2005). Some nomadic Sámi families moved from Utsjoki and other parts of Lapland to the municipality of Inari in the late 1800s (after the border between Norway and Finland was closed), but until that time, the Inari Sámi were mainly fishers and shepherds.

This chapter focuses primarily on the Sámi area of northernmost Finland with some comparisons between Finland and Sweden as well as the rest of the northernmost Fennoscandia. The northern environment has had an influence on the similarity of Arctic livelihoods. Reindeer, for example, were herded by Sámi communities in Finland, Sweden, Norway and Russia (see McCannon, 2012). Reindeer herders of Utsjoki were well-adjusted to the subarctic environment. In 1831, it was noted that reindeer herders of the area always had access to fresh reindeer meat, and as a result, their nutrition remained at a reasonably good level (Fellman, 1831). Reindeer fat and bone marrow were also great delicacies, and fish fat could be obtained from the coast of the Arctic Ocean (Paulaharju, 1927, pp. 111–189).

Economically Independent Sámi Women

Sámi girls were raised from a young age to be able to fulfil the role set for women by their communities. The girls started to learn handicraft skills with women at the same age that boys started to follow their fathers into men's work (Bäckman, 1985, p. 200; Hirvonen, 1999, pp. 181–183, 259). Although Sámi girls and boys were carefully taught their place in the community, in some cases they were treated equally. In reindeer herding families, girls also had (from early childhood, ever since they got their first teeth) their own reindeer as well as a unique reindeer earmark which constituted proof of reindeer ownership. With this earmark, the girl's father marked all the calves born to her first reindeer and any reindeer she received as a gift. In this way, Sámi girls were able to accumulate personal possessions that they were allowed to use as they wished. This reindeer property made women financially independent – at least in cases when the reindeer possessions were built up as planned. This was not always the case, as reindeer herds were threatened by diseases (such as reindeer plague) and wolves. When these girls of reindeer herder families got married, they could bring their reindeer property to their new homes (Bäckman, 1985, p. 198; Hirvonen, 1999, pp. 177–178; Kylli, 2005, p. 251; Ranta-Rönnlund, 1975, p. 9).

In some cases, women were able to accumulate significant wealth for themselves, which also had a positive impact on their marriage prospects. If a girl had many reindeer, her other skills and features became of secondary importance. Wealth even took precedence over Sámi handicraft skills, which was generally a highly valued feature for women in Sámi communities. In reindeer herding communities, people who were capable of work were also valued regardless of their gender (Hirvonen, 1999, p. 182).

Sámi reindeer herders were often very wealthy (especially when compared to the poorer Finnish settlers), as some of them had thousands of reindeer. Womenfolk of the reindeer herding Sámi families were also financially independent due to their inherited reindeer stock (M. Aikio & Aikio, 2010, pp. 8–17; Fur, 2006, p. 47). Estate inventory deeds of the National Archives of Finland give detailed information of the possessions of Sámi reindeer herders since the 1700s. In addition to having their own reindeer, Sámi women also had silverware as a sign of their wealth. According to the Utsjoki Estate Inventory Deeds (n.d.), they also owned reindeer dogs, sledges, wolf traps, etc.

Economically, it is difficult to find gender-based structural inequality in Sámi reindeer herding communities. For example, Margareta Nilsson Länsmän, who died in September 1852,

was according to her estate inventory deed a Fjell Lapp hustrun (mountain Sámi wife) ([Margareta Länsman's Estate Inventory Deed], 1853). During her lifetime (or at least in her final years), she owned various objects, such as a very early coffee pot made of copper. Länsman's estate inventory demonstrates that she was wealthy in other ways as well. She owned, for example, silver goblets, buttons and rings. She also had Finnish silver coins (or Russian silver rubles, as Finland was part of the Russian Empire in the 19th century) and Norwegian currency, which tells of the transnational dimensions of Margareta Länsman's life. She also owned many reindeer, a summer tent, a pulk and a sledge as evidence of her mobile lifestyle ([Margareta Länsman's Estate Inventory Deed], 1853).

Researchers have examined how independent women lived in the Sámi reindeer herder communities. According to M. Aikio (1988), the traditional Western idea of women being inferior to men did not apply to the reindeer Sámi communities – at least when it came to women's economic independence. Reindeer Sámi women also travelled much more outside their homes than Finnish women, who may have resented the greater mobility of Sámi women. Sámi women could easily drive to reindeer round-ups or visit people in neighbouring Sámi villages. Even small children were not an obstacle to their journey, as they travelled along in the sledges (M. Aikio 1988, pp. 213–214).

There were certain limitations in Sámi women's lives, however. Sometimes Sámi men had a better chance to practice their own traditional culture. For example, when alone in the forests with their reindeer, they would often *yoik* (perform a traditional form of Sámi songs). Yoiking was sometimes condemned as sinful by Lutheran clergymen, but according to oral histories, some of the most outstanding female reindeer herders (for example Juoksan-Kadja, mentioned above) nevertheless dared to yoik like men (Paulaharju, 1927, pp. 103–104).

Gendered Division of Labour

The social status and equality of a Sámi woman in Finnish Lapland (e.g., in Utsjoki) varied according to whether she belonged to the reindeer herding Sámi or the fisher Sámi communities, whether she was a servant and whether she was single or married. In historical sources, many writers have noted that the workload for Sámi women was often very high. In fisher Sámi families, work was divided strictly according to gender: for example, women were responsible for collecting firewood; making handicrafts; and taking care of the cattle,

domestic reindeer and children. During the summer, fisher Sámi men were busy at their salmon weirs, while in winter they prepared wooden handicrafts (such as sleds and boats) and sold them to the reindeer herding Sámi. According to many Finnish observers, Sámi men seemed to take long rests between their hunting trips, but women were never able to be entirely idle (Andelin, 1858, pp. 221–223; L. Lehtola, 1984, pp. 123–127).

The conditions in nomadic reindeer herding families were somewhat different. In reindeer Sámi families, men and women had many similar duties. Young girls were also involved in herding reindeer and guarding them from wolves (Paulaharju, 1927, pp. 206–219). According to Fur (2006), these tasks may earlier have been more gender specific, but when the herds increased and became bigger, cooperation became necessary: ‘Among the reindeer-herding mountain Saamis both men and women traveled with the herds and participated in the milking’ (p. 49).

According to Sámi author Sara Ranta-Rönnlund (1903–1979), who grew up in a Sámi reindeer herding community in Sweden, women had more tasks (compared to men) in reindeer herder families. When needed, women had to be flexible and do men’s jobs, such as coating sledges and boats with tar, while men did not perform women’s work in the same way:

Now as I think of my youth as a nomad, I come to think of some foreign cultures where women do all the hardest work while men are lazing around, and I see that the Sámi of old times in many ways resemble those primitive peoples among whom the burden of labour is shared incorrectly, at least from our Swedish point of view. (Ranta-Rönnlund, 1975)

Based on this, gender dichotomies prevailed to some degree in traditional Sámi communities, and women were hierarchically defined below men. There was a clear imbalance in the division of labour within reindeer herding families, at least in the early decades of the 20th century (Ranta-Rönnlund, 1975; see also Hirvonen, 1999, pp. 178–179).

However, from the point of view of historical Sámi communities, the whole issue of equality between women and men may have seemed rather irrelevant. It was likely not among the most pressing issues in the subarctic region of the European High North during the 19th century. Although gender roles were very restricting and labour division was very gendered, the roles also complemented each other. Many sources also stress that Sámi men were responsible for cooking meat and fish dishes instead of women (e.g. Andelin, 1858, pp. 230–231; see also Fur, 2006, p. 49). Some examples of this continued in Sámi reindeer herding communities

of Inari into the early 20th century – a rural police chief mentioned in a letter that reindeer meat was always boiled by the male host (V. Lehtola, 2012, p. 155). This ritual may have originated in pre-Christian sacrificial ceremonies, which women were not allowed to attend. For these ceremonies, only men would have been allowed to deal with sacrificial reindeer and to prepare the sacrificial meal (Bäckman, 1985, p. 202).

Although women's sphere of living was in some respects significantly smaller in comparison with men's domain, they wielded considerable power in the home and rarely hesitated to use it. Despite their heavy workload in their families, Sámi women held acknowledged positions in their communities. By taking care of their children, women also had power over and responsibility for future generations (V. Lehtola, 2012, p. 133).

Unequal Status of Sámi Women in Reindeer Herding Communities

It is often difficult to find information about the way of life of Sámi women in official documents produced by the church and state in previous centuries. Unofficial private sources, such as diaries and memoirs, contain some limited information on their lives, but there are not many Sámi women even in these sources, at least not under their own names (Kylli, 2012). In addition to the written sources, it is necessary to use oral history sources and collections, such as the compilations of Samuli Paulaharju.

There is a clear reason for the absence of Sámi women in written sources – it was due to the limited nature of their social and professional activities. For example, young Sámi women were not trained to become catechists (circular teachers in the parishes of Lapland) during the 18th and 19th centuries in the same ways as young Sámi men were. Catechists were able to read and write, and they even produced written source material as part of their work (Kylli, 2005, pp. 148–149). All in all, Sámi women of the past were marginalised in numerous ways. Both women and Sámi in general were considered a topic of minor interest for the serious study of history, and the histories of 19th-century Sámi are mostly the histories of Sámi men. The invisibility of Sámi women is particularly noticeable in documents from official authorities. The sources most often used by historians (e.g., Kylli, 2012; Lakomäki et al., 2020) are from the spheres of administration and state and economic authorities – areas of life where women of the time had very little influence.

Traditional *siida* systems in Sápmi were replaced with Nordic administration in the northernmost areas of Fennoscandia during the late 17th century. *Siida* were Lapp villages or reindeer herding communities, and these villages had common territories (where village dwellers had rights of possession over the meadows and fishing waters) and sources of livelihood (Koponen, 2015; V. Lehtola, 2015, p. 25). Fur (2006) stated that women also had rights to the lands which were controlled by these *siidas*. However, it is unclear whether women were able to participate in decision making in the *siidas*. It seems, in light of the very limited information, that only adult men gathered to determine issues of importance for the whole village. Olaus Graan (who passed away in 1690) wrote that ‘the oldest and wisest of the men assisted in dividing estates’ (p. 49).

In researching the history of the 18th and 19th centuries and the reindeer Sámi communities in Finland, one can still find some obvious inequalities, as the roles of the Sámi women were limited to their families and Sámi community. Before the 20th century, it was common in the Sámi area of Finnish Lapland (e.g., Utsjoki) for Sámi reindeer herders to marry Sámi women from the Norwegian side of the border. As mentioned before, reindeer herders crossed these borders often before the latter half of the 19th century. Each year they moved with their reindeer from Finnish Lapland to the Norwegian coast, where they spent their summers. Reindeer herders thus often spent many months on the Norwegian coast, and there were many marriages between Sámi men of Finland and Sámi women of Norway (A. Aikio, 1998, p. 84; Nahkiaisaja, 2016).

As Sámi spouses who came from Norway did not know how to speak Finnish (which was usually the official language of church services), it was difficult for these reindeer herder Sámi women to communicate with Finnish officials. In 1832, Finnish clergyman Johan Stenbäck, who was working in Utsjoki, was shocked to find that one reindeer herder Sámi woman he met by the river Teno could not even remember the name of Jesus. Because of her inadequate Finnish language skill, she had not even learned the basics of Christianity, which was considered important in 19th-century Finnish society – people needed to know certain facts before they could be confirmed and receive a marriage license (Kylli, 2005).

Finnish officials, researchers and other visitors who were involved with the Sámi were generally men who emphasised men’s activities. Philologists Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) and Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852), for example, studied Sámi languages in Finnish Lapland during the 1840s and worked closely with Sámi men (who acted as their language

teachers). Even though they and other travellers enjoyed Sámi women's hospitality when visiting Sámi families and photographed Sámi women while their men were out in the woods, they did not usually see women as significant actors. Sámi men took care of most activities dealing with Finnish society: farm management responsibilities (in cases of new settlements), decision making in local governing bodies, reindeer herding administration and participation in public debates. In addition to understanding the Finnish language, literacy and writing skills also provided many Sámi men with good opportunities in Finnish society (V. Lehtola, 2012, p. 447).

Thus, Sámi women could be equal in their own communities (reindeer villages) but not when facing social institutions. In 17th-century Swedish parishes, there were some court cases in which Sámi women did not appear in court at all, and after that the court case could dry up completely. Court records of the Sámi parishes show that only men were appointed 'as guardians or as arbitrators in inheritance battles' (Fur, 2006, p. 49). In early modern Sweden and Finland, in general, women were expected to take legal action and be responsible for their own crimes. Court records of the Sámi parishes also show that only men were involved in issues that were important for the whole community (e.g. Fur, 2006, pp. 49, 72; Vainio-Korhonen, 2009, p. 66). Trade contracts and many other interactions also had a very clear gender dimension (Fur, 2006, p. 65).

There were also no Sámi women among the members of juries, *sexmans* (parish caretakers), church councils (*kyrkoråd*), etc. (see Kylli, 2005). It must also be remembered that these men were, at least in Utsjoki, mostly from fisher families and not reindeer herding families. Reindeer herding was not appreciated as a source of livelihood by Finnish officials, who encouraged people to become settlers and farmers (V. Lehtola, 2015, p. 25). In 1862, Sámi teacher Aslak Laiti (1837–1895), who had been born in Utsjoki, was concerned about the fact that Finns encouraged the Sámi to give up reindeer herding, which (according to him) was without a doubt the most profitable livelihood in the northernmost part of Lapland.

Discussion

In Sweden, Elsa Laula and some other Sámi women did very visible work for Sámi communities, but in Finland there were no comparable actors during the early 20th century. V. Hirvonen (2017) pointed out that during the first decades of the 20th century, there were

no women on the municipal council of Utsjoki, which at that point was the only entirely Sámi municipality in Finland. Sámi women in the communities of Finnish Lapland were not used to performing in public positions. The Utsjoki region was still very patriarchal, and Sámi women were used to staying in the background and taking care of their homes (Hirvonen, 2017). Traditionally, Sámi men and women had defined roles in order to enable each member of the community to know his or her tasks and complete them on time, but in 20th-century Sámi society, there was no longer a need for such strict gender distinctions (Bäckman, 1985, pp. 197–199; Fur, 2006, p. 49; V. Hirvonen, 1999, p. 173).

V. Lehtola (2012, p. 447) also wrote about Sámi women and the need to research them more thoroughly. He argued that Sámi women's position as actors in their homes, educators of their children, knowers of their neighbourhood, maintainers of family relationships, organisers of annual rotation assignments, participants in reindeer round-ups and pillars of the Laestadian movement have often been overlooked. Studying what kind of actors the Sámi women were in their communities during the past centuries and what kind of actors they are today is important (V. Hirvonen, 2017).

Reindeer husbandry and other livelihoods should also be researched more from women's perspectives. How much was women's work appreciated in terms of reindeer herding? Finally, when tracing historical Sámi women of reindeer herding communities, researchers should make use of new kinds of historical sources, such as archaeological material.

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Indigenous Gender Justice with a Focus on Sámi Reindeer Herding in Sweden

Ildikó Asztalos Morell

Abstract

This chapter provides an overview of gender research on Sámi reindeer herding in Sweden from the perspective of gender literature on family farms and agricultural transformation. The study focuses on three topics that have been central to the field: property transfer and succession, gendered division of labour and gendered identities. Using the (post)colonial perspective as a point of departure, this chapter highlights Sámi reindeer herders' experiences at the intersection of (post)colonial and gendered inequalities. It explores how gender and (post)colonial norms and identities are reproduced and challenged and how they constitute and are constituted by structural inequalities. The analysis highlights (post)colonial gender relations as the outcome of ongoing agentic processes.

Introduction

The rise of Sámi feminism has been connected to the emerging criticism of colonialisation. One of the key claims made is that Sámi women had a strong or even equal status among their families in precolonial society (Bäckman, 1982; Kuokkanen, 2009). This status was then weakened due to the interference of colonialism and Christianity (Nussbaumer, 2018; Roy, 2004). Especially during the first phase of feminism in the late 1960s and 70s, the image of Sámi women as powerful matriarchs of Sámi culture was influential in the creation of Sámi identity (Eikjok, 2004). This imaginary placed Sámi women under dual pressure since it did not correspond to their reality (Dumoulin, 2020). They felt themselves repressed by both the patriarchal structures present in Sámi communities and by their minority status as Indigenous Sámi (Eikjok, 2004; Kuokkanen, 2007).

Indigenous feminists differ in how they appraise the sufficiency of the struggle for Indigenous self-determination in order to achieve gender justice. Some project pre-colonial Indigenous cultures as examples for the realisation of gender justice and attribute the institutionalisation of the heteronormative patriarchy to colonial power. In this perception, restoration

of Indigenous culture would suffice to reinstate gender justice (Cunningham, 2006; Hart & Lowther, 2008). According to this view, the introduction of hetero-patriarchal relations has been the outcome of settler colonialisation.

In contrast, others do not see a return to Indigenous culture as a guarantee of gender justice. The expansion of self-determination for Indigenous communities would not by necessity bring with it the guarantee for individual autonomy and self-determination. Without critical reflection, 'Indigenous communities can, in the name of sovereignty and tradition, replicate and perpetuate heteropatriarchal neocolonial agendas and practices instead of decolonization' (Kuokkanen, 2019, p. 221).

Focusing on issues of women's reproductive rights and gender-based violence in Canada and Sweden, Kuokkanen (2019) argued that Indigenous women have been double victimised. She highlighted this by analysing child custody cases of battered mothers. In the studied cases, battered women were not only deprived of legal protection against violence, but they were also deprived – as unfit mothers – of their motherhood due to state violence in the name of child welfare, which displaced children to off-community foster care (Nanibush, 2014). The outcry of Indigenous peoples against the state's removal of children from their communities was met with ignorance and disrespect for Indigenous child-raising traditions. According to these traditions, the clan – rather than the nuclear family – is responsible for childcare.

Nonetheless, claims of Indigenous self-determination have not coincided with gender justice claims to secure women from violence. Thus, Kuokkanen (2019) argued, claims for community sovereignty and self-determination must be combined with claims for individual self-determination. Claims for self-determination and consensus over the use of land need to be combined with the same claims for the body: 'Without Indigenous gender justice, there is not Indigenous self-determination' (Kuokkanen, 2019, p. 222). Claims of justice for Indigenous communities by means of colonial dispossession need to be combined with gender justice claims against heteropatriarchal gender relations that displace Indigenous women and their children. Similar claims are due for those whose sexualities do not conform to the heteronormative patriarchy. Gender justice must be achieved through the rematriation of Indigenous governing structures to re-establish women's former association with leadership roles (Kuokkanen, 2019, p. 232).

Sámi and Indigenous women's double victimisation has been highlighted not only in cases of gendered violence but also in their subordinate position within reindeer herding

communities (RHCs), which prevent them from participating in reindeer herding on equal terms with men (Amft, 2000; Kuokkanen, 2009; Udén, 2007). Gender equality has been on the agenda for the Sami Parliament (Sametinget 2011) and SSR (Swedish Sami Association) (Wik Karlsson w.y.). While the focus of gender research has highlighted inequalities from the perspective of women, recent research has also shed light on the vulnerabilities of Sámi men. Sámi men have a lower level of education than Sámi women (Arora-Jonsson, 2017; Olsen, 2015). Further, among young Sámi men, reindeer herders have reported the highest level of discrimination based on ethnicity (Omma et al., 2011). Additionally, the rates of suicide in Sweden are highest among reindeer herders (Ahlm et al., 2010). Some researchers have found Indigeneity to be a more important issue than gender (Eikeland, 2003, Olsen, 2015) because addressing gender inequalities is perceived as being related to Swedishness (Ledman, 2009).

There is a clear relationship between injustice from the state and majority society on the one hand and gender relations on the other. As Crenshaw (1991) and other early proponents of an intersectional perspective have highlighted, the articulation of gender-based inequalities often faces opposition both within minority movements and within mainstream feminist movements due to fears of being discredited. Similar to black or Roma feminists (Asztalos Morell, 2016; Kóczé, 2011), Sámi feminists engage in recognition struggles both to establish claims within Sámi society and in relation to the majority society. To explore intersectional aspects of gender inequalities is of particular interest in the Fenno-Scandinavian context since these countries signify themselves as forerunners in gender equality struggles, which has resulted in political consensus about feminist political foundations. Therefore, this chapter focuses specifically on Sámi gender issues in the context of Fenno-Scandinavian gender regimes.

The following sections highlight some aspects of how gendered citizenship has been shaped in the (post)colonial context of reindeer herding in Sweden (Lundmark, 2012). Reindeer husbandry is a Sámi right and is seen as part of a lifestyle rooted in Indigenous practices. Reindeer husbandry must co-exist with and reproduce in the context of state regulations and market pressures, which have resulted in serious governance concerns by undermining the capacities of Indigenous actors for resilience (Löf, 2014). Despite these fundamental differences, reindeer husbandry is a livelihood that shares some common features with the conditions characterising family farming. Therefore, the study of gender literature concerning family farming can be used as a fruitful comparative lens to explore gender relations in the context of reindeer husbandry.

Gender and Citizenship

An analysis of the comparative welfare state gave new impetus to the theorisation of rural gender regimes by focusing on how gender inequalities are expressed in civil, political and social rights (Asztalos Morell & Bock, 2008a,b). Gender regimes are understood not only as regimes characterised by a set of rights and obligations but also as arenas for gender-differentiated participation, representation and power in social and political life. Political scientists see the rights and duties connected to citizenship as a vehicle for achieving social justice (Marshall, 1950, p. 10). Marshall (1950) envisaged the gradual emergence of three citizenship rights areas – civil, political and social rights – that are of key importance for social justice. Civil rights concern rights for individual freedom and liberty of the person, such as the right to own property, conclude contracts, obtain justice and exercise freedom of speech. Political citizenship is tied to participation in political life and the ability to be elected. Finally, social citizenship covers access to economic welfare and security, to full participation in the social heritage and to life as a civilised being according to prevailing societal standards (Olsson & Lewis, 1995). However, the formation of citizenship rights has emerged unevenly due to its close bonds to inequalities along the lines of social class, ethnicity and gender (Walby, 1997).

Feminist theory views gender as a social principle that is used to organise all fields of relations. Gender emerged as a concept signifying fundamental structures along which societies are organised by positioning women and men differentially in relations of public and private divisions of power and authority (Kay, 2007). According to Hirdman (1989), gender structures are based on two principles: one that differentiates between the categories of men and women and one that places men as a norm by ordering these differences into a hierarchal order. This order is constructed by the dichotomies of likeness – “A” (man) vs “a” (woman of less accomplishment) – or through difference – “A” (man) vs “B” (woman of different and less valuable art) – to create a power discrepancy between men and women (Hedenborg & Wikander, 2003; Hirdmann, 1989). As Connell (1987, pp. 98–99) argued, gender as a coherent system of organisation defines the relations of power between masculinities and femininities.

With emphases on male dominance, Walby (1997) identified six structures of patriarchal relations: family and household, paid work, state, culture, domestic violence and sexuality

(Table 1). From an historical perspective, gender regimes have been articulated along the public/private dichotomy (Walby, 1997). In the former, ‘household-based production is the main structure and site of women’s work activity and the exploitation of her labour and sexuality and upon the exclusion of women from the public’ (Walby, 1997, p. 6). In the latter, the means of subordination are not through exclusion but rather the ‘segregation and subordination of women within the structures of paid employment and the state, as well as within culture, sexuality and violence’ (Walby, 1997 p. 6).

Table 1. Patriarchal relations according Walby (1997)

Structure	Description
<i>Paid work</i>	Labour segregation, wage gaps, power gaps, part-time/full-time, formal/informal
<i>Family and household</i>	Care duties, lone mothers, feminisation of poverty
<i>Patriarchal relations of the state</i>	Women’s lack of/less political representation, women’s underrepresentation in state institutions
<i>Male violence against women</i>	Domestic violence, rape, sexual violence
<i>Forms of sexuality</i>	Sexual availability in the private sphere, sexualised public disclosure of women’s bodies
<i>Cultural institutions</i>	Underrepresentation in positions of power within media, media and cultural representations of women

The transition to public patriarchy emerges with women’s participation in *paid labour* and through the disadvantages along persistent structures of inequalities, such as labour segregation, wage gaps, power gaps and part-time/full-time work enforcing gender inequalities. Despite their increased labour force participation, women continue to bear major responsibility for the duties of caring for the *family and household*. Gender inequalities in the domestic and public spheres are co-constitutive of each other. State policies

and citizenship rights emerge along power struggles to reinforce alternatively challenging prevailing inequalities, including gender-based ones. Despite achieving legal rights, a gender gap prevails in women's participation, recognition and access to resources (Fraser, 1995).

Gender regimes take local and regional shape depending on the type of socio-economic setting (Forsberg, 1998; Forsberg & Lindgren, 2010). Rural and agrarian gender regimes constitute special conditions due to the historical roots in family farming and its gendered patterns (Asztalos Morell & Bock, 2008a, b). The basic unit of organisation within both reindeer husbandry and family farming is the household, which has become all the more multi-functional. Both activities play out in a rural context based on the utilisation of natural resources and dependencies on a capitalist food regime (McMichael, 2009). However, these activities also differ in the legal claims they have to natural resources, how they utilise these claims and in their relation to the majority society. To explore gender relations in the case of reindeer herding, the relation with the (post)colonial state as well as the economic forces of the dominant society, including those of the capitalist economy, need to be considered. As Kuokkanen (2019) highlighted, Indigenous claim-making in a (post)colonial context places women's issues in a complicit situation, where gender issues are deprioritised compared to claims made on grounds of Indigeneity. This leaves the voices of Indigenous women, just like women of colour in other contexts (Asztalos Morell, 2016; Crenshaw, 1991), unattended since gender-based conflicts within ethnic communities, such as domestic violence, are highly ethnically stigmatising issues. To explore intersecting inequalities is of great importance since gender equalities are co-constructed with race, class and age-based inequalities.

An intersectional perspective can also contribute to a better understanding of (post)colonial challenges for men's situations. Connell (1995) identified hegemonic masculinity as the institution for patriarchal relations. Hegemonic masculinity institutionalises men's dominant position through what he referred to as the 'patriarchal dividend', a benefit men enjoy in society as a group and individually in the private and public spheres. However, Connell also argued that not all men enjoy these benefits equally. While hegemonic masculinity is enforced by men's domination in corporate capitalism, there are marginalised categories of men who find themselves subordinated through other types of inequalities, such as those rooted in class or sexuality. Indigenous men find themselves in various marginalising positions due to the (post)colonial systems of subordination. Among others, Indigenous men's livelihoods are based on access to contested natural resources, and men embody Indigenous occupational identities with value systems challenged by the logic of hegemonic market

relations. Reindeer herding and other Indigenous livelihoods are under the ongoing threat of increased capitalist exploitation of the resources their existence is dependent upon, an exploitation that the national states are complicit of. Thus, exploring gender-based inequalities, from the perspectives of either women or men, needs to be contextualised in (post)colonial realities of Indigenous lives.

Structure and Agency

A gender equality approach with one-sided focus on structures has been challenged by various scholars. Most importantly, these critiques have highlighted the structure versus agency dilemma, which is rooted in the classical critique of how structures and material conditions determine the freedom of agents to act. Giddens (1984) proposed a dualism between agents and structures (Figure 1): ‘structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they organize. Structure is not external to individuals... it is in a sense more internal’ (p. 25). Thus, Giddens (1984) argued that structures are both ‘constraining and enabling’ (p. xvi). The initial focus in rural gender studies on women as victims of patriarchal oppression began to shift to examining women as actors in their own right, whose own actions contested but also reproduced gender relations (O’Hara, 1998).

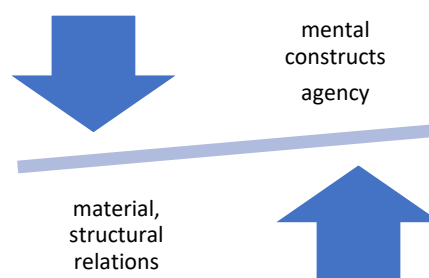


Figure 1. Dualism between structure and agency

A theoretical framework that unpacks the structure/agency interface in a manner well-suited to explore locally contextualised gender relations is the capability theory developed by Hobson (2011). Drawing on Sen’s (1999) theory, an individual’s freedom of agency depends upon the agency/capability gap they experience while attempting to achieve the goals they value.

For Sen, agency implies people's capabilities to reach the kind of functionings and achievements they desire given the capabilities they have. Achievements are who people can be (beings), while functionings are what people can do (doings). These beings and doings are ends to be achieved. Meanwhile, the means needed to achieve these depend on one's capabilities, which are one's possibilities or potentials to actualise them. In Sen's framework, choice and agency are central.

This notion was revised by Hobson (2011, p. 150), who argued that capabilities to achieve valued outcomes such as quality of life are contextual to social institutions and normative structures, some of which enable agency while others constrain choices and claims. Therefore, choices (freedoms) are constrained (Robeyns, 2005). Thus, agency is perceived as an exercise of choices limited by opportunity structures. A capability framework, using Hobson's (2011) formulation, 'is an evaluative space to assess well-being and quality of life and the freedom to pursue it' (p. 149). In her study on divorce, Hobson (1990) found that women who lack economic resources did not have the option to protest (i.e., to voice or divorce), hence the title of her work, 'No Exit, No Voice'. Thus, education, employment and access to economic resources provide them with a wider variety of choices.

While other works focused on inequalities between men and women and unpacked women's subordinate position, West and Zimmermann (1987) and Butler (1990) emphasised the performative notion of gender. By doing so, they focused on the production of gender and the heteronormative matrix. Butler saw heteronormativity as the normative ground for heterosexual desire associated with masculinity and femininity. Thus, the binary system of gender is not a given; it is both constitutive and is constituted through ongoing processes and practices (Butler, 1990). Butler's notion of gender performativity closely examined how individuals are doing and undoing gender norms. Butler viewed gender as a performative process primarily in the sense that gender functions as a regime to regulate people's behaviours. Yet, she considered individuals to be not only docile products of gender norms but also actors with agency by illustrating the possibilities for subverting gender identities (Butler, 1990, p. 185). According to Butler, gender performativity lies within how individuals "cite" dominant discourses. This doing of gender is manifested in the choice of work, partner or bodily attributes, among others, which are performances of femininities and masculinities. In the performative construction of gender lies also the potential for undoing gender. By undoing gender, one can create subjectivities that 'enact gender in a way that goes beyond

conventional parameters' (Kelan, 2010, p. 190). Hence, doing as well as subversion of gender norms is accomplished performatively (Butler, 2004).

Gender Norms and Identities

Due to the roots of gender in heteronormativity and heterosexual desire, gender is inscribed in the body, with biological differences becoming incorporated into the symbolic representations of femininity and masculinity. The muscular male body and its fragile female counterpart are binary embodiments of the heterosexual desire (Lundgren & Kroon, 1996). Gender power relations become inscribed into the sexualised fragile female body (Smith, 1990). Meanwhile, work has been identified as one of the central areas for the construction and de-construction of gender (Billing & Alvesson, 2000; Harding, 1986; Johansson et al., 2020; Kelan, 2010; Lie, 1995; McDonald, 2013). In addition to work identities, gendered embodiments encompass features of the physical body and its secondary attributes – movements and clothing (Asztalos Morell, 2013). Physical power; imagery of warriors, fighters and adventurers who master nature; and the appropriation of technology are intimately associated with masculinity. Women, in contrast, are perceived as being close to nature and nurturing. Such binary symbolism is evoked to legitimate the exclusion of women from occupations dominated by men, such as the metal industry (Johansson et al., 2020). Exclusionary processes enforce privileges, such as favourable rewards or freedom from care duties (Asztalos Morell, 1999). This trend of thought views the gendered inscription of work as being deeply rooted in the gendering (and un/re-gendering) process and in the use of symbols in identity construction (Faulkner, 2009; Harding, 1986; Kelan, 2010; Lie, 1995; McDonald, 2013). Thus, gender is performative, and it is done through active appropriation of symbolic identity constructs.

It is also important to note that identity construction varies not only between men and women but also among women and men. Postmodernism provides insights into the formation of multiple identities, the notion of otherness (Brandth, 2002) and how identity is constructed and reflected through the body 'as an active agent in the construction of gendered selves' (Brandth, 2006, p. 17). While femininity and masculinity are realised through performance (Little, 2006), dominant discourses may be resisted and contested by the construction of alternative discourses.

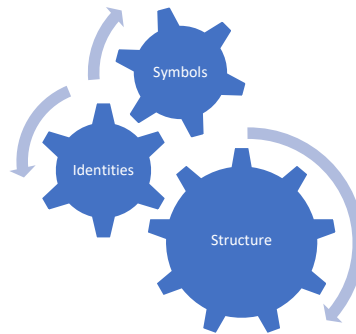


Figure 2. Harding's (1986) three levels of gender analysis

Therefore, it should not be forgotten that these discourses are embedded in structural realities and contexts (Asztalos Morell & Bock, 2008a). In this respect, it is important that rural gender studies maintain this critical perspective so as to continue to uncover the interests served by specific constructions and representations of 'reality'. Thus, a one-sided focus on symbols and identities as roots for the gender–technology association fails to acknowledge the importance of structural inequalities. Some researchers, such as Lie (1995), have sought distinct links between structures, symbols and identities in the gender–technology relation. Harding (1986) differentiated three levels of gender analysis: gender structure (grounded in the gender division of labour), symbolism and identity/behaviour (Figure 2). These three levels are intimately connected. Thus, if researchers focus on only one of these, gender relations seem distorted (Lie, 1995). Focusing only on the gender division of labour leaves important aspects of culture-bound thinking unattended. Structural inequalities of gender, for instance in technology, are intimately interconnected with the making and remaking of men (Cockburn, 1983). The monopolisation of knowhow is the arena for reinforcement of masculinity. Meanwhile, technological culture reinforces gender relations (Wajcman, 2010).

Research Questions

Using the agency freedom theory to unite structural and constructivist perspectives, this chapter provides a critical reflection on research on gender relations in Sámi RHCs. This chapter examines the following aspects:

- What are the institutional frameworks (e.g., concerning property rights, inheritance and succession) contextualising reindeer herding?
- How has the gender division of labour emerged, and how does it reflect changes in the conditions for the reproduction of reindeer herding households?
- How do intersectionally constituted norms and identity constructions emerge in reindeer herding and interact with the conditions for reproduction of reindeer herding households?

Property Rights, Inheritance and Succession

Sámi are the Indigenous population of Feno-Scandinavia. Their habitat has been pushed further north through subsequent colonisations. They have been subjected to the crown as taxpayers since 1547, and reindeer and fish began to be taxed in 1602 (Gallardo et al., 2017; Lundmark, 1998). While the general trend in property rights have been the dissolution of common property in agriculture, an opposite trend has occurred in Sámi Lappland (Larsson & Sjaunja, 2020). The previous system of individually assigned land was superseded by Sámi lawful common user's rights to reindeer herding areas. Rights as taxpayers were transformed to usufruct rights (Päiviö, 2011; Päivö, 2011). This system was consolidated in the 1886 New Pasture Law, through which Sámi were divided into communities, the membership of which became a prerequisite to practice family reindeer herding. Since pasture rights were not considered an economic asset, Sámi did not obtain the right to vote (Gallardo et al., 2017).

In the Swedish Reindeer Grazing Act of 1928 (Renbeteslag [SFS] 1928:309) (Swed.), the Swedish Government defined the Sámi people as reindeer herders, which excluded every other Sámi who did not performed reindeer herding. Today, only about 10% of Sámi are reindeer herders. Reindeer herding as a husbandry became the focus in politics, and those Sámi who did not perform herding were categorised as an 'other population' (Lundmark, 2012, pp. 210–211).

Colonial legislation, beyond its general function to restrain Sámi rights, has also adversely impacted women's position. Kuokkanen (2009) argued that similar to other Indigenous societies in Northern Eurasia, women in precolonial times had equal rights to men with 'symmetrical complementarity of domains, roles and tasks' (p. 500). Even if some of these domains were domestic while others were economic, women were independent and possessed

control over given areas. Reindeer herding women were traditionally in charge of the economy (Bäckman, 1982). Men and women owned separate property, with women owning all clothing they prepared, including their husband's, and they could take out independent loans (Paulaharju, 1921). Sámi could also be considered as having kept matrilineal and matrilocal order. This more equal gender status has undergone institutional pressure due to 'patriarchal ways of thinking and laws' (Kuokkanen, 2009, p. 501) introduced through legislation.

The 1928 act weakened the position of the Sámi people, especially Sámi women. The legal status of the act was linked with marital status; a woman who carried the right to perform reindeer herding lost that right if she married a man without it. At the same time, a man could marry whoever he wanted and keep his right. Upon losing this right, women had to leave the life of reindeer herding. This legal distinction was discriminatory against Sámi women (Ledman, 2009, p. 85) and promoted men in the transfer of Sámi rights attached to reindeer herding (Nordlund, 2020). Thus, Sámi women's traditional rights to own reindeer were erased (Kuokkanen, 2009, p. 501).

With the Reindeer Husbandry Act of 1971 (Rennäringslag ([SFS] 1971:437) (Swed.)), all Sámi people were given access to the same rights, reindeer herding included, that are described in the law on account of prescription from time immemorial. Time immemorial is defined as the distant past no longer remembered (Allard, 2011). According to the Reindeer Husbandry Act, being Sámi implies being a member of an RHC. Meanwhile, the 1928 act's direct discriminatory measures against Sámi women who married non-Sámi persons was removed. Nonetheless, indirect discriminatory features prevailed. For example, reindeer herding is restricted to those who are members of an RHC. Membership is based on fulfilling one of three premises (Figure 3): 1) Sámi who participate in reindeer herding within an RHC, 2) Sámi who have participated in activities in the RHC as work and not transferred to a different primary employment or 3) a person who is the spouse or resident child of a member referred to in 1 or 2 or who is the surviving spouse or minor child of a deceased member.

A family's right to own reindeer and reindeer marks requires that one family member be a full-time reindeer herder. As a rule, those in category 1 become group leaders, practice reindeer herding and represent the rest of the family in the RHC (Sametinget, 2019a). Only the group leaders have full voting rights within the RHC. The majority (88%) of reindeer husbandry companies are owned and operated by men (Sametinget, 2019a). Male-owned companies have a higher number of reindeer (243 on average) per company than companies headed by women

(136 on average) (Sametinget 2019b). There seems to be a relationship between the fact that Sámi women own a smaller number of reindeer and their lower likelihood of becoming group leaders for the family's herd. Since only group leaders have a direct voice in RHCs, Sámi women who are not group leaders become subordinated to their fathers or husbands (Amft, 2000, p. 190). This is an encroachment on Sámi women's ability to fully participate and have their voices heard in the RHC (Amft, 2000).

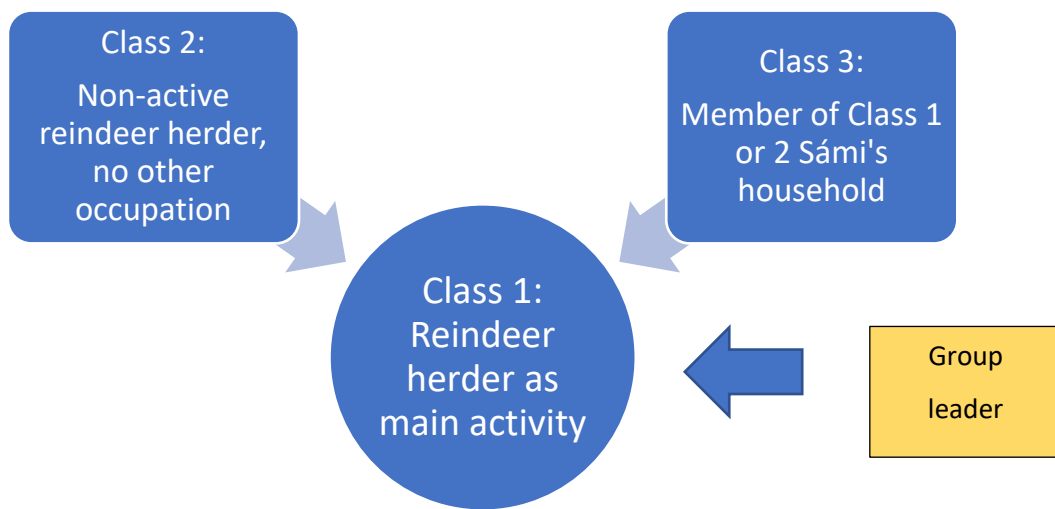


Figure 3. Different classes of rights to belong to an RHC according to the Rennäringslag ([SFS] 1971:437) (Swed.)

It has been argued (Buchanan et al., 2016) that Sámi women's subordinate situation is bound to the institutional framing of Sámi rights to pasture, which allocate the disposition over this right to RHCs (a common-pool resource practice), which in turn designates usufruct rights not to individual members but to heads of groups. This head of group is typically the male head of household. Such disposition stands in opposition to individual freedoms. The dependencies of women in such constructs become apparent in cases of divorce, since married women can face obstacles claiming their contribution to the wealth accumulated in the enterprise. Furthermore, for Sámi women as household members (*husfolk*), membership in the household remains the only way to access Sámi rights (Päivö, 2011).

Based on experiences from the collaborative project 'Kvinna i sameby' ('Woman in an RHC'), Udén concluded that connecting the right to own reindeer to being able to engage with reindeer herding full-time encroaches on Sámi women's ability to make their contributions visible. As Sámi women in the project argued, 'there are more people than the "reindeer herder" that

are involved in reindeer herding. Both on a practical production level, not to talk about the reproductive work and symbol production that keeps society together and provides identity a form' (Udén, 2004, p. 8). Another aspect raised was how wage-earning women – as wives and cohabiting partners – contribute to the economic stability of the household of a reindeer herder. The study elucidated that the praxis differs between RHCs; it is not common in all RHCs for a widow to take over the status of reindeer herder if her husband passes away. A *husbonde* (head of household) in the meaning of the reindeer herding law counts in certain respects as the legal representative for all the reindeer of his/her family, including his/her husband's or wife's private property. Similarly, wives who divorce their husbands and claim the right to be the *husbonde* over the family's joint reindeer cannot necessarily count on compensation for their contribution to the reindeer herding economy (Udén, 2004, p. 8). Being classified as household members not only limits civil and economic rights of Sámi women but also their ability to make social rights claims, such as pension entitlement or health insurance, based on their labour contribution to the household economy.

These conditions reflect legal standards that have been abandoned in Swedish law in favour of an individualistic legal subject. Sweden introduced gender equal inheritance rights in 1848 (Holmlund, 2008). However, until 1884, unmarried women were not legally capable of managing their property, and married women were represented by their husbands until 1920. Thus, Sámi women's dependency on their husbands as group leaders is a construct that sediments an anachronistic practice.

The gender inequalities inbuilt in the governance of reindeer herding stand also in conflict with the overall ideas expressed in the Swedish gender regime. Sweden, like the other Fenno-Scandinavian countries, is seen as a prime representation for the dual wage-earner (Sommestad, 1997), weak male bread-winner (Lewis, 1992) or gender-neutral (Asztalos Morell, 1999; Asztalos Morell & Brandt, 2007; Florin & Nilsson, 1997; Langan & Ostner, 1991; Sommestad, 1997) model. The above theories see gender neutrality as the qualifying specificity of the Swedish gender regime, where the unit of taxation as well as welfare transfers have the individual and not the household as their basic unit. Thus, the prevailing practices for reindeer herding/Sámi rights (with roots in colonial legislation), which connect economic agency to a group leader who typically corresponds to a head of household, are antagonistic with the spirit of the Scandinavian/Swedish welfare/gender regime.

Meanwhile, despite equal legal gender rights in inheritance, a patriarchal order of succession and internal family relations still prevail in family farms. In this respect, two levels must be examined separately: the level of rights and legal regulation of inheritance and the level of the praxis of transfer of property. In Niskanen's (1998) view, 'men and women entered property relations on different conditions' (p. 7). The ideological goal of keeping family property together led to family practices, which typically favoured the oldest son in taking over the family farm (Flygare, 1999, Haugen, 1994; Melberg, 2008). Inheritance patterns were seen to play a key role in the construction of masculinity and femininity. As Niskanen (1998) summarised: 'The construction of "masculinities" and "femininities" has direct impact on the economic conditions for generational change, since they affect which property is distributed between male and female inheritors' (p. 6.). Thus, the ideas about the most suited successor of the farm influenced access to inherited property, which in turn has reaffirmed men's primacy in being farm heads. Access to land impacts the potential to run a farm enterprise cumulatively. Lack of it is an obstacle to access credits and subsidies and reproduces the exclusion of female farmers (Andersson & Lidestav, 2014; Andersson & Lundqvist, 2016; Holmquist, 2011; Shortall, 1999; 2015).

Male primacy secured through farm succession is further reaffirmed by excluding in-marrying wives from obtaining access to farm property. An in-marrying wife contributes in diverse ways to the maintenance of the family farm through their labour contribution (domestic work or helping with core farm activities), book-keeping or off-farm work. Still, as Hanrahan (2008) pointed out, farm wives have faced difficulties obtaining shares of their contribution to the property value of the farm in cases of divorce. These results show that despite equal inheritance rights, there are continued practices that enforce the preference of male succession and the weakness of women's economic citizenship.

However, the degree to which Sámi women feel themselves excluded from the possibility of engaging with reindeer herding varies between different RHCs. Gråik (2018), among others, argued that Sámi women 'do not believe it is a woman and man problem. We have colonization, history of oppression, declining pastures, and this has consequences on how badly both women and men feel, and this leads to frictions'. Thus, some Sámi feminists identify the (post)colonial policies as the root cause of Sámi women's subordinate situation.

Reindeer herding assumes the extensive utilisation of natural resources. It is conducted over an area that amounts to nearly half of Sweden's landmass (Löf, 2014, p. IX). Concerning

competitive land claims, Lof (2014) argued that weak governance and institutions, lack of arenas and unclear mandates given to reindeer herders have created failing governance mechanisms to secure reindeer herders' ability to access key land resources vital for traditional reindeer herding practices. This inhibits them from practicing their Indigenous livelihoods. To extrapolate the impact of the ongoing encroachment of alternative capital interests, which are directly or passively supported by the state, the hegemonic masculinities of state and capitalist agents are confronting the livelihoods of Sámi reindeer herders, who are primarily represented by men. The vulnerability related to the threat to continued access to land resources is seen as the underlying primary insecurity for RHCs, which creates loyalty conflicts for women struggling to achieve gender equality within RHCs and the households of reindeer herders. Nonetheless, gender equality is not simply underscored within RHCs. It is grounded in the legal frameworks regulating reindeer herding and perpetuated by external forces. Lacking the title of group leader or leader of an enterprise, women cannot act as independent economic agents representing reindeer husbandry units. Concerning the number of women who own reindeer as well as their proportion within reindeer herders, there has been a gradual increase since 1995 (Figs. 4 and 5).

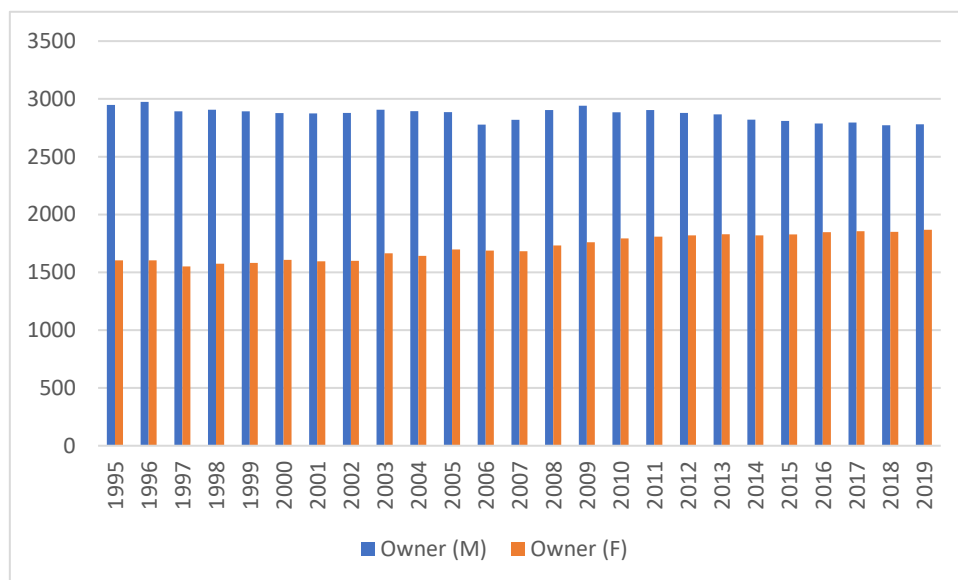


Figure 4. Gender division of reindeer owners (n = 4632; 35–40% women).

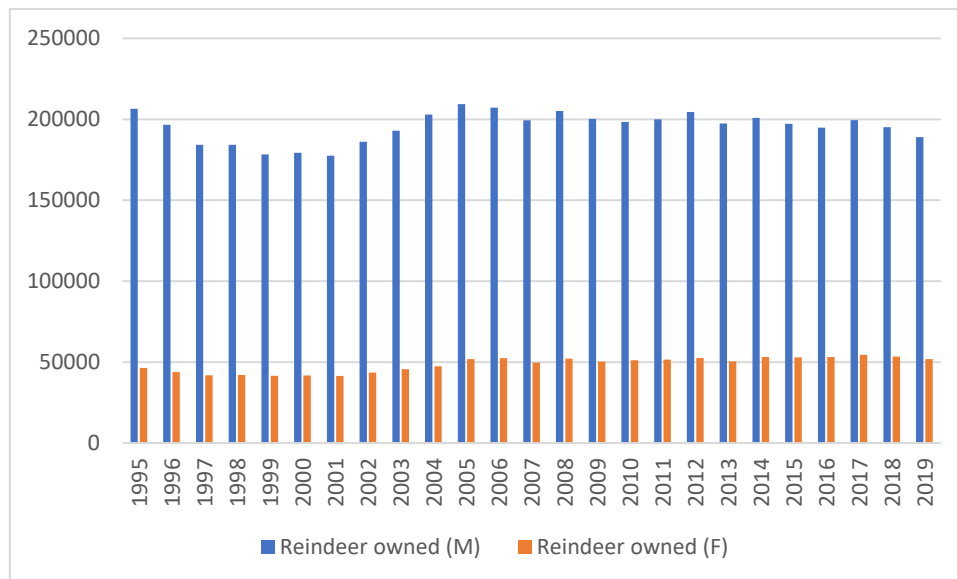


Figure 5. Number of reindeer owned by gender (n=241,013; 18–21% women).

Nonetheless, the portion of reindeer owned by women has been about the same since 1995. This is the consequence of women owning a lesser number of reindeer on average than men. However, the fact that the number of women owning reindeer has increased is surely the consequence of some kind of transition in the conditions of passing down reindeer from one generation to the other. These numbers require further research in order to understand the importance of this slow transition.

Gender Division of Labour

Thus far, the focus of this chapter has been on how reindeer herding rights, as civil rights connected to Sámi rights, are gendered. Furthermore, this chapter has discussed how these discriminatory institutional frameworks frame gender inequality within RHCs and within the households of reindeer herders. Thus, inequalities in terms of civil rights encroach on economic and social rights. While external (post)colonial institutional regulations explain the encroachment of women's equal citizenship, these discriminating relations form part of everyday practices in households and RHCs and gain expression among others through the gendered division of labour.

Kuokkanen (2009) argued that in traditional reindeer herding, there was a symmetrical complementarity. Amft (2000) reconstructed the gender division of labour in the nomadic reindeer herding society at the beginning of the 1900s. She viewed the tasks and roles of the married man as the most masculine and those of the married woman as the most feminine to stand as modal points of the gendered division of labour. Meanwhile, other members of the extended family household, including servants, acted as reserve labour, were designated by the husband or wife to carry out tasks and would find themselves in an intermediary sphere. Women would be more often expected to carry out the same tasks as men and men to do women's chores (Asztalos Morell, 1999; Flygare, 1999; Sireni, 2008). Thus, women were prepared to carry out core reindeer herding tasks. This flexible division of labour was a part of the survival strategy that was essential for the reindeer herding household.

Ongoing external pressures placed by colonial settlement – including alternative demands on land use, state regulations on the areas designated for reindeer herding, agricultural pursuits by settlers, mining, exploitation of water resources, wind power parks, tourism and climate change – have decreased the pastures available for reindeer herding. These changes have extensively altered reindeer herding practices. Such practices imply a semi-nomadic lifestyle, especially among the fell RHCs, and – to a lesser extent – a nomadic lifestyle among the forest RHCs. One important reason for the establishment of a semi-nomadic lifestyle is the desire to stay close to children attending schools in settlements. This has led to a division between men and women, with the former following the herds and the latter staying in settlements but joining their husbands in periods of need.

Pressure during the 1960s to make reindeer herding more profitable facilitated rationalisation and mechanisation. The mechanisation of reindeer herding implied the increased use of scooters, and later helicopters, a process that strengthened masculinisation (Amft, 2000; Buchanan et al., 2016). This push led to increased emphasis on the practical aspects of reindeer herding and the further marginalisation of women from core activities. One example is the abandonment of the earlier praxis of milking reindeer and the tasks connected to it. Thus, the need for women as a labour force reserve declined. Additionally, an increase in the purchase of ready-made clothing and food has further decreased their labour demand, even for tasks traditionally seen as women's duties. Amft (2000) also found that the masculinisation of reindeer herding implied that even at the turn of the century, reindeer herding was primarily carried out by bachelors. This would have been impossible as late as the 1930s and 40s, when reindeer herding assumed a tight collaboration between men

and women in the household. Therefore, the mechanisation and rationalisation of reindeer herding has exacerbated the marginalisation of women.

In Norway, the ongoing masculinisation of reindeer herding has been accompanied by the ongoing exodus of young women from reindeer herding, which has led to a surplus of older men (Hansen, 2012, p. 11). In Sweden, half of all reindeer herders are bachelors (Amft, 2000, SOU, 1975). While boys grow up with expectations to become reindeer herders or to take employment in resource industries that do not require higher education, girls see no future in reindeer herding. Thus, they choose further education (Arora-Jonsson, 2017), which is reflected in the higher level of education among girls, who then accumulate higher human capital (Olsen, 2016). This difference in human capital provides Sámi women an advantage to obtain paid labour (Arora-Jonsson, 2017). Women's income from outside the household is substantially higher compared to that of men (Andersson & Lidestav, 2014; Fig. 6). As a consequence, Sámi men have less flexibility on the labour market and are counted among the most marginalised (Hansen, 2012, pp. 21–23).

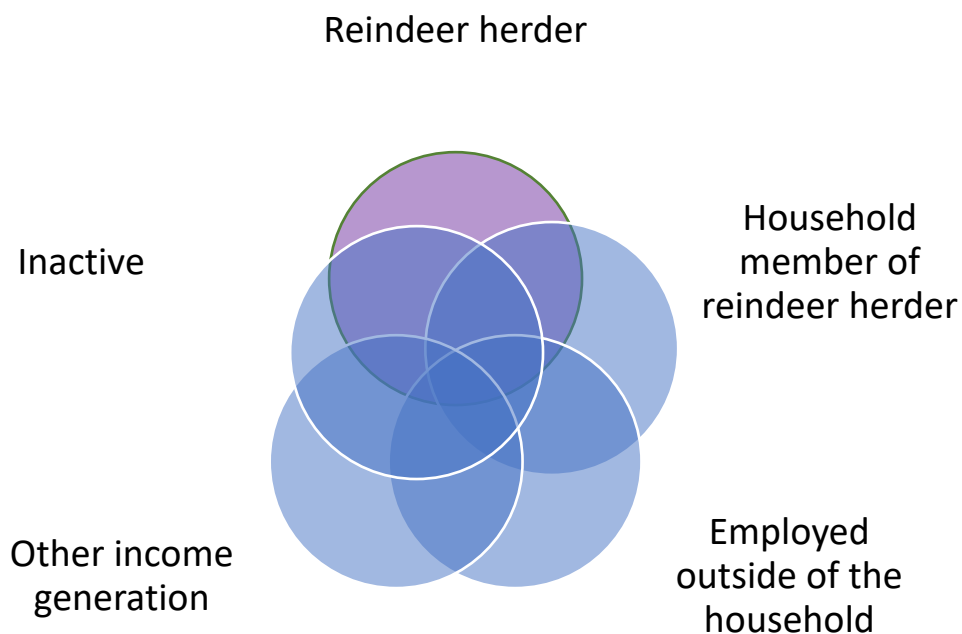


Figure 6. Composition of reindeer herder households and household incomes.

Despite these processes, a long-term perspective has shown a slight increase in the proportion of women group leaders. This is an important finding that could indicate positive transition towards gender justice and requires further research.

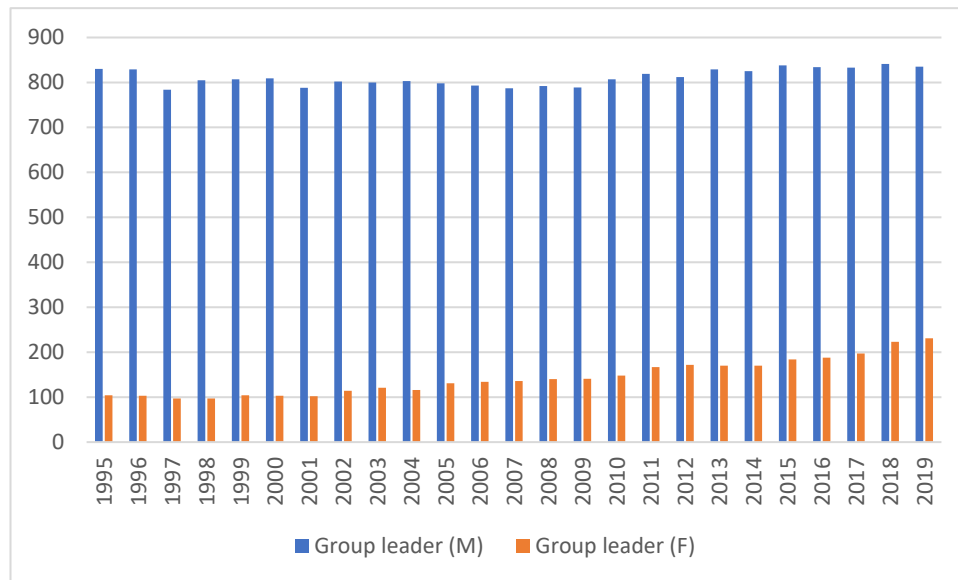


Figure 7. Number of group leaders by gender (n=1033) (11–21%).

How gender regimes are conceived has been contested even in the case of peasant societies. On the one hand, the complementarity of gender roles has been emphasised. Some scholars have argued that the division of roles between the male head of the household responsible for organising the activities in the field and the head of the domestic sphere demonstrate complementarity and a clear sphere of authority for the wife (Lövkrone, 1990).

Other researchers have criticised Lövkrone's (1990) view. According to Flygare (1999), men seldom crossed over into women's spheres, while women participated beyond the reproductive sphere as flexible labour. Typical female production areas were dairy, poultry and gardening (Niskanen, 1998). Often these areas were not considered core production spheres and were counted as women's household budget. With the modernisation and commodification of production, changes have occurred in the relative importance and meaning of various labour types. A gender pattern is of crucial importance even here. According to Sommestad (2020), for men to be integrated into the public sphere of the market, they had to embody economic rationality and risks, while women had to stand for care and the safety and stability

of the family. Men's monopolisation of technology has been identified as an important basis for the reproduction of patriarchal relations both in the global South (Boserup, 1970) and the North (Brandth, 2006).

Other scholars have highlighted the *exploitation* of women in family farms (Delphy & Leonard, 1992), the de-skilling of their labour and the devaluation of their position in modern farms (Rooij, 1994). Farm women gradually lost their autonomous domain in production and became assistants to the male farmer. Meanwhile women's responsibilities for reproductive tasks were justified by *ideologies of wifehood and motherhood* (Whatmore, 1990), underlying the devaluation of their productive contributions.

Similar to the construction of entrepreneurial masculinities and femininities (Pini, 2008), while women provided continuity and security, men could adventure in risk-taking activities with new forms of production rooted in the market economy. Thus, women's contributions – securing family subsistence – were fundamental to serve as a base during periods of rapid transition. However, following the increased capital intensification of farming, women were pushed out of productive roles, often leaving farms for external employment (Dixon, 1983; Djurfeldt & Waldenström, 1996). Meanwhile, women dominated in small-scale, low capital-intensive farms, leading even to trends of feminisation (Safilidou & Papadopoulos, 2004).

However, as gender research argues, it is not the increased capital intensity or the new technologies that have caused the gender differentiation. Rather, gender differentiation is an outcome of prevailing gendering processes that order labour categories in a hierarchical manner.

In the family farms of industrialised countries, the potential for the empowerment of farm women – a trend opposite to the one just described – came into the spotlight in recent years. This process was associated with changes on various levels of the agrarian field, such as legal changes in inheritance, professionalisation of women farmers and the evaluation of women's and men's roles in farming (Haugen, 1990). The spread of ecological and care farming, tourism and the horse leisure industry have provided new opportunities for women to expand their agency (Brandth and Haugen, 2011; Haugen & Vik, 2008; Hedenborg, 2009; Pettersson & Heldt-Cassel, 2014). Women farmers are overrepresented among labour-intensive and low-profit areas, such as dairy farming (Andersson & Lundqvist, 2016). Within multifunctional branches, they are concentrated in horse farms and farms with tourism. There is even an overrepresentation among organic farms pursuing ecological entrepreneurship (Stenbacka,

2017). Finally, women forest owners tend to attach more cultural value to forestry (Lidestav, 2010).

Research concerning reindeer husbandry has come to similar conclusions to the research on family farming: increased technological modernisation and incorporation with the market economy has been associated with increased masculinisation of the activity. These processes have been accompanied by a deskilling and marginalisation of women from core activities and the increase of the off-farm/reindeer husbandry work of women. Meanwhile, similar to women in family farms, Sámi women in reindeer herding households specialise in complementary activities, such as duodji or tourism.

Gender Norms and Identity

As Udén's (2004) collaborative case study indicated, Sámi women's efforts to become reindeer herders in RHCs are challenged by the images and expectations associated with a 'real' reindeer herder. This status assumes bodily strength, mobility, the use of new technology such as scooters and helicopters and a man as the 'bearer of meaning' (Udén, 2004, p. 6). The new technologies assume physical strength and technological skills. Being able to manoeuvre a scooter in harsh conditions or to deal with technical problems can provide an advantage compared to other reindeer herders using the same area. Arriving first to the pasture with a herd can give the herder an advantage. In contrast, arriving late may mean that the reindeer do not find sufficient feed. This becomes all the more important as pastures and grazing areas continue to decrease. Thus, the participants in the study argued that since women are perceived as being physically weaker and less apt to fix technical failures, a female operator is seen having a disadvantage when performing these duties. These arguments of women's disadvantages are powerful tools to disqualify women. Such categorisation supports men being classified as the 'real' reindeer herders, while women are marginalised and more likely to become a reserve labour force (Joks, 2001 in Udén, 2004). As shown earlier, these processes correspond to how technology and physical power are used to disqualify women in other occupations.

Looking at reindeer herders' livelihoods, the focus is commonly on the production of meat. While the group leader of the herd, most typically a man, is the main labour force for the enterprise (being the one who follows the reindeer's seasonal movements), his work

depends on the collaboration of other household members, among them the wives. Women make crucial contributions to maintain the economic stability of the household through wage labour incomes, participation in administration or by producing items used for reindeer herding and representing Sámi identity, such as duodji. As Udén (2004) emphasised, these activities have ‘practical, emotional, cultural and economic value’ (p. 6). However, the contribution of women’s work remains invisible and does not grant women access to arenas where decisions are made in RHCs or to make claims for their contributions (Udén, 2004).

At the turn of the century, the study of gender identity and the construction of femininity and masculinity was at the forefront of understanding agricultural and rural materialities and embodiments (see Asztalos Morell, 1999; Brandth, 1995; Little & Morris, 2005; Oldrup, 1999; Reed, 2002; Silvasti, 2002). This research shed new light on the complex interplay between technology and gender. A common ground to legitimate men’s association with technology has been their muscular strength. Sommestad (1992, 2020) unravelled how this gendered association of muscle power with certain occupations is an historical construct. Sommestad’s (1992, 2020) study on the gender division of labour in dairy production showed that although dairy production was physically demanding work prior to its mechanisation, dairy work had a very strong association with femininity. The processing of milk was a feminine occupation. With the modernisation of milk processing came the introduction of machines. This eased the physical burden of the work and promoted its professionalisation. Parallel to this transition, the gender coding of the occupation was reversed. As technology advanced, the professionalised dairy industry became associated with masculinity. Thus, the formation of gender identities evolves in a reflexive relation with cultural, economic and technological transition.

With the modernisation of agriculture, technological know-how has obtained an important position within farming and in the construction of the image of the farmer. Gender and technology researchers have argued (Faulkner, 2001) that the use of technology is never socially neutral; instead, technology is always gendered, to the extent that the understanding of how men and women use technology differently holds several socially accepted ‘truths’. For instance, female users of technology are often judged as less competent than male users. Moreover, the understanding of technology in itself holds a hierarchy as certain technologies are given higher shared social status than others (Cockburn & Ormrod, 1993). There is a perpetuation of the association between the mastery of nature, modern technology and hegemonic masculinity (Balsamo, 1998; Connell, 1987; Faulkner, 2001, 2009).

Technology is central in the construction of masculinity and masculine culture (Wajcman, 2010). This monopolisation is further perpetuated by the design of technology, which assumes men's bodies as the norm. Because men have greater muscle strength and are taller than women on average, the creation of technology that uses male bodies as the norm leads to physiological difficulties for women to perform labour tasks (Sachs, 1983).

In addition to the importance of bodily performance for the definition of masculinity in farming (Peter et al., 2000) and for men's monopolisation of technology, the transforming image of the female body (Somestad, 1992, 2020) prevents women from being recognised as capable of mastering the farm business (Saugeres, 2002; Silvasti, 2003) or machinery (Brandth, 2006). This is connected to how agricultural modernisation in a broader sense has become an arena for the materialisation of gender inequality (Osterud, 1993) and strengthened inequalities. As Niskanen (1998, p. 6) argued, men have appropriated the modernisation process and reformed their collective and agrarian identity towards a more individual-, market- and entrepreneurship-oriented one. In contrast, femininity has remained bound to women's roles as caretaker of the home and contributor to the local community. Researchers have explored how this has inhibited women's engagement in employment and politics (Little, 1997; Little & Jones, 2000).

In the agrarian context, the source of power was the head of family status. The construction of a farmer is a gendered construction. The basis of patriarchal power within the family farm was bound to control over the production assets and to economic power. The gender-differentiated division of tasks and power equipped men with various social and cultural assets that were preconditions to performing the farmer role (Asztalos Morell, 1999). Men's roles as farmers have been challenged by the forced collectivisation of farms in former state socialist countries, leading to the demasculinisation of farming. However, the powers to restore gender pride contributed to the resurgence of household-based farming and its marketisation in the 1970s, creating new grounds for men's improved status (Asztalos Morell, 1999). The masculinisation of reindeer herding may bear some similarities to these processes. The ability to master new technologies such as helicopters and scooters could be interpreted as an expression of Sámi men's resilience to countervail vulnerabilities experienced in encounters with the market and state authorities.

Discussion and Conclusion

Gender research on reindeer herding households has highlighted the interdependencies between the contributions of men and women to maintain reindeer herding as a livelihood and a business. Men engage in the core functional activities of reindeer herding, contributing with landscape knowledge, physical labour, technological skills and running the business. However, women contribute to reindeer herding activities during peak periods, maintain its logistics, such as transport of fodder, and engage with childcare. Furthermore, although women have fewer income-generating activities, they nonetheless contribute a substantially higher personal income to the household compared to men. Pluriactivity is an adaptational strategy in which women's wage labour contributes to the stability of the household's subsistence (Buchanan et al., 2016).

The focus of research concerning the situation of women in reindeer herding households is twofold. On the one hand, researchers have highlighted women's disadvantages, including institutional hindrances to women becoming reindeer herders and processes that render their contributions to the maintenance of the reindeer herding enterprise and household invisible (Amft, 2000; Udén, 2004). Meanwhile, women are also disadvantaged due to the legal constructs of the reindeer herding acts guiding RHC practices, such as assigning pasture rights to RHC members based on their ability to obtain a 'real' reindeer herder status by becoming a group leader.

On the other hand, research has also pinpointed that Indigenous women have a higher level of education (Arora-Jonsson, 2017; Buchanan et al., 2016) compared to men. Men are expected to fulfil community and locality-specific masculine roles, such as becoming a reindeer herder or gaining occupations in resource-based industries. Women, due to the aforementioned institutional hindrances and alternative cultural expectations, opt for alternative strategies that involve continued education and employment outside of reindeer herding. This in turn creates an imbalance in human capital to the advantage of women. Women's employment outside the reindeer herding household is not only a great contribution to its stability, but it also enhances women's personal human capital and income-earning capacity. As Buchanan et al. (2016) argued, this places Indigenous men at a disadvantage in situations of crises and can potentially lead to them abandoning the business activity.

There is a growing demand for documentation and planning in communication with authorities. Among these is the demand for reindeer herding plans that can be used to communicate

between different users as well as with authorities whose decisions influence the conditions for reindeer herding (Buchanan et al., 2016). As of today, it is mainly men engaged in these activities since men take responsibility for allocating grazing both within the household and the community. Since women have higher human capital, Buchanan et al. (2016) argued that RHCs should increase women's engagement and contact with institutions affecting reindeer. They could make use of their human capital and turn it into institutional capital, influencing policies and plans to support reindeer herding and associated cultural activities. Meanwhile, this would increase the visibility of women's roles in reindeer herding.

The introduction of chips to follow the movements of reindeer could enable women to monitor the reindeer from a distance and document their movements for RHCs (Udén, 2004). Thus, women could be more involved with daily activities of reindeer herding and combine these with home-based activities (Lindberg and Udén, 2010; Udén, 2008). Women are already involved with processing reindeer products, such as creating and selling *duodji* (Buchanan, 2014; Buchanan et al., 2016). Further engagement with processing could contribute to improving the economic conditions of the household and enterprise.

Women's complicit status in reindeer husbandry households has even affected their ability to obtain full social citizenship. Since most individualised social rights, such as security payments and work pensions, are based on work-related entitlements, women who work in the informal context of the household as *husfolk* lack entitlements to make claims for benefits. Little is known about women's eligibility to social rights in these households. Similar to on family farms, women reindeer herders also face difficulties claiming their contributions to the reindeer herding enterprise in cases of divorce or if the title holding head of the family passes away.

Meanwhile, there is an intersection between gender relations in reindeer herding and (post)colonial relations. Reindeer herding is under constant pressure due to conflicting demands on natural resources and state passivity. As a result of the diminishing economic base for reindeer herding, Indigenous men, who are the primary agents of reindeer herding, are subordinated to the (post)colonial conditions of expansive resource exploitation. Their livelihoods are intimately connected to multi-functional households where women's wage labour incomes are important revenues ensuring adaptability of the household to changing conditions. Under prevailing circumstances, women, by accumulating higher human capital, have been able to use their agency and, to use Hobson's (1990) term, exit

reindeer herding. In the long term, this will contribute to demographic challenges to the reproduction of reindeer herding as a livelihood and the survival of reindeer herding as an ethnic identity marker for Sámi. Therefore, improved conditions for reindeer herding as well as for women working within reindeer herding is crucial for the long-term sustainability of reindeer herding.

Finally, this chapter discussed the relevance of an intersectional approach to understand women's citizenship status in reindeer herding households. This analysis supports Kuokkanen's (2019) argument for the demands for Indigenous rights to be joined with those for gender justice. This chapter also pointed out numerous areas in need of further research, including the slow increase in the number of women reindeer herders as well as in the number and proportion of women owners of reindeer. There is also a research gap concerning the access of wives of reindeer herding men to social rights. Finally, more research is needed on the situation of reindeer herding men, especially those who are bachelors.

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Gender Roles of Indigenous Women Reindeer Herders in Transition with Particular Reference to the Arctic Siberian Tundra Areas: Challenges of Social (In)Security

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Abstract

The changing role of women in the traditional Indigenous communities of the Russian Arctic in the 21st century is a rarely studied phenomenon. However, this is an important period of significant strengthening of their civil, political and social rights compared to the 18th to 19th centuries, when gender inequalities and strict subordination of women limited their choices. Now, their voices can be heard: they can participate in political life and lobby for their rights to regional and federal authorities. However, some social insecurities still remain for women reindeer herders.

During the last decade, gender asymmetries concerning lifestyle, educational level and marital behaviour have intensified and resulted in increasing emigration of women from the tundra as they have chosen to abandon their traditional lifestyles and move to urban areas. This chapter analyses the changing position of women in traditional reindeer herding societies and whether these transformations have improved women's social security, reduced gender inequality and increased social justice.

To increase the social security of women reindeer herders, the authors recommend encouraging these women to apply for official self-employment (*samozanjatyj*) status (special tax regime with a tax on professional income), supporting cooperative forms of reindeer herding husbandry that employ women reindeer herders, encouraging the semi-nomadic lifestyles of Indigenous women, developing facilities in settlements for processing reindeer herding products that are managed by reindeer herders' families, organising production cooperatives for reindeer herders to develop facilities for deep processing of reindeer products and increasing the profitability of reindeer herding.

Introduction

Sustainable development for the Indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East is one of the priority tasks of the Strategy for the Development of the Arctic Zone in the Russian Federation and Ensuring National Security for the Period Until 2035 (No. 645, 2020). However, ‘the maintaining and dissemination of the cultural heritage, the development of traditional culture, the preservation and development of the languages of Indigenous Peoples’ (Strategija razvitija [Strategy for the Development], No. 645, 2020) is impossible without the participation of women. They are key persons in maintaining the traditional life support system and national culture. At the same time, the impact of socio-economic and cultural transformations in society in the 20th to early 21st centuries, accompanied by the penetration of both technological innovations and the European value system that is not specific to the traditional culture of the Indigenous peoples of the Russian High North, have contributed to changing these traditional lifestyles. Liarskaia (2010, p. 3) noted a gender shift in Yamal at the beginning of the 21st century. However, over the past 10 years, the situation in Yamal has changed dramatically. Now, the asymmetries (regarding lifestyle choices, education and marital behaviour), which were not so evident before, have intensified and led to an increase in the emigration of women from the tundra as they choose to abandon their traditional lifestyles and move to urban areas.

Analysis of the ethnographic literature on the culture of the Nenets (from the end of the 19th century to the present) shows that gender issues are insufficiently represented. However, prior research can be found on the gender issues of the Indigenous peoples of the Yamal by Russian researchers (e.g., Andronov et al., 2020; Bogdanova et al., 2018, 2019, 2021; Liarskaya, 2010; Nabok & Serpivo, 2017; A. Popova, 2004; Serpivo, 2016). The problem of the influence of inter-ethnic marriages of the Nenets on ethnic and demographic processes has also been presented (e.g., Andronov et al., 2020; Kvashnin, 2002; Kvashnin & Volzhanina, 2003; Volzhanina, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2010). Finally, Khariuchi (2001, 2010) discussed the role of Nenets women in science.

Additionally, some fragmented gender analyses of the Indigenous peoples of the Russian Arctic have been undertaken by foreign researchers (e.g., Vladimirova, 2018; Vladimirova & Otto Habeck, 2018). However, the language barrier, as well as foreign scientists’ difficulties observing ethical guidelines for conducting scientific research in the territory of the Russian Federation (due to the differences in national academic conventions concerning Russia), have

complicated the gathering of sufficient field data, thus reducing the quality of these analyses. The value of these works lies in providing an independent, outside perspective regarding the experiences of the Indigenous peoples in the Arctic.

This chapter presents data on how the position of women in traditional reindeer herding societies has changed and whether these transformations have improved women's social security, reduced gender inequality and increased social justice. Therefore, this chapter aims to 1) contribute to gender analysis and reflect on some gender inequalities in the Indigenous reindeer herding communities in the Arctic zone of Western Siberia, 2) give some historical background on the gender inequalities in the 19th century in Yamal to show the transition of women's position in Indigenous society and strengthening of women's rights and 3) present unique data on some of the gaps in Indigenous women's civil and social rights that have encouraged these women to change their lifestyles and migrate from rural to urban areas.

Materials and Methods

Study Design

This chapter presents the results of a retrospective, cross-sectional, gender and comparative historical analysis of gender inequalities and changing gender roles of Indigenous women living in remote reindeer herding communities of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (YNAO). This includes both Indigenous women living in the tundra and in settlements. This study used a multidisciplinary approach that drew on methods used in the fields of law, sociology and health economics. This study sought to analyse shifts in gender roles concerning the changes to traditional lifestyles, marriage and reproductive choices, education and migration trends. Indigenous women's civil, political and social rights as well as remaining gender inequalities are presented.

The Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug: Geography, Population and Ethnic Structure

The YNAO, the geographic focus of this research, is an important region for the Indigenous peoples of Russia and is located in the circumpolar northwest of West Siberia. It has a population of 544,008 living in an area of 769,250 square kilometres. The population density is 0.71 people per square kilometre. The location of the YNAO (more than half of its territory

is beyond the Arctic Circle) significantly impacts traditional livelihoods in this region (Fig. 1). It is a unique territory because almost half of the minority Indigenous population of the Russian Arctic (48,606 people) reside there, including the Nenets, the Khanty, the Selkups and the Komi-Zyryans. A total of 9,657 Indigenous people living in the tundra areas are part of a nomadic culture and community (Edinaja informacionnaja sistema [Unified information system], 2018). The culture, health and social well-being of Indigenous peoples are strongly linked to a traditional lifestyle (Bogdanova et al., 2021, pp. 3–4).

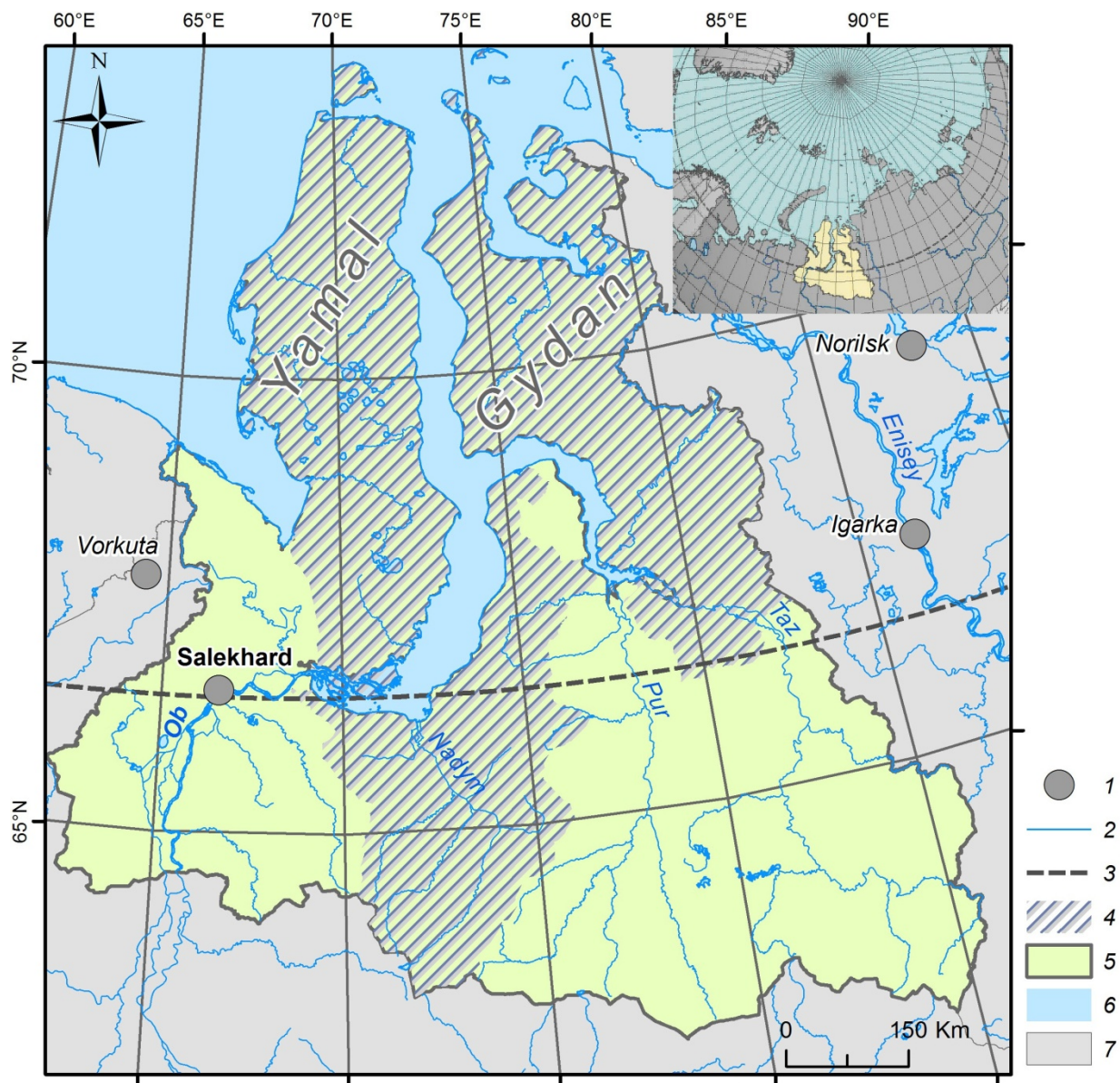


Figure 1. Reindeer herding districts of the YNAO.

This region has a complicated ethnic structure of Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations. Historically, three population groups were formed in this rural area: Indigenous nomadic peoples, Indigenous peoples living in settlements and non-Indigenous peoples arriving from other parts of Russia and former Soviet republics. Their lifestyles differed. In the 11th century, some Nenets and Khanty clans migrated to the Arctic and Subarctic zones of the Yamal area. The traditional social organisation of the Nenets was based on the existence of two original clans – the Samoyed clan Kharyuchi and the clan Vanuyta, which goes back to the aborigines. The first reliable information on the tribal composition of the Obdorsk Nenets, which included the Yamal Nenets, is contained in the *Book of the Obdorsk Samoyeds* written in 1695 (G. Popova, n.d.). Since the 17th century, the name Obdorsk Samoyeds was used to refer to all Nenets from Yamal to Taz. In the 16th to 17th centuries, the Selkups settled in this territory. Later, in the 19th century, the Komi-Zyryans also moved to Yamal (Lobanov et al., 2012). Due to its geographic location at the Arctic Circle and the landscape features of the YNAO (almost half of its territory is located in the tundra of the Subarctic zone, and it occupies the southern parts of the Yamal and Gydan Peninsulas), the Nenets – who arrived first – became nomadic reindeer hunters in the tundra. The Khanty, the Selkups and non-Indigenous peoples later founded small settlements, where they mostly lived by hunting and fishing. Nowadays, almost 112 ethnic groups are settled in the YNAO, and only about 10% of them belong to Indigenous minorities (SOTY, 2015). These Indigenous peoples follow a traditional lifestyle as the basis for meeting their vital needs and surviving in the Arctic.

Theoretical Framework of the Gender Analysis

The extended theoretical background of this gender analysis is presented in the chapter ‘Indigenous Gender Justice with a Focus on Sámi Reindeer Herding in Sweden’ by Asztalos Morell. Some of the most relevant gender issues raised by her that are relevant to the case of the Indigenous Peoples in the Yamal are discussed below.

According to feminist theory, gender is a social principle used to organise all fields of relations. Walby (1997) identified six structures of patriarchal relations: family and household, paid work, state, culture, domestic violence and sexuality. In the previous centuries, ‘household-based production [was] the main structure and site of women’s work activity and the exploitation of her labour and sexuality and upon the exclusion of women from the public’ (Walby, 1997, p. 6). This household-based production did not correspond to social

justice for women and increased gender inequalities because of the ‘segregation and subordination of women within the structures of paid employment and the state, as well as within culture, sexuality and violence’ (Walby, 1997, p. 6).

Comparative welfare state analyses have contributed to the theorisation of rural gender regimes, focusing on how gender inequalities are expressed in civil, political and social rights (Asztalos Morell & Bock, 2007) and addressing social justice (Marshall, 1950, p. 10). These analyses have investigated how women’s property rights, inheritance, labour rights and the division of labour within the household impact the transition of women’s lifestyles, economic welfare and social security.

Measurement Tools

Survey Data

Information about the socio-demographic characteristics of Indigenous women was collected from a survey conducted in the Arctic zone of Western Siberia during expeditions to settlements and tundra areas of the YNAO in the summer (August) and winter (March and November) of 2013 to 2020. Data collection was completed in cooperation between the YNAO Arctic Scientific Research Center, the Health Department of the Government of the YNAO, the Association of Reindeer Herders of the YNAO and the Northern Arctic Federal University. The inclusion criteria for the respondents were: women aged 18 and older, involved in reindeer herding, residing in the tundra or the settlements of the Arctic zone of Western Siberia for over 5 years. All participants were divided into two groups: Indigenous women living in the tundra or the settlements. The participants were asked to complete the questionnaire while undergoing a medical examination conducted by the YNAO Arctic Scientific Research Center at health care institutions (municipal hospitals and feldsher-midwife medical stations in remote settlements) in the Tazovsky settlement, the Tazovskaya tundra, the Nakhodkinskaya tundra, the Gyda settlement, the Gydanskaya tundra, the Yavai-Salinskaya tundra and the Priutral'sky and Shuryshkarsky districts. Questionnaires were written in Russian. Data collection was undertaken by the researchers with the assistance of Indigenous women representing Indigenous associations. A total of 836 Indigenous women participated in the surveys. Their status as Indigenous was determined during the enrolment interviews.

based on their primary Indigenous language, self-identification, nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle and involvement in reindeer herding.

The analysis of marriage bonds was based on interviews with 264 Indigenous peoples (Nenets) during expeditions to the Tazovskaya, Gydanskaya and Nakhodkinskaya tundras in the Tazovsky district of the YNAO in summer (August) and winter (March and November) of 2017 to 2018. Semi-structured interviews were based on the interview guide developed in Russian and approved by the Arctic Scientific Research Center of the YNAO. The data were obtained for 2973 individuals (ancestors and descendants of the respondents). So, the information of three generations of the Nenets living in the Tazovskaya, Gydanskaya and Nakhodkinskaya tundras were summarised (n = 3237). The data were uploaded to a database and analysed using Microsoft Excel 2016 and Statistica for Windows, v. 8.0 (StatSoft Inc., Oklahoma, USA). To assess the significance of differences between the groups, the chi-squared criterion was used for qualitative variables. To process the data on the frequency of marriages and division into groups, cluster analysis was implemented.

The selection criteria for the respondents were Nenets origin (at least one parent had a Nenets origin), Nenets-speaker, and a traditional lifestyle (mostly nomadic or semi-nomadic), which was determined during the medical examinations provided by the researchers of the Arctic Scientific Research Center of the YNAO. Equal representation of men and women with the same surname was assumed; to avoid mistakes caused by less women with a particular surname because they change their surname when they get married, the analysis of marriage bonds was conducted.

All participants completed a confidential paper questionnaire. The participants received information about the programme, both verbally and in writing. They provided written informed consent. The consent form stated that participation was voluntary, and their confidentiality was assured. Participants' personal data and their answers were anonymised, numbered and uploaded to the de-identified database.

Historical Background of Gender Inequalities in the Indigenous Communities in Yamal (18th to 19th Centuries)

Women in Indigenous reindeer herding communities in the 18th to 19th centuries were completely subordinate to men and experienced social security risks. Girls could not be

successors of the clan or in charge of reindeer herding, so the birth of a boy in the family was preferable.

When giving a daughter in marriage, the parents received a *kalym* (compensation to the bride's parents for marrying her) from the fiancé. There were cases when parents gave their daughter to another family to raise and then demanded her back after she reached the age of 14–16 years old because they wanted to receive a kalym for her. For example, on 7 January 1886, the Obdorskaya Uprava² examined such a case (No. 17):

The Samoyeds of the Lomdu clan, the spouse of Khani, declared that the samoyed Stepan Vymya from the Puika clan wanted to get back his daughter Maria, aged 15 years.... After her mother's death, her father couldn't look after her. So, she was given to the grandmother's family, where she stayed until the age of three. Then the grandmother sent Maria to her uncle Hani's family, which was the family of the brother of Maria's mother. Here she was fed, clothed and brought up like a daughter, without the family receiving any reward from anyone. Maria said that she has just now met her father for the first time in her life and would like to stay until marriage with the foster family that took care of her for all this time.... The father does not agree to leave his daughter with Hani. (Kirichenko & Zibarev, 1970, pp. 28–30).³

Finally, Stepan Vymya was offered to take his daughter if he could cover the costs for Maria and give 10 reindeer to the foster family. However, he refused.

Therefore, the parties were offered three options for settling the case: 1) to give Maria back to her father but, in instance of her marriage, have the right to kalym given to the foster family; 2) to leave Maria with the foster family, who would get a kalym for her in the instance of her marriage; or 3) to leave Maria with the foster family and give half of a kalym to her father in the instance of her marriage. If half of the kalym was less than 10 reindeer, then the foster family would receive the cost of 10 reindeer and would give the rest to Stepan Vymya. The third proposal was accepted by the parties voluntarily. (Kirichenko & Zibarev, 1970, pp. 28–30).

Thus, young women in this culture could be sold to someone else as a commodity.

² Executive body of city public administration in Russia during the imperial period.

³ All of the quotes were translated by the authors.

If a wife left her husband, the latter had the right to demand her parents to return the kalym paid by him for the bride or to compensate a part of it. For example, on 9 January 1889, the Obdorskaya Uprava examined case No. 27:

About the kalym given by the samoyed Tuzida Pezeme for Aksinya, the Samoyedin Vanuitin' daughter, who ran away with Peter Serotetto.... Pezem paid a kalym of 140 reindeer, 80 arctic foxes, 2 black foxes, 1 white bird and 50 rubles. Thus, he made a claim. As compensation for the kalym, he accepted 30 reindeer and 70 rubles from Peter Serotetto.... Therefore, 30 reindeer were taken from Serotetto in favour of Pezema. (Kirichenko & Zibarev, 1970, p. 47).

A woman was completely subordinate to a man, who was supposed to provide her with food and clothes. Therefore, there were frequent cases of abuse against women. Women often endured abuse by their husbands and rarely applied for protection of their rights to local authorities (the Uprava). However, several cases in the archives show that some women did exercise their civil rights. For example, on 10 March 1798, Efimya Sidorova complained to the Tobolsk Spiritual Consistory (Fig. 2):

About her dishonest maintenance by her husband, and that he did not feed and supply her with clothes.... [Her husband] lived dishonestly and repeatedly punished her, sold out her dresses to 'drink the money' [buy alcohol]... while Efimya had to prepare wood for the fire alone [to heat the house – *EB*]. (Case No. 1798)

Another case was examined by the Obdorskaya Uprava on 29 April 1882. Ekaterina Rusynelinkhova complained about the cruel behaviour of her husband Philip, who regularly beat her (Kirichenko & Zibarev, 1970, p. 28).

63

Окто 1798 года

Онако Мерию Седалихину - Епитимия
 Супругу Свою Супруги мною в Своя
 Сою Сии наостана миссия
 Кемшиевъ За Симиное Пуб. и др.
 Замитой Свою Мерию Супругу родного
 Своего Се Супруга о Стяж Своего в Серпу
 Средеи иримои Кемшиевъ

~~Вот А № 29~~

Мае 10, 1798

№ дела	156
год	1798
ли	63
трансляция	

Figure 2. A photocopy of the archive for the 1798 Tobolsk Spiritual Consistory case.

If a woman married a man who belonged to another clan, she often lost the right to inherit her family's property. On 16 November 1882, the Obdorsk Samoyeds Uprava examined case No. 11 'at the request of Samoyedin Van Hazerumin on the illegal inheritance of Indian salms by Vanazi Ermetdin's wife' (Kirichenko & Zibarev, 1970, p. 32). After her husband's death, Avdotya Ermetdina married a man from the Aders clan and lost the right of inheritance to the property owned by her husband. Because her daughter also married a man from the same clan [her mother's new husband's clan], she kept her right to inherit part of her father's money (Kirichenko & Zibarev, 1970, p. 32).

Sometimes the decision was made in favour of a woman claiming inheritance. However, she would usually receive a much smaller share of the property compared to men, especially when a reindeer herd was among the property to be divided. On 11 January 1883, the Obdorsk Samoyeds Uprava examined case No. 12 'on the seizure of samoyed Nain's reindeer by his son Khyena without sharing inherited herd with his sister' (Kirichenko & Zibarev, 1970, pp. 32–33). Marya married a man from another clan, and after her father's death, she claimed part of the inheritance. The Uprava found her request 'deserving respect, and if 50 reindeer are taken from Khyena in her favour, it will not make Khyena's household poorer, since he inherited 800 reindeer. It was decided to oblige Khyena to give 50 reindeer to the sister' (Kirichenko & Zibarev, 1970, pp. 32–33).

The position of a woman could be even more complicated by the fact that after marriage, her property was owned by her husband. Her reindeer were joined to her husband's family's herd, and they grazed together. A widow could manage her own property. However, if she wanted to get back her reindeer and run her household independently, she had to prove her right to do so to the courts. It was difficult to identify reindeer in the joint family herd since they had the same markings. Moreover, relatives usually tried to hide the real number of reindeer belonging to a woman and make up excuses for her losses. This is confirmed by case No. 18, examined by the Obdorsk Samoyeds Uprava on 8 January 1886:

The widow Maneko, who was Vyla's sister, learned that after her father Khade Parazi's death, 100 reindeer, a chum, sledges and other property (insignificant) remained. All that has been inherited by her husband Vyla.... As a widow, she initially managed this property, but getting bored of listening to constant complaints from her husband's brothers Sobi and Piff's wives that she was not rich and had little of her own, as well

as enduring their oppression, Maneko... took her own 30 reindeer and moved in with her relatives, her brother samoyed Khudin.... Vyla's brothers Sobi and Piff kept on owning reindeer and the other property left.... After Vyla's death, about 600 reindeer remained.... Sobi and Piff responded that because Maneko returned to her former family... they took the responsibility of Vyla's remaining unattended property, mainly reindeer. Some of those reindeer were sold to cover Vyla's debts, some reindeer were used to feed their family and also their nephew Hade joined them. So, the remaining reindeer were kept together with their herds.... Now they have in total 500 reindeer, and it is difficult to identify how many of those are their own or earlier belonged to Vyla's herd. Witness Molich confirmed that Sobi and Piff had marked all reindeer with the same signs. Finally, it was decided to give 50 reindeer to Maneko, and the rest of the remaining reindeer were to be inherited by Vyla's son Hade. (Kirichenko & Zibarev, 1970, pp. 38–40)

Clearly, in the 18th to 19th centuries, women's civil, political and social rights were limited, which emphasised gender inequalities and their subordination to men. This was primarily the result of their traditional lifestyles and cultural values. If a husband and wife's relationship was unhappy, the woman was in a completely insecure position, unable to protect herself from physical violence or to claim the right to own and manage her property, as male reindeer herders did.

In the 20th century, this situation started to change. At the beginning of the 21st century, there was a significant strengthening of the legal protections of women in traditional reindeer herding communities due to their protection under the common legal field of the Russian Federation, which guarantees gender equality. Nevertheless, several issues still need to be addressed: the protection of labour rights (official employment in connection with the performance of women's reindeer husbandry duties) and increasing women's social protections (retirement benefits). There has also been an increasing trend for women to emigrate from the tundra in search of a better life. These issues are addressed in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

Demographic Shifts in Indigenous Communities: Statistics

Gender Structure of Indigenous Communities

There has been an increase in the gender disproportion of the population of the Arctic zone of Western Siberia: the share of women (non-significantly) decreased from 53.1% in 2015 to 52.7% in 2018. However, the number of women between the ages of 0 and 15 dropped by 4.6% during this time period. While the elderly population has increased in both gender groups, it has been less dramatic for women (+15.7%) compared to men (+21.8%) (Table 1).

Table 1. Demographics of the Indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North in the YNAO

Indicators	2015	2016	2017	2018
1. Indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North (individuals)	47,541	48,106	48,735	48,606 / 32,324*
Nenets	34,466	34,954	35,377	35,359
Khanty	10,866	10,936	11,116	11,089
Selkups	2,209	2,216	2,242	2,158
Male	22,276	22,560	22,847	22,882
0–15 years	8,264	8,247	8,311	8,262
16–59 years	12,860	13,098	13,141	13,217
> 60 years	1,152	1,215	1,395	1,403
Female	25,265	25,546	25,888	25,724
0–15 years	8,257	7,958	8,165	7,878
16–59 years	14,560	14,929	14,953	14,871
> 60 years	2,448	2,659	2,770	2,833
Nomadic Indigenous peoples of the North	13,978	13,921	13,876	13,365 (9,657**)
Nenets	12,869	13,035	13,086	12,628
Khanty	957	725	661	604
Selkups	152	161	129	133
Semi-nomadic Indigenous peoples of the North	3,402	4,574	5,055	5,174
Nenets	3,209	2,801	3,092	3,403
Khanty	459	1,339	1,516	1,390
Selkups	209	434	447	379
2. Traditional Indigenous households (nomadic and semi-nomadic)	12,952	13,401	13,978	13,716
nomadic households	3,007	3,264	3,370	3,315

nomadic households of the Indigenous peoples of the North	***	2,908	***	3,280
semi-nomadic households	1,043	1,633	1,793	1,831
semi-nomadic households of the Indigenous peoples of the North	***	1,464	***	1,573

*adults (without children)

** adults (without children) involved in traditional livelihoods

*** missing data

Data source: Edinaja informacionnaja sistema po modelirovaniju i prognozirovaniju social'no-jekonomicheskogo razvitija korennyh malochislennyh narodov Severa Jamalo-Neneckogo avtonomnogo okruga [Unified information system for modelling and forecasting the socio-economic development of the Indigenous peoples of the North of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug], 2018.

Migration Trends

There has been a high rate of emigration of the young female population from rural to urban areas (Figs. 3 and 4), which is associated with changing traditional lifestyles. More young people (especially women) are seeking a university education. These are the outcomes of the transition processes in the Indigenous communities.

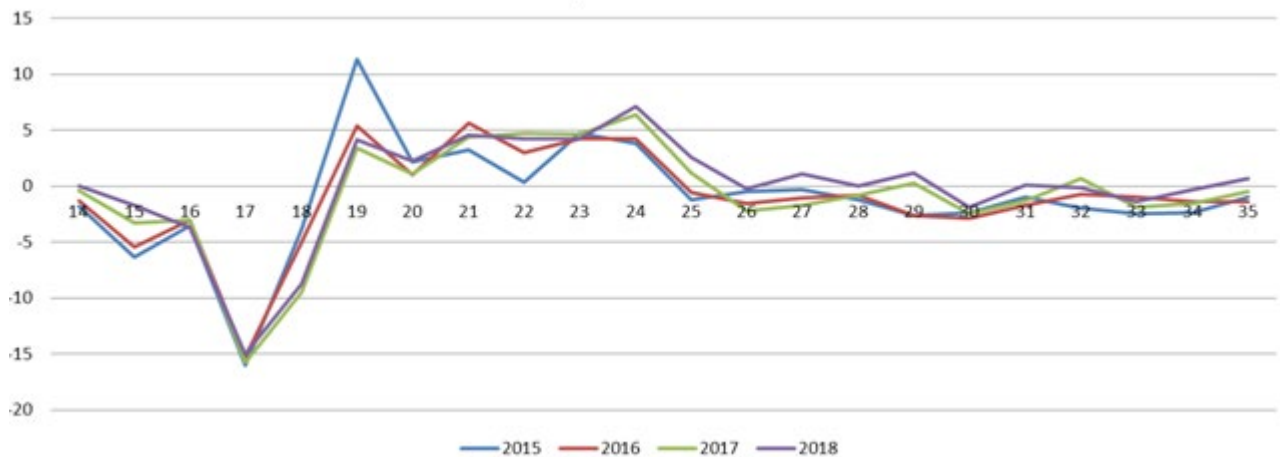


Figure 3. Emigration of men (15–35 years) from rural areas of the YNAO.

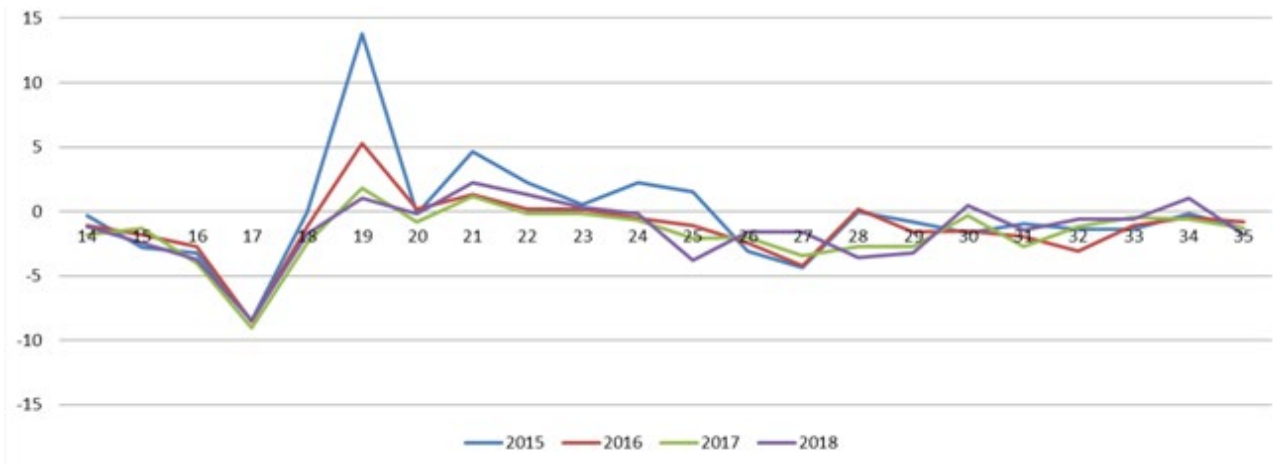


Figure 4. Emigration of women (15–35 years) from rural areas of the YNAO.

Numerous women have begun to follow in the footsteps of other successful Indigenous women by earning a university education, securing a good job and high position in society. Praskovia Filant, the president of the Association of Reindeer Herders of the YNAO (Fig. 5), confirmed that the traditional lifestyle of the Indigenous peoples is modernising, and women now have more choices to exercise their civil, political and social rights:

My origin is Khanty. I was born in the tundra to a family of reindeer herders, fishermen and hunters. My parents encouraged me to get a good education. Thanks to them I have two degrees – a Bachelor in Law and a Master of Economics. Now I can participate in the political life of my region as effectively as men can. I feel that it is my civic duty to help Indigenous peoples and to do my best to make their lives better. I established the Association of Reindeer Herders in the YNAO to consult and defend their rights in court. Recently, I joined the regional and federal governmental commissions on the development of the Arctic region. Now I am sharing my experiences while meeting people and broadcasting on television at the regional TV programmes speaking Indigenous languages (Khanty, Nenets, etc.). Every year, more and more Indigenous women want to follow my example, get a university education and a good, well-paid job. They are not willing to continue this hard life in the tundra. (Personal communication, 15 January 2021)

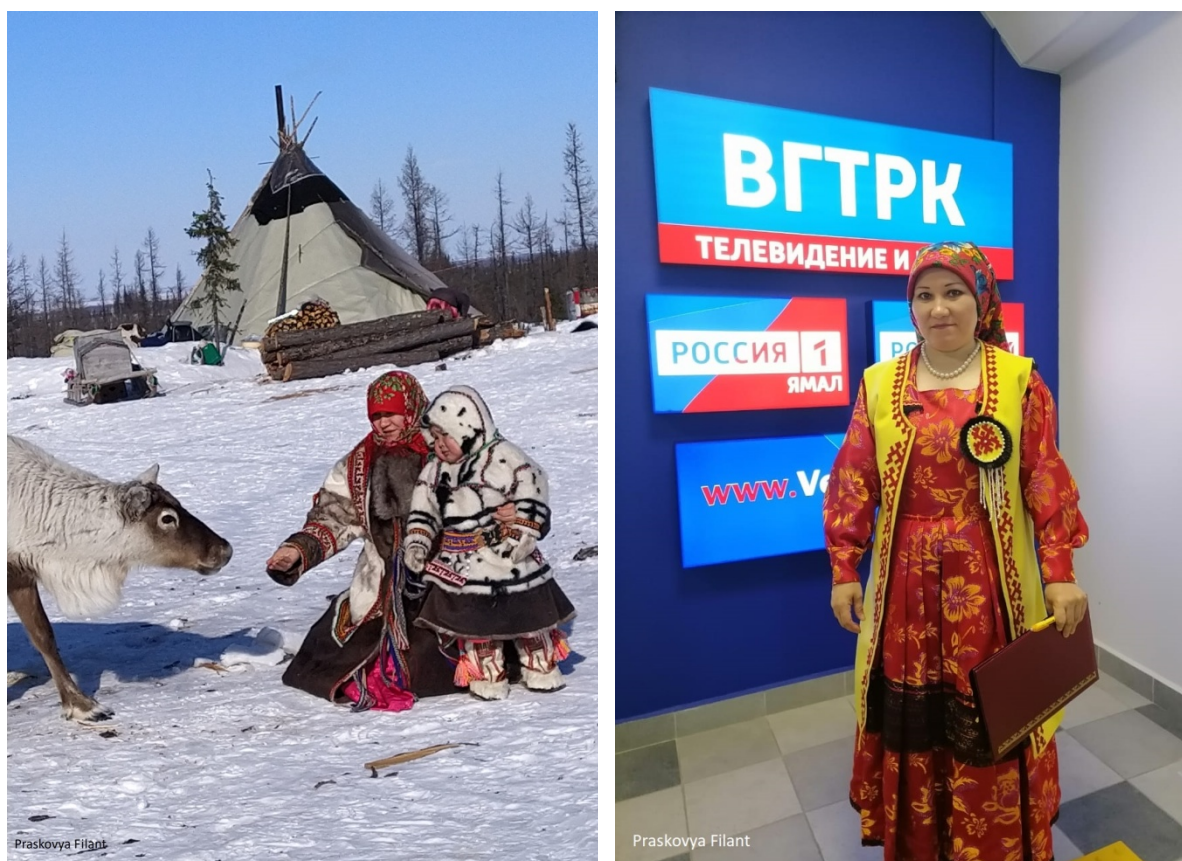


Figure 5. Praskovia Filant in the Priuralskaya tundra (left) and on TV (right).

Indigenous Women's Marriage Choices

Khломич (1995) noted the following features of the Nenets family structure: exogamy (marriages within a clan were strictly prohibited), male dominance in the family, the existence of a special territory, patrimonial sacrificial places and cemeteries, collective production and distribution methods of running a household, the custom of patrimonial mutual help, the importance of patrimonial names, levirate and the authority of the elderly. The clan determined the family's lifestyle and its members' religious beliefs and customs (Khломич, 1995). These exogamy cultural trends made Nenets women more open to getting married to non-Indigenous men (i.e., Russians).

A cluster analysis of 1121 Nenets–Russian marriages in the Tazovsky and Gyda settlements revealed that the frequency of these marriage bonds has increased over the previous three generations from a rate of 1.3% in Generation I to 2.6% in Generation II and 4.8% in Generation III ($\chi^2 = 6.7$; $p = 0.009$). The increasing frequency of Nenets–Russian marriages even in the third (current) generation is interesting (Fig. 6). When analysing the structure

of marriages between Nenets and Russians in the Tazovsky and Gyda settlements, the most frequent type of marriage was between a Russian man and a Nenets woman ($\chi^2 = 4.0$; $p = 0.05$). Additionally, 33 cases of marriages between close relatives (mostly cousins) were revealed, which accounted for 3.1% of marriages in the Gydanskaya tundra, 4.5% in the Nakhodkinskaya tundra and 2.9% in the Tazovskaya tundra.

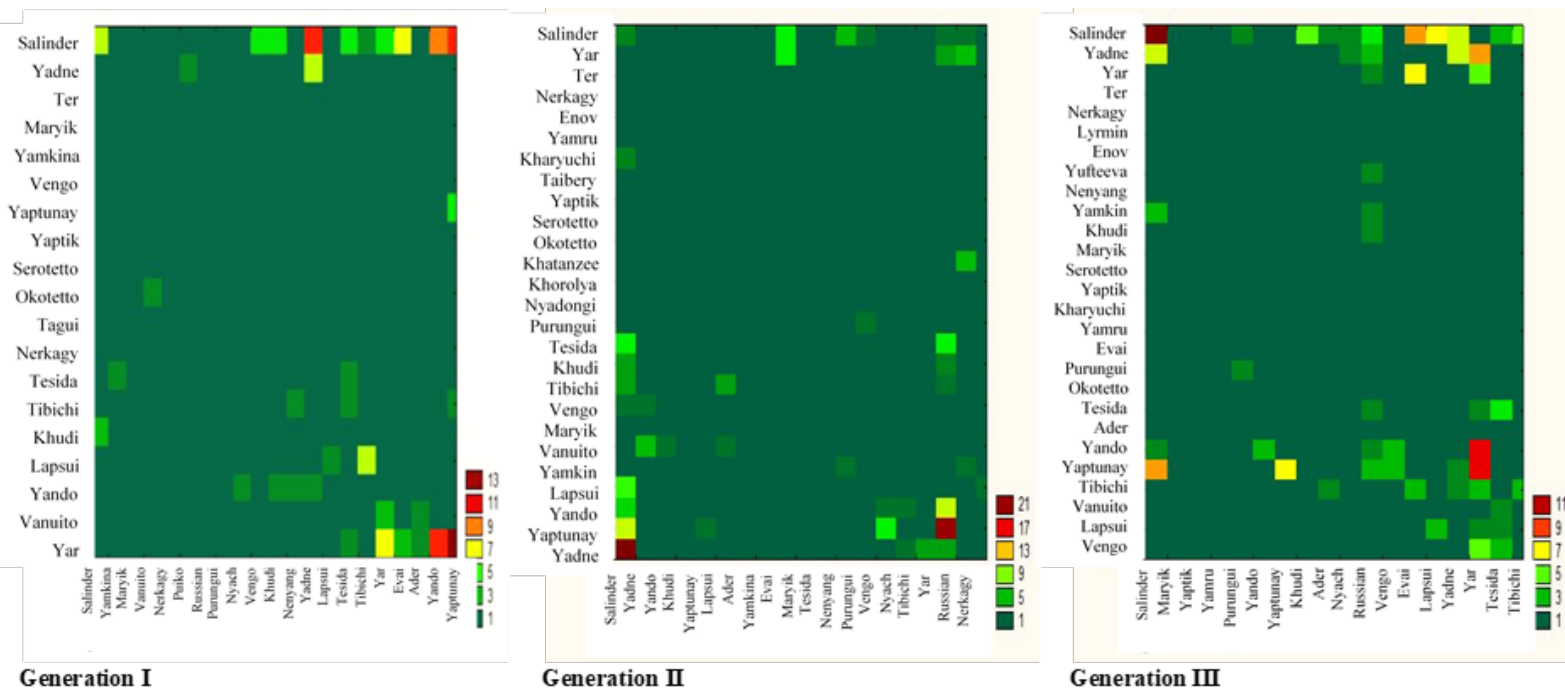


Figure 6. Cluster analysis results for marriage bonds in the Tazovsky and Gyda settlements across three generations (N = 1121).

The significant increase in the frequency of marriages between Russians and Nenets in the current generation is likely the result of closer contact in settlements during school, receiving a similar level of education and spending more time working together. The evident disproportion, with marriages between a Russian man and a Nenets woman prevailing, is due to the easier adaptation of Nenets women to settlement life.

Nenets women, as a rule, tend to have a higher level of education than men, perform qualified work and prefer easier and more comfortable living conditions in the settlements to the harsh conditions of nomadic life (Bogdanova et al., 2019). Therefore, they are more likely to move to urban areas than men (Liarskaya, 2016). A similar trend has been observed in Scandinavia

(Adolfsson, 2016; Dahlström, 1996; Leibert, 2016). Women often encourage their children to get a university education and to enjoy the benefits of civilisation. These factors often contribute to the preference for marriages with Russian men rather than with other Nenets living in the tundra. Russian men often choose Nenets women because of the traditional relationship dynamics that are typical of Nenets families, especially female subordination and respect for men. Moreover, Skvirskaja (2018) noted that Russian men are more romantic in comparison with Nenets men, who are more pragmatic.

Nenets men have more difficulty adapting to life in settlements, are less likely to earn a basic education, tend to work in low-qualified jobs and more often have problems with alcohol after moving to settlements. Finally, the status of a reindeer herder is especially important to Nenets men. Thus, they tend to consider the traditional lifestyle to be more attractive and prefer to live in the tundra.

As a result of the current demographic processes in the tundra, there is a shortage of brides (with 67% of Indigenous peoples agreeing that there is a high shortage; Fig. 7) who are willing to live a traditional lifestyle. Thus, men are currently the keepers of this traditional lifestyle, while women prefer to follow urban trends (Bogdanova et al., 2019, 2021).

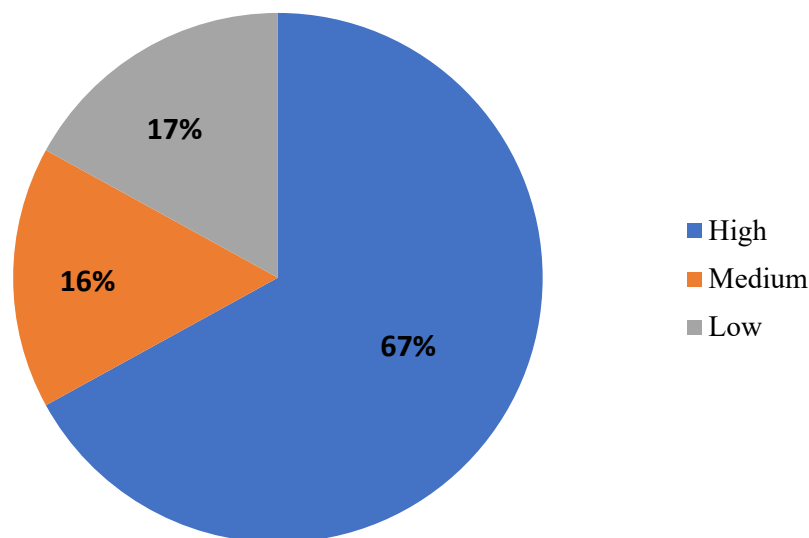


Figure 7. Results of the survey 'How the Indigenous Peoples Perceive "Shortage of Brides" in the Tundra Areas of the Yamalsky District of YNAO' (N = 100). (Zuev et al., 2017)

Traditional Lifestyle in Transition: Gendered Division of Labour

The most significant factors challenging gender asymmetries in the Indigenous reindeer herding communities are assimilation processes and the destruction of the traditional Indigenous family model (Baranov et al., 2014). The traditional lifestyle in the Arctic zone of Western Siberia is associated with traditional livelihoods (reindeer herding, hunting and fishery), nomadism in the tundra or living in settlements, consuming traditional foods (Ravna, 2019; Volžanina, 2009), having large families (more than five children for families living in settlements and more than nine children for families practising nomadism in the tundra; Bogdanova et al., 2021; Fig. 8) and extended family structures with multiple generations living together (Khariuchi, 2001). However, this traditional lifestyle of the Arctic Indigenous communities is undergoing transition, as indicated by the findings of ethnological and sociological research (Serpivo, 2016). That being said, the share of people involved in traditional livelihoods increased by 1.8% from 2015 to 2018, especially among the semi-nomadic Indigenous population (Table 1).



Figure 8. A family of reindeer herders (photo taken by author A. Lobanov).

The tundra is traditionally perceived by nomads as a men's space, and a woman is to be a wife, sister or daughter of a reindeer herder. In the past, there was a traditional division of gender roles in the household and ritual duties in a nomadic family. The woman kept house, cooked food, looked after the children, took care of the fire, washed, sewed and mended clothing. The man herded reindeer, caught fish, hunted and built sleighs (Burykin, 1999). These social structures have helped to maintain traditional values in these Indigenous communities (Bogdanova et al., 2021).

During the expeditions to the tundra areas of the YNAO from 2018 to 2020, the authors of this chapter interviewed 119 Indigenous women to analyse the gender division of labour in modern Indigenous reindeer herding households to determine if there has been a change in gender roles in these families. Over 90% of respondents stated that all duties concerning reindeer herding (choosing a nomadic route, herding and taking care of the reindeer, slaughtering reindeer, sorting out reindeer, selling reindeer products, negotiating the price for reindeer meat, etc.) are still considered to belong to males. Women generally only assisted men (husbands, brothers and fathers) with processing reindeer products and freezing, drying and smoking venison. However, most of household duties earlier considered to be female duties are now shared between women and men: raising and teaching children, buying food, caring for elderly relatives, caring for ill family members, filing documents with local authorities, foraging for mushrooms and berries, assembling and disassembling a traditional mobile *chum* (an Indigenous tent made of reindeer skin and wood) and chopping trochee (Fig. 9). In an interview (RAIPON, 2016), one Northern Indigenous man stated:

Life in the High North is 80% dependent on women. If there is a woman in the *chum*, the owner is calm, knowing that the hostess in the *chum* will protect the fire and hearth, which creates comfort. A woman is the happiness of life and life itself, the preservation of national traditions.



Figure 9. A Khanty woman reindeer herder feeding a reindeer (photo taken by author K. Filant).

While some traditionally male duties are now shared by women (e.g., earning money), the traditional division of labour in Indigenous reindeer herders' households is still partly maintained. Women are responsible for running the household (cleaning, tidying up and washing), looking after kids, cooking, fishing, keeping the fire going in the chum, collecting wood for the fire, melting fat, processing reindeer carcasses and skins and sewing clothes (Figs. 10–13). Some modern female duties include taking family members to medical facilities, handling all paperwork related to the family budget and business and applying for social subsidies. Men continue to be in charge of the most difficult duties: reindeer herding and repairing vehicles and sledges. They are also still the primary decision makers in the family. Only 13% of married couples interviewed confirmed that they make all decisions regarding family issues together.



Figure 10. Indigenous women gathering wood for the fire (photo taken by author K. Filant).



Figure 11. An Indigenous woman reindeer herder sewing clothes from reindeer skin (photo taken by author K. Filant).



Figure 12. A Nenets woman reindeer herder cooking meals in the chum (photo taken by author A. Lobanov).



Figure 13. Nenets women reindeer herders processing reindeer products in the tundra after slaughter (photo taken by author A. Lobanov).

Some property rights in reindeer herding continue to be impacted by traditions. In most individual reindeer herding households, a reindeer is not the subject of official property law. When inherited, a reindeer herd can be divided by family members following traditional customs. For example, Galina, a wife of a reindeer herder, confirmed that only sons can traditionally inherit the reindeer herd (the eldest son usually gets the smallest portion of reindeer because he has likely already accumulated reindeer from working with this father) while daughters can get a chum, sledges and some utilities for a household.

Nowadays, Indigenous peoples integrate innovations (e.g., the Internet) and modern devices (electric generators, snowmobiles, mobile phones, television sets, etc.) into their model of the family economy. However, this has not brought substantial changes to life for women in the tundra, who still have to endure difficult work and conditions, such as extracting fuel from under the snow, carrying heavy loads, enduring hypothermia and long sleigh rides and moving to a new pasture every 3–7 days, all of which can increase the rate of spontaneous miscarriages. Thus, life on the tundra for women continues to be associated with hard work and a high health risk. In contrast, life for women in remote settlements has become more comfortable thanks to the conveniences of houses (central heating, running water and electricity) and modern household items (fridges, stoves, televisions, etc.; Bogdanova et al., 2021). Therefore, young Indigenous women who have experienced settled life prefer to move to settlements and marry non-Indigenous men.

Better education among Indigenous women has led to a reduced frequency of closely related marriages since Indigenous peoples have more opportunities to meet partners from other areas while studying at boarding schools. Previous research found that Indigenous women in the tundra had a lower educational level (75.1% of them had no formal schooling at all) than Indigenous and non-Indigenous women residing in settlements (40.2% and 11.1%, respectively, had no formal schooling) (Bogdanova et al., 2021). This lack of education results in them following a traditional nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle. However, the People's Programme of the Indigenous Minorities of the North in the YNAO guarantees governmental support to Indigenous peoples pursuing a secondary, vocational and higher education (Ob utverzhdenii Narodnoj programmy [On approval of the People's Programme], 2017). Such programmes have increased the level of education among women, providing them with resources to change their lives and assuring their right to education.

The unfolding bride shortage in the tundra and a prevalence of unmarried women in national settlements has also been demonstrated for other Arctic regions, such as the Kola Peninsula, Evenkia, Yakutia, Chukotka and Kamchatka (Gavrilova, 1997). Well-educated women prefer to move to the settlements, adapt to the urban environment, find work and get married to non-Indigenous men. This can also result in modified sexual culture among Indigenous women living in the settlements (Bogoyzvlenskii, 2000). Maintaining a nomadic household requires both a man and a woman, which strengthens the institution of the family and encourages high reproduction among Indigenous peoples. However, the difficult life of nomadic women in the tundra is less attractive for women who would prefer to move to settlements or cities. The gender shift in the tundra thus entails a high risk of depopulation in the Indigenous population (Bogdanova et al., 2021; Burykin, 1999), as demonstrated by the emigration trends among female and male Indigenous populations (Figs. 3 and 4).

Women's Reproductive Choices

The post-Soviet period in Russia (1993–1997) was associated with an economic crisis and lack of resources to support Indigenous women's reproductive health, followed by an increase in infant mortality rates up to 34.3 per 1,000 (Volžanina, 2007b). From 1998 to 2002, policy initiatives focusing on Indigenous peoples implemented by RAIPON in collaboration with regional governments (e.g., subsidy programmes for Indigenous families) led to a decline in infant mortality rates to 27.6 per 1,000 (Volžanina, 2007b). Russia's current social policy encourages women to have large families with many children since they can obtain benefits for childbirth ('maternal capital', similar to 'baby bonus' programmes in Canada; Fig. 14). This has had a significant impact on the demographic policy in Russia. However, Arctic Indigenous women living in remote areas still face unresolved barriers to preserving their reproductive health: insufficient access to perinatal maternity care, lack of high-qualified medical staff in Indigenous communities, difficulties with the evacuation of childbearing women from remote areas. This emphasises the importance of modernising the health care system to include transporting pregnant women from the tundra to municipal hospitals to give birth, including by air ambulances in emergency cases. According to Russian government officials, the Indigenous population is increasing because of the effective and progressive policies of the authorities in the region (Kornilov et al., 2013), including sufficient access to medical care services. To provide sustainable development for Indigenous minority peoples

in the YNAO, the governmental programme on sustainable development of the Indigenous minority peoples of the North in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug for 2018–2022 was developed. Additionally, 14 regional government programmes provide social guarantees, such as free medication, favourable prosthodontic aid and food for pregnant women and mothers with children under three years of age (Bogdanova et al., 2021).



Figure 14. A young Nenets woman reindeer herder with a baby in the chum (photo taken by author A. Lobanov).

Indigenous Women’s Labour Rights: Challenges of Social (In)Security

Indigenous women assist men in reindeer herding and share most of the household duties, but their labour rights are still limited. Most Indigenous women (especially those in individual nomadic reindeer herding households) are officially unemployed. This jeopardises their future social security. If they retire at the age of 45 years old and have not had official employment for the previous 20 years in the High North, Indigenous women reindeer herders will not

receive a pension or any social payments provided for elderly peoples (Federal'nyj zakon 'O trudovyh pensijah v Rossijskoj Federacii' [Federal Law of the Russian Federation on Labour Pensions], No. 173-FL, 2001).

In the Soviet period, the labour rights of women reindeer herders were strengthened. In 1980s, the profession of a reindeer herder was first introduced in the *Unified Tariff and Qualification Reference Book of Jobs and Professions of Workers* (ETKS), Issue 70 'Jobs and Professions in Animal Husbandry' (1983). There were five categories of reindeer herders. The lowest (fifth) category included traditionally female duties in reindeer herding (cooking, cleaning a house, repairing clothes and shoes and other housekeeping work). As a result, the official employment for women engaged in reindeer husbandry was assured. Additionally, the wives of reindeer herders could avoid the administrative punishment for 'parasitism' implemented for non-working citizens in the USSR. Since 2008, the wives of reindeer herders in the YNAO have been officially employed as reindeer herders of the fifth (lowest) category. They have regularly petitioned to be upgraded to at least the fourth category. Meanwhile, men are employed as reindeer herders of the highest (first or second) categories.

During the Soviet period, the profession of chumworker (*chumrabortnitsa*) was first introduced. The etymology of this word is directly linked to the primary place where a woman reindeer herder works – the *chum*. In 2016, this was added to the legislation of some Arctic regions. For example, Article 2 of the regional NAO Law on Reindeer Husbandry (No. 278-OZ, 2016) states:

A chumworker (*chumrabortnitsa*) is an individual who is not directly involved in herding reindeer, but is responsible for maintaining a traditional lifestyle, performing work cooking, repairing clothes and shoes, making skis with fur lining, removing skins and processing carcasses, preparing fuel and ice, cleaning a house, assembling and disassembling a chum and doing other work related to ensuring the social life of reindeer herders in the areas of reindeer pastures.

Article 16 of the regional NAO Law on Reindeer Husbandry (No. 278-OZ, 2016) guarantees social support for chumworkers and reindeer herders.

The regional YNAO Law on Reindeer Husbandry (No. 34-ZAO, 2016) also added this profession in 2016.

However, the profession of a chumworker remains arbitrary since it is not included in the list of official professions approved by the federal government. Thus, women have no other choice but to be officially employed as reindeer herders of the third category. This gives them the opportunity to apply for early retirement and social pensions (though these are still minimal). This does not fully correspond to the duties of the wives of reindeer herders and does not fully guarantee their social rights and gender equality.

Even though women can be employed as reindeer herders of the third category, there is a more jeopardising challenge: many wives of individual reindeer herders (those who do not belong to a collective reindeer farm) are not and have never been officially employed. Thus, they face high social risks and insecurity. Thanks to the federal laws of the Russian Federation, they are guaranteed free access to medical and educational facilities. However, without official employment lasting 20 years, they do not have any pensions at the age of 45.

Recently, a potential solution for solving this issue of employment for individual women reindeer herders was created. In 2018, the Russian government first introduced the Federal Law of the Russian Federation on Experimenting to Establish a Special Tax Regime – A Tax for Professional Income (No. 422-FL, 2018). IN 2019, this law was first piloted in four regions of the Russian Federation. Later, in August 2020, its implementation began for all Russian regions. This law allows people who have no options for official employment to apply for an official self-employed (*samozanjatyj*) status. It is a special legal status of a person implementing special tax regime. He must pay a tax on professional income (4–6%). This person is considered to be officially employed that makes him secured by the state social insurance system. Thus, applying it to women who are individual reindeer herders is also convenient because of a lack of paperwork (there are no obligations to submit a declaration of income annually; instead, this information can be sent over the Internet via a mobile application). They can register via the Internet at the federal tax service website or through the government’s Internet portal for free, and there are no other insurance payments. Those individuals who receive an official status of self-employed (*samozanjatyj*) can then be eligible for a social pension (minimal retirement payments guaranteed by the government) in the future. However, they can increase their future pension by making regular insurance payments to the state pension fund.

Conclusions

Indigenous women reindeer herders' rights have been significantly strengthened in the 21st century. They can participate in political life and lobby for the rights of Indigenous peoples at the regional and federal levels. Further, the civil rights of Indigenous women reindeer herders are protected by federal and regional laws.

However, there are still some gaps in the social rights of women reindeer herders, specifically challenges regarding their labour rights. Their status as unemployed jeopardises their social security and does not guarantee a retirement pension in the future. However, there are some solutions that can be enacted through short- and long-term measures. The following are recommended to improve the labour rights of Indigenous women reindeer herders:

- Encourage women to apply for an official self-employed (*samozanjatyj*) status;
- Support cooperative forms of reindeer herding husbandry (i.e., peasantry farms) and employ women as reindeer herders;
- Encourage a semi-nomadic lifestyle for Indigenous women and create facilities in settlements for processing reindeer herding products that are managed by reindeer herders' families, as this will provide new opportunities for women to be employed through their family business;
- Organise production cooperatives for reindeer herders to develop facilities for deep processing of reindeer products and to increase the profitability of reindeer herding.

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Male-Dominated Reindeer Herding in Greenland – A Short Story

Maria Ackrén

Abstract

Reindeer herding and husbandry in Greenland has a short history. While the hunting tradition is much older and has always been part of the Greenlandic tradition (specifically, the hunting of indigenous Greenlandic caribou), reindeer husbandry was first established in mid-west Greenland and later in southern Greenland in the 1950s. The introduction of semi-domestic reindeer from Norway was established in 1952 due to a drop in the indigenous reindeer population throughout the 1920s to 1940s. This chapter outlines the story of reindeer herding in Greenland and its failures and relative successes.

Introduction

Greenlanders have always been very dependent on natural resources for food and clothing. The indigenous Greenlandic caribou, which are considered a subspecies of the Canadian Barren-ground caribou (also called Tundra caribou), have always been part of the Greenlandic fauna but declined during the 1920s to 1940s (Cuyler, 1999 p. 81). The idea of introducing semi-domestic reindeer from Norway was part of a food security plan introduced in the 1950s. After some years of debate and discussion amongst the Danish and Greenlandic authorities, 300 semi-domestic reindeers were bought from the Karasjok reindeer district in Finnmark, Norway and brought to the mid-west of Greenland in 1952 (Cuyler, 1999, p. 81; Dzik, 2016, p. 107). The introduction of reindeer herding was also a way for the Danish state to introduce a new form of business, agriculture, to Greenland (Gaup, 2019, p. 17).

Jens Rosing was the key Greenlander involved in all aspects of the initial establishment of reindeer herding at Itivnera in Godthåbsfjord, especially between 1952 and 1959. Sámi specialists from Norway were hired and came with the reindeer to Greenland. The hired Sámi trained and educated Greenlanders on how to conduct this kind of farming according to the Norwegian Sámi model (Cuyler, 1999, p. 82). Reindeer herding was developed in two

regions, mid-west Greenland and southern Greenland, with two herds in each region. At first, there was only the Itivnera reindeer herd in Godthåbsfjord, but in 1961, a second herd was established in Kangerlupiluk, with 500 reindeer coming from the Itivnera herd. By 1978, both herds belonged to the residents of Kapisillit under the management of the local Greenlandic Cooperative, Kapisillinni Tuttuutiteqatigiit. The herd remained with the cooperative until 1998, when it was sold to the Nuuk municipality, ending reindeer husbandry in the Godthåbsfjord (Cuyler, 1999, p. 82).

Until 1978, the persons involved in the reindeer herding were almost without exception Norwegian Sámi. There was limited ownership or responsibility for reindeer herding by Greenlanders. Some Sámi were employed by the Danish State while others, after 1961, owned their reindeer. The herding practice followed traditional Sámi methods (Cuyler, 1999, p. 82). There was not much success in training Greenlanders in reindeer husbandry. Ole Kristiansen, a Greenlander and co-owner of the Isortoq herd in southern Greenland, was an exception. He received training with the herd in Itivnera and completed a two-year course in reindeer husbandry in Norway. Four other Greenlanders also received training at Itivnera (Cuyler, 1999, p. 84).

The low interest in reindeer herding in Greenland might be because this was not culturally compatible with the Greenlandic or Inuit hunting tradition (Cuyler, 1999, p. 89). Another reason was the discriminatory principle regarding salaries; Norwegians followed the same principles as Danes, while Greenlanders received lower salaries and poorer housing conditions (Gaup, 2019, p. 71). This was part of the Danish state policy at the time. Reindeer herding was more successful in southern Greenland due to their traditions of sheep farming. Thus, it has been suggested that southern Greenland was more accepting towards this kind of activity due to their better understanding of and acceptance for the demands and responsibilities of animal husbandry (Cuyler, 1999, p. 90).

Reindeer husbandry was intended to supply reindeer meat and other reindeer products to the markets in Greenland and Denmark as well as export goods to Europe (Gaup, 2019, p. 17). The idea was to secure and stabilise the meat supply in Greenland in order to prevent imports of meat from elsewhere and to diversify the country's economy. However, this was not totally realized.

Sámi Reindeer and Traditional Knowledge

Reindeer husbandry is seen as a pastoralist economy, which is a nomadic or semi-nomadic form of subsistence economy that is mainly dependent on herds of domesticated animals. The Sámi reindeer herders hold traditional knowledge based on experience on the use of resources, which is linked to the relationship with the reindeer. It is a system of Indigenous resource management, keeping balance between the number of animals and the carrying capacity of the pastures. The herds are moved according to season between the various grazing areas (Gaup, 2019, p. 30).

The International Reindeer Herders Association is an active participant within the Arctic Council. However, with the new observer states from Asia and elsewhere, the organisation has found itself taking a back seat. It has had difficulty getting its voice heard in the processes within the Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna working group and other fora relevant for the organisation (Eira et al., 2015, p. 39).

The natural environment and climate in the Godthåbsfjord, near Nuuk, is similar to that of Finnmark, which is why this location was chosen for reindeer herding. There was also a great deal of lichen available in the fjord, which made the area ideal for reindeer herding (Gaup, 2019, p. 34). In 1951, the Provincial Council (Landsrådet) gave the Danish State Ministry the right to regulate the area for reindeer husbandry (Gaup, 2019, p. 35). The Danish state granted annual funding to the reindeer husbandry experiment. In 1956, the state began to receive revenue from the new industry through the slaughtering and selling of reindeer products, which encouraged the authorities to grant the experiment a permanent status (Gaup, 2019, p. 37).

Management of Reindeer Herding Areas

The Itivnera herd was under public ownership with Danish state management from 1952 to 1956. After 1956, it was still publicly owned under the Danish state, but the Royal Greenland Trade Department¹ (Den Kongelige Grønlandske Handel [KGH]) administered the operation.

¹ The Royal Greenland Trade Department was established in 1776 and had taken over all management of trade between Greenland and Denmark. This was a colonial monopoly system that operated until 1950. The political administration was also operated underneath the KGH until 1912 (Augustesen & Hansen, 2011; Marquardt & Caulfield, 1996).

The KGH was also financially responsible for the reindeer herd, functioning as the producer, buyer and distributor of the reindeer products (Gaup, 2019, p. 37). In 1964, a slaughterhouse was established. In October 1974, the KGH sold private ownership of the Itivnera herd and leased the slaughterhouse to the Sámi reindeer herder Anders Triumpf. The Itivnera herd remained under Anders Triumpf until 1978, when it then became the property of the Kapisillit Cooperative. Unfortunately, no one in the cooperative had received any training in reindeer husbandry, so the herd became a mixed herd of semi-domestic and wild reindeer (Cuyler, 1999, p. 84; Dzik, 2016, p. 107).

The second herd in the Godthåbsfjord region began in 1961 when Sámi reindeer herder Johan Hætta established a private herd on the Kangerlupiluk peninsula, north of Itivnera. The initial herd consisted of 500 animals, all of which came from the Itivnera herd. A fence was built in order to keep the herds separated from each other. Johan Hætta sold the Kangerlupiluk herd in 1971 to Greenlander Pavia Berthelsen. Pavia Berthelsen had received an education in reindeer husbandry, but due to neglect of the herd, minimal slaughter and no seasonal migrations between winter and summer pastures, the Kangerlupiluk herd became private property of the residents of Kapisillit under the management of the Kapisillini Tuttuutiteqatigiit cooperative (Cuyler, 1999, p. 87).

The Kapisillini Tuttuutiteqatigiit's herding methods were simple. The reindeer roamed unsupervised the entire year, with an annual slaughter in September. Despite the lack of herd control and contact, slaughter records for 1981 to 1990 showed annual harvests of between 700 and 1500 reindeer. These successful harvests were the result of using helicopters to herd the reindeer (Cuyler, 1999, p. 88). However, this management or lack thereof resulted in a complete loss of control over the herd, and in the end, the Greenland home-rule government granted the Nuuk municipality permission to buy the remnants of the Itivnera herd but not to farm it. In June 1998, the Itivnera herd became the Nuuk municipality's responsibility. Lacking jurisdiction to farm the herd, the municipality decided to liquidate it through hunting by both commercial and sport hunters (Cuyler, 1999, p. 89).

In southern Greenland, Greenlander Ole Kristiansen established the Isortoq herd in 1973. The herd was bought from Itivnera. A station for the Isortoq herd was first founded in 1990. This herd came under private co-ownership by Ole Kristiansen and Icelander Stefan H. Magnusson, both of whom had received educations in reindeer husbandry (Cuyler, 1999, p. 90). Today, the reindeer herd is owned by Stefan Magnusson, his two children

and his wife, and they have also included an Icelandic investor, Ingvar Gardarson (Gaup, 2019, p. 44). Isortoq has an area of over 1500 km² and slaughters the animals in an EU approved slaughtering house. The meat is sold domestically in Greenland and exported to Canada, Iceland and the EU. Isortoq also grants permission for trophy hunting. In 2016, 523 of approximately 1650 animals were slaughtered.

Another herd in southern Greenland west of the town of Narsaq also began under private ownership by Greenlander Søren Janussen. This small herd was established in 1992 on Tuttutooq Island (Cuyler, 1999, p. 91). This reindeer herd functions today as a subsidiary income for the family (Gaup, 2019, p. 45). Tuttutooq has an area of 200 km², and the animals are slaughtered in Narsaq. The meat is sold on the domestic market in Greenland only (Lehmen et al., 2017, p. 28).

Relationships Between Sámi Reindeer Herders and Greenlandic Apprentices

The reindeer station at Itivnera was organised as an ordinary state institution, with a leader of the station and employees consisting of reindeer herders and apprentices. The Danish state employed Sámi herders to supervise and train Greenlanders as reindeer herders. The work at the station also consisted of practical work such as building corrals, collecting lichen and fetching supplies from Kapisillit. The reindeer herders were employed on a two-year contract. Only one Sámi woman stayed at Itivnera; she came with her husband in 1968 when he was station leader (Gaup, 2019, pp. 45–46).

The Greenlandic apprentices were engaged in vocational training as reindeer herders and helped with all the work at Itivnera. They were employed for four-year apprenticeship contracts and were all young men (around 17 to 18 years old) without families. Only six Greenlanders became fully trained as reindeer herders (Gaup, 2019, p. 46).

During the Sámi period in the Godthåbsfjord (1952–1978), reindeer husbandry was practiced in a similar way as in Sápmi by following the traditional reindeer husbandry yearly cycle with some adaptations to the Greenlandic context (Gaup, 2019, p. 54). The herds were moved between summer and winter pastures, slaughter occurred in the fall and a variety of other activities took place during the year.

Laws and Regulations on Reindeer Herding and Hunting in Greenland

In 1996, the Greenlandic government introduced the legal right to reindeer husbandry in Greenland. Prior to 1996, the only laws available were those regulating sheep farming (Cuyler 1999, 91). The 1996 law was a universal law for the agricultural sector in Greenland. This means that it covered all businesses involved in the usage of land, delimitation or animal husbandry, including aquaculture (Agricultural Commission, 2014).

Regarding the hunting of indigenous caribou, a great deal of effort has been put into its management. Caribou hunting plays an important economic, recreational and cultural role in Greenland. Since the early 1990s, caribou have been managed through conservation and hunting restrictions, and their preservation from 1993 to 1995 increased their numbers from approximately 10,000 to 17,600 (Jepsen et al., 2002, p. 402).

According to the law regarding hunting in Greenland (Lov nr. 29 af 29.10.1999 om fangst og jagt), a license is required to be either a full-time or seasonal/recreational hunter. In order to acquire a hunting license, a person must be a permanent resident of Greenland and have lived on the island for the previous two years. A full-time hunter must also be part of the Greenlandic community, meaning that they must have a permanent residence on the island through work or housing. Licenses for seasonal/recreational hunters are based on an application that is available to anyone who has lived on the island for the previous two years. Seasonal/recreational hunters must follow the quota systems that each municipality has and register their catches to the authorities. This also applies for full-time hunters, for whom economic revenue also has some importance (seasonal/recreational hunters only hunt for personal use).

Gender Issues Within Reindeer Herding and Hunting

As can be seen from the above description of reindeer herding in Greenland, it has been a completely male-dominated system. Only one woman ever worked at the Itivnera station because she came with her husband from Norway. The stations operating in southern Greenland are also operated entirely by men. Traditionally, hunting and fisheries have also been dominated by men in Greenland. According to current statistics, this has not changed much over the years (Statbank, n.d.). Full-time hunters are predominantly men, with only one to three women per municipality. The majority of seasonal/recreational hunters are also men,

but here more women do participate (accounting for about 10–20% of seasonal/recreational hunters across the municipalities; Statbank, n.d.).

Conclusion

Reindeer husbandry has not seen any major success in Greenland, where hunting and fishing are rooted in traditions and customs. There are only two reindeer herds left, and both are in southern Greenland, where sheep and cattle farming and cultivation of crops are managed. The reindeer initiative, which dates back to the 1950s, was greeted with scepticism as a result of the Danish colonial system at the time. The 1950s was also a period of large housing, education and health care projects. Due to the major developments all happening at once in Greenlandic towns and settlements, the Greenlandic people were not receptive to further innovative ideas at the time.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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