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The Climate Crisis effect on Saami women's physical safety

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Abstract

The consequences of climate change are becoming inevitably graver with every day that goes by. The most vulnerable groups face the greatest tragedies caused by the climate emergency. Climate change have direct and indirect consequences on women's lives. As changing local temperatures, more frequent extreme weather events, and increasing sea levels are all consequences of anthropogenic climate change, which puts traditional lifestyles at risk. It is communities of Indigenous people worldwide who are facing threats and dangers in response to the climate crisis. This study was set out to analyse how the climate crisis will effect Saami women's physical safety and by the findings it was made clear that they are at risk of experiencing an increase in violence due to the risks they possess in regards to their intersectionality of being female and being a part of an Indigenous group. In addition to their intersection of gender and being Indigenous, Saami women possess a combination of risks, which renders them vulnerable to experience Gender-Based violence, Sexual violence and at risk of being recruited into human trafficking due to climate change.

Table of contents

Abstract	2
Table of contents	3
1. Introduction	6
2. Methodology	7
3. Theoretical Framework:	10
3.1. Climate justice as a social and intersectoral problem	10
3.2. Climate justice as a human rights problem	11
4. Presenting the literature on intersectoral risks for indigenous women	14
4.1.1. Literature on risks for women	14
4.1.1.1. Different forms of Violence	15
4.1.1.2 Gender-Based Violence	15
4.1.1.3. Sexual violence	16
4.1.1.4. Violence against women	16
4.1.1.5. Intimate partner violence	17
4.1.1.6. Trafficking of women and girls	17
4.1.2. Literature on the impacts of climate change	19
4.1.2.1. Slow onset	19
4.1.2.2. Fast onset	20
4.1.2.3. Displacement	20
4.1.3. Literature on climate change posing particular risks to women	21
4.1.3.1. Gender as a risk factor for Gender-Based Violence due to climate change	21
4.1.3.2. Natural disasters lead to an increase in Gender-Based Violence	22
4.1.3.3. Climate change forces women into prostitution	25
4.1.3.4. Climate change related displacement leading to sexual violence	27
4.1.3.5. Threat to the man's position as provider leading to Gender-Based violence	29
4.1.4. Literature on climate change posing particular risks to Indigenous people	29
4.1.4.1. Indigenous people entail an intersection of six characteristics rendering them vulnerable to climate change	30
4.1.4.2. Indigenous people live in areas particularly affected by climate change	31
4.1.4.3. Indigenous people are often marginalized in the wider society.	31
4.1.5. Literature on intersectionality posing particular risks of violence to Indigenous women	32
4.1.5.1. Indigenous women experience a higher toll of violence	32
4.1.6. Literature on the intersecting risks faced by Indigenous women affected by climate change	35

4.1.6.1. General risks	35
4.1.7. Literature on the situation of Saami women	36
4.1.7.1. Basic facts about the Saami	40
4.1.7.2. Known facts about the situation of Saami women	41
4.1.7.3. Known facts about the effects of climate change on the Saami	41
4.1.7.4. Does climate change increase the risk of Gender-Based Violence	43
5. Ecological Model	43
5.1. History of the model	43
5.2. Ecological model for Saami women	44
6. Analysis of the current literature on Saami women	50
6.1. Risks linked to urbanization	50
6.2. Risks linked to increased exposure to unknown men	52
6.3. Risks linked to men's loss of self-worth	54
6.4 Summary of results	55
7. Discussion	56
8. Conclusion	59
Bibliography	61

1. Introduction

According to WHO (2018) climate change and violence against women are the most pressing global emergencies of our time. Additionally, violence against women and girls is the most common and persistent human rights violation in the world, affecting more than one in every three women throughout the course of their lives. UN women (2022, p.6) declares that climate change and gradual environmental degradation increase the probability of violence against women and girls due to resource scarcity, displacement, food scarcity, and disturbances in service delivery to survivors. Climate change poses a risk for the existing and future generations of children as they will face an uncertain future in which the current growth paradigm, which ties economic expansion to environmental exploitation, will no longer be feasible (Unicef, 2021) Climate change is currently posing a threat to current generations, in particular to Indigenous people due to their close relationship with nature and residing in areas most affected by the climate crisis. It is no doubt that entire populations are being affected by the climate crisis, however, it is evident that women and girls are the ones who will suffer the most significant burdens due to their gender. As temperatures are rising, the climate crisis is posing threats to women's physical safety. Gender has been discussed at the Paris Agreement under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Glasgow Climate Pact where they acknowledge the importance of gender equality and women's empowerment. However, they fail to mention the violence perpetrated against women and girls. Climate change has a significant impact on Gender-Based violence as different risk factors are induced by the consequences of global warming. Different risks have come about as women are set out to work extensive hours, as distances to collect drinking water, and primary resources have induced longer walking paths, subsequently accelerating their increase in vulnerability to Sexual Gender-Based Violence, in particular for Indigenous women as they are more vulnerable to violence attributed to the intersection of sexism, racism, and discrimination. This study is set out to analyse if Saami women are going to experience an increase in Gender-Based violence due to the climate crisis. While there is substantial literature on the climate crisis effects on Indigenous women generally, there is limited research focusing on what effects the climate crisis will have on Saami women regarding their physical safety in particular. Saami women are the most vulnerable in our society to the consequences of the climate crisis due to their intersection of being both Indigenous and female, and According to Jaakkola,

Juntunen, and Näkkäläjärvi (2018) due to their close relation to the natural environment and due to climate change being most impactful in the Arctic, where the Sapmi resides.

2. Methodology

This study is set out to analyse what effects the climate crisis will have on Saami women's physical safety. By reading, analysing and sorting literature in order to identify the essential characteristics in how the climate crisis will effect Saami women's physical safety. There is currently no literature on how the climate crisis will affect Saami women's physical safety. Yet Saami women, who are a part of an Indigenous community, are expected to face the worst effects of climate change. My hypothesis is that as Saami women are twice as vulnerable due to their intersection of being Indigenous and female and as the climate crisis has shown to increase violence towards Indigenous women, I fear Saami women will experience an increase in Gender-Based violence due to the climate crisis. To be able to defend and answer my hypothesis I will be conducting a literature review, and applying an intersectional lens as it is the best applicable perspective on a study that spans different frames of understanding and as the topic is linked to several aspects. It's not just a matter of a gender perspective but also a question of power structure towards an Indigenous population and exercise of power over a group within that group, namely women. As Beco (2017) notes, Intersectional discrimination is used to point out situations where the result of discrimination is based on numerous grounds and can't be loosened from each other and through being interconnected brings a particular form of disadvantage. I will begin with a review on the current studies examining the intersectoral risks posed to Indigenous women to gain an insight into what role their Indigenous identity plays for Saami women. Secondly, I will present the impacts and risks the climate crisis has on women to gain deeper knowledge and understanding of the role gender plays in Saami women's intersection of risks for discrimination and violence due to the climate crisis. Then by reviewing literature on particular risks that climate change pose to Indigenous people, I will gain an understanding of what risks climate change impose on Saami women in regards to their Indigenous identity and gender identity. Then finally I will be reviewing data on Saami women which I afterwards will be applying into an ecological model. The ecological model is a framework used to address risk factors for women's experience of violence to then be able to prevent the violence prior to it

being perpetrated, by doing so I will be able to understand what personal risk factors Saami women possess. After distinguishing what risk factor Saami women entail I will be applying the established risk factors to the literature I reviewed in the beginning of the study, on the risks climate change posed to women, and Indigenous women, I will be able to distinguish what outcomes could be expected for Saami women due to the climate crisis.

Throughout the process it is important to understand that intersectionality is not viewed from an additive standpoint, in other words, it is not seen from a gender perspective where one addition of other perspectives such as the marginalization of a person due to its ethnic origin as an intersectional perspective should be seen. Instead, intersectionality is seen as a perspective where different aspects are fundamentally connected with each other through an interaction between the different perspectives (Lykke, 2003).

Data collection

To be able to find relevant literature to defend my hypothesis that the climate crisis will increase Gender-Based violence amongst Saami women, I found that by using literature which correlates to either Climate change, Gender and violence, Indigenous women and violence, Risk factors to experience violence, Climate change and violence, Climate change and Indigenous women, Intersectionality and climate change, to provide me with relevant studies. I did not have any particular limitations as to what kind of articles I used as long as they were scholarly articles. The reason for this is the lack of literature that exists on Saami and climate change, I needed to be creative in ways of finding the answer to my hypothesis by examining literature that correlates with topics regarding, women, Indigenous women and climate change related violence. The articles and studies used are found from data bases such as; EBSCO, Google Scholar, One Search and the Scandinavian Journal of Public Health to find literature on Saami women. The studies used are written in Swedish, Finnish, Norwegian and English.

Keywords are “Saami Women and Climate Change”; “Saami Women And Gender-Based Violence”, “Saami Women’s safety”, “Indigenous Women & Gender-Based Violence”. “Indigenous women’s security in climate change” “Climate change and Migration” “Natural Disasters and Gender-Based Violence”

Limitations of the study

I want to briefly explore my study's strengths before moving on to its weaknesses. First of all, the impact of climate change on Saami women is a relatively recent phenomena. Since there isn't much literature on the subject, my study can be considered unique compared to other topics. However, this study has three main limitations. The first limitation is the lack of existing data on Saami women; certain studies have been made on the correlation between Saami and violence, but as was addressed in various studies, there is a blind spot in the literature regarding Saami women's experience of violence, although a couple of studies were found. Another limitation would be time constraints. As my master thesis is a part of the European Master's Programme at the Global Campus of Human Rights, an intense one-year program, it has been challenging to write my thesis alongside the courses I have attended. The third limitation is the lack of financial support, which restricted the selection of literature as I was not able to purchase books and articles, as they weren't accessible through the databases I was using.

3. Theoretical Framework:

3.1. Climate justice as a social and intersectoral problem

“Climate justice means addressing the climate crisis not merely as an environmental problem but as a complex social justice problem, placing at the center populations that are particularly vulnerable to its impacts. It means tackling the root causes of the climate crisis, including unsustainable production, consumption, and trade while making progress towards equity and the protection and realization of human rights” - Figueres 2019, s.1

Figueres explains how the climate crisis is a complex problem which needs to be solved through climate justice which takes into consideration the root causes of the climate crisis and the people most affected by them. Williams *et al.* (2018) p.5 define Climate Justice as a philosophy for eliminating and mitigating the inequalities caused by climate change. Climate justice, as a type of environmental justice, is the equitable treatment of all people and the elimination of discrimination through developing laws and programs that address climate change while eliminating discrimination.

I will be using a feminist approach to climate justice. As Figueres (2019) explains, it entails the issue of climate change as a social problem through an intersectional analysis, challenging

uneven power dynamics related to gender and other factors, such as race, nationality, sexual orientation, age, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, ability, and more. An intersectional analysis promotes initiatives addressing underlying inequities like inequality, power relations, and women's rights.

Another aspect of climate justice is understanding women's important role in providing climate-just solutions. Women have strong social networks, which are of great importance during natural disasters as women can identify who is affected by the tragedy and play an essential role in locating the potential victims. In addition, women deeply understand what specific needs children and women have and can assist accordingly (Figueres, 2019).

Women are at the forefront of the fight against the effects of climate change and its adaptation solutions; especially Indigenous women have crucial knowledge in preserving, protecting, and defending the environment. Climate justice recognizes that women, predominantly rural and Indigenous women, are mainly affected by the climate crisis. In numerous Indigenous feminist theories, the concept of climate justice is seen as having a direct connection to anti-colonialism. Within the context of a land-based Indigenous rejuvenation, the voices and power of Indigenous women are re-located within the framework of these discourses (Williams *et al.*, 2018).

Without climate justice, we don't have climate adaptation, which would mean the climate crisis would continue destructing our planet in the way it is currently doing. For this reason, to stop the implications climate change has on Indigenous women, not to mention all women, we have to provide climate-just solutions.

3.2. Climate justice as a human rights problem

Climate change is a threat to numerous human rights violations, for example, Several important articles under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), are grievously violated by the consequence of climate change, including;

Article 2, the Right to Equality;

Article 3, the Right to Life, Liberty, and Security of Person;

Article 17(2), the Right Not to be Arbitrarily Deprived of Property;
Article 18, the Right to Freedom of Thought, Conscience, and Religion;
Article 22, the Right to Social Security and the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
Indispensable for Dignity and the Free Development of Personality;
Article 25, the Right to a Standard of Living, the Health and Well-Being and the Right to
Security in the Event of Circumstances beyond his Control;
Article 27, the Right to Freely Participate in the Cultural Life of the Community and
Article 29, the Right to Community

As this study is centered around Indigenous women, specifically Saami women and their connection to climate change and violence, it is essential to note that Violence against women and girls is a human rights violation. As a human rights issue enshrined in the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW) and other International and regional human rights instruments, It should be noted that this circumstance defies the notion of gender equality and continues to exist as a result of this inequality. As a result, treating violence against women from a rights perspective requires tackling gender inequality as an underlying reason and upholding women's rights and freedoms in accordance with CEDAW. States have an obligation to promote and preserve fundamental human rights, and all interventions should be planned and carried out with this understanding in mind (CEDAW, 1979).

In the first page of the OHCHR, Key Messages on Human Rights and Climate Change report (2016) it is made clear that climate change is directly linked with an arrangement of internationally guaranteed human rights. States, the duty-bearers, are obligated to take adequate measures to fight the climate impacts and mitigate climate change and ensure all rights-holders can adapt to the climate crisis. For climate justice to be consistent, it is required for climate action to be in agreement with the human rights standards, principles, and obligations. The Human rights council and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change have addressed the links between human rights and climate change. The Paris agreement is the first treaty to cover climate change containing any mention of human rights.

OHCHR, Safe Climate report (2022) mentioned that in the conclusion of the 2019 report from Mr. David R. Boyd, the special rapporteur for the human rights council recommends that all states establish rights-based deep decarbonization plans to achieve net-zero carbon emissions by 2050 in compliance with Article 4 paragraph 19 of the Paris Agreement. He makes practical recommendations across four main categories of actions:

1. Addressing society's addiction to fossil fuels
2. Accelerating other mitigation actions
3. Enhancing adaptation to protect vulnerable people
4. Ramping up climate finance

Robinson (2020) states that combining human rights considerations with climate policies is crucial to achieving climate action that is beneficial for people and the planet. Which would advance climate justice actions taken to reduce the emissions creating the climate crisis and simultaneously protect human rights since they move away from climate change's dangerous consequences. Climate actions that are taken without consideration for human rights risk threatening people's rights (Robinson, 2020). In the Paris agreement, these risks are recognized and considered when promoting human rights and taking action on climate change. Integrating human rights into climate action allows governments to respect their legal obligations under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and those presented under international human rights norms (OHCHR, 2017).

Aliozi (2021) and Catalao (2020) argue that climate justice is a concept that does not tackle climate change as solely an environmental issue but also as a matter that impacts ethical, legal, and political matters. Schlosberg et al. (2014) found different definitions of climate justice resulting from which perspective or discipline you approach the issue. Due to the various possible outlooks on justice, the complexity of climate change and its responses has led to three different conceptualizations: 1. Ideal theories from the academic community, 2. grassroots movement perspectives, and 3. NGOs' perspectives on policy. There are also different approaches to climate justice: historical responsibility approach, developmental approach, and human rights approach. The historical responsibility approach to climate justice is the view that those who have abused fossil fuels and consequently harmed our planet should carry the primary

responsibility of righting those wrongs. They believe they are not only responsible, but they are the ones who have the means to do so. The development approach to climate justice regards nations and people's right to develop out of poverty before mitigating the climate crisis. The human rights approach to climate justice considers climate change's impact and violations of fundamental human rights (Scholsberg et al., 2014). Caney (2009) argues that the amount of fossil fuels consumed is unjust as it violates basic fundamental rights.

Climate change is the new violation of rights, and climate justice is about providing for these rights. The human rights approach to climate justice is based on numerous rights in response to the climate crisis, like the right to be free from climate change (Caney, 2009). Woods (2010) points out that human rights and environmental sustainability are inevitably linked because they affect each other in a globalized world. Furthermore, Woods (2010) highlights that the globalization of human rights that has brought greater freedom has also brought further environmental destruction, undermining human rights in some parts of the world. That is why human rights theorists must consider this interaction's conceptual and normative problems. Humphreys (2009) also highlights the connection between human rights and climate change, emphasising that climate change is undermining and will continue to undermine the realization of some internationally protected rights. Like Woods (2010), the author mentions that the worst effects of climate change affect those whose rights are not and previously have not been exercised.

The human rights approach to climate justice considers climate change's impact and violations on fundamental human rights. This study will be analysing literature on the climate crisis effect on saami women's physical safety, with the hypothesis being that saami women are going to experience an increase in Gender-based Violence due to the climate crisis. I will conduct this study with an intersectional & human rights approach, which means that I will be analysing what human rights are likely to be violated. In connection to my hypothesis, I believe that the main rights that Saami women are at risk of being violated due to the climate crisis are: the right to life, the right to freedom from torture and degrading treatment, the right to freedom from discrimination and the right to safety and security.

4. Presenting the literature on intersectoral risks for indigenous women

As Saami women face double discrimination due to their gender and being a part of an Indigenous group, this chapter will present risks posed to Indigenous women due to their intersectionality. Additionally, different forms of violence will be presented to understand the implications of the terms used throughout the thesis.

4.1.1. Literature on risks for women

Indigenous women's social positionings are complex and dynamic, informed by culture and post-colonial politics; gender and ethnicity intersect with age, socio-economic status, and social hierarchies. Furthermore, the intersections between the political and personal, between race and class, between society and space, and between territories and bodies are vital for Indigenous women as these intersections all too frequently apply Indigenous women at the centre of various types of violence. It is of crucial importance to understand the intersection between different variety of situations and processes affecting Indigenous women, as well as the multitude of struggles and approaches to address them. Intersectionality highlights the numerous and overlapping elements of Indigenous women's oppression as racialized, gendered, and classed entities, as well as the dominating, exclusionary, and discriminatory institutions with which they are associated (Marceau et al., 2019). Being a woman, you are already at a heightened risk of violence, according to (World-Bank, 2019) 35% of women worldwide have experienced either physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence. Being Indigenous places them in an increased position of violence as Indigenous peoples are three times more likely than the general public to be victims of violence (Heidinger, 2022). Due to Indigenous women's intersection of their gender and being apart of an Indigenous group, they are at risk of double discrimination, and due to their positioning in society they are, as previously mentioned, frequently positioned at the centre of various types of violence.

4.1.1.1. Different forms of Violence

In this section I will present various descriptions of Gender-based violence, to these include; Sexual Violence, Violence against women, Intimate Partner violence & Trafficking of women and girls. The different forms of violence are of importance to gain a deeper understanding of the implications of the study's purpose, which is to analyse if the climate crisis will increase Gender-Based violence amongst Saami women.

4.1.1.2 Gender-Based Violence

Gender-based violence (GBV) is a term used to distinguish customary violence from the violence that occurs within groups of individuals or targets an individual based on their gender.

The Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) defines Gender-Based violence as violence directed at a human due to their gender, which included acts that impose mental, physical, or sexual harm, coercion, suffering, or threats of such acts, and other deprivations of liberty. Furthermore Ellsberg (2006) states that Gender-Based violence is a human rights violation that can lead to lifelong consequences such as mental health issues, post-traumatic stress disorder, injuries, sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS, and adverse pregnancy outcomes. Furthermore, Huang (2020) states that Gender-based violence can occur throughout a woman's lifetime and occurs in the workplace, at home, and in educational associations and consists of genital mutilation, early childhood marriage, sexual abuse, harmful traditional practices towards women, exploitation, and domestic violence. Rai, Sharma, and Subramanyam (2021) state that Gender-based violence threatens efforts toward gender equality and women's empowerment. Gender inequality, which stems from and is maintained by a deeply rooted patriarchal value system, lies at the heart of Gender-Based Violence (Rai, Sharma, and Subramanyam, 2021).

“GBV is used as a form of socio-economic control to maintain or promote unequal and gendered power dynamics across all sectors and contexts, including in relation to the ownership, access, use, and benefits from natural resources. The potential for violence related to natural resources is particularly augmented in the face of environmental stressors and threats. These conditions create situations in which the control over increasingly scarce or degraded resources is

increasingly fraught, resulting in higher tension, increased negative coping strategies, and reduced resilience for families and communities – thus affecting lives and livelihoods.”

-Castañeda Carney *et al.*, 2020 p.6

According to Carney et al, the climate crisis increases tensions, and threats over natural resources which will increase the prevalence of Gender-Based violence due to a loss or want of control which will subsequently affect livelihoods and families.

4.1.1.3. Sexual violence

Sexual violence, which includes abuse and exploitation, indicates any threat, attempt, or act of a sexual manner that results in or is likely to result in emotional, psychological, and physical harm. Sexual violence is also a form of Gender-Based violence. UNHCR (2003) acknowledges that the majority of survivors/ victims of Sexual and Gender-Based violence are women and children but does not shy away from acknowledging that boys and men are also targets of Sexual and Gender-Based violence.

4.1.1.4. Violence against women

Violence against women (VAW) is a term that refers to any act of Gender-Based violence that brings about or is likely to bring about psychological, physical, and sexual harm to women and girls, whether it is in the public or private sphere. Violence against women is a form of Gender-Based violence that includes sexual violence (UNHCR, 2003).

Desai and Mandal (2021) agree that Sexual Gender-based violence is detrimental to one's health and persists throughout life. Due to dull social, economic, and political security and the culture of universal impunity, women worldwide are exposed to Sexual Gender-based violence.

According to Rai, Sharma, and Subramanyam (2021) Gender-based violence takes various forms, but it is often perpetrated against women by men who often are current or former intimate partners. An intimate partner has physically or sexually abused one out of every three women who have ever been in a relationship (Rai, Sharma, and Subramanyam, 2021).

4.1.1.5. Intimate partner violence

Intimate Partner Violence is one of the most common forms of violence against women as it encompasses many forms of violence and as it occurs between a current or former intimate partner, which encompasses psychological, sexual, or economic violence. In Finland, the lifetime prevalence of physical partner violence was 30%, whilst Sweden reported a lifetime prevalence of 18%, and Norway at 27%. A more pronounced statistic was shown in developing countries in comparison to industrialised countries, as the prevalence of current abuse in many developing countries where half of the women had experienced violence within 12 months, which is exponentially higher than that of Sweden, which had an estimated 4% and Norway with 6% (Ellsberg, 2006).

4.1.1.6. Trafficking of women and girls

Human trafficking in women and girls is a form of Gender-Based violence that has grown exponentially during the last twenty years resulting from displacement, war, and economic and social inequities between and within countries. Due to the unreported and secretive nature of organized crime and human trafficking, statistics remain unreliable, yet an estimated 700,000 to two million women and girls are trafficked over international borders annually (Ellsberg, 2006). Human trafficking is the third-largest business in the world, economically surpassing the trade of weapons and drugs (Schauer and Wheaton, 2010, p.164-165).

The “boyfriend” method

Roudomentkina and Wakeford (2018) describe the boyfriend method as a process used in the recruitment of girls and women into human trafficking. Its basis relies on grooming the girls/potential suitor into feeling seen and heard. A trafficker usually begins by treating the girls/women very well, making them feel special by spoiling them with gifts and building a imaginary fulfilling life together in an attempt to create an emotional dependency on the victim and a false sense of affection. The girls and women whom the human trafficking recruiters choose to groom are often victims of childhood violence. The normalization of their abuse makes it difficult for them to see themselves as victims, making them increasingly vulnerable and accepting of the exploitation. Due to the nature of human trafficking recruitment, there are many challenges in identifying and prosecuting the recruiters as the emotional dependency created

from the “boyfriend” method leads victims unable or unwilling to separate from them, as they do not recognize the relationship as the abuse they aren’t willing to testify against their traffickers.

Online

Another tool recruiters use is the internet and social media's growing popularity, which has contributed to the increase in domestic cases of human trafficking of Indigenous women and girls.

“Recruitment of young girls and women through the use of the internet is a growing concern for many Northern communities, in which young women are often promised a better life in urban settings by online friends” - Roudometkina and Wakeford, 2018, p.3

In the quote above by Roudometkina and Wakeford it is clear to see that human trafficking is of concern in Northern communities, as young girls are easy targets of being recruited as technology has made it easier to approach young girls on various social media platforms.

Another recruitment tactic used are “agents” who promises employment but sell women into brothels, where they are sexually exploited (Anderson et al., 2016 p.5). UNODC (2021) detected two types of strategies human trafficking recruiters use, to these include “Hunting” and “Fishing”. Hunting is when the recruiter is actively pursuing their victim, usually through social media, which has been incredibly successful due to children’s need for attention, friendship, or acceptance. Fishing is used when recruiters post job advertisements online, and wait for potential victims to respond. The internet allows traffickers to live stream the exploitation of their victims, allowing numerous customers all over the world to abuse one victim at the same time (UNODC, 2021).

Human trafficking will be mentioned in combination to the climate crisis, and how Indigenous women, specifically Saami women are facing threats of being recruited into the sex trade. Gender-Based Violence and sexual gender-based violence will be discussed throughout the whole study as it is of concern in various situations.

4.1.2. Literature on the impacts of climate change

In this section I will present different climate change related events as they will be arising within the literature and as they provide a background on what impacts the climate crisis have on the environment and what threats it brings to human health and security

4.1.2.1. Slow onset

Slow onset events like droughts, sea-level rise, and temperature loss lead to different forms of Gender-based violence. In different instances, when communities are distressed, they take on a conservative practice. Furthermore, families in conflict due to significant stress, including communal, property, and food/water loss, leads to men behaving violently. This is not the only way women and girls are more vulnerable to Gender-Based Violence due to climate change. In response to the scarcity of water and food, women and girls have to walk prolonged distances to provide these resources. The longer distance has been shown to put women in greater danger of falling victims to sexual assault. Moreover, evidence reveals that when families cannot meet their basic needs, the probability of child marriage rises exponentially for young girls.

Those highly dependent on climate-sensitive work, like farming, are more vulnerable to the slow onset climate events, like droughts. Changing climate hinders women and girls from doing their jobs and subsequently hinders them from earning a living, making them more susceptible to Gender-Based violence (*Unicef, 2022*).

4.1.2.2. Fast onset

Fast onset climate disasters tend to increase the displacement and migration of women and girls. Due to the fact that women and girls are usually left behind during slow-onset events when men seek a livelihood elsewhere, relocation caused by acute disasters is typically a last resort, indicating an incapacity to respond appropriately to climate change (*Walker, 2012*).

4.1.2.3. Displacement

Displacement is another consequence caused by the climate crisis and is one of the possible outcomes I fear could be of risk to Saami women, which I will be discussing later on in the thesis.

The IPCC states that climate change can cause people to relocate, either freely or involuntarily. They believe that understanding the reasons behind every displacement is critical in offering and creating effective responses that address the needs of the most vulnerable individuals and communities. The Mary Robinson Foundation (2016) stated that forced displacement, voluntary displacement, and planned displacement are three common factors rendering a group of individuals to flee their homes. A situation qualified as a case of forced displacement is, for example, one in which a hurricane wipes out people's sources of livelihood and pushes them to vacate their homes. An example of voluntary displacement is when a farmer decides to leave because of climatic hazards that endanger their capacity to make a living by impairing productivity or their ability to survive. Planned displacement can be seen when an island population acquires new property and relocates owing to the effects of rising sea levels on their home.

Robinson states that it is important for the international community to take the required actions in order to take efforts toward safeguarding the most vulnerable people from the effects of climate change, including displaced people.

4.1.3. Literature on climate change posing particular risks to women

The purpose of the study is to analyse climate change's effect on Saami women's physical security. By examining the literature on how climate change poses a threat towards women, I will gain an understanding on how Saami women are expected to be impacted by climate change due to their gender. In this chapter I will gain further knowledge in order to defend my hypothesis that the climate crisis will increase Gender-Based violence towards Saami women. In the next chapter I will be addressing literature which provides information on how the climate crisis poses particular threats to Indigenous women.

4.1.3.1. Gender as a risk factor for Gender-Based Violence due to climate change

The first variable as to why climate change poses a threat towards women's safety is due to their gender, which I will be presenting below:

Climate change will affect women worldwide due to the social constructs set out in society, and their naturally prescribed role as females. The already prevailing gender inequalities set out in the world will only be intensified due to the climate crisis, particularly in the developing world. Women are 14 times more likely to die or be injured during a disaster than men (Peterson, 2007). In the cyclone disaster in Bangladesh, 90% of the 14,000 deaths were women (Ikeda, 1995). Similar outcomes were found in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, where the majority of victims were African American women and children (Gault *et al.*, 2005).

UNDP's guidebook for designing and implementing gender-sensitive community-based adaptation programmes and projects "Gender climate change and community-based adaptation" it was reported that within many poor communities where women have limited access to land, livestock, credit, and essential tools to provide security, they are put in a vulnerable situation. In instances where women have access to land, it is typically via the family or the state (usually in Africa), or the market (usually in Asia). As they often are not the landowners, they have no control over it. Tenure and Land are critical necessities for women's safety as Land tenure is a facilitator for multiple benefits in poverty eradication, food security and nutrition. Despite women's responsibility for most agricultural production, they frequently have minimal land ownership and access to productive resources, which can help them increase yields (Nyandiga *et al.*, 2010). In Lane and Mcnaught (2009) article "Building gendered approaches to adaptation in the Pacific" found that due to the loss of natural resources, women seek new areas to provide their families with medicine and woodfire. They agree with the notion that the close relationship between women and the environment is essential for its conservation, as has been seen in the example of women from Pacific island communities, who have the tools in knowledge to provide care and solutions for safeguarding the environment. Natalia (2011) agrees that the climate crisis has and will have worse implications on women, due to their relationship with primary resources, which are essential in providing food, water, and energy for heating and cooking, Nyandiga and *al* (2010) add that women are often responsible for food and water and depend on these resources to survive, leaving them increasingly vulnerable and affected in the face of environmental

degradation and biodiversity loss. Natalia (2011) discuss women's natural role as a provider of primary resources lead women to direct contact with poor-quality water and water-related diseases.

Furthermore, women often bear the burden of caring for ill individuals and are particularly vulnerable to extreme weather consequences before, during, and after the event due their traditional roles as caregivers for children and the elderly, combined with their cultural restrictions, limit their ability to flee and rescue themselves. Women, in many places of the world have less information on mitigation and adaptation strategies due to their domestic responsibilities causing time constraints. Women (especially older women) are more likely to die due to extreme heat than men, which may be due to how gender responds to illness and/or how society reacts differently to sick women than sick men (Natalia, 2011).

4.1.3.2. Natural disasters lead to an increase in Gender-Based Violence

The second variable as to why climate change poses a threat towards women's safety is due to the violence women face in the aftermath of natural disasters. Below I will present findings that provide clear documentation on the connection between gender and safety during and after a disaster.

Natural disasters have been seen to increase Gender-based violence on various occasions. For example, in Mississippi, Gender-based violence increased from 4.6 per 100,000 to 6.3 per 100,000 after Hurricane Katrina (Anastario, Shehab, and Lawry, 2009). Similarly, In the face of the 1997-2010 earthquakes in Japan, women, volunteers, and evacuees were victims of sexual and physical violence (Thomas et al, 2008), most likely due to men's increase in insecurities, and feelings of inadequacy due to their inability to live up to their socially constructed gender roles, leading men to act more violently as their role as the provider becomes threatened (Thomas *et al.*, 2008; Natalia, 2011; Austin, 2008). Alston (2013) states that domestic abuse, sexual abuse, and human trafficking are linked to rapid environmental change caused by natural catastrophes. Moreover, Thomas et al. (2008) add that high unemployment rates, a decline in social support, violence, unequal access to resources, and sex trafficking are all linked to natural disasters (Thomas et al., 2008).

True (2016) discuss how natural disasters in New Zealand made women's heightened vulnerability in the aftermath of a disaster very clear as they compared Hurricane Katrina and the earthquakes that erupted in 2010 and 2011. The results found that despite the disaster's geographical differences and social context, there was an increase in Gender-based violence for all of them. Gender-based violence has increased in New Zealand by 100 percent, sometimes even by 200 percent, in response to disasters. The severity of the problem of Gender-Based violence became apparent when the number of women seeking domestic violence shelters spiked (True, 2016, p.82). In a study conducted by IFRC (2021), they argue it is hard to determine if violence has increased in instances where Gender-Based violence has been prevalent before the disaster. Yet Jenkins and Philipps (2008) state that the women who were seeking shelters after Hurricane Katrina weren't necessarily the same women who fled to shelters prior to the disaster; amongst the victims were new women from middle-class families and new immigrants seeking shelter (Jenkins and Philips, 2008, p.62), making it fairly reasonable to assume that one core reason between disaster and Gender-Based violence is in the response men have to their socially constructed gender roles. Additionally, natural disasters such as droughts or dry spells also increase Gender-based violence, examples of this can be seen in Uganda, where women are continuously exposed to domestic violence, female genital mutilation, rape, and other harmful practices in instances of droughts and dry spells.

Rai, Sharma, and Subramanyam (2021) discuss the prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence in India in an examination of different districts which had been affected by natural disasters. It was found that areas that went through droughts (slow-onset natural disasters) and cyclones (rapid-onset natural disasters) responded differently to the disasters. The findings showed that women who resided in villages where the cyclone took place were 59% more likely to experience emotional and physical violence from their partners than those who were not residing in the areas affected by the tropical storm. Moreover, Rai et al. (2021) found that women from families with high education whose husbands have no record of alcohol consumption were likely to experience domestic violence and that more financially dependent women are significantly less likely to experience emotional, physical, and sexual violence with a partner than women from low-income families. True (2016) agrees with this notion and adds that women's vulnerability to violence during and after a crisis is determined by their economic and social

status prior to the disaster. He believes that when a woman's economic and social status is unequal to men's, she is more vulnerable to violence and because women globally are often poorer than men, and are less likely to have an education or access to health care, they are in a significantly more vulnerable position than men when disasters strike. Additionally, True (2016) states that marginalized women have a low adaptive capacity in climate change-related displacements, conflicts, and disasters due to a lack of resources and access to legislation, policy, and decision-making processes, rendering them increasingly vulnerable to Sexual Gender-Based violence than men. Furthermore, women are often excluded from post-disaster policymaking on environmental and disaster issues, when gender-based violence and women's specific needs are ignored in the aftermath of a disaster, their risk of being subjected to violence increases.

Indeed natural disasters are not likely to be seen in the form of a volcano or earthquake in the Sapmi area, however, the reason as to why it is of importance to mention natural disasters is because of men's reaction in previous crises, which I believe will be similar as climate change-related disasters in the Saami communities. Moreover, I find it reasonable to compare the aftermath of the hurricanes in New Zealand to the Sapmi area as the socioeconomics of the countries are similar, making it is reasonable to assume that the violence that occurs is regardless of geographic location.

4.1.3.3. Climate change forces women into prostitution

The third variable as to why climate change poses a threat towards women's safety is due to the desperation that arises within communities due to the climate emergency. Women are increasingly vulnerable due to food and water shortages, pushing women into situations where they have to sacrifice their wants and needs in order to fend for their families.

Within the literature it is found that one of the main reasons women are experiencing an increase in sexual violence due to climate change is due to resource extraction. As Desai&Mandal (2021) and Farley (2021) discussed, climate change's impact on women's safety is apparent when droughts occur and when rainfall is scarce. Without rain, women have to induce longer walking

paths when collecting drinking water, accelerating their increase in vulnerability to Sexual Gender-Based Violence. Additionally, as IFRC (2021) states, when poverty arrives in the aftermath of a tragedy, the need and desperation for new strategies alongside transactional sex arises. Melissa Farley's (2021) article; "Making the connections: resource extraction, prostitution, poverty, climate change, and human rights, *The International Journal of Human Rights*" presents the connections between resource extraction, prostitution, poverty, and climate change which brings forward the upsurge in Sexual Gender-Based Violence due to climate change in Bangladesh and Ethiopia, where collecting water can take as long as six hours during droughts, a quest that previously took one-third of that time. Additionally, the extensive water collection puts young girls at risk of prostitution as they have difficulty concentrating on their school work after the extensive water search (Farley, 2021). Prostitution is the oldest profession in the world, and often a job women to fall back on when other options are outsourced. An example of this is seen during and after the 2012 Fiji floods, as GSDR (2013) discussed how young girls were taken out of school to engage in sex work to access more means. Farley (2021) adds that in the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh, where the climate warming has impacted temperatures to rise above 50 degrees celsius, women are abandoned by their husbands due to economic instabilities caused by droughts, forcing women into prostitution. Similarly in Zambia, Farley (2021,s.3) discusses how the ever-dry climate has forced women farmers into prostitution to feed their children and survive droughts. A Zambian mother calculated that five blowjobs would equal the cost of one meal. Additionally, *Gevers et al. (2020)* state that during droughts, women approach male farmers, landowners, and food vendors in the hope of exchanging resources. However, instead of helping the women, men have shown to abuse their power by taking advantage of the women's dire position, demanding sex in exchange for food or rent (*Gevers et al., 2020*).

Due to the climate crisis women are put in vulnerable positions due to various reasons, and as Calma (2017) states, human traffickers commonly prey on vulnerable people, particularly women and children, in positions of weakness, such as in the aftermath of disasters. During moments when individuals are distressed, they take advantage of the uncertainty and insecurity of the situation, leading women in all countries, especially those living close to nature, at risk when the climate emergency shows its effects more increasingly. Furthermore, Deering et al. (2014) note that prostitutes or sex workers are especially vulnerable to experiencing sexual

violence at work, particularly those of color, migrants, or transgender who work in prostitution are at an increasingly higher risk of experiencing sexual violence and assault. Additionally, due to the unjust system, they refrain from reporting the violence as they fear the consequences of being arrested or assaulted (Deering *et al.*, 2014).

As climate change is forcing women and girls into sex work, sex workers are particularly vulnerable to sexual violence, especially if they are of color. Silbert and Pines (1981) found results which show that seventy percent of the adult women working as prostitutes declared that childhood sexual assault was the reason for their entry into prostitution. According to Brownridge *et al.* (2017) history of abuse and violence, witnessing violence, or any correlation to a violent household normalises violence in intimate relationships (Brownridge *et al.*, 2017).

“There had been no rain for years, and no work. My friend said how long will you live without work. He said he has a job that can ensure a good future for my children. So I took up the job of a sex worker. I had no other option. Many times clients would beat me, force me to drink alcohol and travel to different cities along with them. But I have to tolerate everything” -Farley, 2021, p.3-4

The quote was found in Melissa Farley’s article “Making the connections: resource extraction, prostitution, poverty, climate change, and human rights” (2021) where a single mother with three children from the Indian state, Andhra Pradesh was pushed into prostitution to be able to feed her children, subsequently exposing her to physical violence and other forms of Gender-Based violence.

Indeed, the Saami women in the Nordic countries are not likely to experience this level of poverty and outsource of other options due to the current social welfare system in place, yet it is crucial to note that prostitution occurs within these countries as well. However the reasoning for their entry into prostitution is often combined of certain factors, such as poverty, marginalisation or drug/alcohol addiction. According to Fredlund *et al.* (2018) study in Sweden on “Adolescents’ motives for selling sex in a welfare state – A Swedish national study” where a total of 5839 adolescents participated, most of them 18.0 years or older, found that the reason behind the youths entry into sex work was often due to economical reasons, and using sex as a means of self-injury.

4.1.3.4. Climate change related displacement leading to sexual violence

The fourth variable as to why climate change poses a threat towards women's safety is due to the violence which occurs when women are displaced due to climate related disasters. During displacement, women are increasingly at risk of exposure to Gender-Based violence and Sexual Gender-Based violence. By presenting information on how women are impacted by being displaced, it will show what implication forced displacement and migration due to the climate crisis might entail for Saami women, which will be discussed further on in the thesis.

Desai and Mandal's (2021) article "Role of Climate Change in Exacerbating Sexual and Gender-Based Violence against Women: A New Challenge for International Law" found that during emergencies and disasters, women are especially vulnerable to Sexual Gender-Based violence due to the crises in society and within the family due to the abrupt disruption of community and family structures resulting from forced displacement. Women are confronted with an increasingly vulnerable position, being exposed to sexual, physical, and psychological harm accompanied by denial of essential services and resources (Desai & Mandal, 2021). Farley (2021) states that prostitution, trafficking, and other human rights violations increase as climate refugees are impoverished, displaced, and migrate. When women and girls are relocated to evacuation centers that do not ensure privacy and security, their vulnerability to forced closeness and Gender-Based violence increases (Khan, 2016; Desai&Mandal, 2021; IFRC, 2021). Desai and Mandal (2021) add that when searching for safety in displacement camps, women are often more vulnerable due to the lack of privacy and protection; during sleep, bathing, washing, and dressing in camps, emergency shelters, or tents, women, and girls reported high levels of sexual violence. The study "Unseen, unheard: Gender-based violence in disasters, Global study" conducted by the IFRC (2021) is based on a review of academic literature and practitioner reports, and country-based research carried out in Bangladesh, Bosnia-Herzegovina, El Salvador, Haiti, Malawi, Myanmar, Namibia, Romania, and Samoa in 2015. The report discuss the impact displacement has on the frequency of Gender-based violence in initial temporary shelters and when exile is prolonged. The study found that people displaced by a disaster, particularly people in temporary shelters, appeared to be especially vulnerable to sexual assault by unknown men. They found that displacement seems to create risks in large measure as people are separated from their pre existing social networks. Their study in Samoa demonstrated that those who were

displaced from their communities as a result of a natural catastrophe were at a greater risk of becoming victims of Gender-Based Violence than those who were able to remain in their homes. Individuals who were displaced and sent to urban shelters spent lengthy periods of time living in overcrowded structures that lacked lighting, washing and bathroom facilities, and were populated by unfamiliar people who were not from their neighbourhood. It seemed that the displacement of rural Samoan groups had a clear connection to Gender-Based violence, as they had less social control over their children. When the parents left during the day to go clean up and rebuild the damages caused to their houses by the natural disaster, it was found that young girls were victims of sexual assault by other adults and youth at the displacement camps. Similarities were found in displacement camps in Malawi and Namibia. The Namibia study looked at the experience of people affected by floods, who were relocated to temporary shelters, and people affected by drought, who remained at home. It was found that men in Namibia would sneak into women's tents at night to perform non consensual sex on the women, something referred to as the "Mangenela system" in the Zambezi area. As houses usually are locked this usually is not feasible but due to the tents not having locks, the Namibian men weren't hindered. Additionally, a lack of privacy caused violence between husbands and wives in both Namibia and Malawi, as women and men were assigned different tents yet, the husbands insisted on exercising their "conjugal rights" while the wives resisted due to the lack of privacy (IFRC, 2021 p. 21).

4.1.3.5. Threat to the man's position as provider leading to Gender-Based violence

The fifth variable as to why climate change poses a threat towards women's safety is men's reaction to the climate crisis.

The stress caused by environmental changes and the loss of men's self-esteem as the family provider is seen to increase the likelihood of women and children being exposed to an increase in violence, affecting their well-being, physical health, and mental health (Thomas et al., 2008, Philipps et al. 2009; Kukarenko, 2011). Fear and stress that are accumulated during the warning phase before a disaster are likely to amplify during and after the event (Thomas *et al.*, 2008). Moreover, climate change's impact on men's mental health, leads to an increase in alcohol intake, also leading them to act violently towards women (Philipps et al., 2009). Women are

often the caregivers for children and the elderly which puts them at risk as this in combination with their cultural restrictions, limit women's ability to flee and rescue themselves during a disaster.

To conclude this chapter, it was found that climate change poses a threat towards women's security in the face of climate change due to food and water shortages, due to disaster's leading to an increase in violence, due to displacement, due to men's loss of self worth and first and foremost, due to their gender. As this thesis is set out to understand how the climate crisis will effect Saami women's physical safety from an intersectional perspective, it is crucial to remember that the way in which gender plays a role for Saami women is different than that of other women, as their gender and their Indigenous identity combined portray certain outcomes which can not be added together. Indeed, we can hypothesise around the similarities from the literature found on gender playing an aspect in their intersectoral threat by examining the literature on other women's experience of climate change, however this can not be assumed to be similar to the experience of Saami women as their experience is complex.

4.1.4. Literature on climate change posing particular risks to Indigenous people

The previous chapter discussed how climate change poses a threat towards women. In this chapter, we will focus on Indigenous women's particular risks to climate change. The sub chapters are; Indigenous people entail an intersection of six characteristics rendering them vulnerable to climate change, Indigenous people live in areas particularly affected by climate change, Indigenous people are often marginalized in the wider society.

The findings in this section are predominantly based on the 2017 International Labour office's paper on Indigenous peoples and climate change.

4.1.4.1. Indigenous people entail an intersection of six characteristics rendering them vulnerable to climate change

ILO's paper on Indigenous peoples and climate change (2017) declares that the risk climate change poses for Indigenous women differs from other societal groups. This is primarily due to the intersection of Indigenous people sharing six characteristics that in combination are not present in any other group, rendering them more susceptible to the direct effects of climate change, to the impacts of environmental destruction that leads to climate change; and to mitigation and adaptation measures.

Indigenous people are often impoverished and consequently part of the most vulnerable group to the climate crisis. Their economic activities and lives rely on renewable natural resources that are particularly vulnerable to climatic unpredictability and extremes. They reside geographically in locations where ecosystems are most affected by the consequences of climate change while also possessing a complicated cultural connection with such ecosystems. Due to their heightened exposure and vulnerability to the effects of climate change, Indigenous women are often pushed to migrate, which is not always found to be the best solution as it can further exacerbate their social and economic vulnerabilities. Additionally, Indigenous women face gender inequities, the effects of which are exacerbated by the current climatic catastrophe. Many Indigenous communities are still excluded from decision-making processes, typically due to a lack of acknowledgment and institutional support. This restricts their access to remedies, increases their susceptibility to climate change, impairs their capacity to prevent and adapt to climate change, and, as a result, jeopardises the progress gained in safeguarding their rights (ILO, 2017).

4.1.4.2. Indigenous people live in areas particularly affected by climate change

As Indigenous people typically reside in geographical regions and eco systems which are often areas affected by climate change, such as polar regions, tropical forests, coastal regions, high mountains, they feel the effects of climate change more forcefully (ILO ,2017; Hallegatte et al., 2015). One of the areas that is most vulnerable to the effects of climate change is agriculture, which is relied on by a large number of Indigenous peoples for both their food security and the satisfaction of their demands for subsistence. Loss of ecosystems and changes in the patterns of weather have serious repercussions for the traditions and ways of life of Indigenous peoples. This is due to the fact that many of these groups have a very intricate cultural link with the environment in which they live. This can be seen for example in the Arctic where Indigenous

people are extremely vulnerable to the climate crisis as they depend on the land, sea and natural resources and have a close relationship to them and depend on them for their cultural, social, economic and physical well-being (ILO, 2017).

4.1.4.3. Indigenous people are often marginalized in the wider society.

IPCC 2014 declares that socially, culturally, politically, economically, institutionally or otherwise marginalized people are particularly vulnerable to climate change and to various mitigation and adaptation responses (IPCC, 2014). ILO (2017) found that this is of particular significance to Indigenous people as they are typically among the most impoverished individuals in our society, who confront a variety of social and economic difficulties. These difficulties include the absence of recognition and protection for participation in decision-making and for their human rights and the absence of participation in the development of public policy. Additionally; land alienation, insecurities over their livelihoods, loss of culture and identity, discrimination and exploitation at the workplace, also limited access to opportunities are additional significant difficulties.

Indigenous women are especially susceptible to many types of exploitation and prejudice from both inside and outside of their communities. Additionally, Indigenous people are being compelled to labor in precarious circumstances where they have inadequate access to social protection and are at risk of Gender-Based violence. With the combination of these factors of economic, social, environmental, and political issues and the problems they experience, Indigenous people are particularly vulnerable to the effects of climate change, according to ILO more so than any other group in society (ILO, 2017).

4.1.5. Literature on intersectionality posing particular risks of violence to Indigenous women

In the previous chapter we discussed how climate change poses particular risks to Indigenous people due to their close connection to nature, and their marginalised position in society. In this chapter I will present literature on intersectionality posing particular risks of violence to Indigenous women, as they are discriminated upon two grounds; being a part of an Indigenous group and their gender being female.

4.1.5.1. Indigenous women experience a higher toll of violence

Due to their Intersectional identities, which make them more susceptible than other societal groups, Indigenous women are disproportionately victimised by violence and prejudice. There is a widespread problem of violence against Indigenous women all around the globe, and it often happens in disproportionate proportions. Indigenous women are more susceptible to several types of violence in mainstream culture due to the intersecting forms of racism and sexism, as well as poverty and economic reliance. In indigenous communities, violence against women is also pervasive, despite the fact that members of the community are sometimes reluctant to address the issue in public or to bring it up as a problem (Kuokkanen, 2015 s.282).

Indigenous women and girls are disproportionately vulnerable and face some of the highest rates of violent and non-violent victimization (Perreault and Simpson, 2016; Heidinger, 2018; Allen, 2020; Nagy, 2015). A brief on Trafficking of Indigenous Women and Girls in Canada, conducted by The Native Women's Association of Canada, a national non-profit Indigenous organization representing the political voice of Indigenous women declares that exploitation and trafficking in relation to Indigenous women have a deep connection to colonialism, as the historical aspect of how Indigenous women's bodies have been viewed within society plays a important factor in their vulnerability in to being trafficked (Roudometkina and Wakeford, 2018 p.3) .

Colonisation being a leading force for the violence perpetrated against Indigenous women is also seen within the documentary "End of the line, The Women of standing rock". The documentary follows a group of Indigenous women who are willing to risk their lives to stop the construction of the Dakota Access oil pipeline, the construction project threatens the nature of the area and, if implemented, takes away the last rights of the Indigenous peoples and destroys their places of

worship and burial. In the documentary, one of the women talks about colonization, and how violence has been a front player in many Indigenous communities. The intense struggles are portrayed clearly, with Indigenous women sharing their stories of physical violence, sexual violence, and exploitation. One of the women shared her story of how she was taken away from her family at a young age. The footage was shot at Marty Indian School, which was opened in 1924 under the “Kill the Indian, Save the Man” initiative. Here, she recounts sexual, emotional, and physical abuse imposed in the name of God.

"Father Francis used to come in our little girls' prayer room, he used to come in there almost every evening, and he would sit on this big chair and hold different girls on his lap, it got to a point where we all used to go hide when he came, we used to go hide and stuff, I was so afraid. He put fear in me so bad. I was so afraid. And I think that's what they did to a lot of our children, they just put the fear in us so bad with hell, with that belt and with abuse, physical abuse, and stuff. They would come after you at night if you didn't behave, during the nighttime and take you someplace and made you do things you didn't want to do, and it was your fault, you blamed yourself, you thought u were the only one but it wasn't, there was a whole bunch of children." (End of the Line: The Women of Standing Rock USA/Finland 2020).

Furthermore, there is a high level of Indigenous women involved in the sex trade due to colonisation of Indigenous people and the intergenerational effects which have subsequently been brought into indigenous communities (NWAC, 2014). In the report on Sex Trafficking Needs Assessment for the State of Minnesota by Bortel, Ellingen, Ellison, Phillips, and Thomas (2008 s. 23) where they interviewed victims of human trafficking it was found that historical trauma acts as a push factor for Indigenous women into sexual exploitation. Indigenous women's historical trauma is one reason for their vulnerability to being trafficked, another found reason for their vulnerability is poverty. As Indigenous children lack awareness and education, they have limited access to resources, and limited understanding of sexual exploitation furthering their marginalisation and intersection of being discriminated. According to Sethi (2010) indigenous youth compose 90 % of the visible sex trade in Canada, similar statistics were found in Vancouver, where 60 % of the sexually exploited youth were Indigenous (Sethi, 2010). Furthermore, Roudometkina and Wakeford (2018, p.7) add that it is common for victims of trafficking to have a background of systematic discrimination, poverty, and come from a place of

oppression. There are recurring themes that contribute to the recruitment into human trafficking for Indigenous women; recurring themes such as high rates of unemployment or unstable employment, poor living conditions, low working wages, prior exposure to the sex trade, and human trafficking from a young age (usually introduced by family or friends), family violence, and inter-generational trauma stemming from colonization. Exposure to family violence is seen as a particular risk factor for trafficking. The most common method used to recruit Indigenous women into trafficking is the “boyfriend” method (see p.18) and familial coercion. As exposure to family violence from a young age leads to the normalisation of abuse, making it difficult for the victims to recognize warning signs in other abusive relationships. Due to aboriginal women’s lack of access to support services and shelters, it is hard for them to leave the abusive relationships, additionally, the fear of being isolated from the community and the fear of losing their children to child welfare systems stops them from seeking help.

Indigenous women’s history of colonisation has led to their discriminated position in society, in an article conducted by Heidinger (2021) focused on the experiences of Indigenous women in Canada, for First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Indigenous groups by examining experiences of intimate partner violence based on self-reported data. Heidinger found that Six in ten Indigenous women have experienced some form of Intimate Partner Violence in their lifetime, and four in ten Indigenous women have experienced physical abuse by an intimate partner. Moreover, it was found that Indigenous women are twice as likely to experience sexual abuse by an intimate partner in their lifetime, which was found to often be linked to intergenerational trauma (Heidinger, 2021) which I assume is linked to colonisation. Furthermore, LGBTQ2S Indigenous women are 86% more likely to experience Intimate Partner violence throughout their life than a still high 59% of non-LGBTQ2S Indigenous women (Heidinger, 2018; Jaffray, 2021). When compared to Indigenous women without disabilities, they found a significantly higher proportion (74%) of Indigenous women with disabilities who had experienced Intimate partner violence in their lifetime (Heidinger, 2018; Savage, 2021).

As we see from the literature above, Indigenous women face high levels of violence. Being both Indigenous and female, leads Indigenous women to face racism, discrimination, and sexism.. Colonization of Indigneous women has resulted in inequity, violence, and the disruption of Indigenous people's culture.

4.1.6. Literature on the intersecting risks faced by Indigenous women affected by climate change

Due to climate change Indigenous women are likely to be victims of numerous risks as their intersection of sexism, racism and discrimination will be of vulnerability in regards to climate change displacement or other likely scenarios deriving from climate change. In the previous chapters it was found that women pose threats to their physical security in the face of climate change due to food and water shortages, due to disaster's leading to an increase in violence, due to displacement, due to men's loss of self worth and first and foremost, due to their gender. This in intersection with Indigenous women's close connection to nature, dependency on the land, combined with their colonised background places them at a higher risk of violence.

4.1.6.1. General risks

According to Vinyeta et al. (2016) "Indigenous masculinities in a changing climate: vulnerability and resilience in the United States" declares that colonisation has resulted in stress, loss, and cultural changes, which have led to alcoholism, high rates of substance abuse, suicide, and violence within Indigenous societies. Exploitation and trafficking in relation to Indigenous women have a deep connection to colonialism, as the historical aspect of how Indigenous women's bodies have been viewed within society plays a big factor in their vulnerability to being trafficked (Roudometkina and Wakeford, 2018). Indigenous women are more vulnerable to violence attributed to the intersection of sexism, racism, and discrimination (UN Women a, 2022, p.6). Due to Indigenous women living close to nature, in areas particularly affected by climate change and their marginalised position in society leaves Indigenous women in an increased risk of experiencing the first and worst effects of climate change. As they are dependent on nature they have to adapt to the climate rendering them in a vulnerable position as these new strategies might put them at danger of violence. Their marginalised status is reflected in their exclusion from adaptation and mitigation initiatives, which aggravates the impoverishment of indigenous people's.

Sweet (2014) paper : "Extracting More Than Resources: Human Security and Arctic Indigenous Women" found that indigenous women, particularly in the Arctic and Great Plains regions, face the first and worst effects of the climate crisis and are subjected to sexual violence, abuse, and trafficking, primarily through contractors sent to profit from indigenous territories' resources.

Climate change is introducing new threats to the Arctic that did not previously exist. Although development projects will bring economic benefits to the region, not all individuals will benefit from it. As resource extraction development projects will bring large groups of outside, temporary laborers into remote regions populated primarily by marginalized people, Indigenous women living there will be disproportionately impacted. Not only will their safety be jeopardized, but there will almost certainly be negative consequences for their physical security, the environment, and economic well-being. Being exposed to temporary laborers from other areas puts indigenous women at an increased risk of vulnerability of sexual harassment and violence, such as rape and assault .

4.1.7. Literature on the situation of Saami women

In this chapter, I will be presenting the literature on Saami women's position of equality within the Saami community, their experience with Gender-Based violence, and their relationship to their community and families. By gathering this knowledge I will apply the results to the ecological model to pan out what risk factors if any, Saami women possess to understand their vulnerability to violence on a general level to then discuss the results with the possible remaining risk factors saami women possess due to climate change. I will begin with a general review on Saami's history of equality to understand the intersectionality of ethnicity, gender, class, and what effect colonisation has had on Saami women.

Saami's history of equality

Kvenangen (1996) states that since the beginning of Saami society, women and men have been equal. The influence of the prominent communities (Norway, Sweden, Finland) and their political ideologies influenced the shift in equality between Saami men and women. In the early Saami society, women had a strong position. They were independent individuals, seen as capable of making their own decisions. The strong position of the Saami woman was mainly due to them being the primary caretakers in regards to their economy, being the prominent Saami representatives before authorities, and primarily in the reindeer industry where they had their reindeer marks and were additionally responsible for the children's reindeers. The Saami community was equal in its foundation. However, due to outside influence from the larger

society, Saami women went from being equal to the saami man becoming superior to the women (Kvenangen, 1996). Norton-Smith et al. (2016) add that the introduction to Christianity and the colonisation of Sapmi are two of the most contributory factors to Saami women's marginalisation and subordination to men. Through the incorporation of the Christian hierarchy, the man was the head of the family. Earlier during the shamanistic belief, the power structures were even between Saami men and women. According to the women at the crisis center in Karasjok, their religion is one reason women have remained and continue to remain in abusive relationships due to divorce not being considered legitimate in the Saami community.

Violence in Saami communities

In UNs report 60/251 from 2006-03-15 "Human Rights Council." Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences. Message to Sweden from Yakin Ertürk, Sweden was criticised for not paying attention to the violence perpetrated against Saami women. The report additionally draws attention to information received by the UN about Saami women avoiding contact with Swedish women's shelters as the shelters lack knowledge of Saami society and are unfamiliar to Saami women (Ertürk and Women, 2007).

Within the Saami Parliament, topics regarding gender equality have been selected and discussed yet subjects concerning physical integrity and violence have been neglected.

Monica Bruman's (2017) article "Men's intimate partner violence against Sami women - a Swedish blind spot", aims to present the Swedish context regarding men's intimate partner violence against Saami women. Bruman states that men's Sexual Gender-Based Violence towards women is a delicate and heavy issue in every community and society, yet with the existing knowledge of Saami women's experience of violence, It is made even more difficult by the colonial context and the specificities that come with being a subordinated and colonised minority. According to Eriksen et al. (2015) survey on "intimate partner violence and mental health problems among Sami and non-Sami in Norway", found that the Saami women residing in Norway have a high standard of living, and a high portion of Saami women have high standards of education yet, they are still subjected to violence and abuse. In the Saami Parliament and the Ministry of Justice's aim to identify exactly what Norway's support system does to help Saami

people who have experienced violence, it became evident that Saami individuals lack trust in Norwegian society as a consequence of past assimilation policies (Eriksen et al., 2015).

Saami Women, attitudes towards Sexual violence

Rauna Kuokkanen's (2015) article, "Gendered Violence and Politics in Indigenous Communities" examines the depoliticization of violence against women in Indigenous communities, where she discusses aboriginal people in Canada and the Saami in Scandinavia. Kuokkanen found through interviews conducted in Saami communities, that various forms of Gender-Based violence, such as physical, sexual, psychological, and structural violence, is a critical issue that is largely concealed and insufficiently considered by political institutions. In Kautokeino, a Saami town in Norway where Saami women earned more than the men, social concerns, like addiction, inadequate housing, unemployment, and service access barriers, were far less striking among Saami. This could be due to their integration into the nordic states after the second world war, leading them to enjoy an equal standard of living as their non-Saami counterparts. Due to this equal way of living, one may presume that structural oppression is not of concern to Saami women. Although poverty, discriminatory employment, or inadequate housing do not necessarily equate to structural oppression, it is evident that cultural and language barriers prevent Saami women's utilization of support services, as a result, this aggravates Saami women's isolation. Such obstacles restrict access to information about shelters as well as the security that shelters provide.

Furthermore, Kuokkanen (2015) found that Saami women have been taught to feel shame when vocalising their problems and are subjected to a narrative of dos and don'ts in order to fit in. For example, Saami women have been taught to remain resilient and strong, resist being hit, and refrain from seeking help in cases of physical violence, leading to a feeling of complete isolation. It is found that when Saami women seek help for the violence they have faced, they are regarded as weak or less than within the Saami community. Saami women are often quieted down and kept back by their Christian norms, which have, through colonisation, been inserted into Saami traditions. In Saami communities, it is common to normalise violence, viewing it as something common within a relationship; this is partly due to Saami families' need to protect their reputations. The relationships within the Saami family and between them are prioritised over the individual themselves, leading to problems being swept under the rug and severe indoctrination

when they do speak openly about the violence they face (Kuokkanen, 2015). Øverli (2017) agrees and adds that the taboo surrounding sexual and gender-based violence refrains Saami women from talking about the violence they face, as they are scared of the following repercussions from family members, the community, and local authorities.

There are different opinions as to why violence against Saami women remains unaddressed. Kuokkanen (2013, s.438) found that; Nickul (1970); Lehtola (1994; 2000) believed it is due to anthropologists' myth born in the 1960s who intended to portray Saami as victims who needed protection.

Rauna Kuokkanen's essay considering violence against women and self-determination in contemporary Saami society (2013, s.439) stated that sexual violence such as rape, child molestation, and incest have gone unnoticed in Saami society in the past and continuously is ignored and does not receive the critical attentiveness it deserves. Kuokkanen states that this is due to the large amounts of victim shaming related to sexual violence, rape, and sexual harassment. Pulk (2005) found that Saami Psychiatrist Marit Triumph, believes that the lack of information on sexual violence is due to the traditional upbringing of girls in Saami Communities, where they expect women to abstain from extramarital sex or any form of intercourse. If a man forced himself on a woman, it would be viewed as the woman's fault. Kuokkanen (2015) discusses another example of this, which is seen within the traditional upbringing of Saami women, where they are expected to behave in a modest fashion. Furthermore, Kuokkanen stated: "if a man happens to "go too far" with his sexual advances, it is a girl's or woman's responsibility to say "no." In this way, boys and men learn that they do not need to pay attention to women's refusals; according to the traditional Sami upbringing, "no" means "yes" " -Kuokkanen (2015) p. 279 In the town of Guovdageaidn, Utsi (2006) noted that elderly Saami women agreed with this assessment, they believe that teenage girls who have been sexually harassed or abused are only themselves to blame since their clothes are inappropriate and send the "wrong signals." Another reason as to why the violence Saami women face remains unaddressed is due to women's willingness to protect Saami men in order to erase the typical negative stereotypes which continue to portray Saami men as "uncivilized dirty drunks" (Kuokkanen, 2015 s. 280). The imposition of socio-cultural expectations for female behavior exacerbates the marginalization and alienation of women facing physical or sexual violence,

making it difficult for them to flee, while cultural obligations of familial loyalty force them to forgive and stay. The lack of shelters and hesitation in seeking non-Saami support services does not yield the situation (Kuokkanen, 2015).

4.1.7.1. Basic facts about the Saami

“Indigenous and tribal peoples” is a term used to describe around 370 million people living in more than 70 nations throughout the world. They make up about 5% of the global population, yet they account for 15% of the world's poor (Rombotus, 2017). The Saami are Indigenous people living in the very north of Europe, in a land called Sápmi, which stretches across the northern parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the Kola Peninsula in Russia, unifying them through culture, land, people, and language. They are descendants of the people who first inhabited the northern regions of Europe shortly after the last Ice Age (COE, 2015). There are an estimated 80,000 Saami people living in Europe, with approximately; 50,000 Saami people living in Norway, 20,000 Saami in Sweden, 8,000 Saami in Finland, and 2,000 Saami in Russia (“Sami in Sweden,” 2022). Being a part of an Indigenous group is to be a part of the ecosystem. The Saami people have lived off and depended on land, sea, snow, ice, and renewable resources to maintain and practice fishing, hunting, and reindeer herding through aeons of time. Long before states were established, and long before the indigenous inhabitants were required to follow the legal systems of such states, Saami people utilised and occupied enormous swaths of land. The following are the principles of Saami environmental attitudes as summarised in the Saami political program: “It is our inalienable right to preserve and develop our economic activities and our communities in keeping with our own common conditions, and together we wish to preserve our lands, natural assets and national heritage for future generations” (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2002). Studies show that Saami youth are battling with their mental health as statistics declare that they experience a high prevalence of suicidal thoughts and suicide. In Omma, Sandlund, and Jacobson's 2013: “Suicidal expressions in young Swedish Sami” conducted a cross-sectional study comprising 516 Swedish Saami between the age of 18-28 it was found that Saami reindeer herders in Sweden reported a high prevalence of suicide plans, especially Saami women reindeer herders as they were three times more likely to commit suicide.

4.1.7.2. Known facts about the situation of Saami women

Eriksen *et al.* (2015) research on Emotional, physical and sexual violence among Saami and non-Saami populations in Norway, a study which was based on the SAMINOR 2 study, a population-based survey on health and living conditions in multiethnic areas with both Saami and non-Saami populations in Central and Northern Norway. A total of 11,296 participants in the study, amongst them were 2197 Saami respondents and 9099 non-Saami respondents. The findings revealed that Saami women are more vulnerable to violence than non-Saami women. According to their findings, 49.1 % of the Saami women who participated in the survey had been subjected to violence with an additional 16.7% of the Saami women respondents answered that they had been victims of sexual violence during childhood, including emotional, physical, and sexual violence (Eriksen *et al.*, 2015). The violence experienced by Saami children is not only horrible due to the violation itself but also because of the far-reaching consequences sexual violence during childhood has later on in life. Whitfield *et al.* (2003) study “Violent Childhood Experiences and the Risk of Intimate Partner Violence in Adults” with 8,629 participants found that childhood sexual violence increases the risk of Intimate partner violence in adulthood exponentially. Furthermore, Silbert and Pines (1981) study : “Sexual child abuse as an antecedent to prostitution” a study of 200 youth and adult street prostitutes reported extremely high levels of sexual child abuse in their background, and Seventy percent of the adult women working as prostitutes declared that childhood sexual assault was the reason for their entry into prostitution.

4.1.7.3. Known facts about the effects of climate change on the Saami

Kelman and Næss (2019) article “Climate Change and Migration for Scandinavian Saami: A Review of Possible Impacts” comprised seven factors in which they found that climate change impacts are going to be seen in northern latitudes as they stated, it will be mainly through:

1. Increased warming rates as the distance from the coast increases.
2. Higher warming rates in winter compared to summer.
3. Increased rain, snow, sleet, or hail that falls to or condenses on the ground, especially during winter.
4. Increased storminess and more powerful wave action, augmenting coastal erosion, even while the frequency of some Arctic storms might decrease.
5. Diminishing snow cover and sea ice duration, with the potential of an Arctic Ocean without ice in the summer.
6. Melting permafrost.
7. Increased acidity and decreased salinity of marine

environments. 8. Global sea-level rise at 1–2 m at a minimum by 2100 with some local variations.

From the literature above we found what implications climate change will have on the Arctic area yet Kelman does not mention what implication climate change will have on the people residing there. However, Jaakkola, Juntunen, and Näkkäläjärvi's (2018) study regarding “The holistic effects of climate change on culture, well-being, and health of the Saami, the only Indigenous People in the European Union”, it became very apparent that the climate crisis has many effects on Saami's wellbeing. Jaakkola et al. declared that climate change not only affects their lifestyle, but furthermore it affects their food security, physical activity, obesity, physical health, and ethnic discrimination. Local observations by reindeer herders and studies confirm that climate change has already altered conditions in the Sápmi region. The most prominent ones are alterations in snow cover and vegetation. The Saami diet includes foods such as reindeer meat, fish, and berries. Due to the changing lifestyle, they have been incorporating a more westernised diet, replacing their natural regime consisting of movement and hunting has led Saami women to be less physically active. This has led to an increase in obesity among Saami women, more so than non- Saami women in the same areas. Their previous diet had significant health benefits in reducing cardiovascular disease. Unfortunately, diabetes has become a health concern for the Saami population.

Baird (2008) declares that the Arctic is melting twice as fast as the rest of the world, the first signs of climate change in the Sapmi area were noticed by reindeer Herder, Olav Mathis- Eira during the winter of 1980, when the winter snow was decreasing and rainfall increased. High temperatures and increased rain has come in the way of reindeer access to food, as the change in temperatures makes the fungus they eat hard to access due to layers of ice. Due to climate change, certain routes have become dangerous for Saami herders and reindeer, forcing them to find new paths which were previously communicated by older generations who were knowledgeable on what routes were safe but due to the terrible conditions they aren't able to provide advice, leading older people's status to diminish, making them feel worthless. Climate change has indirect implications on Saami culture, language, songs, child-rearing, marriage, and treatment of the elderly due to their connection to reindeer herding, as it is directly connected to their culture. Mathis-Eira states that he believes that In this way, climate change is threatening the entire Saami, as a people (Baird, 2008).

4.1.7.4. Does climate change increase the risk of Gender-Based Violence

From the literature above, it is made clear that climate change has altered the conditions in the Sapmi region, affecting their culture, language, reindeer-herding, and more. According to some of the studies listed above, Saami women are currently subordinate to Saami men and are taught to remain strong in moments of violence. Within the Saami communities, the women are to blame for the violence they experience. The data provided gave us an understanding of who the Saami are and what their relationships to each other and to the community look like. However, it was not made known if the climate crisis will lead to an increase in Gender-Based violence.

5. Ecological Model

To attain the purpose of this study, which is to identify and analyse critical areas in which the climate crisis will affect Saami women's physical safety, with the hypothesis that the climate crisis will increase Gender-Based violence towards Saami women. To defend my hypothesis, I will use an ecological model to address what risk factors if any, Saami women are at risk of.

5.1. History of the model

The Ecological model is a framework used to address risk factors for women's experience of violence to then be able to prevent the violence prior to it being perpetrated. As violence is complicated and stems from multiple combinations of influences and behaviors, The Ecological model presents risk factors at the individual level in combination with risk factors within relationships or the family, the community, and at the broader, societal/institutional level to assess the likelihood of a woman experiencing violence in a particular situation (Heise, 1998; SEM, 2011). The ecological model distinguishes four risk layers; the Individual level, the Relationship level, the Community level, and the Societal level. See UN women (2013) for an overview.

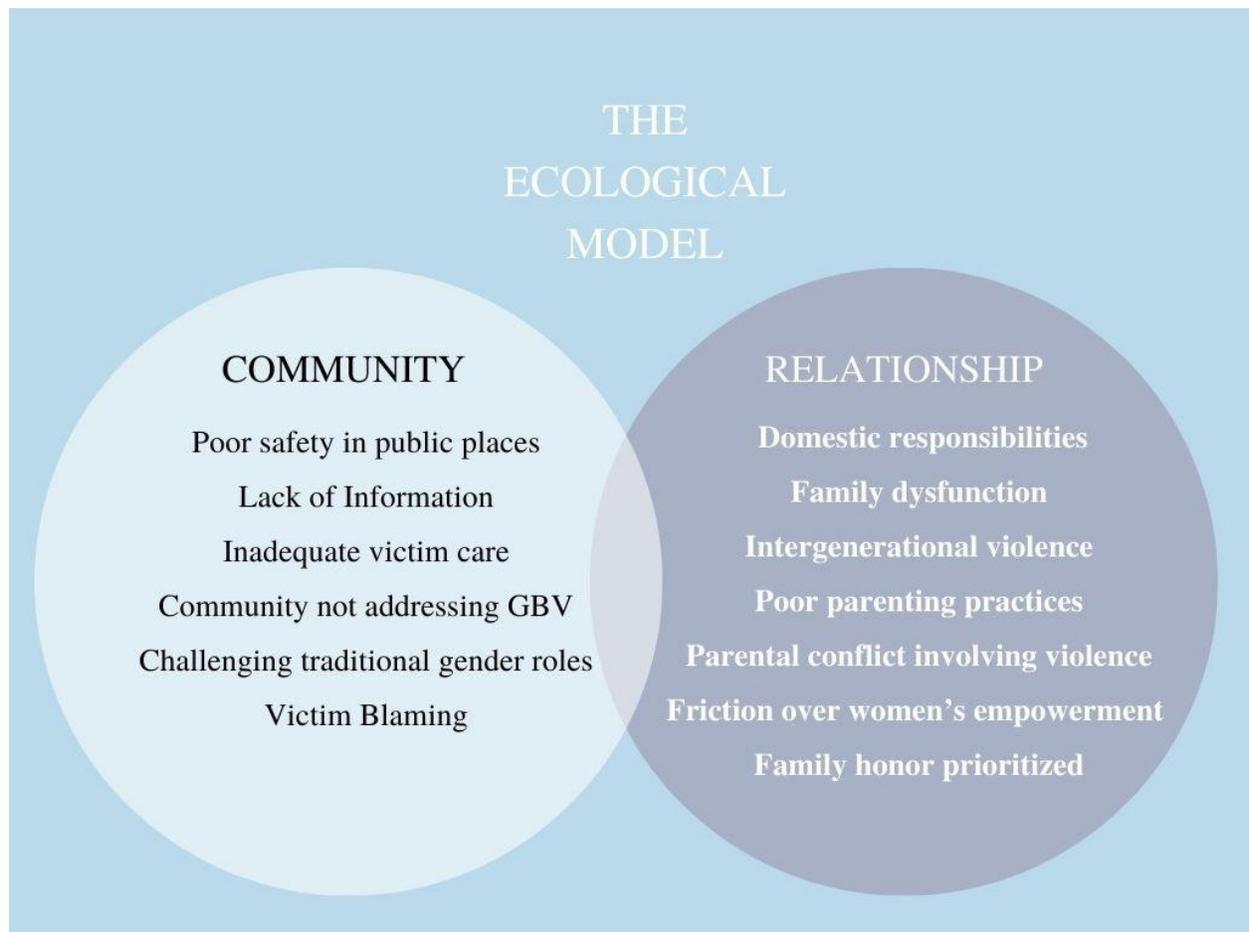
The *Individual* level helps identify the biological and personal history factors which would place a woman at risk of violence, or a man of perpetrating violence (SEM, 2011). Factors such as age, education, income, substance abuse, history of abuse, witnessing violence, or being a victim of childhood abuse, having an absent father or having a history of substance abuse (UN, 2013). The *relationship* level examines close relationships that may increase the risk of

experiencing violence as a victim or perpetrator. The people closest to the individual, such as partners and family members who shape their actions and contribute to their scope of experiences (SEM, 2011). Risk factors such as marital conflict, male control over family wealth and decision-making, age and education disparities between spouses are all found to be risk factors for women's likelihood of experiencing violence and a man's likelihood of perpetrating violence (UN, 2013). The *Community* level investigates the environments in which social connections occur, such as schools, workplaces, and communities, in order to determine the qualities of these settings that are connected with becoming victims or perpetrators of violence (SEM, 2011). Risk factors such as lack of economic opportunities for men; negative influence of social peers; and women's isolation from family and peers (UN, 2013). The *Societal* level examines broad societal variables such as health, economic, educational, and social policies that contribute to the formation of an environment in which violence is promoted or prohibited and that contribute to the maintenance of economic or social disparities between groups in society are referred to as pro-violence social policies (SEM, 2011). Risk factors such as; Social norms granting or tolerating male control over female behavior; acceptance of violence as a conflict resolution method; concepts of masculinity linked to dominance, honor, or aggression; and rigid gender roles

5.2. Ecological model for Saami women

I have chosen to analyse the literature on how climate change will impact Saami women's physical safety to see if they will be at risk of an increase in Gender-Based violence by applying the two ecological layers of; Relationships and Community to the literature. I will be making my own version of the ecological model, using both the UN's ecological model (UN, 2013) for understanding violence and Unicef's climate change-related ecological model (Unicef, 2021 p.10) for understanding violence. The reason why I want to combine the two is to examine both underlying and impending risk factors. By using the UN's ecological model I will be able to pan out the risk factors Saami women face by applying the model to the literature I found on Saami women in regards to their relationships with their family, partners, and to the community and by inserting Unicef's risk factors, I will be able to see if they entail risk factors of violence due to climate change(from the ecological standpoint). I find that it is important to combine the two

models to get a full understanding of the risks Saami women possess of experiencing Gender-Based violence.



Within the Relationship level, I chose 6 risk factors to analyse Saami women's safety, the risk factors are presented below. I have applied my own interpretation to the risk factors as neither The United Nations framework or Unicef's framework provided any further explanation for the reasoning behind the factors.

1. "Family dysfunction" (UN, 2013) is interpreted as a risk factor for violence as a family in which conflict, misbehavior, or abuse occurs, leads to the normalization of violence or conflict to the child, which would put them at an increased risk as the individual will not be able to understand the warning signs of violence, leading them to be more susceptible to abuse.
2. "Inter-generational violence and poor parenting practices" (UN, 2013) are risk factors due to similar reasons as to the one above, when violence has been occurring through generations

within a family or community it is very likely for it to continue. Poor parenting practices such as neglecting the child puts them at risk of developing feelings of inadequacy leaving them more susceptible to violence.

4. “Parental conflict involving violence” (UN, 2013) Which is similar to family dysfunction yet it is focused on the violence that occurs from a parent or guardian of the child to another parent or towards the individual in question. This is a risk factor as it normalises the violence and leads to the individual who experienced parental conflict becoming a victim or perpetrator of violence.

5. “Friction over women’s empowerment” (Unicef, 2021) is interpreted in this study as a risk factor due to women not being able to gain a sense of self-worth, their ability to determine their own choices, and their right to influence social change for themselves and others, furthering them into a disempowered position of inequality making it difficult to understand their self worth, subsequently making them more prone to stay in situations of violence.

6. “Family honor is prioritised (being seen as more important than female health and safety within)” (UN,2013) Family honor being prioritised is a risk factor for women to experience violence as their health and safety are regarded as less important than the family, meaning they wouldn’t speak out about the violence, due to protecting the family status which would aggravate their physical health and isolation.

Within the Community level, I chose 6 risk factors to analyse Saami women, the risk factors are presented below. I have applied my own interpretation to the risk factors as the UN (2013) and Unicef (2021) did not provide any further explanation for the reasoning behind the factors.

1. “Poor safety in public spaces” (Unicef, 2021) Poor safety in public places Is a risk factor as it indicates that within the community one is at risk of being exposed to violence or harassment by the individuals in the community.

2. “Lack of information” (UN, 2013) is interpreted as a risk factor for violence as the lack of knowledge increases the vulnerability of being a victim of violence as it is more difficult to escape out of the situation, to find services or help. This may be due to language barriers or cultural differences.

3, “Inadequate victim care” (UN, 2013) without good victim care, it is unlikely for women to seek help which hinders them from fleeing a violent situation.

4. “Community not addressing Gender-based Violence”(UN, 2013) was originally “Schools and workplaces not addressing gender-based violence” but I decided to change it to the community

as a whole. This factor is a risk for violence because if a community neglects to address Gender-based violence, they are not protecting women from harm which subsequently can lead them into a position of subordination.

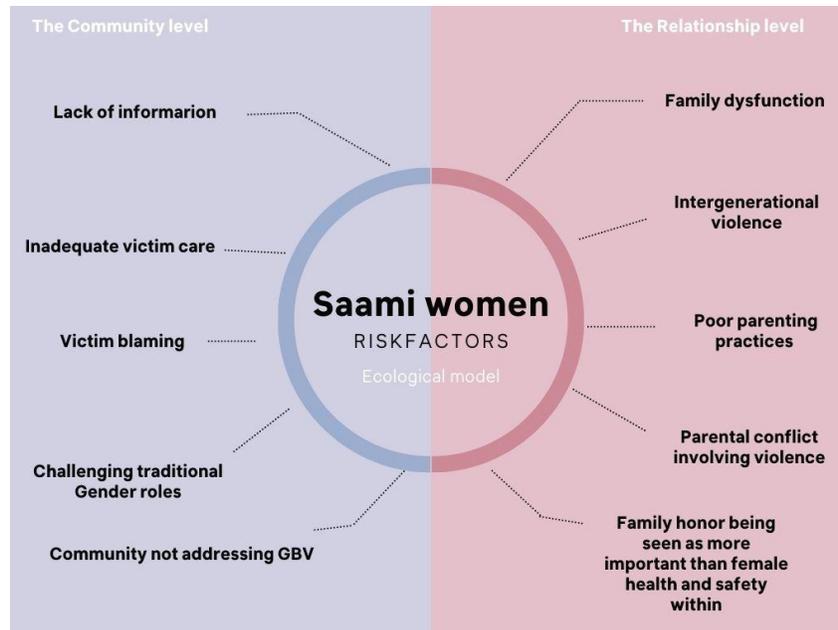
5. “Challenging traditional gender roles” (UN, 2013) is interpreted as a risk factor as it indicates gender stereotypes which are often used to justify violence against women

6. “Victim blaming” is interpreted as a risk factor as it marginalizes the victim/survivor and makes it harder to come forward and report the abuse, subsequently acting as a risk factor for women to experience violence and for men to perpetrate violence.

7. “Domestic responsibilities, including caring for children and older relatives” (Uniced, 2021) is seen as a risk factor as it makes it harder to flee in instances of natural disasters

Results:

The refined ecological model within the literature found on Saami women in chapter 4.1.7 led me to find 8 particular risk factors for Saami women to experience violence. To these include: “Lack of information”, “Inadequate victim care”, “Challenging traditional gender roles”, “Victim blaming”, “Family honor prioritized”, “Family dysfunction”, “Intergenerational violence” & “Poor parenting practices & Parental conflict involving violence” The results are displayed in the figure below



Due to Saami women’s language barriers and their shortage of knowledge, combined with their lack of trust in the majority of society have led Saami women to avoid women’s shelters as the shelters lack knowledge of Saami’s culture and Saami women lack knowledge of the shelters provided (Kuokkanen, 2015). As a result, one can assume this might aggravate Saami women’s isolation and renders them more vulnerable to experiencing violence, which can be seen as a risk factor within the Community level as “Lack of information” & “Inadequate victim care” as the lack of information they have on how to mitigate the situation, or where to go for help is likely to exacerbate the violence they face. Furthermore, I interpret lack of information to Saami women’s lack of knowledge on outside influences would put them at risk of violence in a situation of climate migration. The taboo surrounding sexual violence and gender-based violence (Øverli, 2017) within Saami communities I find is a risk factor within the Community level and in regards to the factor such as “Community not addressing Gender-Based violence” as the Saami community is not protecting women from harm which subsequently can lead them into a position of violence as the failure in addressing the violence leads to levels of unreported abuse, and furthers their vulnerability of experiencing violence. Furthermore, the taboo surrounding sexual and gender-based violence prevents Saami women from seeking help and expressing any violence they could face which also fits into the risk factor of “Inadequate victim care”, leading them to stay in situations where they can’t find a way out. Additionally, Saami women’s fear of

the consequences and repercussions that would arise from family members, local authorities, and the community if they speak out about the violation fit into the risk factor “Community not addressing gender-based violence” “Challenging traditional gender-roles” and “Victim blaming” for similar reasons as above. The fear Saami women have, to express the violence they face makes it harder to come forward and report the abuse, which perpetrates men to act more violently. “Victim-blaming” is also seen within Kuokkanen’s (2015) study where it was found Saami women were blamed for the violence they faced. Furthermore, Saami women’s internalized feeling of shame is connected to “Victim blaming”, “Challenging traditional gender roles” and “Poor parenting practices& Intergenerational violence” as it was found within the literature that Saami women are taught to behave in a certain manner and as the literature supported, this notion is due to colonisation, which I interpret as connected to intergenerational violence as they have learned to accept the violence and subsequently aren’t fighting against it, which then in turn perpetrates it.

Saami women’s language barriers, lack of trust in majority of society due to the colonisation of Sapmi, and in the taboo surrounding violence, with the community blaming the women and girls for the sexual and physical abuse they face as they are the one’s faulty of it, and the taboo of getting a divorce due to their religion are all risk factors for violence but these factors combined with their risk factors on a relationship level, such as the way in which saami women experience violence from a young age, yet are taught to not express the violence to protect the Saami reputation from the greater society but also from the community places saami women at an extremely difficult and isolated position as these factors combined are perpetuating the violence for saami women on both the community and relationship level. In instances where Saami are trying to get help for the violence, they aren’t receiving the help as they don’t have protective factors in place. Say for example in a Saami town where Saami women are taught to remain resilient and strong and should keep it together for the sake of the reputation of the family and community, and that within the community it is seen that it is the woman’s fault if she gets raped or assaulted which leads to the likelihood of violence. So when she does need help, she does not know where to go as Saamis lack in knowledge on what shelters exist acts as a risk factor for further violence, and in the likelihood of her actually finding and going to the shelter, she might be faced with language and cultural barriers, and when she then returns to the community she is

regarded as weak or less than. As we can clearly see Saami women's risk factors on both the community and relationship level are deeply isolating and perpetuating men to act violently towards them

Saami women possess numerous risk factors in experiencing violence, the risk factors that were found were only in accordance to UN's (2013) ecological models risk factors as those I included from Unicef's (2021) were not answered in the literature I found. However "Domestic responsibilities, including caring for children and older relatives" was seen through the Saami women's prior position of caring for their children's reindeers, and as I did not find it sufficient enough to be categorised as a risk factor I did not add it into the results. However, in the next chapter, I will be combining the risk factors Saami women possess of violence found from the ecological model with the literature I found on how climate change has affected women's and Indigenous women's physical safety.

6. Analysis of the current literature on Saami women

Saami women entail certain risk factors rendering them vulnerable to experiencing Gender-Based violence. The specific risk factors found by applying the ecological model (see page. 44) to the literature on climate change that was seen as risk factors for violence due to the climate crisis are 1. Family dysfunction 2. Intergenerational violence, 3.Lack of information, 4. Inadequate victim care, 5. Challenging gender roles, and 6. Saami community not addressing Gender-Based violence

6.1. Risks linked to urbanization

"Family dysfunction", "Intergenerational violence" & "Childhood violence" are all risk factors for saami women. These three risk factors in combination with the possible climate migration Saami women will likely face due to the climate crisis, I fear will lead Saami women at risk of human trafficking. Lack of information&Inadequate victim care are two risk factors that Saami

women possess, I fear that due to climate change, Saami women will migrate to new areas, rendering them more vulnerable to human trafficking as they face cultural and language barriers and lack of services in combination with Saami women's risk factors due to their history of childhood abuse they encompass multiple threats to their physical security.

There has been a clear link between an increase in the prevalence of sexual violence (Desai & Mandal, 2021), prostitution (Gevers, 2020; Farley, 2021), and trafficking amongst women and girls in the aftermath of natural disasters. Human traffickers commonly prey on vulnerable people, particularly women and children, in positions of weakness, such as in the aftermath of disasters; when individuals are distressed, human traffickers take advantage of the uncertainty and insecurity of the individuals and situation (Calma, 2017). Due to climate change, Saami women and men will likely migrate to urban areas outside the Sapmi region. The climate migration, combined with a severe shortage of shelters and a reluctance to seek out non-Saami support services due to language and cultural barriers, intensifies the marginalization and subjugation of Saami women and girls (Jaakkola et al., 2018). Due to their increased vulnerable position in urban societies, and with the knowledge that human traffickers prey on individuals during uncertainty, combined with the notion that women are more prone to end up in sex work if they have experienced sexual violence during childhood (Silbert and Pines, 1981), and as Saami children are exposed to childhood abuse (Jaakkola, Juntunen and Näkkäljärvi, 2018), it is reasonable to fear that Saami women and girls might be victims of human trafficking due to migration resulting from climate change. Additionally, the risk factors they possess due to their background and their personal intersectionality of being an Indigenous woman who faces discrimination, racism, and sexism does not yield the situation.

It is less likely that Saami women in Sweden, Norway, and Finland would end up in prostitution due to the welfare system in place in the Nordic countries. However, the Saami women residing in the Kola Peninsula, as they are not a part of the same kind of welfare system as the Saami women in Sweden, Finland and Norway, I fear might be at risk of prostitution due to climate change. I say fear because, as statistics show whether voluntary or not, sex work or prostitution increases one's vulnerability to experience sexual violence exponentially (Deering *et al.*, 2014).

Exploitation and trafficking in relation to Indigenous women have a deep connection to colonialism, as the historical aspect of how Indigenous women's bodies have been viewed within society plays a big factor in their vulnerability to being trafficked (Roudometkina and Wakeford, 2018). Intimate partner violence has been revealed to be one of the main risk factors leading to the trafficking of women as it increases isolation, urgency, and vulnerability to find an escape route. Additionally, climate change stressors and Saami's feelings of loss of identity put Saami girls and women at risk of being trafficked when migrating. Furthermore, women who live in marginalised and excluded areas may have insufficient and deceptive information, aggravated by "language barriers, naivete about the real world, overestimation of the ability to deal with exploitative situations"- D'Cunha, 2002 s.15 which can increase their risk of being trafficked (D'Cunha, 2002).

Exposure to family violence is seen as a particular risk factor for trafficking of human beings, and as the most common method used to recruit Indigenous women into trafficking is the "boyfriend" method, which is the method used to recruit girls and women who have a history of childhood abuse, saami women are at risk of being subjected to the false sense of affection due to the normalization of abuse, making it difficult for the victims to recognize warning signs in other abusive relationships. Additionally, due to Saami women's lack of access to support services and shelters, it would be hard for them to leave their partner, as they would fear complete isolation and victim-blaming from the Saami society.

Furthermore, due to the lack of data on how Saami women will integrate into urban societies, there are no safeguarding mechanisms in place, which is crucial for their wellbeing and safety.

6.2. Risks linked to increased exposure to unknown men

Lack of information and Inadequate victim care are two risk factors that Saami women possess, I fear that due to climate change women will be exposed to displacement camps, temporary laborers, and outside workers, which could increase their exposure to Gender-Based violence. Due to Saami women's intersectionality of being both indigenous and a woman, they face double discrimination and threats. As Indigenous women already face high levels of Gender-Based

violence due to racism, discrimination, and sexism, this in correlation to Saami women's lack of information about services and shelters put them at an increased risk of Gender-Based violence.

Sweet agrees that Indigenous women, especially in the arctic and great plains regions of Canada, face the first and worst effects of the climate crisis (Sweet, 2014). In other countries, women have experienced an increase in Gender-Based Violence and Sexual Gender-Based Violence due to climate change, in situations where they have been more exposed to violence due to an increase in people entering their communities to exploit their land's natural resources, subsequently leading to Sexual Gender-Based Violence as more men surround them. As was seen in previous resource extraction development projects in the Arctic, Indigenous women have faced sexual violence due to the increased exposure of outside temporary workers who enter their communities (Whyte, 2016).

Saami women's risk factors of "lack of information" in combination with "Inadequate victim care" puts Saami women at risk of experiencing sexual violence and Gender-Based violence whilst displaced in temporary shelters, which is aggravated by the lack of information women's shelters have on Saami society, leading them to an increasingly vulnerable position. As Saami women refrain from seeking help or from expressing the violence they face, due to their fear of the consequences and repercussions that would arise from family members, local authorities, and the community aggravates their likelihood of sexual assault or rape as they are further pushed into these cycles, due to isolation. As resource extraction development projects in the Arctic will bring large groups of outside, temporary laborers into remote regions, indigenous women living there will be disproportionately impacted. Not only will their safety be jeopardized, but there will almost certainly be negative consequences for their physical security, the environment, and economic well-being. Being exposed to temporary laborers from other areas makes indigenous women more vulnerable to sexual harassment and violence, such as rape and assault (Whyte, 2016). The mining company Beowulf Mining, who are planning to exploit concession for iron in Gállok, Sweden are placing threats upon the saami community as the mine would be located in the heart of Sápmi, where reindeer herding has been conducted since time immemorial. Sweet (2014, p.1170) stated that gender injustices Indigenous women face, particularly in areas with mining projects are aggravated when mining projects appear. Additionally, sex work and violence against women increase at an alarming rate in mining areas, and girls' feelings of

intimidation and vulnerability to violence from outside temporary workers are increased (Sweet, 2014). Unfortunately, in addition to the mining project, there have been plans to build an Arctic ocean railway, surpassing different areas of Sapmi, which would be dangerous to the Saami reindeer herding community. The railway would exploit natural resources and be used to gain access to the Melting Arctic sea. The plans for an Arctic railway are currently on hold as they have decided not to proceed with the project, but there are suspicions that the project will be reconsidered in a couple of years (Kähkönen et al., 2021). If the Arctic Railway is realized, we can see from Whyte's (2016) example that this could pose further threats to Saami women's safety. It is reasonable to believe due to them being a) Indigenous, b) not able to seek help due to language barriers and c) vulnerable due to their positioning in society, d) and due to the lack of adequate victim care and information, one could argue that they would be likely to be victims of sexual violence, rape, and assault due to the increased exposure of men.

6.3. Risks linked to men's loss of self-worth

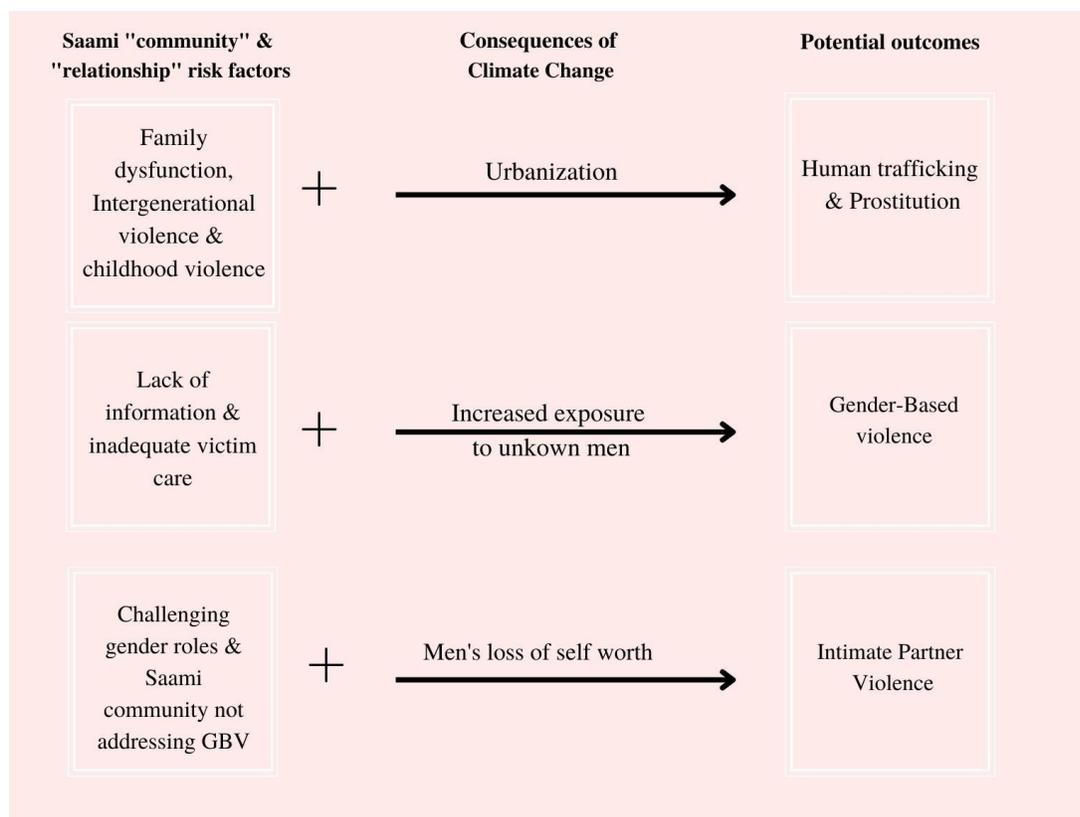
The third potential outcome of the climate crisis on Saami women's physical safety is Gender-Based violence due to the stress caused by climate change. The challenging gender roles and the issue of Saami society not addressing Gender-Based violence will act as a catalyst in the wake of climate-related distress. Previous studies have found that the loss of men's self-esteem due to the inability to fit into the stereotypical gender-constructed role as the family provider will affect men's mental health. This alone is already a risk factor for Saami women's physical safety, which is amplified as stress and mental health issues are often accompanied by an increased alcohol intake (Philipps et al., 2009), rendering men to act more violent towards their partners and family members.

Various studies have found that men's self-esteem has significantly declined due to the stress caused by environmental change (Thomas et al., 2008, Philipps et al. 2009; Kukarenko, 2011). This is partly due to the threat they feel towards their position as the family provider. Men's low self-esteem has been shown to increase domestic violence, putting women and children in danger, and affecting their well-being, physical health, and mental health (Natalia, 2011). According to Vinyeta et al. (2016), colonization has resulted in stress, loss, and cultural changes, subsequently leading to alcoholism, high rates of substance abuse, suicide, and violence within

Indigenous societies. Since Saami women already face high rates of domestic violence (Eriksen et al., 2015), it is reasonable to assume that the cases of Gender-Based violence would increase the worse the climate crisis gets. Moreover, Saami women are taught to remain resilient, are blamed for the assaults they encounter and are taught to refrain from vocalising the abuse they face in order to protect Saami men and the prevailing negative stereotypes surrounding them (Kuokkanen, 2015). It is reasonable to fear that Saami women will not start reporting the abuse they face, as the climate crisis will only aggravate these negative cycles and when future climate stressors are in place, I fear the prevalence of domestic violence toward Saami women will aggravate their isolation and put them at an increased risk for suicide and human trafficking. Indeed, The stress saami women will face from the loss of safety, culture, and language due to climate change will have a strong negative impact on their mental health, placing Saami women at higher risk of suicide. In a recent study, reindeer-herding Saami men and women were identified as being at particular risk for suicidal expressions (Kaiser and Renberg, 2012), especially Saami women reindeer herders, as they are three times more likely to commit suicide than non-Saami women (Omma, Sandlund and Jacobsson, 2013). With the Cultural and language barriers preventing Saami women's utilization of support services, Saami women are isolated in situations of abuse, not knowing where to turn for help, and as results have shown this will exacerbate Saami women's isolation. Furthermore, as Crenshaw (1991) states, such barriers limit access to information about shelters but also limit access to the security shelters provide (Crenshaw 1991, p.1249).

6.4 Summary of results

This study was set out to analyse how the climate crisis will effect Saami women's physical safety and by the findings it was made clear that they are at risk of experiencing an increase in Gender-Based violence, Sexual violence and are at risk of being recruited into Human trafficking. This is due to the risks they possess due to the culture of Saami society and how general society views Indigenous people, and how society view women, and especially Indigenous women, which renders them vulnerable to certain outcomes as was displayed in the chapter above. Below the particular outcomes are displayed in a figure based on the findings presented above.



7. Discussion

This thesis works as an addition to Jaakkola et al. (2018) study “The Holistic Effects of Climate Change on the Culture, Well-Being, and Health of the Saami, the Only Indigenous People in the European Union”. Their study set out to develop a framework for understanding the holistic effects of climate change on the Saami people to find scientific evidence on the primary, secondary, and tertiary effects of climate change on Saami culture and the Sápmi region, and to identify gaps in the knowledge of the effects of climate change on health and well-being of the Saami. The study found that 50% of non-natural deaths among Saami reindeer herders in Sweden happened when they were intoxicated and that In Northern Norway, the Saami were subjected to violence more so than the non-Saami population in Norway. Additionally they found that 22% of Saami women experienced sexual violence with Several findings from Sweden and Norway which suggested that a substantial part of Saami population has experienced ethnic discrimination which was found to have negative effects on their mental well-being and quality

of life. Numerous significant cultural and social factors, such as living in Saami core areas, involvement in reindeer herding, strong family ties, having Saami as a native language, and communality appear to provide Saami resistance to racial discrimination and protection against mental health issues. For this reason it is important to strengthen and promote these factors in order to protect Saami women from further discrimination.

Furthermore, due to Saami women's reluctance in seeking support services due to language barriers and taboos surrounding topics of abuse, it would be of importance that women's shelters in communities where Saami women reside or are likely to migrate to provide service in the Saami language, as this would act as a protective factor for their physical well being and might put an end to any violence they face. In Øverli (2017) "Om du tør å spørre, tør folk å svare" which in Norwegian means "If you dare to ask, people dare to answer" a report on domestic violence and sexual abuse in Saami communities, conducted as a one-year research project that the Saami parliament took the initiative of in 2014 and that together with the Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security initiated. The report set out focus groups in areas where Saami populations were a minority and in areas where they were a majority to understand the barriers in seeking out support services and what resolutions needed to be implemented to encourage Saami women to approach them. They acknowledged the importance of incorporating Saami culture and language to support systems and the police, as knowledge of Saami communication and culture would increase the likelihood of Saami women approaching the centers and would provide a feeling of trust and understanding. Furthermore, Øverli states that incorporating indirect Saami communication such as body language and metaphor was according to the focus groups very important when it comes to conversations steeped in shame (Øverli, 2017, p.24).

At the forefront of why Saami women are at risk of an increase in Gender-Based violence due to climate change is their intersection of living close to nature, being a woman, and being a part of a marginalised community. Climate change is likely to aggravate these risks. In order to prevent climate change's effect on violence, we have to apply protective factors against it and counteract the climate crisis. First, we have to guarantee that all individuals possess the skills necessary to adapt to climate change: States shall ensure that adequate adaptation measures are adopted to safeguard and fulfill the rights of all individuals, especially those who are most at risk from the adverse effects of climate change, such as those living in vulnerable regions. Secondly, states

should apply Gender-based violence risk mitigation to ensure the safety of women and girls. UN Women (2013) has established protective risk factors that can help reduce women and girls' risk of violence. These protective factors include; "Completion of secondary education for girls (and boys), Women's economic autonomy and access to skills training, credit and employment, Social norms that promote gender equality, Quality response services (judicial, security/protection, social and medical) staffed with knowledgeable, skilled and trained personnel, Availability of safe spaces or shelters, and, access to support groups". -UN Women, 2013

As Un Women (2013) stated, these protective factors are of utmost importance in protecting women from violence. As we found in the literature, Saami women already face violence, and therefor it is even more important to incorporate protective measures into communities due to the likely increase in violence that will take place due to the climate emergency. Another risk that Saami women face due to climate change is human trafficking. Michael Gerrard (2018) of Columbia University linked the water crisis and climate change to human trafficking. He observed that climate change is a major contributor to migration and displacement, and concluded that in order to reduce the quantity of trafficking, which is expected to grow as a result of global climate change, the world's economy must shift away from the use of fossil fuels, which will reduce greenhouse gas emissions and potentially mitigate the effects of climate change. He explains that is critical to strengthen vulnerable groups' capacity to remain where they are so that they are not seduced or lured away by human traffickers. Additionally, Gerrard notes that climate migration is less likely to happen if individuals have access to clean water and adequate food. Gerrard (2018) continues by stating that multiple actions must be taken to reduce the number of people subject to trafficking as a result of climate change, including

1. "Reduce greenhouse gas emissions to reduce climate change."
2. "Help communities adapt to climate change so they will not have to move."
3. "Improve preparedness for disasters."
4. "Provide adequate support services for vulnerable groups, such as women and children".

Finally, for climate justice to be realized it is crucial to encourage women's participation. Women offer unique expertise and experience, especially at the local level, and their participation in decision-making processes is essential for effective climate action. Mavisakalyan and Tarverdi (2019) found that increasing the number of women in national parliaments leads to the

implementation of stricter climate change policies, resulting in reduced emissions. Participation of women in natural resource management at the local level is connected with improved resource governance and conservation outcomes (Mavisakalyan and Tarverdi, 2019). Placing gender equality at the core of climate change initiatives entails incorporating various gender perspectives into comprehensive and long-lasting climate, environmental, and disaster risk reduction policies and programs. In the battle against climate change, the full and equal participation of women and girls in decision-making processes is of the utmost importance. If gender equality is not realized now, a more sustainable and equal future is inconceivable. Thus, women need to be at the heart of climate action (UN women, 2022). Additionally, it is important to address discrimination and disadvantages including language barriers to prevent the risk factors Saami women face, and where relocation is necessary, communities should develop models for the safeguarding of the integration process of women and Indigenous women into new communities.

8. Conclusion

Saami women's physical safety is likely to be negatively affected by the climate crisis, as climate change is assumed to increase the prevalence of Gender-Based violence due to the interplay of certain factors. By applying risk factors for Gender-Based violence with Saami women's personal characteristics to the literature on climate change's effect on women with an intersectional lens I found three scenarios that are likely to be of threat to Saami women. The first scenario regards the interplay between Saami men's feeling of hopelessness and their increased alcohol intake due to the climate crisis, which will lead to an increase in Gender-Based violence toward Saami women. The second scenario regards the interplay of climate change-related migration, which would lead Saami women to relocate into urban societies, and due to their intersection of being Indigenous and female along with the risk factors they entail towards Gender-Based Violence puts them at risk of human trafficking & possibly prostitution. The third scenario is the likelihood of Saami women ending up in displacement camps due to planned displacement or outside temporary workers entering their communities, leading to an increase in Sexual Gender-Based violence.

To conclude, the Saami live in close interaction with the natural environment, and climate change with its effects on environmental conditions, including temperature has the most substantial impact on the Arctic (Jaakkola, Juntunen, and Näkkäläjärvi, 2018), it is expected for the Saami to experience extensive threats to their health and well-being.

The climate crisis will not only lead to a great loss of life and culture, I fear the worst implications will be seen through Saami women's loss of the the right to life, freedom from torture and degrading treatment, freedom from discrimination and the right to safety and security. The already prevailing gender inequalities will only be intensified due to the climate crisis, the combination of Saami women's ethnicity, gender, class, and being a part of a colonised group put Saami women in a difficult position as they are the first in Europe to experience the dire effects of climate change.

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