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# Security

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# SECURITY

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# Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Security and the Good Life

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

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

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

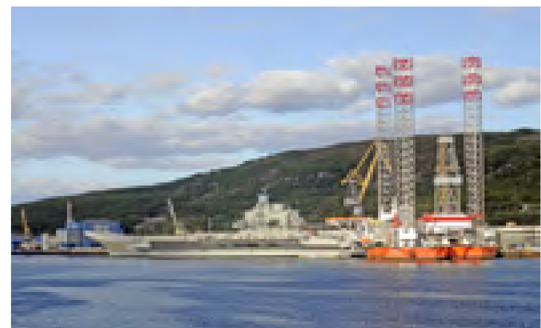
Throughout the 20th century, the idea of the state as the sole security actor, through a monopoly of violence (military) became increasingly prevalent, especially during the Cold War. In other words, the concept of security became largely synonymous with the use of military force to protect the state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

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

# Human security

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

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



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

## Critiques of the concept human security

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

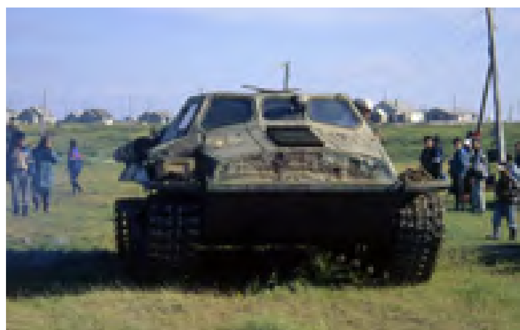
216). The assumption was that the Global North or Western world, or minority world has eradicated its own human security issues and was well placed to assist the South in doing the same (Shepherd, 2016). At the same time, if human security perspectives have no relevance in the Global North, not least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

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

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

## Feminist and intersectional approaches to human security

A comprehensive approach to Arctic security—one that includes people as much as regions or states—allows us to learn from the decades of research provided by feminist and gender security studies (Lobasz, 2014; Williams, 2017). These approaches assume that individuals and their communities are, and have always been, security actors, functioning alongside traditional tools of security such as states and their militaries. Research has also shown that individuals and communities are often security actors functioning in the state's absence, for example in weak or failed states (Baaz & Stern, 2013) or Indigenous women's efforts to claim rights and protection in the face of systemic violence (Kuokkanen, 2012). Feminist security studies scholars have argued that narrow or state-based security narratives "limit how we can think about security, whose security matters, and how it might be achieved" (Wibben, 2011). Gender and feminist analyses take their starting point from the bottom



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## International commitments to gender and security

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Arctic security = Arctic human security?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Climate change and mis/disinformation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Additional Insecurities in the Arctic: A Selection of Cases

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

## The complex contexts of many different Arctics

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada

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

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

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

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

## Housing insecurity across the north American Arctic

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

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

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

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

## High mortality rates – The Russian case

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Norway – levels of marginalisation in the periphery

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Concluding Remarks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Policy Relevant Highlights

## Broader/research-grounded understanding of security.

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

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

## Inequalities and centre/periphery imbalances leading to insecurities.

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

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

## Climate change, insecurity, and society.

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

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

## Who are we?

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

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

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