Arctic & Antarctic

The **Arctic & Antarctic International Journal of Circumpolar Socio-Cultural Issues*** (A&A-IJCSCI), is an international, peer-reviewed, scholarly journal published annually on behalf of the International Association of Circumpolar Socio-Cultural Issues (IACSI) and the Foundation of High Studies on Antarctica and Extreme Environments (FAE, Argentina), under the auspices of the University of Iceland (Department of Sociology), the University of Jyväskylä (Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, Finland), the University of Oulu (Thule Institute, Finland), the Universidad del Salvador (Circumpolar Studies Program, Research Direction, Vice-Rectorate of Research & Development, Argentina), the University of Québec at Montréal (International Laboratory for the Comparative Interdisciplinary Study of Representations of the North, "*Imaginaire du Nord*", Canada), and the Arctic Centre, University of Lapland (Rovaniemi, Finland).

The **A&A-IJCSCI** has been created by scholars from Social Sciences, Anthropology and Humanities, and also from individuals with different backgrounds but interested in these perspectives and themes, to provide a forum for the study and discussion of the different and interdependent socio-cultural aspects of both circumpolar regions, promoting an international and interdisciplinary dialogue concerning the subjects thereof. In this sense, we privilege articles in the Journal with reference to:

- Local Communities and Extreme Environments
- Habitat, Social Interaction and Identity
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- Migration and Socio-cultural Integration
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- Other issues related to socio-cultural themes concerning circumpolar areas.

Thinking of the importance of a holistic understanding of the circumpolar phenomenon, we have also considered the need to study the "circumpolar theme" in its bi-polar dimension: the Arctic and the Antarctica, in order to look for convergences and divergences under the debates Local/Global, and North/South, and also looking for the production and transference of knowledge.

* *Logo and name legally registered.*

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Contents

Negotiating the indigenous status in the Russian Federation

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Abstract

Vibrant claims of an indigenous status in Russia have dynamically entered the political and societal agenda since the end of the Soviet Union. A culminating point of this dynamic can be seen in the changing of the list of officially recognised indigenous groups, which has increased from 26 at the end of the USSR to 46 in the Russian Federation as of 2008. A reassessment of indigenousness* in the post-Soviet setting is carried out in the context of deeply rooted, old patterns of the nationality policy, and in the context of the new dimensions of the relations between the state and indigenous people. The national discourse is also challenged by the international understanding of indigeneity, regional manifestations and the interconnectedness of both perspectives. This paper analyses the construction of indigeneity as an interactive process of negotiation between the international, national and regional understandings. The contested meaning of the indigenous status is examined through a changing legal articulation of its constituents and variations in their localisation. The interplay between indigenous identities recognised on the federal Russian level and those of more regional relevance, is especially considered in the case of the north-eastern Republic of Sakha Yakutia. I argue that despite the importance of global connections, the

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* There is no clear distinction between the terms indigenousness and indigeneity. Therefore, I prefer to think more in terms of 'indigenousness' referring to the indigenous status as a state regulated by the rules and norms in the Russian official context. Using the notion of 'indigeneity' I refer stronger to discourses, conceptualisation, and worldviews (for further information see Weaver 2000).

national classification continues to be the main power of political negotiation within, across and beyond the conceptual frame of the indigenous status. At the same time the powerful but contested frames for the indigenous status in their provisional and context related perspectives create game for potential breaks and alliances.

Introduction

The term indigenous is relatively new for Russia. It was not present in the legislation of the Soviet Union, although the protection of indigenous peoples and their traditional activities was not a new concept in Russia. The use of these definitions was considered appropriate only in a colonial context, which has been seen as not applicable for the Russian case. Referring to this aspect and according to the international legal understanding of that time, it was declared that the USSR had no indigenous peoples within its territory (Barsh 1986). The model of an indigenous status, given the demise of Soviet ideological constructs of the nationality policy in the post-Soviet setting, has been faced with new challenges that demand strong linking across trans-national, national and regional contexts.

The three pillars, upon which indigenousness is affirmed, are a national legal system, the contemporary world of trans-national units and the institutions of a local government. The national political scene is challenged by internationalised indigeneity, competing understandings of the indigenous status at the regional level and the complexity of ethnic, spatial and administrative structures of the country. The previously clear, legal

'indigenous language' is exposed to a shifting interpretation of the state's definition of space, time, size and population stratum. For example, the entering of the ethnic group Kamchadals, descendants of Russian settlers in far eastern Kamchatka, into the official list of indigenous people , demonstrates changes of normative significance of these categories in official classifications and efforts to translate modes of measurements into contemporary understandings of 'indigenous'. The growth of indigenous claims indicates not only the process of recovering the historical distinctiveness of marginalised groups, but also particular dimensions associated with the ambiguity of the indigenous status within the legal structure.

The modern legal, political and social interpretation of the notion 'indigenous' in Russia is a constant process which is highly dependent on the discourses in the relation between state and indigenous people, and the chosen perspective on indigenousness produced in a complex interaction of global, national and regional contexts. At the same time, a permanently changing and constantly revised legitimacy of the indigenous status is placed between the sharp focus of the legal targeting of indigenous groups and the vagueness of multilayered approaches in their construction. The trajectory of defining 'indigenous' is shaped by the changing dynamics of indigenous entitlement and modern state classificatory schemes, as well as by international affiliation.

Numerous publications deal with different components of this issue, referring to the situation and politics of the indigenous peoples in the Russian North as well as to particular case studies. Research has been directed towards studying various perspectives on the rights of indigenous peoples in the Russian Arctic and environmental issues. The question of defining indigenousness in Russia was also considered from the perspectives of state formation (Sokolovski 2000; Stammler-Gossmann 2009), evolution of indigenous policy (Øverland and Blakkisrud 2006) and components of legal codification of indigeneity (Donahoe et al

2008). The significance of ethnicity for codifying the indigenous status in Russia and the situation of indigenous peoples particularly attracted the attention of Russian researchers after the Russian population census 2002 (Tishkov 2004; Bogoyavlenskiy and Murashko 2004; Sokolovski 2005). Many case studies focused on the indigenous perspective (Krupnik and Vakhtin 1997; Anderson 2000; Osherenko 2001; Stammler 2005). The empirical richness of multilayered conceptualisations is represented by a large 'coping and survival literature', as Blakkisrud and Hønneland (2006) term it, on Northern Russian affairs ranging from indigenous rights to the autonomy of the Arctic peripheries.

However, the potential for comparing indigenousness across global, national and regional variations has not been sufficiently utilised. Little is known about the process of localisation of indigenous identities, resulting from the interplay of different scales, creating both misunderstandings and common ground. This paper analyses a specific Russian conceptualisation of the indigenous status as an interactive process of negotiations between international, national and regional meanings. The contested understanding of this status is examined through a changing legal articulation of its constituents and variations in their localisation. In doing so, the author examines indigenous issues in a national legal space as it is represented amongst definitions constituting the qualities of the indigenous status. The interplay between identities recognised on the federal Russian level and those of more regional relevance is considered using the example of the north eastern Republic of Sakha Yakutia. This article is based on the long-term research of the author in Sakha Yakutia and fieldworks conducted in other parts of the Russian North (Murmansk region, Nenets Autonomous Okrug, Kamchatka) in the period 2005-2009.

Rethinking 'indigenous'

Being labelled indigenous in the Soviet Union was not popular among those residents, who otherwise would perfectly fit into this category. It was commonly viewed as a state of backwardness, which was meant to be taken straight from the 'stone age to socialism' by those who were more advanced. In its spatial categorisation, the indigenous status was associated with the marginal peripheries around the circumpolar lines; of little relevance to the cultural mainstream. Therefore, in the Brezhnev era, indigenous people themselves preferred to be registered in their passports as part of a bigger, 'advanced' people. In mixed non-indigenous – indigenous families children were preferably registered as non-indigenous.

The notion 'indigenous' was established for the first time with the new Constitution of the Russian Federation in 1993 and the currency of the term 'indigenous people' as well as its functionality for certain interests increased gradually. A culminating point of this dynamic can be seen in the almost doubled number of officially recognised indigenous groups: from 26 at the end of the USSR to 46 groups in the Russian Federation as of 2008. Once a source of shame for some, it is now a source of pride for many of those who can claim it; a sign of resilience against assimilation pressure and embeddedness in a whole socio-environmental system. Conversely to the state of backwardness, nowadays, indigenousness is perceived as a state of ecological wisdom, being in harmony with nature, intimacy and the spirituality of the human-nature relationship. The first of the Russian indigenous institutions, the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON) was established at the First Congress of Indigenous Peoples of the North in 1990[*]. RAIPON has since then developed into an active advocate for

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[*] Since 1993 is registered as Association of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East of Russian Federation.

Russia's indigenous peoples, with a focus on pushing relevant issues onto the general political agenda, and passing legislation for the protection of indigenous peoples.

The First Congress of the Indigenous peoples became a milestone in the history of northern indigenous residents. These days of the Congress, as described by the leader of the Association of the Kola Sami were marked by an unforgettable excitement: 'Could you imagine, I could appear in a Sami national dress in Moscow, in the Kremlin, and Gorbachev personally greeted the indigenous delegates' (personal communication 2007). For the first time ever, indigenous people got a chance to express their concerns and share their opinions on a Russia-wide event. Screened on TV, the sessions generated broad public attention to indigenous issues and made some of the indigenous leaders famous in the whole country. As Tishkov states, 'this was the time of such resounding statements as the one made by Vladimir Sanghi, a Nivkh writer, who said that 60 % of Russia's territory was traditional aboriginal land, the time when politicians with an aboriginal background, such as Evdokia Gayer, a Nanai, enjoyed extreme popularity that bordered on worshipping' (Tishkov 2004).

The post-Soviet development of indigenous identity has given the native residents a new source of pride and assertiveness. The usage of the indigenous designation in terms of corresponding rights and privileges (Federal Law on Guarantees 1999/2009, No.82-FZ) has become a new significant point in the context of ethnic and cultural revival, and the transition to a market economy in post-Soviet Russia. The popularity of the notion of indigenous peoples has been significantly increased, due to the trans-national networks that have created excitement about indigenous issues and that have provided a common platform for the articulation of indigenous issues. Indigenous peoples have taken a leading role in the setting of human rights standards, making their presence known in such international forums as the International Labour

Organisation, the Arctic Council, and the annual meetings of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues.

Like other indigenous societies, indigenous peoples of Russia also make use of the internet for their sophisticated information-sharing infrastructure, self-expression and networking. Niezen provides an example of the use of communication technology by showing the dynamics of cultural activism through international lobbying networks and by pointing out that information can be distributed on advanced ways, while an indigenous 'digital identity' is expressed and affirmed (Niezen 2004). Through international cooperation and networking, Russian indigenous representatives position themselves in their trans-national status in relation to their national situation. Such links reinforce national differences in the framing of indigeneity and expose Russian policy makers to increased activism amongst indigenous people. In economic terms, the grown attention to indigenous issues, especially in the last decade, was generated by the sharp increase of Russia's dependence on the revenues from natural resource extraction. Many of these deposits are situated in the vast territories inhabited by indigenous peoples (Stammler & Wilson 2006), a pattern observable across the whole globe. The change in the political world order (e.g. the end of the Soviet Union) has brought decision-makers in politics and natural resource developments to consider the issues of the indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation more than ever before.

Indigenous issues have dynamically entered national legislation since the end of the Soviet Union. Certain difficulties arise when applying the term 'indigenous people' – as it is commonly understood in the definition by the ILO Convention 169[*] – to the

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[*] An understanding of the concept of "indigenous and tribal peoples" is contained in article 1 of the 1989 Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, No. 169, adopted by the International Labour Organization, but no such definition has ever been adopted by any UN system body. Contemporary scholars have avoided formal definitions in favour of devising relevant criteria, which can assist in the textual determination of indigenousness. One of the most

Russian legal system. The compatibility of national with international law is considered as one of the main obstacles hampering the ratifying process of conventions in contemporary Russia. Nevertheless, despite the importance of global connections, contested lines of indigeneity are drawn across cultural and political frames that are comprehensible within the nation. Also, in the Russian case, as Tsin states, 'the form of indigeneity in a particular place cannot be divorced from these histories of national classification and management' (Tsing 2007: 39). National variations in the legal and societal meaning of 'indigenous' are structured on the historical experience of the Soviet assimilation policy. The present construction of indigenousness in Russian legislation reflects a number of historically inherited elements and discourses in the relationship between the state and the indigenous peoples (Stammler-Gossmann 2009). Further, indigenous cultural identity, wherever it is asserted, is articulated within the compensatory apparatus of assimilation.

Representing the indigenous status by a nationally unified model puts other challenges onto the national agenda. The history of relations between the state and its native residents reveals that despite limited freedom, a certain level of agency was allocated to non-Russian peoples for their local versions of central policy. A strategy of evasion and different forms of retreats were a usual reaction of the indigenous society (Stammler 2005). Some authors also emphasize the different perception of the relations between indigenous people and the state, where for example paying tax in Tsarist Russia was perceived by indigenous people as part of general reciprocity or as a form of trade (Ssorin-Chaikov 2000). Even in periods of strong centralisation the indigenous identities became multilayered, which resulted in 'identity switching'(Elwert 1997) or – in other words - 'situational identity' (Kappeler 2003). 'Specific mechanisms of adaptation' (Stammler 2005), such as

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cited attitude to define indigenousness was included in Martinez Cobo, J.R. *Study of the problem of discrimination against indigenous populations*. UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1986/7Add.4, para.379.

among the Nenets during the Soviet time, incorporated new inventions from outside the identity-system as complementing rather than replacing already existing practices. Moreover, today the regional articulations of indigenous issues demonstrate the possibilities of local agency depending on the situation in centre-periphery relations.

Translating indigenousness from the international to the national framework

Russia currently recognises 46 groups as indigenous. It was in 2008, when the last group, the Vod', received the indigenous status. According to the International Work Group of Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) there are between 41–60 indigenous groups in the Russian North, Siberia and the Far East, constituting about 250,000 people (IWGIA 2006: 51). On the waiting list to be recognised as indigenous are other groups like e.g. the Pomors and the Komi-Izhemts, subgroups of ethnic Russians and Komi respectively. The federal government has the primary role in the recognition of the indigenous status and the formation of policy towards indigenous peoples. At the same time the basic features of the post-Soviet legislation indicate a significant influence of international regulations.

The new 1993 Constitution states that the Russian Federation guarantees the rights of indigenous peoples 'in accordance with the commonly recognized principles and norms of international law and international treaties of the Russian Federation' (Article 69). Article 15 (4) declares that 'the commonly recognized principles and norms of international law and international treaties of the Russian Federation are a component of its own legal system. If an international treaty of the Russian Federation stipulates other rules than those stipulated by domestic law, the latter shall be adapted to the international treaty'. Although Russia has not yet ratified the ILO Convention 169,

many of its principles, especially that of self-identification, are reflected in Russian legislation.

According to the federal Law on 'Guarantees of the Rights of indigenous, numerically small peoples of the Russian Federation' (1999) the national legislation defines this group as peoples that reside on territories traditionally inhabited by their ancestors, maintain traditional ways of life and economic activity, number less than 50,000 people, and identify themselves as separate ethnic communities (Federal Law on Guarantees 1999/2009, No.82-FZ).

However, Valery Tishkov (2004: Introduction), Director of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Science and a former Minister for Nationalities in the Yeltsin government, points out that to some extent in the new conceptualisation of indigenousness, international notions of indigenousness were simply added to the old Soviet and Tsarist layers. Indeed, the concept follows the basic patterns of previous concepts but at the same time is influenced by modern legal, political and social interpretations. How this combination 'works', is particularly reflected in the legal terminology.

The problem of correspondence between the provisions and terminology of the ILO Convention 169 and basic Russian legislation was identified by the Federal Council in 2002 as a key point of accommodating the international legal vocabulary into the national one (Murashko 2002). International and Russian understandings of the definition of 'indigenous' were identified as one of the obstacles in the ratifying process of the ILO Convention 169 by the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON 2007), and during the debates in Parliament in 2007 on Russian and international aspects of legal regulations of the situation of indigenous peoples (Oleinik 2007). For example, some of the 'titular' groups (see 2 sections below) who have their own 'ethnic' republics in the Russian Federation would fit into the ILO's understanding of indigenous people, but are not recognized as indigenous by national law. This category of

ethnic groups is also distinguished in Russian legislation from the legal status of national minorities and it means that they have to be regulated by different laws (Abashidze and Ananidze 1997; Sokolovski 1999).

Some experts indicate a common confusion in using legal terminology on indigenous issues even in translating from one language to another (Sokolovski 2000; Dallmann and Goldman 2003). As mentioned above, for the first time the term 'indigenous' (*korennoi*) was established as a legal category with the adoption of the Constitution in 1993. Establishing a new word such as 'indigenous' in Russian terminology, has not eliminated its specific Russian meaning although it suggests a link to the international concept of indigeneity. The way of expansion of state power and Russia's multiethnic population structure have caused more complex and sometimes contested understandings of the word 'indigenous' in the Russian language. The term *korennoi*, translated from Russian as 'rooted' also could be used for example in everyday life for the descendants of Russian speaking industrial newcomers in the North after a few generations. To apply an expression like 'native American cultures' to Russia does not make sense, because this would include the ethnic Russian culture, which in contrast to the situation in America, is a native one in a part of the country (Dallmann and Goldman 2003:4).

The international definition of the word 'indigenous' bases more accurately on the situation of native people in the New World, in which colonial expansion was clearly evident in the trans-oceanic arrival of representatives of European empire states. Siberia was not an overseas colony but geographically contiguous to the Russian homeland. This meant that ethnic Russians, particularly those millions who were permanently settled in the empire, came to regard it as an integral part of Russian territory. Different from America, the aspect of prior occupancy in Russian context is less demarcated.

Many Russian scholars and politicians point to the difference between a national and an international understanding of the definition of 'indigenous', referring to the colonial past, where the 'Russian' case seems to be more challenged and less clear-cut than the 'New World' cases. It was one of the arguments of Russia's criticism of the UN-Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in the Russian Parliament in 2007 (Oleinik 2007). Indeed, the Russian empire was not a classical colonial state (Kappeler 2004). The century-long Russian penetration into territories with non-Russian populations and the process of their incorporation into the Russian Empire was not only a military struggle, but was also determined by the nature of the territories and peoples as well as by different circumstances, in which they came under Russian control. The legacy of these differences influenced and continues to influence the relation between non-Russians and the state (Stammler-Gossmann 2009).

The word 'colonialism' does not figure in educational books in Russia or as an official term regarding the integration of territories with non-Russian populations in the Early Modern period. Scholars have approached Russia's expansion in a variety of ways, ranging from conquest, colonization (in terms of settlement), opening up (*osvoenie*), unification (*prisoedinenie*) to voluntary entry (*dobrovol´noe vkhozhdenie*) or peaceful unification (*mirnoe prisoedinenie*). Nowadays, the issue of Russia's relations with frontier peoples remains one of the sensitive issues in the multinational country. The majority of current academic publications acknowledge the complexity of these processes, but at the same time there is a tendency to avoid a single definition for them (Zuev 1999: 135).

In Russian federal and regional legal acts as well as in political discourse, the term *korennoi* applies not only to officially recognised 'indigenous small numbered peoples' but also to a category not known in international law: So-called 'titular nations' or 'titular nationalities'. To this category belong native peoples,

who in their own administrative units named after them - called 'republics', were originally thought to be the backbone of the society (e.g. Republic Sakha Yakutia, Komi Republic, Republic of Tyva). The historical background of this conceptualisation is served by the fact that in Tsarist Russia the larger settled non-Russian groups, classified today as 'titular', had rights and duties close to full Russian citizenship (Stammler-Gossmann 2009: 74).

The term 'titular nation' was introduced in the late Soviet/post socialist period during the establishment of new administrative units of the Russian Federation. This division among 'small' and 'large' (titular) indigenous groups is also a heritage of the hierarchic subordination of Soviet Union republics, autonomous republics and subdivisions within them in the Soviet Union (Stammler-Gossmann 2009: 78). Hereby, some ethnic groups received larger autonomy of one type; other groups got limited autonomy of another type, while some did not get any autonomy at all. Today 'titular nations' do not necessarily comprise the majority of a unit's population and some members of 'titular' groups have a subsistence economy similar to the neighbouring indigenous small numbered people. Even in the ethnic republics of the Russian Federation, where the share of the titular group increased significantly due to large-scaled out migration of ethnic Russians, the so-called 'Russian speaking groups', often perceived by locals as Russians, still constitute the majority of the population (e.g. Republic of Sakha Yakutia, Komi Republic, Republic of Buriatia, Republic of Tyva).

At the same time, some of the recognised indigenous groups could be considered in the category of 'titular nation' with their 'titular' administrative units as well (e.g. Nenets in Nenets Autonomous Okrug, Chukchis in Chukotka Autonomous Okrug). These units, autonomous *okrugs* (districts), have a relative concentration of the indigenous peoples which give them their name, but they are mostly located within other larger administrative formations (like Nenets Autonomous Okrug within

Arkhangelsk Oblast) or are being incorporated due the current merging process with the latter (like Koryak Autonomous Okrug with Kamchatka Oblast).

The importance of the North for being indigenous

The indigenous status is strongly related to a certain territory: out of forty-six indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation forty-one groups reside in the North, Siberia and in the Far East. Soviet legislation defined indigenous people as 'small nationalities of the North'. In the post-socialist spatial categorisation, for the first time ever, indigenousness has been applied not only to population groups based exclusively in the North. According to the title of the official list of indigenous people, the new indigenous status is attributed not only to northern but to all indigenous groups of the Russian Federation (Unified List of Indigenous small-numbered peoples of the Russian Federation, hereafter Unified List). Certain ethnic groups of European Russia were officially denoted as 'indigenous', alongside the groups of the North Caucasus.

The Federal legislation reserved a special statement in the law for the North Caucasian Republic of Dagestan. Dagestan's list of indigenous people is officially incorporated in the List of the Russian Federation, where 'due to the unique ethnic composition of the Republic of Dagestan, the executive authorities of Dagestan establish quantitative and other criteria for their own indigenous peoples' (Unified List 2000, Decree No. 255). The changes in geographical designation, applying to all indigenous people of the country and not to particular regions, bring the Russian concept more in line with Western usage.

However, although the Dagestan group are occasionally referred to as indigenous, most Federal legislation is focused heavily on the 'northern' group. From 1993 onwards, the notion 'North' in relation to indigenous issues was extended to the term

'North, Siberia and the Far East'. In 2006 the Russian government established a separate 'List of indigenous small-numbered people of the North, Siberia and Far East' (List 2006, Decree No. 536-r). Accordingly, they all are included in the Federal Unified list and compose the dominant group among the indigenous groups of Russia. In comparison to the 'Unified List' of indigenous people of the Russian Federation, being included in this separate 'northern' list means greater federal support for a group.

Two of three main federal laws on the legal formation of local indigenous communities and territories of traditional use of nature (see Osherenko 2001; Kriazhkov 2004) as well as the elaborate federal program 'Economic and social development of small-numbered indigenous peoples of the North until 2011' or the 'Concept of sustainable development of indigenous small-numbered peoples' are specifically targeted towards the indigenous people recognized as people of the North, Siberia and the Far East. The priorities of the 'Northern' indigenous group are codified in different legal norms like the Tax Code, the Land Code, the Law on Land payment, the Law on Animal Resources and the Law on Protection of the Environment etc. Being 'northern indigenous' is associated to a set of legal and administrative provisions on the federal and regional level. Thus, the position of the indigenous peoples of the northern regions, together with Siberia and the Far East, remains exceptional in Russian legislation.

'Indigenous small-numbered'

One of the main distinctions of the Russian legislation from the international discourse is that the indigenous status in Russia is not only codified according to qualitative but also to quantitative properties of a group. Therefore the official name for this part of the Russian population is 'indigenous small-numbered peoples of the Russian Federation'. Those groups which number more than 50,000 are not eligible for this legal category. Thus,

although many international provisions found their way into Russian legislation, the term 'indigenous' with its quantitative restriction in the Russian legal system is not compatible with international understanding. The numerical criterion was established in the legal practice with the federal laws of the mid-1990s and the 'Unified List' mentioned above. In earlier drafts of laws on indigenous peoples, the threshold was even 35,000, as discussed in the early 1990s. It was the academic community of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology whose discussions played the crucial role in defining the limit at 50.000 in 1992 (Sokolovski 2005: 22; Donahoe et al 2008: 997-998).The main argument was a possible demographic growth of several groups within the legal indigenous group.

The reasons for introducing a numerical threshold are manifold. The traditional approach in previous legislation on *'inorodtsy'* ('of different kin' or 'clan', some kind of 'otherness', non-Russian 'aliens') in Tsarist Russia and on 'the small nationalities of the North' in the USSR, regarded them as separate from the rest of the population, both small in size and in the discourse of marginalised groups. The term 'small' disappeared in the Russian Federation, but the meaning of smallness in the sense of number and inferiority remains. This standardised image is reinforced through the discourse of 'extinction' or 'dying out', to which Russian ethnographers at the turn of the 19th/20th century contributed a lot. The same discourse was cultivated by the socialist evolutionist approach of the nationality policy in the Soviet Union and remains a powerful perception amongst officials, scientists and indigenous peoples themselves. Tishkov criticises this approach as a tradegisation of the indigenous situation, which contributes to maintaining 'the policy of 'assistance' and 'protection', – the paternalism' (Tishkov 2004:5).

The second reason contributing to the appearance of a 'numerical measurement' of indigenousness is related to the numerical strength of a group based on the territorial principle of

the administrative structure of the Russian state. Numerical strength has a potential to juxtapose territorial autonomy and ethnicity, titular nation and minority groups. It brings us to several ingredients of ethnic dominance: indigenousness and power within the Russian construct of ethnicity, territoriality, nationalism and statehood.

The number of Nenets, the best known and 'most authentic' indigenous group in the North, came in the 2002 census with 43500 quite close to the 50,000 limit for 'true' indigenousness. However, it is hard to imagine that in some years, when the threshold of 50,000 is passed, Nenets would not be counted as indigenous anymore. Nenets are so typical for an indigenous people that Russia might rather change its legislation in order to keep them in the list.

'Legal' space

On the regional level the legacy of the spatial characteristics has a significant meaning. The designated areas of indigenous residency do not necessarily and exactly comply with the existing definitions of geographical boundaries of 'indigenous' territories. For example, the ethnic group of the Vepsy resides in the Republic of Karelia and in the Leningrad Oblast and is included in the 'List of indigenous small numbered people of the North, Siberia and the Far North', whereas the Leningrad Oblast is outside of the legal category of the North. Being accepted as indigenous, but residing outside of the territory defined officially as the North can have implications in the form of being excluded from certain benefits associated with this spatial category. The term 'North' is a part of the Russian legislation and the decision, as to which regions belong to the North is made by the federal government. The government defines the notion of the 'North' as a legal category for the extent of the territorially bounded state

guarantees and compensations (Stammler-Gossmann 2007; Donahoe et al 2008).

The list of the 'northern' territories, based on geographical and economical indexation, was introduced in the Soviet Union and is still in use. It divides the North across Russia into the 'Far North and territories equivalent to the Far North' (List 1967/2007, Decree No. 245). After the fall of the Soviet Union the borders of the legal category 'North' considerably moved to the south and also nowadays in its legal categories the 'North' is not a 'stable space'. Its consistence was and is constantly changing, sometimes expanding and sometimes contracting through the process of including or excluding particular regions (Stammler-Gossmann 2007: 59-65). Thus, the question of who is indigenous is also connected to the question where the North in Russia is. This makes the concept of indigenousness more sensitive to legal territorial categorisations.

Another uncertain aspect of indigenous spatiality is that only the 'North' has a specified status in Russian law, but not Siberia or the Far East. That is why in many legal cases the spatial characteristics of indigenousness collide with economic-geographical definitions of space, especially concerning guarantees and the budgeting or funding of federal programs. Therefore, it is not surprising that during the revision of the 'List of territories inhabited by small-numbered peoples of the North' of 2000, not exactly 'authentic' Northern regions like the Republic of Khakasiya, Altai or Kemerovo region were added. At the same time, the indigenous group Teleuts of the Kemerovo region was included in the list of 'Northern' indigenous people. Neither Khakasia nor the Kemerovo regions are a part of the North in Russian legal terms. The 'List of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East' from 2006 was a step in the struggle of Russian authorities to clarify the new 'indigenousness'. Proposed changes in the legal definition of the regions and territories, where

indigenous groups reside can change the composition of the spatiality again.

Indigenousness on the regional level

The new Russian state covers three-fourth of the territory and half of the population of the Soviet Union. Although the new Russia became ethnically more Russian after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, it is still remarkably characterised by ethnic diversity. Even with more than 80% ethnic Russians, the Russian Federation remains a multiethnic state. According to the last population census in 2002 the ethnic structure became even more diverse. While the 1989 census included 128 ethnic groups in Russia, the new list of ethnic groups counts 198. Among them 46 officially recognised indigenous groups comprise about 1, 5% of the total population.

On a regional level in Russia, the diversity in defining indigenous groups and in using the term 'indigenous' is even stronger. Considering the specifics of Russian legal vocabulary, we cannot ignore the fact that the legal chaos in the early 1990s resulted in a whole diversity of legal definitions in indigenous issues at the federal and regional level. The broad range of terms in regional legal documents differs from constitutional terminology and federal laws: Indigenous national minorities (*korennye natsional'nye men'shinstva*) (Republic of Buryatia), small numbered national communities (*malochislennye natsional'nye obshiny*) (Krasnoiarsk region), titular indigenous peoples (*titularnye korennye narody*) (Republic of Karelia), indigenous ethnos (*korennye etnosy*) (Republic of Chakasia), indigenous peoples and small numbered people of the North, small numbered ethnos (*korennye narody i malochislennye narody Severa, malochislennye etnosy*) (Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)), indigenous people and small-numbered ethnic collectives (*korennye narody i malochislennye etnicheskie obshnosti*) (Altai Republic). In some documents the definition of indigenous

peoples is used in both federal and regional legal understanding including the region's 'titular nation'.

The primary role in the formation of policy towards indigenous peoples is given to the federal government. At the same time, some administrative units of the Federation may adopt their own acts and protect the rights of indigenous peoples as long as their laws conform to the Constitution of the Russian Federation and do not conflict with federal laws protecting such rights. Areas of joint competence of the Federal State and regional administrative entities ('subjects of Federation') according to article 72 (1) of the Constitution of the Russian Federation include 'issues of possession, use and management of the land, mineral resources, water and other natural resources, protection of the original environment and the traditional way of life of small ethnic communities'. However, article 72 (1) regulates only the relations of the federal and the regional level in certain spheres, and does not touch upon indigenous peoples in general.

Many of the federal 'subjects' used the process of gaining sovereignty within the Russian Federation in the early 1990s for creating sub-national constitutional courts to legitimise their judicial reforms. Some regional constitutions have provisions on indigenous issues differing from the Federal Constitution. The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) has widened the protection framework beyond the small-numbered indigenous groups. The regional Constitution guaranteed preservation and revival of native groups, as well as Russians and 'old settlers' (*starozhily*), Russian descendants who came to Siberia in several waves, as estimated, between the 17th and late 19th centuries. It has allowed to include into the regional system, the protection of this group as indigenous even though it is not recognized as such on the federal level (Law of the Republic Sakha (Yakutia). 3 No. 167-II, 11.04.2000). However, the Russian old settlers were excluded from the regional list in 2003 (Law of the Republic Sakha (Yakutia). 3 No. 121-III, 10.07.2003). One year later a new law recognised the indigenous

status of two groups of *starozhily* again but at this time under the framework of the Federal Law on Guarantees of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Law of the Republic Sakha (Yakutia). 133-3 No. 269-III, 15.04.2004).

The 'regional indigenousness' differs from region to region. The same ethnic group can be considered as indigenous in one region and non-indigenous in another. The Komi-Izhemts reindeer herders as a subgroup of the Komi titular nation with their own Komi Republic are not recognised as indigenous peoples of the Murmansk region, even though they work closely together with Sami reindeer herders. The same group, however, is recognised as indigenous in the Nenets Autonomous District. On the federal level the representatives of a titular nation such as Komi-Izhemts in general are not accepted as indigenous, but they have indigenous status within their own republic. A different case is the northern group of Sakha reindeer herders and cattle breeders, who live and work closely with recognised indigenous groups, but are not accepted as such in their own republic. Between the republics of Udmurdia, Tatarstan, Mordovia and Bashkotarstan there are regional agreements for supporting the culture of titular groups living outside of their perspective autonomous units. For example, the Republic of Mordovia takes a responsibility to support on its territory of Tatar residents, and Tatarstan of its Mordva population.

The approach of Dagestan in defining indigenousness does not seem to fit the definitions of the federal legislation at all. According to the Millennium Development Goals country Report (MDG Reports 2008), the Republic of Dagestan in particular is home to 60 ethnic groups and indigenous peoples speaking over 30 languages. Dagestan's list of numerically-small indigenous peoples adopted in 2000 includes e.g. Avars, the biggest ethnic group (according to the census of 2002:758,438 people) and ethnic Russians (120,875 people), but excludes many smaller ethnic groups (Decree of the State Council of the Republic of Dagestan.

No. 191, 18.10.2000). Several factors contribute to differences in the concept of indigenousness on federal, regional and interregional level. This is due to the multilayered political and administrative structure of Russia as well as to dynamics of the relations between the centre and the regions.

However, the changes in the balance of power in centre-periphery relations and the strengthening of the Kremlin's control over regions have forced the regions to bring their legislation in line with the federal legal system. By 2002, various provisions, including those relating to indigenous peoples rights, such as regional jurisdiction over natural resources, of more than dozen regional constitutions were declared unconstitutional. Within the framework of the 1993 Federal Constitution, substantial changes have been made in the whole structure of the Russian state and in federal legislation. Nevertheless, the regions still keep the right to constitute their own indigenous 'List' and grant rights to their 'own' indigenous group, as for example the groups of Russians in Dagestan or Komi-Izhemts in Nenets Autonomous District. Federal as well as regional 'Lists' remain open and reflect the contradictory and ambivalent nature of current dynamics in the conceptualisation of indigenousness.

Self-identification criteria

Self identification as the key element in defining 'indigenous people', according to the ILO Convention 169, is not on the top of the list of criteria in Russian legislation. On the other hand, self-identification in contemporary Russia is determined mainly by ethnic affiliation. Ethnicity underpins several social classifications in Russia and the national legal system has categories like 'titular nation', 'indigenous people' or 'national minorities' heavily based on ethnicity. Until 1997 all citizens of Russia had a 'nationality' (ethnicity) line in their passports. Since new Russian identity documents do not determine an individual ethnic identity

anymore, the officials are dependent on individual self-identification. Several factors are especially important for classifying groups as indigenous, whose members claim and attain a special status and associated rights. In order to ensure these rights (including, for example, guaranteed quota of representatives in state, regional and local institutions, earlier retirement or exemption from the military service) the state administration needs information on the numbers of indigenous peoples (Sokolovski 2005: 1-3).

The precise list of the ethnic groups, which are recognised as indigenous makes the ethnicity marker most important. How can a person prove his/her ethnic belonging to a certain indigenous group? For example, the indigenous community of the Kola Sami in Murmansk region has introduced the registry of Sami (personal communication, fieldwork materials 2008). A filled-out questionnaire form for the Registry should be backed by different documents such as birth certificate, marriage certificate, certificate of name change or other documents where Saminess could be proved. Nowadays, after abolishing the nationality mark in the passports, the main document to verify the ethnic identification remains the birth certificate, where the nationality of the parents is recorded. For those indigenous representatives who registered themselves as Russians during the Soviet period it makes the procedure of registering as indigenous more complicated. This question is becoming important particularly for the young generation, who may not have enough evidence for documenting their indigenousness. This problem was pointed out during my fieldwork in Kamchatka, Sakha (Yakutia) and the Murmansk region (personal communication, fieldwork materials 2007-2008).

The suggestion made by the head of the State Statistical Committee to exclude the question on 'nationality' (ethnic group affiliation) in the 2002 census did not find public support (Sokolovski 2005: 2-3). The same idea of Tishkov, the head of the census commission, published in a Moscow newspaper raised a

lively discussion in society about the importance of ethnic identification for Russia in the regions (Tishkov 2000). As in the case of abolishing ethnic affiliation information from internal passports, this suggestion was seen as a step towards the ethnic assimilation. The Soviet notion of 'nationality' is still seen as an indispensable attribute of any person and ethnic unit. It is related to the dominant Russian understanding of 'nation' in exclusively ethno-cultural terms (versus citizenship terms). In terms of 'ethnic self-awareness', this understanding of the nation has important implications for the interpretation of the concept of indigenousness.

'More' and 'less' Indigenous

The new concept of statistical records in the census differs from the previous one in that it allows to be indigenous not only for a separate ethnic group but also for its 'sub-groups'. The sub-group is distinguishable within the larger ethnic group by their language, culture, and religion. While they possess a separate identity, they still see themselves as being a part of the 'principal' ethnic community. The number of indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation increased, first of all, due to the appearance of ten small-numbered 'northern' groups, which identified themselves separately from the group to which they were ascribed to during the 'consolidation' policy. So did for example, the Teleuts, Chelkans, Kereks, Chulyms.

Amongst the recognized indigenous peoples are groups like Kamchadals or Tuvin Todzhins who were not counted as separate ethnic groups before, but as part of the larger groups (Russians as 'state nation' or Tuvinians as 'titular nation' accordingly). In theory, a separate status entitles e.g. the Tuvin Tozhins to certain rights, privileges and concessions denied to the rest of the Tyva population, who would also be considered indigenous by most definitions. The most difficult case was in

Dagestan. Avoiding the possibility of ethnic tension in the questions of access to power, the government of Dagestan demanded that groups of Dagestan residents must be counted as separate categories but then added to the overall Avar population. The working commission which prepares the census materials for publication at its meeting in March 2004 decided to meet Dagestan's demands. This means that the number of "first peoples" will be shortened by 14 names, while the number of "sub-groups" will increase (Tishkov and Stepanov 2004: 4).

However, the innovative methodology of dividing ethnic groups into sub-group remains contested. The category of Siberian Tatars alone, a sub-group of Tatars, counted nineteen sub-(sub)-groups. Siberian Tatars are registered in the census, but not as so-called statistically 'independent' category. None of them is recognised as indigenous. The heated discussion on this topic began before the census and continues to the present day. Adding a sub-groups layer to the indigenous idea, whilst also accepting some ethnic sub-groups even among ethnic Russians as indigenous, has caused new dynamics in the construction process.

One of the most prominent examples in the controversy on sub-group criteria in constructing indigenousness is the case of the Pomors. The Pomors are the ancestors of Russian dwellers, who settled on the coast of the White Sea in North West Russia within the 12th–18th centuries. Even though they are counted as ethnic Russians, the Pomors appeared for the first time in the official statistics of the 2002 census as a separate ethnic group (6,571 people). In the Arkhangelsk region, the Pomor Association (*obshina*) is registered as an organisation of indigenous small-numbered peoples. In 2005 the Pomors participated for the first time in the All-Russian Congress of indigenous peoples. The Pomors have applied several times to the Ministry for Regional Development for an inclusion into the 'Unified List of indigenous small-numbered peoples'. On having their application rejected, the Pomors responded by taking their case to the Supreme Russian

Federal Court referring to the definition of indigenous people in Federal Law (Esipov 2007). Reifying their indigenousness, Pomor leaders often refer to their genetic closeness to the Finno-Ugric indigenous group and instrumentalise genetic research, conducted amongst the Pomors (Evseeva et al. 2001)

Komi-Izhemts activists from Lovozero (Murmansk region) have displayed a similar agency in lobbying for indigenous recognition. Before the 2002 census they applied to be registered separately from the Komi titular nation of the Komi republic. They were accordingly registered in the census. The Association of Komi-Izhemts declared the obtaining of the indigenous status as its main political goal in 2003 (Shabaev 2007), but Komi-Izhemts can 'only' rely on their traditional way of life as the main argument for indigenousness. Requirements to get the indigenous status in a region vary from presenting bio-anthropological, linguistic, and archaeological data to other qualifications of the indigenous group such as being marginalised and endangered. Sami neighbours see a problem in recognising the Komi as indigenous, because they are a 'titular' nation with their own republic, and they have a comparably short presence in the Murmansk region (personal communication, fieldwork materials 2008).

On a regional level policies on indigenous issues are divided between different tendencies and the attempt to balance them. One side hopes for additional federal financial support, when the region recognises an additional group as indigenous. The other side fears to lose a part of their meagre regional budget because of the responsibility for their special needs. In some 'titular' republics like Altai or Tatarstan, the indigenous discourse is also related to fears of weakening their titular status and their regional power hierarchy in case of an acceptance of the sub-group as indigenous. The reason for this fear is that some of the sub-groups in these regions are relatively numerous and make a significant proportion of the whole region's population. This may affect the size of the

titular nation and play a role in the political composition of the region and in centre-periphery relations.

Becoming indigenous: Republic of Sakha Yakutia

The expression of an indigenous identity in terms of 'rooted' or even 'aboriginal' has been rather natural for the different peoples of the Sakha Republic. Both the Sakha titular nation and small-numbered indigenous groups are 'indigenous' in the sense of time and space, being inhabitants of the region at the time of arrival of Russian settlers in the 17th century. Ambiguous boundaries between indigenous and non-indigenous spheres are also a matter of history and politics. Being the northernmost Turkic speaking group with their subsistence patterns of cattle and horse pastoralism, the Sakha shared Soviet ideals and the reindeer symbolism with legally recognised 'authentic' indigenous peoples of the region (Stammler-Gossmann, forthcoming). The officially recognised small-numbered indigenous peoples (Evenk, Even, Yukagir, Dolgan, Chukchi) comprise around 3,5% of the regional population, whereas the Sakha constitute around 45,5% numbering 432,290 (Census 2002). The Sakha are one of the most numerous, native ethnic groups of Siberia with their own autonomous republic. During the Soviet time, the Sakha have shown a remarkable ambivalence to the shared 'indigenousness', being its 'creators and users' in 'folkloric aesthetisation' (Rethman 2004: 268) and ideological affiliation. On the other hand they have kept a proud 'distance' to non-Sakha indigenous people.

The spatiality, the sense of belonging to the North has been a prevailing 'uniting' feature of regional identity in the politics of performing indigenous identity in the Soviet Union. In difference to Russian speaking residents, constituting the majority of the republic's population, who often identify themselves as 'Siberians' (*sibiriaki*), none of the Sakha and indigenous inhabitants use this association and clearly define themselves as Northerners

(*severiane*). On the other hand, the Sakha have not considered themselves to be indigenous in legal terms and in the sense of common stereotypes undergoing evolutionary viewpoints. The notion 'aboriginal' was not in use and was rejected as not appropriate in relation to Sakha (Sur 2007). The Sakha people often define all indigenous groups of the region as 'tungus' (*toŋustar*) or 'people of the North' (*khotuu d'jonnoro*) and indigenous peoples, including the northern group of Sakha, who call their neighbours 'homeland Sakha' (*doiduu sakhalara*).

While the Sakha have viewed themselves as some kind of buffer in indigenous-Russian interactions, indigenous groups have often felt alienated by Sakha-controlled positions. However, the Sakha government went far ahead in formally institutionalising the rights of small-numbered indigenous peoples. The Republic moved more rapidly than other areas of the Russian North in order to implement the protection of indigenous rights, especially through establishing national 'indigenous' districts in 1989, giving a special 'national' status for the districts with compact indigenous populations. The Sakha Republic was also the first in Russia to adopt a Law on family-clan communities (*obshchiny*) in 1992 (Fondahl 2003; Belianskaia 2004; Sirina 2005).

Commonly accepted and flexibly expressed, indigenous identity of the Sakha titular nation became an intricate dynamic process at the beginning of the 1990s. In her widely discussed book, the prominent Sakha scholar and political activist Vinokurova introduced the new term 'small-numbered indigenous Turkic peoples' (Vinokurova 1994: 78-96). For the first time, this new expression of the indigenousness of the Sakha shifted attention from its mixed regional frame towards an ethnic agenda and global aboriginality in colonial and historical discourse. The author pointed out that international regulations on indigenous issues do not refer to strictly enumerated groups, nor are they spatially trapped. This explicit articulation of indigenousness was introduced on a wave of national enthusiasm after the Sakha

Republic had declared its sovereignty in 1990. However, it could not be taken further in the highly politicised atmosphere of that time and the changing balance of centre-periphery relations. Accusations of Sakha nationalism and a policy of discrimination against Russian residents were a very sensitive topic at that time and forced the search for another form of expression of ethnic identity.

The Republic of Sakha Yakutia was a region hardly even known by many inhabitants of the Soviet Union. In the post-socialist period it has became one of the most active actors in the process of regionalisation, frequently figured in the Russian media as a region with separatist tendencies. Sakha Yakutia adopted as the first amongst the ethnic republics of Russia its own Constitution (1992), one year before the Federal Constitution (1993). They built alliances through numerous international activities with the circumpolar world and the global community, which resulted in a new quality of international standing for the republic (Gossmann 1997: 27-30). The vast natural resources of the republic have been a main asset in the process of regionalisation. Moreover, the specific ethnic structure in the distribution of power in Sakha was another reason for considerable interest of Moscow in this remote northern region. While Russians constitute an economic elite of industrial mining, the Sakha dominate the regional political power structures (Gossmann 1996). Last but not least, the republic is significant for Russia as its territorially largest sub-division, having a size comparable to that of the Indian subcontinent. Keeping the balance between maintaining Sakha ethnic identity and interethnic viability is one of the big challenges on the political agenda, as the region has to consider sensitivities from the Russian federal structures as well as a diversity of regional interest groups.

Escaping from the national to the global arena

New political dynamics in Russia, with their growing centralisation tendency resulted in a drastic decrease of regional sovereignty in several steps. However, this could not suppress the resistance to marginalisation in the local policy and among the Sakha people, who had experienced a massive increase of self-awareness in the previous period, when they had suddenly acquired more political power than ever. The current trend in Sakha republican politics is marked by three general directions:

- a repeated emphasis of the tight ties between Russia and Sakha Yakutia
- the search for an unified regional identity, and simultaneously
- turning the main attention towards finding one's own of the Sakha inside of the Sakha territory (Stammler-Gossmann 2006).

In the new political situation even the term 'sovereignty' in the text of the Sakha republican constitution is questioned, although the constitution had been changed already several times to bring it in line with Russian federal requirements. Consequently, celebrating the Day of Sovereignty in the Republic is questioned as well. Such pressures from outside force the Sakha people to go beyond the exclusive notion of ethnic identity in their attempt to negotiate at least some regionally specific aspects of their political existence. Rethinking and framing a Sakha 'indigenousness' is therefore seen as an option in their fear of being marginalised by the Russian federal centre.

In the last years local discourses of science, politics and cultural practices increasingly move between the international and the local context. The new interpretation of the indigenous status of the Sakha is considerably inspired by current international activities in the indigenous movement. The UN approach to identify rather than define indigenous peoples beyond the Russian

numerical threshold is perceived as a possibility of expressing and asserting identity for the Sakha people. Once rejected by Sakha politicians as 'inferior', the definition of 'aboriginal' is now increasingly used as a part of rediscovering the Sakha people as indigenous. The local variation of this articulation does not use the rhetoric of anti-colonialism and is interpreted under the banner of indigenous cultural references for both affective and profit-oriented reasons. The adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples gave a new motivation towards indigenous issues.

The second Congress of Sakha peoples in 2007 proposed that the regional Parliament has to force the federal centre to accept the UN Declaration (Sur 2007). The appeal by the leader of the congress that every Sakha person has to have a Declaration text was commented as 'intuitive feeling of the possibility of real support outside and not within Russia' (Tatarinov 2007). Scholarly writings and opinions refer to the Declaration as a base for the protection of cultural rights, e.g. in legal regulations on Sakha sacred sites (Vinokurova and Dambaeva 2008). The acceptance of the Sakha heroic epos 'Olonkho' by UNESCO as a 'Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Cultural Heritage' in 2005 became a supportive event for new discourse. Since 2005, Sakha peoples are taking part at the sessions of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. On the initiative of a Sakha activist in 2005 in Canada, the international indigenous organisation 'Yurta mira' (World Yurta of Peace) was established. It represents also Sakha interests on the UN permanent Forum (Rupasova 2008; Levochkin 2007) and is a registered Indigenous Peoples Organisation (UNPFII 2006: 36). The organisation stated its goal is to study the preservation and development of all aspects of the legacy of indigenous peoples all over the world (Yurta mira 2005).

It does not matter that the question of the indigenous status of the Sakha people remains complex and indeterminate on the regional as well on a global level. It is not essential that articulating

the rediscovered indigenous identity for example in the language of global environmentalism is not yet matched by realities in the Sakha Republic as well as in Russia in general, where environmental awareness is rather weak. Although environmental projects are often perceived as potential depositories of foreign funds, as it is in common for indigenous claims in other Russian regions, intimate connections to nature are attached to the representation of Sakha indigenous identity. Sakha are increasingly guests of many international events of indigenous groups in various parts of the globe. Even within Russia, the photo of a Sakha couple made it to the cover page of the WWF publication 'Indigenous peoples and conservation: WWF statement of principles' (WWF 2008). Images thus become important elements for activists in their attempts to articulate Sakha indigenous identity in terms of globally circulated ideas. At the same time the dynamics of cultural activism through international networking are still rather a symbolic resource for a few activists than a common experience and interest shared by the people.

'Redoing the local'

The legitimacy of Sakha demands of being indigenous is dependent on matching categories that are regionally and nationally recognised in Russia. The most powerful frame of contemporary debates on the understanding of the Sakha as an indigenous group is the exciting issue of the historical origin of the Sakha people. Speaking a Turkic language while also having significant Mongolian and other cultural substrates, the ethnogenesis of Sakha has been one of the most interesting and contested in Siberian studies (Gogolev 1993; Somogotto 1995; Alekseev 1996; Petrov 2003). Publications on this question come from historians, linguists, folklorists and archaeologists, and in the post-socialist period also increasingly from natural science fields such as molecular-genetic, medical and molecular anthropological

studies (Fefelova 1990; Pakendorf 2006; Pakendorf 2007). In the early 1990s this previously purely academic debate became highly politicised.

During this time migration theory was dominant, assuming that Sakha had southern roots and migrated to the North in the wake of a territorial reorganisation in Asia caused by the Chingis Khan Empire. This Sakha connection to big events in world history fulfilled an important political goal for many ethnic entities in Russia: The evidence of historical continuity, formation of an own statehood and a distinctly developed culture before the arrival of the Russians. The new political situation that changed the power balance in centre-periphery relations towards Moscow has made the 'autochthonous' concept more relevant. One of the starting points was an idea circulated amongst Russian activists. It contested the previous consensus that the Sakha are indigenous in terms of a shared category with small-numbered indigenous peoples. The idea that Sakha are the same newcomers in their present land just like the Russians, or that Russians appeared on the territory even earlier than the Sakha, has been supported by some publications in mass media and internet (see Makhnach 2001; IA SakhaNews 2008).

Taking the Sakha as example, Sokolovski (2000) discusses the issue of continuity in occupation and continuity in position of power for acquiring an indigenous status. The status can only be obtained if a group can either claim first occupancy of the area or is marginalised by another more dominant group. Sokolovski points out that in the case of the Sakha the criteria of power and marginality becomes problematic: 'The power of Sakha nomadic cattle breeders who had arrived from the South and pushed out the indigenous population was interrupted by the Russian State that replaced the Sakha as the dominant population. If the power balance had not changed, Sakha people would have been regarded as newcomers' (Sokolovski 2000: 110).

However, the issue of first occupancy of the territory seems to be the most important aspect for negotiating indigenous identity. A currently prevailing perspective on the origin of Sakha among experts on 'migration' as well as 'autochthonous' theories is the view that the Sakha as an ethnic group evolved completely in the area of the middle Lena River (Gogolev 2005). Defenders of this local origin hypothesis emphasise the intensive mixture of a Turkic speaking group that migrated from the south with the local population. Connected to the ethnogenesis is also increasingly the question of the origin of Sakha pastoralism. Proponents of the local origin hypothesis claim historical evidence of pastoralism in the area, already present before the arrival of southern groups (Nikolaev-Somogotto 2007; Petrova 2008). In fieldwork conversations in 2008, the Sakha belonging to the place with their unique Sakha horse and cow that embody the symbolic and cultural essence of the Sakha was considered even more important than historical evidence. Sakha intellectuals proudly position their group as the world's northernmost cattle and horse breeders.

Demanding more autonomy or more cultural rights in a situation where the group is already supposed to have as much as it needs can lead to accusations of separatism (Vertiachikh 2003; Sokolov-Mitrich 2007). The new prestige of animals and their use as cultural symbols enable the Sakha to articulate cultural distinctiveness in a form where ethnicity is less visible and oriented towards defending subsistence-based economies. This attention towards economic practices emphasizes the creative nature of Sakha adaptation. Proponents of the Russian Eurasia movement in the Sakha Republic state that the agriculture cattle breeding of northern indigenous peoples, including the Sakha, should be regarded as a traditional economy and as such requires federal support (Egorov 2004). The focus on animal symbols avoids the hegemonic discourse about the Sakha as a politically dominant native majority. At the same time animal symbolism forms a supportive potential for preserving Sakha cultural practices. In the

current political climate of ever decreasing political and economic privileges and rights, the Sakha autonomy advocates badly need such supportive potential. At the moment this seems to be the most 'productive' tool in a situation where regional authorities are torn between promoting regional identity for all residents of Sakha Yakutia and growing sensitivities towards ethnic identity. It is not a permanent or unchangeable state of affairs as the previous developments show. The common ground is continually contested.

Conclusion

The question of 'who is indigenous in Russia' remains open. The present construction of indigenousness in Russian legislation reflects a number of historically inherited elements and discourses in the relations between the state and indigenous peoples. Different concepts in different Russian states all have left some space for an indigenous agency with this open conceptualisation of indigenousness. This is true for the tsarist policy between assimilation and tolerance to *inorodtsy* ('aliens'), for the Soviet approach to small nationalities of the North with its discontinuities, as well as for post-Soviet Russia, where the 'List' of indigenous people is still in the process of inclusion and exclusion.

The analysis shows significant variations in the process of localising (or rejecting) indigenous identities and diverging national and regional forms that they can assume. As it has always been, it is an interactive, dynamic process of shifting scales and affiliations, uprooting and re-rooting; intersection with notions of marginality, identity and power. An emerging understanding of indigenousness is an identity-formation process on constantly shifting theoretical ground, and not a fixed state of being. This makes the conceptualisation of the indigenous status vague and leaves much space open to its claimants. Indigenous performance in post-Soviet times showed the flexibility as well as the potential of local

and regional powers in the indigenous society, supported by international legal and institutional protection.

We observe a trend to liberalise and homogenise the traditional features of Russian and Soviet political culture with main international approaches in the conceptualisation of indigeneity. At the same time, demographic developments will soon bring Russia in a situation where it needs to revise its most distinct, the quantitative definition of numerically small indigenous peoples. This is a very challenging task for a multiethnic country with specific historical background on indigenous issues and an unstable political situation. Removing the quantitative criterion of under 50.000 would grant more protection to groups that are currently excluded. It would also pave the road to the ratification of international conventions such as ILO 169. Eliminating the quantitative restriction for indigenousness would also solve the problem of some groups with high growth rates since the last census, which are then in danger of leaving the category of 'numerically small' peoples, for example the Nenets. If this would be the case, such groups would lose privileges. A whole range of indigenous legislation would not be applicable to them anymore and would have a devastating effect on indigenous communities.

On the other hand, removing the numerical restriction of indigenousness is not likely to happen in Russia, for the following reasons: it would grant even more privileges to groups that already have too much autonomy in the eyes of Russian central politicians. For example, the Tatars, Bashkirs, Sakha, Chechens and other ethnic minority groups with their own titular regions where they hold solid political power. Thus, the ILO Convention 169 and UN Declaration are not likely to be adopted by Russia, since this would mean promoting self-determination and the removal of the 50,000 limit for indigenous ethnic groups.

On a regional level, the current indigenous discourses are developed and 'owned' in contexts particular to those regions and are negotiated within and outside of the national structure. The

natives of the Russian Federation are currently responsive to the global indigenous movement organised under the banner of cultural rights. Despite the importance of global connections, the national frame continues to be the locus of political negotiation in most places. Especially, in cases when western assistance clashes with Russian federal realities, native peoples must use cultural and political frames that are comprehensible within the nation state they are part of.

The dynamics of cultural activism through international connections have become one of the few outlets for the expression of identity across cultural boundaries. They are 'going transnational' with well shaped and narrowly defined local goals and strategies in mind. Globalised resources are utilised in the production of local particularism. On the other hand, centralism, a weakly developed legal awareness and the reluctance to risk conflict with more powerful state actors continues to have an effect even today. The indigenous discourse still relies mainly on the Soviet model of traditionalisation. In spite of the increased social and political activism among the residents of the Russian Federation in general and indigenous peoples in particular, the patterns of relation between a powerful state and its society still remain. This will influence the further process of the construction of indigenousness.

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The Grey Area: Ethical Dilemmas in the Icelandic Business Community

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Abstract

Illegal and unethical behavior by large corporations in Iceland has caused increasing concern and debate during the past few years. This study seeks explanations for this kind of conduct. The main object of the study was to examine which external and internal factors contribute to increased risk of corporate misconduct.

The research is based on interviews with ten managers and middle managers of large corporations who were selected by snowball sampling and whose identities are hidden. The data was collected and analysed by using qualitative research methods. Because of the small sample size the results must be interpreted cautiously and the conclusions cannot be generalized.

The findings indicate that following the ratification of the *European Economic Union* in 1994 the laws relating to business changed and thereupon the moral values with regard to commerce were rapidly revolutionized. Icelandic society subsequently passed through a period of conflicts of standards which resulted in uncertainty about implementing them. This "anomic" condition increased the risk of illegal methods being used to reach corporate goals. New opportunities and greater emphasis on financial gain put increasing pressure on managers to meet these goals. At the same time the boards of directors neglected their regulatory duties and thus possibly a counterbalance was lacking. Top management set the ethical tone and if they select illegal means to obtain their goals it may

produce an unethical organizational culture which favours and rationalizes this kind of behaviour. Clear government regulation in cooperation with the business community is the key to compliance and for ethical business standards to become widely accepted.

Keywords: Business, ethics, economics, government, Iceland, moral, unethical

Introduction

This study focuses on the form of corporate misconduct which has been known as organizational crime. By the concept of corporate misconduct then, we focus attention on criminal acts which are the result of deliberate decision making (or culpable negligence) of those who occupy structural positions within the organization as corporate executives or managers. These decisions are organizationally based – made in accordance with the normative goals (primarily corporate profit), standard operating procedures, and cultural norms of the organizations – and intended to benefit the corporation itself (Clinard, 1983; Pearce, 2001; Shover, 1978). This study is the first of its kind in Iceland and focuses on the processes of price fixing, because it is interesting to explore what leads a group of respectful individuals to lawbreaking to serve the interests of the corporation.

Icelandic background

At the outset it is necessary to give a glimpse to the great structural changes that have taken place in the Icelandic business community since the early 1990´s. From the beginning of the last century, the Icelandic government dominated the entire local economic system. Political connections and political patronage was decisive in granting access to funds as the banking system was

owned and controlled by the government. Throughout most of the century restrictions and government interference characterized business, for example the policy on exporting and in competition.

In a short period in the early 1990´s, profound changes took place leading to a more open market economy which easily can be labelled as a revolution. A few stepping-stones marked the coming of new times, but one the most important changes followed Iceland´s entry into the *European Economic Area* in 1994. Government intervention with business decreased dramatically and instead of even the smallest matters being settled by political decisions it was now believed that business should be left to the control of corporations and the laws of the market. Walls splitting up markets between corporations were knocked down. Markets previously monopolized by government owned businesses were opened up and most importantly the banks and other state owned firms were sold to private parties. Restrictions were lifted off interstate commerce, not least on financial markets, which resulted in great surge of Icelandic businesses overseas. There have been reforms in the business sector, for example in business management and a stock market was formed with the listing of companies on the *Iceland Stock Exchange*. Major steps have been taken to increase freedom in business and corporate management, but at the same time new laws intended to put certain restrictions on the business environment have been introduced. In that sense the role of government did not really shrink in size, but changed in nature; it became more professional than political, with regulation rather than leadership. Competition restrictions have been lifted and competition now thrives on most markets, but meanwhile new laws and regulations, such as the competition laws are in constant development (Ministry of Business Affairs, 2004; Hannibalsson et. al., 2000).

Competition laws have however until recently only addressed corporate behavior, leaving out the role of individual actors. Because of this flaw in the law, the courts threw out a case

against the CEO's of the three local oil companies, which had already been heavily fined (or about $20 million U.S. dollars) for their price fixing conspiracy. Perhaps the oil scandal, followed by the ensuing publicity, made the general public more aware of the cost corporations can cause by their actions. Public debate about corporate criminality has indeed been increasing over the past fifteen years in Iceland. At the same time a certain conflict of interests in the interaction of government officials and the business sector can be detected. It can best be described as the new capital taking over from the old; the political power losing its stronghold to the new giant corporate power. A clear example of this conflict was the mammoth investigation on a local firm *Baugur Group*, which was considered by many to have certain political undertones. This can probably be explained by the long history of government interference with business and speedy changes of the Icelandic business community towards free market principles in the past few years. For a long spell at least, government officials seemed hesitant to set a clear policy on government regulation of business. This may have resulted in a business community with somewhat unclear guidelines.

Methods

The main objective of this study was to answer the following question: What internal factors on the one hand and what external factors on the other hand contribute to illegal or unethical corporate behavior? The following research questions were among those used as a guideline:

- Have business morals been influenced by recent changes in the legal and political environment in Iceland?
- Does top management set the tone which might lead either to ethical or unethical behavior or to compliance with, or violation of the law?

- Can undue corporate pressure on middle management lead to commission of illegal or unethical behavior?

The key data comes through interviews with ten former and current middle managers of large corporations in Iceland. Data collection started in the beginning of March 2004 and concluded in June 2005. Two officials of the competition authorities were also interviewed. Because of the small sample size the results must be interpreted cautiously and the conclusions cannot be generalized. However the study gives insights into Icelandic business reality that has been largely hidden to public scrutiny until now.

Findings

External factors

In the world of big business you will find the so called "grey area" and it was frequently mentioned in the interviews. It indicates that in the business world certain behavior is considered to be on the verge of being legal on the hand and ethical on the other hand. This leads us to believe that the business environment not only abides by laws and regulations, but also the rules and standards it sets itself. Basically the rules can be understood as allowing individuals or businesses to go as far as you can get away with, in order to achieve your goals.

This thread has profound meaning for the study. First, it supports Sutherland´s theory (1983), that in the business sector certain definitions of behavior are isolated from the more widely known definitions in society. It gives us reason to believe that certain behaviour, regarded by top management of organizations as favourable to corporate needs, is defined as the laws and rules by which employees act upon.

Second, frequent mentioning of the grey area is important to the findings of this study because it indicates that the boundaries by which socially accepted business behavior is

measured, have been unclear in recent years. Participants of this study tended to seek explanations for this uncertainty in the structural changes in the legal environment the Icelandic business world underwent over the last few years, resulting in revolutionized business methods. Participants in this study maintained that a condition of uncertainty was induced in the wake of these changes, where old standards had to be replaced as the business sector developed new sets of ethics.

Judging by the findings of this study regulatory agencies, such as the competition authorities, were poorly funded and unable to be efficient in their regulatory duties. Government regulation seems to have been hesitant and poorly organized in its policy regarding corporate misconduct and the general public took a long time to become more conscious of the development in the business world.

The findings indicate that more emphasis seems to be on quick financial gain and investment for the good of shareholders, instead of long term management ideas and stability in the industry for the good of the whole community. It can be stated that in the last years we have seen a conflict of standards as new sets of business morals have become more apparent to the public. What we have been witnessing in Iceland resembles in fact an *anomic* condition, as described by Durkheim (1964) in his theories. A clear consensus has been lacking of what is being accepted as ethical business behavior and what is deviance from that behavior. As long as the definitions of the government on the one hand, and the business environment on the other, are incompatible a greater risk of deviant behavior in the business sector is imminent (Cohen, 1995; Passas, 2000).

Internal factors

The findings revealed a great pressure to reach corporate goals. During the past few years, the boards of directors have put

more emphasis on profits and looking after the interests of shareholders, than setting clear ethical guidelines in accordance with laws and regulations. The boards seem to have failed in their regulatory duties or their task to make sure that laws are being followed to the letter in the practice of the organization.

The data suggests that those working in an accepted organizational system intended to seeking profits by their own rules and ethical standards, do not feel any guilt while achieving these goals. Unless strong opposition to illegal corporate behavior exists rather than pressure to attain corporate goals by any means necessary. Participants in this study all agreed that the board of directors and the *Chief Executive Officer* are the ones who set the tone in the corporation. Counterbalance against profit demands which encourages employees to follow the law in their duties should therefore come from top management and the board. According to the data organizational actions are primarily shaped by the CEO. In an environment where regulative duties are neglected by the board of directors, the CEO seems to be able to lead his herd on whatever path he chooses to take. Moreover, the interviews showed there is no doubt that the top management makes all the important decisions and is responsible for how the organization is run. The laws that lead organizational actions are set by the CEO and with his actions he sets the tone for his employees.

Few of the participants had felt undue pressure as middle managers from their managers, and there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that such pressure can lead middle managers to use illegal methods. However there were indications that corporate crime is in fact an offspring of the organizational culture also largely a product of the CEO's example.

This was best described by the remarks of those participants coming from the oil industry (having been prosecuted for antitrust violations). They described the conspiracy of the oil companies as a part of a culture they had no choice but to

participate in. They described having felt pressured to do uncomfortable tasks, but also described the silence about these more delicate matters as difficult. With silence the message was sent from the top that this was how things were supposed to be and they would not change.

A variety of justifications were used to defend the actions of the oil companies. The most popular was blaming the government and regulatory agencies or the environment the oil companies came from. It gives us a reason to assume that those who work within this realm do not really feel they are breaking the laws as they are obeying the laws that apply within the organization. These findings lend support to Sutherlands (1983) ideas about corporate crime being an offspring of differential association in the organizational culture.

Concluding Remarks

The results of this study show that the Icelandic business environment has changed dramatically in the past few years. This development may have created a condition where the risk of corporate misconduct was greater. The data shows increased risk of illegal corporate behavior when there is uncertainty about the rules of the game.

The lines are drawn by the chief executive officer and when the board of directors neglect their regulatory duties, by putting greater emphasis on profits, illegal methods may be viewed as a favorable option. When great demand for profits holds hands with uncertainty about accepted values can create an organizational culture which puts the laws within the corporation above government regulation. Top corporate executives could play a bigger role by speaking out publicly against unethical and illegal behavior in the corporate world. A clear message as to what is considered accepted behavior will only be delivered to the corporate world when a broad consensus to condemn illegal

corporate behavior is obtained (Braithwaite, 1989). The key to compliance and social control on corporate misconduct is cooperation of government and businesses in formulating clearer regulation and ethical standards. One solution could be greater emphasis on self-regulation of industry by boards of directors. Some Scandinavian countries have had good experience with compliance officers in organizations of this kind. Yet, it is clear that more research in this area is needed. Hopefully this study can be of some help to further research and provide some insights into this field.

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Interculturality in Patagonian Medicine: An Interpretation from the History of the Americas[*]

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Abstract

Interculturality in health has become an internationally recognized issue. For example World Health Organization (WHO), Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO), and Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) have addressed interest toward it quite recently. This article considers the issue and its history in Patagonia, where the Indigenous medical knowledge is in many way intertwined with the medical knowledge of the colonialists and immigrants. However, the significance of the indigenous knowledge and skills in health and medicine is rarely recognized. This article brings into the light the long needed recognition of the centrality of addressing health and health care from an intercultural perspective and claims that indigenous health and medical knowledges and practices should be recognized in the name of the equal treatment of cultures.

Keywords: interculturality, native medicine, Western medicine, transcultural diagnosis

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Introduction

For more than fifteen years, international health organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO), as well as other entities like the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) have been discussing and developing proposals referred to interculturality in health. For example, an internal document of the IDB has suggested a series of questions to be taken into account when implementing programmes of this kind, namely: is the programme at stake designed to respect the constitutional immunities of Indigenous practices while complying with the constitutional guarantees of access to adequate, quality health care services?; was this programme developed with the real participation of Indigenous communities?; does this programme acknowledge the different world views, definitions of illness and health and needs from recipients, and if so, does it address the issues arising there from?; does this programme acknowledge the limitations of Western medicine, and if so, has it assessed and considered adequately the positive role that Indigenous medicine could play to improving health care?; does this programme take into account legal issues concerning intellectual property rights of medicines and treatments derived from Indigenous practices? (Perafán, 2000).

At the international level, a precedent for this approach towards interculturality was a series of consultations that, officially, began in 1993. A document drafted for the Directing Council of PAHO (PAHO/WHO, 1993a) discussed the legal and ethical issues related to intercultural health, stating that: "Among the policy areas requiring special consideration and development there is one referred to traditional practices and the use and preservation of medicinal plants." The same year, within the framework of the United Nations' International Year for the World's Indigenous People, PAHO held a consultation meeting on the health of the

Indigenous people in the city of Winnipeg, Canada. The meeting reached an agreement on the following specific set of recommendations: the need for a holistic approach to health; the right to self-determination of the Indigenous people; the right to systematic participation; the respect for and revitalization of Indigenous cultures; and the reciprocity in the relations. These recommendations were incorporated in a report approved by the Directing Council of PAHO/WHO known as Resolution V, "Health of Indigenous Peoples" (PAHO/WHO, 1993b), that was used as a guideline for the Health of the Indigenous Peoples Initiative. At a political level, this resolution represented a compromise among member governments to prioritize Indigenous people's health while respecting their culture and ancestral knowledge.

Resolution V addressed a number of issues: the participation of leaders and representatives of Indigenous peoples for the formulation of health policies and strategies and, the development of activities in the areas of health and the environment for the benefit of their populations; the strengthening of the technical, administrative, and managerial capacity of both national and local institutions, which are responsible for the health of Indigenous populations; the guarantee of increased access for the Indigenous populations to health services and quality care; the need to carry out inter-sectoral actions (governmental and non-governmental organizations, universities, research centres and Indigenous organizations); and the transformation of health systems and the development of alternative models of care for Indigenous populations, including traditional medicine and research into quality and safety (PAHO/WHO, 1993b). In 1999, the WHO held an International Consultation Meeting on the health of the Indigenous peoples (Rahima Foundation, 1999) that set up a framework for the formulation of health policies for the benefit of the Indigenous populations that contemplated some prerequisites and basic principles. The meeting identified several

prerequisites necessary for the formulation of these policies: the respect for the fundamental human rights; the recognition of the Indigenous peoples; and the political will of governments. The consultation meeting also formulated a series of principles on which the policies should be based on. Among others, the framework emphasized the principles of self-determination, equity, cultural affirmation and access to resources.

In essence, these policy formulations and principles recognize the centrality of addressing health and health care from an intercultural perspective. As Cunningham (2002) indicates, with an intercultural approach "the Indigenous populations and ethnic communities can introduce new elements to plans and programmes according to their own reality." This approach to the development of the health care system allows the creation of a setting that may reduce the contradictions between life in Indigenous communities and what is experienced at health centres (hospitals, health posts, etc.). Cunningham (2002) argues that with intercultural health, Indigenous peoples and ethnic communities become agents who participate in constructing their own healthcare models. Discussing an intercultural model of healthcare affords possibilities for the progressive construction of inter-ethnic networks based on the respect of ethnic and cultural diversity. Additionally, if community and endogenous elements based on the ancestral experience of wisdom and knowledge are included, these aspects are likely to contribute to breaking the old paradigm according to which health professionals and workers are the experts who know it all, while community members are passive recipients of knowledge and care.

In most Latin American countries a significant increase in the number of intercultural health initiatives implemented with varying degrees of success over the last decade has been observed (Mignone et al., 2007). These experiences demonstrate ways of advancing in the articulation between traditional Indigenous medicine and Western medicine. A case study of several

intercultural health initiatives has suggested that the basic premises for a successful intercultural health care are: mutual respect, equal recognition of knowledge, willingness to interact, and flexibility to change as a result of these interactions (O'Neil et al., 2006; Mignone et al., 2007). Intercultural health care takes place at different levels including families, practitioners, health centre, hospital, and health system. The existence of experiences of intercultural health as practices in health care bridging Indigenous medicine and Western medicine wherein both complement each other is a very promising development. However, a main element in achieving a successful, relevant intercultural health care is the understanding of the different traditions involved. Without any knowledge of the developments of each world view and mutual interactions between both across a centuries-long history, the achievement of meaningful intercultural experiences is put at risk. This paper provides a historical analysis of both Western and Indigenous practices of medicine as they have developed in the Americas since the 1500s, centred on South America, with a particular interpretation on the developments in the Patagonia (southwest of Argentina and southeast of Chile).

Medicine in the Americas: A history

The contact between Europeans and Indigenous peoples of the Americas starting in 1492 meant to a large extent an antagonistic encounter of the two worlds in many aspects, the economic systems, social institutions, spiritual beliefs, taboos and mysteries. Medicine was just one more aspect of this antagonism: two extremely different views on health, illness, its origins and ways of healing. Despite the fragmentary information about the complex system of health related knowledge in the pre-Columbian Americas, the comparison between European medical practices and those of the Indigenous peoples of the Americas suggests two distinct worldviews. Initially, such a situation caused many clashes

between Indigenous societies and the newly-arrived Europeans. In time, this confrontation gave way to a process of both syncretism and mutual adaptation in some regions, whereas elsewhere an absolute exclusion of Indigenous medicine occured. The historical process of centuries since the arrival of Europeans must be analyzed to capture the dynamic process of both Western medicine and Indigenous medicine in the Americas.

Western medicine in the Americas

During three centuries of the colonial period, European medicine in the Americas subsisted in medieval conditions. Meanwhile, Europe underwent successive cultural periods that significantly influenced the development and modernization of Western medicine: i.e., Renaissance (15th and 16th centuries); Baroque (17th century), Illustration (18th century) and Romanticism (beginning of the 19th century). It was the cultural and technological isolation of the colonial society that prevented these European cultural transformations from being introduced and producing significant changes in colonial communities.

In the 1553 edition of the classic account "*Chronicle of Peru*", Pedro Cieza de León (2005) considers Indigenous medicine to be one of the most relevant issues from the historical point of view. A review of this chronicle, written by García (1989) emphasizes how Cieza de León's vision combines a considerable dose of ethnocentric rejection of those kinds of practices with a fascination for the unknown. In 1767, Francisco Xavier Clavijero, a Jesuit priest expelled from the New World, settled in Italy where he condensed a large part of the Aztecs' medicinal knowledge in his "*Historia Antigua de México.*" Even to this day his work is considered a significant contribution (Boletín Buena Salud, 2003).

Throughout Europe, until halfway through the High Middle Ages, medicine was mainly practiced in monasteries. It was towards the beginning of the high mediaeval period that cathedral

schools became more important. However, the medical knowledge applied by monks was limited to the exercise of their charity mission. In the 9th century, the library of the monastery of San Galeno had six medicine books and one thousand theology books. Moreover, medical texts written in Latin were mostly simplified fragments or summaries of the great Greek works, essentially practical in nature.

At that time, there was a distinct break between medicine and surgery. The fact that Galeno abandoned surgical practice claiming that surgery was just one kind of treatment, contributed to deepen this separation. Thus, a surgeon remained subordinated to a medical doctor. A number of factors played a role in the separation and degradation of surgery. In those times, Christianity saw the human body as the abject prison of the soul. The human organism did not deserve any detailed examination. Similarly, the Islamic doctrine, which became more influential later on, asserted that the body of the dead was foul and impious, so no one should touch it lest getting blood-stained. In addition, mediaeval medicine had put a strong emphasis on speculation. While medical theory constituted the substance of medicine, manual practice was despised. Thus, surgical practice gradually became the realm of barbers. Finally, in 1163 the famous Tours Council's edict: *Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine,* clergymen were officially banned from performing surgical practices. Such prohibition was promulgated by Pope Inocencio III, enforced in 1215. As a result, during that same century, barber surgeons progressively acquired a higher status, a tendency which became much more important during the Renaissance.

In these times, Christianity reintroduced a religious element to this impoverishment of medicine: illness was God's punishment for sinners, a demonic possession or the result of witchcraft. Praying and doing penance became essential to keep evil at bay. In this respect we can appreciate one of the basic contradictions of the dominant culture: while the Spaniards

condemned American shamanic practices for being pervaded with witchcraft and burned gods' images as false idols, they introduced in America their own version of witchcraft: the Inquisition. Over centuries, this institution imposed punishments on people: Christians were threatened with idolatry trials while non-Christians were under threat of forced conversion. Through a Pope order, Indigenous people were excluded from this possibility, for it was thought they belonged to the same category as women and minors. In America, until the times of the revolutions of Independence (a process that began towards 1810 in a majority of Spanish colonies), the Inquisition acted brutally, either burning at the stake, excommunicating, torturing and dispossessing many Spanish and *criollo* people, whose only offence had been to use practices not approved by the Church. Among the latter, practices related to Indigenous medicine were not exempt.

Renaissance belatedly arrived in America. In relation to the field of medicine, those were the times of anatomical thought; of anatomy, surgery and pathological anatomy. It was in the 18th century when decisive changes took place at an official level: in France, for example, the foundation of the Académie Royale de Chirurgie in 1731, Louis XV's decree banning barbers' surgical practices, and, after the French Revolution, the creation of the Schools of Health and the doctoral degree, which put an end to the difference between physicians and surgeons. Let us get back to the 16th century: towards the end of the Renaissance period, humanists promoted the observation and study of psychological factors involved in diseases. The notion of *imagination* or *suggestion* as mind's healing or disturbing factor was taken up again. During this time the idea that witches were not devil's allies but that they suffered from mental illness appeared. For the first time there was an attempt to classify mental illnesses.

The imposition of Spanish medicine in the Chilean territory illustrates the transformations that occurred in the medical field during the conquest period. The essential

characteristics of this process were based on the religious, medieval hospital care model. Our frame of reference covers the second half of the 1500s and early 1600s, governed by two captains that started and completed the conquest: Pedro de Valdivia and Alonso de Rivera. These leading figures were governors and, together with the *cabildos* (i.e. township authorities), were directly in charge of medicine and health matters. They laid the basis for colonial medicine with the assistance of *encomenderos* (i.e. Spanish colonists who were granted Aboriginal labourers by a royal decree), priests and representatives of the cabildos, organizing the health care centres, which were mainly destined for a growing number of Spanish settlers.

In the times of the conquest, the nucleus of medical practice in Chile were the Hospitales del Socorro (lit. Help Hospitals), founded by Pedro de Valdivia in Concepción (1552) and Santiago (1553) to be ruled by hospitallers, a Catholic order created in 1537. Until 1617 these hospitals were managed by the *cabildos* that appointed the steward and representatives who in turn supervised patient care as well as the work of either physicians or resident surgeons. *Cabildo* was a colonial institution governed by two mayors and six *regidores* (aldermen) elected by the neighbours. It had many administrative and judicial functions, such as public works, granting lots of land, exercising control over crafts and fixing tariffs. *Cabildos* were also responsible for hygiene and public health, hence in charge of dealing with epidemics and regulations related to health care practitioners.

The first physician of the Santiago-located Hospital del Socorro was Hernando de Castro, a Medicine licenciate (1552) and the first surgeon was Licentiate Gonzalo Bazán (1557). Juan Guerra, born in La Serena in 1557 and educated in Lima, was the first Chilean physician serving Governor Alonso de Rivera. The most significant historical heritage of this period is to be found in 16th-century documents: i.e., the deeds of gift providing funds for Hospital del Socorro. Among these writs, the most interesting is

the gift of the Huechuraba rural estate, given by Captain Luis de Toledo (1546) and the land title deeds granted by the *corregidor* (magistrate) Alonso de Miranda (1591) for the Paine-located Hospital. Another important document from that period was the *Cabildo* of Santiago's deed, in which conditions are imposed on Franciscans friars for the gift of twelve plots to the Santiago-located Hospital San Juan de Dios so that hospital estate was extended to the south of Alameda (the principal avenue of the city) (1554). These documents reveal the origin of the financial resources of hospitals during that historical period. Their only fixed income was the ninth and a half (in other words,12%) of Church's tithe. Such gifts allowed for income from farm production and were the basis of the annual budget allocated to hospital maintenance. Other gifts were a mill, plots of land, charities, and property pertaining to deceased persons given to charity.

In general, with few changes, the Spanish organization of health centres followed this scheme during the first centuries of the colonies. The scarce technical knowledge by European physicians, mixed with popular knowledge and the contribution of Indigenous herbalism, created a cultural mosaic in which practices were not codified. A continuous adaptation of practices to the needs and availabilities of each region took place. However, the management of health-related care continued being under the influence of the Church. Overall, the medical knowledge of this period was quite limited as stated by Maquiña Vargas (2002) *"…For many years, physicians trained in the main medicine schools had few elements for diagnosis and therapy…physicians of those times had few medicines, there were no antibiotics, vaccines, insulin, corticoids, and the like. In fact, I would call them illustrated and cultivated quacks."*

A considerable part of the information about the medical knowledge of pre-Columbian period, the conquest and first years of the colonies in the Andean area come from the *huaco* portraits of the Moche culture (Huacos are ceremonial ceramic vessels

pertaining to Andean cultures). Representations of the most common diseases of that time are depicted on those vessels. There also exist numerous writings from chroniclers, priests, officials, naturalists, physicians, geographers, engineers, militaries and academicians. Out of curiosity, interest or vocation, they tried to understand and control the natural environment that surrounded the inhabitants of the Viceroyalty. The colonial science they practiced proved to be useful in improving public health, drawing the first maps, and keeping the existing social order. It had a great impact upon both the European and local imagination.

Due to the excellence of the native medicinal plants, many Spanish people considered it was not necessary to train more physicians locally. The "discovery" of the healing properties of the quina (Cinchona sp), or cascarilla (Croton sp), a substance extracted from the bark of North-Andean trees and currently known as quinine, clearly illustrates how the Aboriginal knowledge was incorporated to the European therapeutics, which in those times was more inclined to purgatives and bleeding. The powerful febrifugal effect of the quina against "intermittent fevers", the name given to malaria at that time, was already known by Indigenous healers.

Huaco (Moche culture)

Indigenous medicine

In pre-Columbian American societies, humans sought to understand the surrounding world by striking a balance between the empirical and the magic realms; the healer was the master of life and death. Thus, the cause and origin of diseases, the miracle of procreation, sexual initiation, climacteric period, menopause or death were considered magical phenomena operated by spirits. In this world, shamans, healers, magicians and wizards represented those spirits and acted as mediators of the unknown and, consequently, as dominating forces of world's magical nature. Their knowledge about certain aspects of nature, the passing-by of seasons and the healing properties of plants bestowed authority on them. At the same time, it imposed on them the duty of responding to those natural phenomena.

The Indigenous peoples of the Americas had varying degrees of political, economic and social development. However, they shared a magical-religious tradition and similar ideas concerning their healing practices. Despite the geographical and temporal distance among those cultures, a distinctive double phenomenon could be observed in their medicine: on the one hand, the healer, the shaman and the wizard were closely related to one another and, on the other hand, they had a sophisticated knowledge of the use of the medicinal plants in each region. Thus, healers and shamans always had great significance in their societies, for they embodied pre-Columbian medicine. They gathered the magical elements of rituals that the gods vested on them together with the patterns of use of natural medicines and preparation thereof, which only they knew and that were kept in secret. Botanical medicine had a considerable importance so it was converted into a millennial tradition based on the knowledge of an enormous number of medicinal plants, classified and successfully used for various diseases healing process. People linked medicine to three factors: religion, for the origin and cure of certain diseases

that was attributed to the gods; magic, for people believed that some diseases were caused by wizards; and finally to science, because they knew the healing properties of plants and minerals. For these peoples the idea of illness was magical and mysterious, indistinct from their spiritual beliefs and world view. In pre-Columbian America believing that there existed a healthy mind within a healthy body was not enough. *"The medical wizard is not just a healer that takes care of the individual. He is the one who raises the social awareness of the community, for illness is a symptom of group or economical disorder."* (Paz Oterto, 1974) Consequently, the shaman's education included knowing about the ecological environment, the characteristics of the community and of each one of its members (Ruiz, 2000) so his function was eminently preventive.

The similarities among shamanic healing practices in different cultures are striking. This fact explains why shamanic healing is generally considered as the instrument that has kept alive and unchanged the knowledge and efficacy of ancestral practices. Healing does not follow written guidelines. Healers work differently with each person. They use herbs, ceremonies and powers in such a way as they may consider appropriate for each individual. Healing might involve sweat lodges, talking circles, ceremonial smoking of tobacco, shamans, herbalism, animal spirits or "vision quests." Each tribe uses its own techniques. The techniques by themselves are not "the traditional healing." They are just steps towards becoming healthy, balanced and connected (InfoRed, 2002).

Frazer (1992) suggests that, in societies with non-mechanized technologies the key to a doctor's healing power lies in his ability to free the ill person's psychic strength, stimulating the healing potentials of the collective subconscious by means of his rites and magical influence. Thus, the remedy does not solely operate due to its "what", its nature or essential composition. It also works because of the "whom" (the one who prescribes it, the magician who dominates the hidden powers), because of the

"how" (the administration ritual which is essential for its operation), and because of the "where" (the place where it is applied and the powers which are released therein). Remedies are not used only on account of their nature, they are used because they help the magician-priest to control the hidden powers that cause illness.

There exists a substantial evidence of specific medical practices performed throughout America, centuries before the Europeans' arrival. A practice that was carried out with an unexpected high percentage of success was trepanation. Instruments and causes may vary, but it is an established fact that, from Mexico to Patagonia, trepanation was one of the significant developments of pre-Hispanic medicine. Thousands of findings throughout the continent –many of them dating back 3,000 years- confirm it. However, what is even more remarkable is that, according to the analysis of the bones found, patients survived many years after so risky a procedure.

Based on numerous similar cases, research has come to the conclusion that medicine as practiced in pre-Columbian America was - development-wise not too distant from this science practiced in Spain at the time. Ruiz (2000) states that trepanations could have originated in the belief that evil spirits chose that place of the body to settle into. When other liberating practices, like bleedings failed, a cranial perforation was performed. It has also been proved that this procedure was used to remove tumours and that the places selected for trepanation confirmed that pre-Hispanic cultures knew about brain anatomy. It is believed that the techniques employed before the European's arrival guaranteed 70% of efficaciousness. Meanwhile, still in the 18th-century Europe, nearly all operations failed. Minimal cases of infection were found in Peruvian trepanations; it is assumed that asepsis was achieved by using baby saliva (that due to their enzymes content reduces the effects of bacteria and viruses). They also used antiseptic herbs. Trepanation holes were sealed off with gold or

copper plates and vegetal barks, like the *totumo* (calabash tree) bark (Ruiz, 2000).

A trepanated skull from Cusco
(Cueto, 1987)

Tumi, knife, stiletto, pin and scalpel Champi style; obsidian needles and bone carved stiletto (Valle de Majes) (200 AD – 600 DC). Valdez Collection – Arequipa, Peru.

One other important field of Indigenous medical knowledge was the use of psychoactive substances. In pre-Columbian America, most of such substances came from mushrooms, cactus, seeds, flowers, trees and bushes, and, to a lesser extent, from animals. Substances of many varieties existed, from the *ayahuasca (Banisteria mettalicolor)* of Central America, the Andean coca, to the *miaya* or *chamico (Jimson weed)* of Chile, among others. The latter is mentioned for the first time in a text "*Historia General del Reino de Chile, Flandes Indiano*" (A General History of the Kingdom of Chile,

an Indian Flanders –verbatim), which was written approximately between 1652 and 1673 by Diego de Rosales, a Jesuit priest (Cueto, 1987). Besides providing a characterization of the geography, fauna, life and customs of Indigenous people, this work describes the therapeutic qualities of a wide range of plants, among which we find the chamico. *"Given to drink with wine or water, it numbs senses to such an extent that, if drank by criminals before torture, they feel no pain whatsoever; no matter how much the ropes are tightened. If they are given a larger quantity, they fall asleep for a whole day with their eyes open, and to awake them, they put vinegar in their nostrils, or hot ash on their foreheads. If they drink a lot, they fall asleep, and they laugh and die without any further suffering."*(Cueto, 1987)

Within each culture the consumption of the various American psycho-actives was the result of long and careful observation and experimentation. This process allowed the ancient inhabitants to recognize the plants and the effects they caused, as well as to specify the most appropriate procedures for obtaining them and establishing dosages and modes of administration. The Western vision of these substances does not grasp the real significance they had in the Indigenous world. Aboriginal people considered that, when used in a ceremonial context, their consumption gave "*meaning to senses, strength to feelings and wisdom to understanding.*" (Cornejo et al., 1994) At the same time, their application to medicine provided analgesics and anaesthetics of a still unknown power for Europeans at the time. Spaniards observed the effects caused, describing them as "drunkenness" and "loss of consciousness" because they had no access to the Indigenous worldview. In their worldview, psychoactive substances played an active ceremonial role by opening the gates of spiritual worlds. In Fericgla's (1997) words:*"…for the populations that inhabited our pre-Columbian America, drug consumption would constitute a key element when understanding subsistence strategies, relations of assistance and healing, collective memory and decision making systems, a role*

that with some variations would be kept among the Indigenous and half-caste American populations until nowadays."

The arrival of Spaniards to America brought about a radical transformation among the New World's inhabitants. Their lives were completely disrupted. The imposition of a new religion, changes in their nutrition, economy and organization as well as impacts on their health challenged their customs and beliefs. Diseases that were widely spread throughout Europe, like measles, smallpox, cholera, tuberculosis, mumps and yellow fever, among others, severely affected the Indigenous population. In a short period of time, the imported epidemics devastated the Spanish-occupied territories. The fusion of these two cultures put an end to the barriers that for centuries had separated not only the peoples of Europe and America, but also other forms of life, like vegetables, animals and microbes. This caused irreparable damages to the ecology of the American continent. Considering that the colonized inhabitants already possessed an ancient and rich tradition in herbalism, which was based on the empirical knowledge of the properties and applications of medicinal plants, this encounter became advantageous to the Europeans. In fact, surprised by the botanical riches of the new lands, Spaniards informed the European royal courts about the abundance of plants and their beneficial properties. Based on these references, Friar Bernardino de Sahagún arrived in Mexico in 1529. He learned Mexican language and collected data provided by some doctors of Tlatelolco, which were later included in his *General History of the Things of New Spain* (Lockhart, 2004). Martín de la Cruz –the first medical doctor graduated from Colegio de la Santa Cruz in Santiago Tlatelolco, was also interested in such issues. In 1552 he wrote a treatise in Náhuatl language compiling all his knowledge about healing plants and other medicines. In 1570, King Felipe II commissioned his personal doctor, Francisco Hernández, to make up a catalogue of medicinal plants, useful animals and venomous pests, minerals and each and every other natural riches of the new

world. Nonetheless, during colonial times, traditional Indigenous medicine was eventually condemned as witchcraft and people involved in those practices were punished by the Inquisition. However, the actual pattern followed by the medicine at the time was mixed, because while the Spanish, *criollos (white people born in America)* and *mestizos* enjoyed the services of the few existing European doctors, the Indigenous population turned to what was left of native medicine. Further, there are numerous examples of mutual influence between Spanish and Indigenous medical ideas.

It is a well-known fact that migration of humans and their diseases constitutes the main cause for epidemics. When any migration takes place, individuals that have been isolated for a long time are the ones who suffer most. This happens because their genetic material has not been in contact with those diseases that were not previously present in their geographic environment. The American natives had the fateful privilege of living apart from the Old World until the moment the two civilizations came in contact. In that way, the serious diseases from Europe became far more lethal in the New World, and even disorders that were non-malignant in Europe, became fatal to the Indigenous populations of the Americas (Estrella, 1993). Thus, despair spread among Indigenous people. Defenceless and dying, the populations were an easy prey for the conquerors. Their gods relinquished and their fasts, offerings and abstinences failing. Wherever the white men went to, unknown evils appeared; and as if it were a present from an alien God, the emergence of such diseases that neither their medicines nor their healers and shamans could cure ended up taking root in their lands and peoples.

> *"…Aboriginal people were persuaded that the presence of these new diseases was due to divine punishment. For many the new god brought by the Europeans, angry with their profane idolatries and mundane sins, sent them the calamity of illness so that they might expiate their wrongs and convert to the new religion. This circumstance was even*

more pronounced because the Spanish were immune against diseases, something that was surely used like an extra weapon to achieve conversion. Lethal weapons, horses, diseases and a foreign and punishing god crushed the Indigenous resistance…" (McNeill, 1984)

Indigenous and Western medicine in Patagonia: The historical process

One of the theories related to the interactions among cultures is Berry's (1990) who describes different variables related to cross-cultural situations, and conceptualizes four cross-cultural attitudes. He defines four concepts, namely: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization, according to whether keeping cultural identity is considered a value for a certain ethnic group, and whether relating to other groups is considered a value. Berry's theoretical framework assists in understanding that there is one major factor that influences cross-cultural attitudes, namely: the relationship between a dominant group and a dominated group. When a dominant group's position indicates a multicultural disposition, there are more chances for integration and intercultural encounters. The hegemonic position of the dominant group will bring about either assimilation, separation or marginalization, and the resistance to this process also depends on the non-dominant group's characteristics and situation. This model can assist in analyzing the historical processes that culminated in the current situation of Western and Indigenous medicine in Patagonia, and that can be summarized in four key historical periods: "araucanization", Jesuit, conquest of the desert, and European settlement.

The "Araucanization" period refers to the migration of the Mapuche people from what is Chile today to the southwestern regions of nowadays Argentina, that is areas inhabited by the Tehuelches at that time (the word "Araucano" was used by

Spaniards to refer to the Mapuche, a name rejected by the Mapuche people) .This movement gave rise to a long process of cultural syncretism, known as the "process of Araucanization." The Mapuche culture had begun its geographic and temporal spread in the central area of Chile, wherefrom its members considered themselves to be native inhabitants; however large groups gradually entered in the present territory of Argentina, at first for exchange purposes and later as a consequence of the long-time conflict with the Spaniards that was called "the Arauco's war." They crossed the Andes in small groups through different passes until the 17th century and continued in the 18th century when their presence became more established. Since that time, the influence of the language and customs of the Mapuche tinges the pre-existent cultures of North Argentine Patagonia, originating a long and complex syncretism process. This area had been populated by the Tehuelches, who had their own cultural conceptions, economy, organization and environmental adaptation. Several syncretism concretions emerged out of this "Araucanization" process. Thus, important transformations in the Patagonian Aboriginal world occurred when white settlers arrived.

The Jesuit period is characterized by the arrival, towards the 17th century of members of the Jesuit Order, mostly of Spanish and Italian origin. Aside from their main role as evangelists, many Jesuits left as a legacy a certain number of written works that still today constitute a precious source of knowledge for researchers. They displayed a remarkable talent for observing their environment. Besides, their intellectual level contributed to the particular acuteness of their observations. Nonetheless, their perceptions were unavoidably ethnocentric. The distinctive feature of the Order was the close relationships that Jesuits established with Indigenous communities. They lived and travelled together with these communities during long lapses of time, learning the native languages of the different regions and, on several occasions,

acting contrary to the Spanish Crown's express wishes. Jesuits were eventually expelled from the Americas by the Pope, in 1767.

The intervention of the national army against the Indigenous populations towards the end of the 19th century, known as "The Conquest of the Desert" was one of the events that would become crucial for the later development of the region. Such intervention meant the occupation, extermination and marginalization of those populations. This campaign resulted not only in the fragmentation and loss of Aboriginal culture, but also in a series of traumatic and cross-cultural effects suffered by those populations. There were important economic and political reasons for this campaign. In the 19th century, North Patagonia fully-araucanized groups were settling seasonally in semi-permanent *tolderías* (camps), from which they carried out cattle hunting and trafficking raids. Wild cattle, which were abundant during the 17th century, began to diminish in number in the following centuries, when they were exploited by the white men that commercialized hides and meat as well as by the Indigenous people who organized huge cattle drives through the Patagonian territory to sell them in Chile. 18th-century cattle dealers and landowners living in the outskirts of the Province of Buenos Aires progressively began pushing the Aboriginal frontier further south, so that they could take more territories, thus expanding cattle exploitation.

In the early 19th century, the frontier became an unstable area subject to contradictory polices. Eventually, those policies would be more clearly defined in terms of actions aimed at the subjection of the Indigenous people. This process reached its highest point in 1880 with the military campaign that definitively disrupted Indigenous life patterns; the ideology that supported such actions was framed by the prevailing positivist thought of that period. "Order and progress" and the superiority of some human beings over others: those were the principles brandished by Argentina's dominant economic groups, who also controlled

political power. The violent imposition of "civilization" over "uncultured barbarism" was thus justified.

In those times of armed conflict, the healing techniques used by campaign physicians were simple, notwithstanding the large number of ailments suffered by soldiers. In addition to battle wounds, physicians had to deal with fevers, dysentery, epidemic diseases, smallpox, cholera and tumors. According to Dr. Guerrino, *"…presumably, there was no asepsis and the place used as surgical rooms did not have the minimum conditions to guarantee the surgeon's work…"* (Guerrino, n/d). Usually, there were some women, called "quacks", working together with the physicians. They practiced an alternative form of medicine, which included the use of plants, potions and amulets. Armaignac (1974) reports that, when facing a lack of physicians, these women *"…were the ones that healed fevers and other diseases…they used herbs, animal grease, to what they added touchings, cabalistic passes, black chickens, chewed herbs, as well as simple drugs…"*

European settlement started around the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. The first European settlers arrived from the West and North of the territory. Following the principles of "civilization and progress" that originated the above-mentioned campaign, those colonists came to occupy the lands with a new way of life. At that time another process of cultural syncretism began.

In 1878 the "Gobernación de la Patagonia" (Patagonia Governing Corps) was legally created. The authorities established their office in the village of Mercedes de Patagones, which some time later on changed its name to Viedma. Considering this area as indicative of a phenomenon that progressively became universal in Patagonia, around the end of the 19th century, in the lower valley of Rio Negro we can distinguish a population that, to the pre-existent composition of *criollos* and Indigenous people adds immigrants of diverse origins, such as British, Scottish, Welsh, Italians, Germans, Austrians, Swiss, French, Greeks and Danish nationals. George Humble, an Anglican missionary who had

arrived before General Roca's campaign (1884) worked among this heterogeneous community. For that reason he is considered as the first physician of Patagonia. Besides his religious duties, this missionary also practiced medicine for he had an accredited degree granted by the School of Medicine and Surgery of the University of St. Andrews in Glasgow. In his diary, Humble (Canclini, 1980) points out that, notwithstanding some "hostile Indians" who resisted the change implied by everyday contact with Europeans, there were many others that sent their children to the village's school, went to the settlement for bartering and to visit the doctor. For him, these visits sometimes meant long rides on horseback to get to the *tolderías* where most Aboriginal people lived (Musters, 1964).

Towards 1902, the city of Bariloche had only one obstetrician and one midwife. All patients had to be sent to Chile or Los Repollos. Another possibility was to use household-grown medicinal herbs, quite often mixing elements of Mapuche and European medicine knowledge. The first European physician in the region, José Emanuel Vereertbrugghen, arrived in 1907. Of Belgian origin, he had studied at the Leuven University and had taken his degree in Bonn, Germany. In Bariloche he worked alone because there was no organized health care system. For his medical visits, sometimes as far as 200 km. away, he had a small herd of horses. Around 1915, with the joint support of some neighbours and Salesian priests, a First Aid Centre began to operate in Bariloche. By 1920, the second physician, Ernesto Serigós, arrived in the area. He also practiced surgery and examined and treated patients in the first Regional Hospital established in 1932. For many people the place was known as "Serigós' Hospital." In 1938, under the direction of Juan Javier Neumeyer the hospital was moved to the building it currently occupies. When professional nurses were incorporated, nuns that worked in the first hospital progressively left their nursing role and devoted themselves to provide only spiritual care to patients (Vallmitjana, 1995).

During the 1940's the Argentine government fully developed the health care system. Until then the provision of health care services strictly depended on local arrangements. Both the structure and professional training in the government-run health care system was shaped by the Universities of Buenos Aires and Córdoba, which, in turn, had followed European models. Initially, this procedure did not affect too much ancestral healing practices still in use. Overtime the "European-like procedure" imposed itself more widely as the ideal model of intervention, diagnosis and cure. This notion was carried out and constructed in terms of national programmes or health provincial arrangements. These were designed by the central government, which first reproduced European models and, more recently, models coming from the United States. The fundamental principle of these programmes was, and still is, the "standardization" of interventions, with a one-way approach irrespective of populations. The implementation of those programmes has caused a great deal of confusion, as well as resistance among the regional cultures. The current health care systems are not open to the creation of intercultural spaces. A debate is needed to foster the transformation of current health care systems and models and the implementation intercultural health initiatives.

When analyzing the above-described four historical moments we can understand the following facts. The Araucanization period involved a syncretism process between two native cultures, in which the dominant group was the immigrant group (Mapuche). Integration was achieved in a 300-year long gradual process and included some assimilation of the Tehuelche culture. During the Jesuit period there were some attempts at assimilation which was determined by the Jesuits' world position as a dominant ethnic group, which considered "uncivilized" those who were different. During this process there was some integration because the Jesuits missionaries used it as a means to "appeal" to the people they wanted to conquer. In turn, the

Indigenous people adopted some of the concepts brought by the conquerors. During the "Conquest of the Desert" a disintegration process took place among the Aboriginal ethnic groups. Due to the position certain groups began to occupy in society, the subsequent effect was either one of marginalization and separation, or a long-term assimilation process. With respect to European settlement, there was integration, to a greater or a lesser extent, between immigrants and native inhabitants. The above-described processes and their long term effects resulted in a "current space" in which these four attitudes, as characterized by Berry (1990) converge. Consequently, it can be regarded as a "mixed space."

Considering it as a possible "intercultural space", upon which we can operate, an important task lies in identifying those signifiers that hinder communication and interaction. In Patagonia, Western culture continues to be dominant and the medical system follows western-type models. The current medical system, which is far from being effective, is now in a position wherein it is not questioned enough about the type of medicine that should be implemented, reason for which we must consider the intercultural space as a space yet to be constructed. Ethno-medicine is a discipline that may act as a connecting link between Western medicine and the Indigenous-popular world views.

Conclusion

This paper has suggested a rich history in the development of both Western and Indigenous medicine in the Americas. The last several decades have seen significant developments, at an international level, of a re-assessment of the relevance of traditional Indigenous health care practices and the implementation of intercultural health initiatives. Particular to Patagonia, despite the predominance of Western medicine, Indigenous health practices operate within, however, a marginalized context. The existing divide does not serve well the

cross-cultural reality of the population of the region. Pushing towards intercultural health initiatives is a necessary action to be performed. This development requires a number of conditions: first of all, an understanding that these different world views have a dynamic history within their own development as well as an interaction with each other across the centuries, as we have been analyzing. From a policy and programmatic perspective, there are a series of recommendations that should be considered for the development and implementation of intercultural health initiatives. As stated by a recent study (O'Neil et al, 2006) these initiatives require: culturally appropriate regulatory environments; contractual models for promoting Indigenous autonomy in health system development; the support of Indigenous organizations and communities in the development of health programmes; technical and financial assistance to develop information systems for the purposes of monitoring and evaluation, as well as research; and an increase in the exchange of ideas and intercultural health care models across the Americas.

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From Politics to Business?
Social firms as the locomotives of the third sector transition in Finland

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Abstract

This article deals with the recent changes in understanding the role, characteristics and the practices of the third sector in Finland. It approaches the changes, first of all, from the perspective of the social policy planning in general: how are the administrative expectations toward the third sector changing in Finland and why? On the other hand the changes will be analyzed from the perspective of a particular and relatively new type of the third sector organization, the social firm. This part of the article, which bases on the empirical case-study on the specific social firm in progress, reveals in detail how the discourses, logics of action, and styles of management familiar from the private sector are increasingly penetrating the service providing third sector organizations – or the so called new third sector – in Finland. Whereas the role of the third sector associations has traditionally been to process and serve the interests of the groups they claim to represent and the management of the organizations has been taken care of according to the principles of direct and representative democracy, the role of the new third sector organizations – especially social firms – is defined externally by the expectations of the social and health care administration to a great extent and the organizations are ran according to the practices and principles of new public management and managerialism.

Introduction

In this article, I concentrate on the recent changes in the ways of understanding the forms and management of third sector organizations in Finland. I focus particularly on the so-called "new third sector" (NTS), i.e. social firms and institutionalized social and health sector associations, co-operatives and foundations providing welfare and employment services.

The main research questions of the article are: (I) Why is the transformation of the Finnish third sector taking place? (II) What does the step towards business-oriented activity require from the self-comprehensions and everyday practices of these organizations? (III) How are the social and economic expectations and goals bound together in the NTS-organizations? I use empirical examples from administrative documents concerning the role of the third sector in Finland, and from my empirical case study of one development project of a social firm.

The first part of the article deals with the re-significations of the third sector deriving from the recent problematizations of structural changes and new discussions on welfare policy strategies. After that, I focus on which kinds of transformational requirements these new structural and discursive trends bring about for the third sector organizations. I make a close examination of these requirements by analyzing the aforementioned case of a developing social firm in Jyväskylä, Finland, which used to be a non-profit organization. The theoretical and analytical perspective of the paper stems from critical management studies (Alvesson & Wilmot 1992; McKinlay & Starkey 1998; Townley 1994) and a Foucauldian analysis of

advanced- or neo-liberalism (e.g. Dean 1995; 1999; Foucault 2004, 333-361; Rose 1999). I problematize the application of the organizational management, coming from the private sector, in third sector and raise the question of whether or not these organizational changes can be interpreted as signs of an emergence and implementation of neo-liberal principals of governance in organizing welfare and (un)employment services.

Increasing interest in the third sector

Helmut Anheier and Lester Salamon (1996, 33-34) enumerate features which they consider as characteristic for the third or non-profit sector: organizations are self-organized and autonomous from any external conduction, such as public administration. They do not share profits for the individual share holders. Major part of the human resources of third sector comes from the voluntary work. One of the basic tasks of the third sector organizations is also to provide services for the needs of the citizens – this has been especially the case in the United States. In the Nordic context, one of the favorite definitions of the researchers for the traditional features of the third sector has been that associations and co-operatives give collective voice for the citizens and formulate and present their interests (Lundström and Wiljkström 1995; Siisiäinen 1998). Basically, the comprehension in the Nordic countries and in some other European countries was till the 1990's that third sector is the sphere of interest politics and the public sector is the one which provides basic services for the citizens.

However, new kind of interest in the third sector raised after the problematizations of the state-centered welfare system as indicated by a few famous schools of the economic sciences, such as the Chicago School of Economics and the Austrian School of Economics (Burchell 1991; Foucault 2004, 333-361; Peters 2007). In their studies, these institutes criticized state ownership and

public service provision for being too heavy, expensive, and ineffective, and for being a major cause of the continuous and expanding inflation of national economies. The aforementioned theories included a figure of the 'homo oeconomicus', whose basic characteristics are individualism, (economic) rationality, and self-interest. The collective will of homo oeconomicuses is best realized through "spontaneous order" formulating in the spheres of economy and civil society. Too strong state interference is seen as a threat to individuals' natural freedom and to this spontaneous social order (e.g. Hayek 1960; Hayek 1979).

During the 1980s, this critique became a part of the political rhetoric of two of the most influential political figures of the time: Margaret Thatcher in Britain and Ronald Reagan in the United States. Their administration emphasized time and again how the state's role in interfering with citizens' lives should be reduced to a minimum, because this was not only seen as not being cost-effective, but also as dangerous for people's freedom, self-activity, and co-operative spirit (Dean 1995; Rose 1999, 137-166). In this transformation of governance discourse, the organizational doctrine of new public management started to spread, too. The thought was (and still is) that public organizations can be managed most efficiently if their governance is decentralized and if they are economically independent units. This notion was followed with an increase in the prevalence of managerialistic ideas and practices in the public sector: relatively soon after, economists were taking care of the management of financial results in almost every public sector unit and department. This overall idea and development is referred with the concept of neo-liberalization of the public governance.

This rhetoric and its related policy renewals arrived in the Nordic countries during the 1990s. In Finland, this transition became especially noticeable in the aftermath of the dramatic economic depression at the beginning of the 1990s. The problematization of the welfare state and favor of market-oriented

public policy was represented through the "rhetoric of necessities". According to it, it was unavoidable to reduce state expenses and reorganize public services and the administration of public organizations. However, difficulties arose for this rhetorical problematization because of the ageing of the Finnish society. There was no decrease in public costs in sight due to the significant amount of pensioners and elderly. The best solution to this situation was seen as the provision of services by firms and associations outside of public organizations. Indeed, this did not remain at the level of rhetoric and was implemented in the form of many policy renewals.

One of the first major acts during the recession was the reform of the municipal state subsidy system in 1993. This renewal increased the autonomy of municipalities in service provision, but also radically diminished state funding for them. Between the years 1991-1998, the state subsidies of the municipalities were decreased from seven billion Euros to 4.3 billion. This forced municipalities to look for service provision partners from the third and private sectors. Third sector organizations were expected to provide more services for public utility and participate in addressing (un)employment issues more than before. This reform continued after the turn of the millennium with the ongoing program of restructure of municipality services, which enhances the cost-effectiveness of the municipal economies and the heterogeneity of service provision by forcing the municipalities to purchase their public services from private and third sector providers. It also created more expectations and regulations for the partnership organizations to be active in their networking, audit their practices in the name of transparency, and make their work as cost-efficient as possible. (Julkunen 1992, 77-96; Kantola 2002, 124-127; Pyykkönen 2008; cf. Rose 1999, 137-196.)

Finland's entry into the European Union in 1995 influenced the demands for cutbacks, particularly regarding welfare services. In some EU programs, these are seen as too heavy and

expensive for the national economies; in order to develop, the "healthy" European economy member states have to reduce their public expenditures and improve the provision of services to be more efficient than before. This demand was of particular concern for the Nordic states because they were known of their expensive public service provision. The idea of creating new policy and service models is found from the background of almost all of the ESF projects implemented in Finland: public sector institutions cannot usually apply for or receive funding for the development of the local service structures from such projects. Instead, third sector organizations and different kinds of networks are able to develop their services through them. This kind of project funding can be well defined as a very influential technique of 'governing at a distance': international forces do not control and influence the states, citizens, and their collectivities directly, but instead do so by using more or less persuasive techniques such as funding and contracting. For example, ESF funding is a kind of contract between third sector organization and the European Union and the national public organization (in Finland Employment and Economic Development Centers) responsible of sharing and controlling funding among local actors. This kind of governing at a distance through use of different kinds of contracts and partnerships is common to neo-liberal forms of governance (Dean 1999, 167-170; Rose 2000, 160; Savio and Palola 2005; Walters and Haahr 2005).

At the same time as the above mentioned changes came to pass, echoes of a deliberative and more citizen-driven democracy strengthened in the public policy discourses in Finland. Community cohesion was seen to be declining partly because of the public policies and public organization of services. Actors touched by these changes claimed that public services were being produced in a manner divorced from the everyday life of the citizens. The claim was that service providers can hardly understand the real needs of the people, because they do not share

their life experiences. Administration saw that the third sector organizations, as organizations of the citizens, instead, know about the everyday lives of the people, their various needs, desires, interests, and identities. The third sector was seen especially as capable of enhancing community cohesion. One aspect of this is way in which the work of community organizations helps avoid the potentially negative consequences of neo-liberalism – such as too fierce individualization and value differentiation. Community projects are seen as signs of the free individuals' tendency towards "natural co-operation" and a communitarian need for guarding the social and value-concerned cohesion of the communities. These principles condense in the administrative speech on social capital: associations, foundations, and other civic organizations are seen as those that could create and maintain genuine trust and networks among citizens, especially between those at risk of social exclusion and communities surrounding them. Social capital is seen as the ultimate source of the wellbeing, health, and happiness of the communities and wider population. (Möttönen 2002b; Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriö 2002, 2; see also Putnam 1993.)

One part of the new policy discourses, was the claim that unemployment benefits and other subsidy systems for indigents make people too passive. Unemployment benefit and welfare state social security were, and still are, seen to passivize people in their gratuity. According to the consultative reports of administration this was one of the most costly failures of the welfare system. For instance, in 1999, a Ministry of Social and Health Affairs working group published a report concerning active social policy. Report lead to the new law on activation plans and rehabilitation work in 2001 (L 189/2001). This law gives authorities the right to refer an unemployed person to work or education earlier than before and guides people under social security to employment supporting activities more efficiently than was the case previously. The law also tightened the responsibilities that municipalities and state authorities have concerning co-operation in employment affairs.

The law drives public institutions to interact and network with other actors in the field of welfare and unemployment services. In sum, it can be said that the purpose of the law, and other related reforms, is to encourage citizens to take more responsibility for their own employment; if they are not responsible enough, the authorities may conduct their unemployed bodies and souls faster and more efficiently than before. Some researchers have seen this as one step towards neo-liberal governance, which try to enhance the capacities, self-responsibility, moral, and activeness of each and every individual. The activation policy leans on the idea that, in the end, every individual is responsible for her-/himself. Free citizens should implement their freedom properly, i.e. in the form of high economic independence from any public subsidy (L 189/2001; Salonen-Soulié 2003; see also Dean 1995; Rose 1999, 137-166; Rose 2000).

All of the aforementioned changes have increased public interest in the third sector in general, but not in all of the activities or organizations belonging to it. For instance, voluntarily managed hoppy clubs, which still form the backbone of collective civic action in Finland, are not thought to be important in the rescuing of welfare services and rectifying the bad employment situation, even though the voluntary work in such associations has been seen as one positive aspect of social capital, and their number has been recently increasing (Siisiäinen 2003). What interest authorities and researchers are the most institutionalized and well-established actors – those that have strong connections with private and public sector actors. Many of them practice activities that are suitable for serving such purposes as supplementing welfare and unemployment services. These kind of third sector organizations are sometimes referred to with the term "new third sector" (e.g. Huotari et al. 2008). The increased interest in the NTS is not without implications for these organizations. Indeed, recently, they have experienced an increase in managerialistic management

personnel, practices and ideas, new organizational structures, and a focus on new customer groups.

New Public Management, managerialism, and the "new third sector"

One of the most remarkable changes in welfare service provision culminates in the ideas of New Public Management (NPM), which was originally applied to "modernize" and "intensify" administration and public sector service provision in the 1980s in several Western countries. The basic purpose of the NPM is to control public sector costs and to enhance the downsizing of the public sector in general. Basically there are two main ways to strive for this outcome: on the one hand, the public services must be provided outside the public sector, in the private or third sector. According to this approach, it is cheaper for the public sector to be the subscriber of the services than to provide them with their own productive resources. On the other hand, all public sector units and departments (nationally, regionally, and locally) must be transformed into autonomous profit centers, which can then be evaluated with different kinds of meters and indicators to measure their efficiency. In other words, the public sector must be administrated by using management patterns familiar from the private sector. (e.g. Dawson & Dargie 1999; Parker 1999; about the Finnish case, see Möttönen 2002a.)

As already mentioned above, NPM necessitates new ways of governing organizations. This is where the management dogma of so-called managerialism steps onto the stage. In the managerialistic way of thinking, organizational problems appear mainly as problems of efficiency and management itself: if an organization does not produce enough profit, it is not working as efficiently as it should, and, subsequently, this means that the management of the organization is not working efficiently enough. Instead of being bureaucrat or quasi-official, the manager(s) tends

to continuously monitor and develop his/her own ways of managing. This means that the manager needs not only to be a tradesman and an economist, able to exploit the given resources as efficiently as possible, but also to be innovative, active, and dynamic. The manager is, thus, a reflexive leader and expert who can recognize the interests and competences of key actors in her/his organization and mobilize them into efficient economic success.

The following features are typical for the third sector under the influence of NPM and managerialism: continuous auditing and measuring of quality, (focus on) results and efficiency; continuous development of all divisions of an organization, especially its management; sensitivity to market changes; continuous internal communication about the management and productivity in an organization, continuous development of the personnel skills, continuous surveillance of the number of personnel and its adaptation to the prevailing market situation, and profit responsible individual management. Managerialism is more than just economics. Indeed, it, more or less consciously aims at connecting economic rationality and thinking to every aspect of organizational life (Fitzsimons 1999; Hoskins 1998; Kantola 2002, 180; Möttönen 2002a).

The manager tries to get every employee in the organization perfectly involved in its activities and get them committed to its core values. Thus, it is a matter of creating a favorable organizational ethos. The free, self-responsible, active, and productive employee-subject is the best one from the point of view of good managerialism. However, these are not unconditional characters of the subject: instead they must be conducted in the continuous communication and evaluation between the manager and the "managed". Too strict conduct on behalf of the manager would kill the creativity of the employee-subject, but through communicative management this subject understands that a particular type of activity and creativity is not only for the best of

the organization, but for the best of her-/himself too. In other words, managerialism takes place through governance of every individual personally for the sake of the good of the whole. This relates to the theories of Michel Foucault in two senses: on the one hand, it refers to the tendency of modern governance to govern the totality (population of the state, organization, etc.) through each and every subject particularly (Foucault 2000, 298-325). On the other hand, it refers to an organizational form of modern pastoral power. In order to be able to govern the organization well, the manager (the modern shepherd), must know every conducted subject as well as possible (Townley 1998, 200; cf. Foucault 2004, 165).

These managerialistic phenomena have been mainly studied among the public sector organizations upon which NPM has had the most impact. Nonetheless, they have implications in the third sector organizations, too – especially in NTS organizations that co-operate with public sector organizations. It is not enough for NPM that public organizations work efficiently and are managed along managerialistic principles and practices. The network organizations and co-operators also need to be efficient, in order that it is worthwhile for the public organizations to purchase services from them. More than ever before, there are economists and evaluators working in the management tasks in associations, co-operatives, and foundations that provide welfare services and offer jobs for unemployed in present-day Finland. This can be also seen in the self-identification of the third sector managers. The majority of the executives in Finnish social firms, or "wannabe" social firms, identify themselves as business managers and not as executive directors or chairpersons (Pättiniemi 2004, 13). This new type of expertise and leadership is not the only change and new organizational forms have been coming into the field of the Finnish third sector: professionally-led and non-voluntarily resourced just-for-service-provision associations, foundation-form network organizations of large third

sector associations, and public sector departments, and social firms.

The social firm as the locomotive of change

The Finnish government established a working group to consider the definitions of economic and labor policies in 2002. Its aim was to raise the level of employment to 75 percent and lower unemployment to under five percent. The working group's report attaches such objectives to social firms as those that could be taken straight from pages of the NPM text book, namely that responsibility for employment issues must be transferred and shared between municipalities, and the associations, firms, and organizations providing employment services must be separated from the direct public possession. The report posits social firms as a positive example of the new type of third sector organization, in which the primary motive for action is profit making. This makes their work more rational concerning employment than non-profit associations. Social firms are seen as key-actors in the implementation of the so-called 'subscriber – producer model', that was being planned in 2002, and which forms one remarkable structural renewal of municipalities today (Valtioneuvoston kansia 2003, 34-35).

What is a social firm in Finland then? According to the Law on social firms, which was set at the end of 2003 after the two years work of working groups, led first by the Ministry of Trade and Industry and then by Ministry of Labor, such an association or foundation or other enterprise can be registered to the register of social firms, which "(i) is registered to the legal company register; (ii) produces goods along business principles; (iii) has at least 30 percent of its labor force registered as disabled, or altogether at least 30 percent as disabled and long-term unemployed; (iv) pays a normal salary meant for completely able-bodied to all of its employees regardless of their productivity" (L 1351/2003, 4 §).

Administrator of the register is the Economic and Economic Development Centre (T&E Centre) and its regional units. These regional units are in charge of the financial aid for the registered social firms. Registration changes the funding structure of the organization: Finnish association or foundation organizing social, health and employment services gets its income from the providing of outsourcing services, from the annually or more frequently set public subsidies given by municipalities and Finland's Slot Machine Association, separate public subsidy for the salary of employee, public funding for the development projects, and in some cases from the selling of goods. Smaller interest group or hoppy associations get their income mainly from the membership fees and in some cases from the small subsidies given by the municipalities' social and cultural departments. Instead, the funding structure of the social firms base on the incomes from the selling of their goods to the private and collective purchasers. They receive special public subsidies for the salaries of every employee hired on the basis of the long-term unemployment or disability. They can also receive economic support during the initial stage from the T&E Centres (special financing for the social firms), the state and municipalities.

Unlike in the case of "traditional" understanding of the third sector (e.g. Salamon & Anheier 1996) or social economy (e.g. Roelants & Sanchez 2002), the Finnish law emphasizes private ownership and profit motivation as cornerstones of successful social firms. The administrative spokespersons of the working group for social entrepreneurship stated that a social firm – although it draws on the third sector tradition – must be considered as a business among other businesses: it must aspire for profit making by producing goods/services to markets. The social side of firms comes from the employment of disabled and long-term unemployed people. Although the social side is clearly articulated in the pertinent programs and reports, it is subordinate to economic purposes due to the fact that the social aim cannot be

achieved without basic capital coming from real profits (Pukkio & Saikkonen 2004).

The Finnish model referred to here comes almost directly from the British model of social firm. Social Firms UK defines the "social firm as a business activity, which exploits market oriented production of goods to fulfill its social purpose" (Social Firms UK 2002). How did this UK model get translated into Finnish discussions, finally becoming the official model instead of the more socially inspired model of social enterprise (see e.g. Defourny and Borzaga 2001)? Although the social enterprise model had its bastions, for example EMES researchers, interest groups for disabled people, the Ministry of Social and Health Affairs, and social and welfare organizations, in the legal preparation process, the business-oriented model was pushed through with a rhetoric of economic necessity ("this is the only proper solution that the public sector can afford") by Ministry of Trade and Industry, several administrative working groups, and labor market organizations, especially employer organizations. Crucial to the development of this model was the fact that the main representatives of the VATES foundation, which is the national expert organization in making equal labor market opportunities for disabled and partly able-bodied people, started to support the social firm model and consult on behalf of it. The researchers and consultants working for VATES circulated around local and national seminars concerning social entrepreneurship and supported this business-oriented model. As long-term experts in matters of employment concerning disabled people, they were carefully listened to and their point of view gained a lot of recognition.

Although the law does not require that a social firm's juridical form has to be company or corporation, but it can also be association, foundation, or co-operative, many of such former third sector organizations have changed their juridical form when registering to the social firm register. In May 2006, 78 percent of

the registered organizations were private companies or corporations. Half of them used to be associations or co-operatives before registration. As already stated above, this business-orientation is also reflected in the ways in which the executive directors of social firms started to refer to themselves: they started to speak about their jobs and titles as if they were business managers of the companies. This could be seen as one form of subjectification related to the advanced liberalism, in which people start to think of themselves as entrepreneurs and work for themselves and the others as profit responsible actors (Foucault 2008, 147; Rose 1999, 145).

What does this business orientation mean in practice for the third sector organizations wanting to concentrate on service production, employment or even on transforming into a social firm? (1) Because of the requirement for good economic outcomes, they need to continuously market their products for the customers as any other companies in order to get profits and basic capital for their work. (2) They also need to market their social activities to municipalities, employment offices, unemployment insurance companies, the National pension institution, and other network actors, who then purchase employment or social services from them. (3) The marketing requirement leads to another new practice, upon which these organizations need to take actions, familiar from the business world and NPM: they have to measure the economic and social impact of their activities with different meters, indicators, and auditing. Basically, all the actions of the employees, managers, and organization have to be made calculable. (4) They are expected to use some recognized quality control systems in their work. (5) They have to continuously develop their products in the name of competitiveness. (6) They need to invest in the quality of their labor force through selective employment and continuous training. They also relinquish of the voluntary labor, which is the main human resource of the "traditional third sector". For the registered social firms this is compulsory, because

they can not take an advance of voluntary labor according to the law.

On an organizational level, the aforementioned mandates necessitate that the managers of the associations, foundations, and especially social firms, must have economic and commercial expertise in addition to the social one, which was formerly the most valued feature of the third sector manager. Managers have to not only be able to deal with the personalities and special employment requirements of the employees but also know how to advertise the company and its products and make every employee as profit making, cost-efficient, and dynamic an actor as possible. Whereas the "old third sector" organizations were governed according to the principles of democratic decision-making, leaning on the collective will of members, NTS is typified by management in compliance with professionalism (cf. Rose 1999, 283).

NTS organizations do not only have to adapt themselves to the business logic and models, but to the overall and "common wealth" objectives of the society, which normally become named and defined in the national programs and strategies of the social and labor sector administration. This means that these organizations have to, at least partly, give up on their interest group and identity politics purpose, which is traditionally seen as essential to third sector organizations (e.g. Siisiäinen 2000, 6). Instead of politicizing subjectivities of marginalized people in public agendas and directing a critique at the "powers that be", these organizations construct and strengthen consensus in local communities and pass responsibility of injustices onto the shoulders of the marginalized individuals.

Case-study examples

Kotivuokko was the Tekevä foundation's pilot project of social entrepreneurship. Tekevä is a well-known Finnish work training foundation. It was established by the city of Jyväskylä and

Jyväskylän maalaiskunta (rural district of Jyväskylä), and six institutionalized health and social associations from the Jyväskylä region in 1998. Because of this colorful background, Tekevä can be called a "co-operative organization" (Möttönen & Niemelä 2005, 167) or a "target-oriented network" (Sotarauta 2003, 64), in which different partners have been given an instrumental role for it in order to achieve common objectives. Although Tekevä is a non-profit organization, the principles of NPM are written into its core. Finska and Möttönen (2004) have recognized the following features of NPM in Tekevä: a) activities are not implemented by a public organization itself, b) action is not directly conducted by public authorities, c) the management of the organization uses business-like methods, and d) the management has managerialistic features.

Kotivuokko was established 2000 on the basis of an already functioning laundry called Halssilan Pesula, which Tekevä received from the city of Jyväskylä in 1999. From the very beginning, Tekevä's purpose was to develop a conglomerate with laundry, house cleaning, and yard maintenance services. In 2000, Tekevä started to consider it as possible social enterprise – as they were generally called at the time – which could offer permanent jobs for the long-term unemployed and people with disabilities. The pilot project received three years funding from the Finnish Slot Machine Association (RAY), in 2000, and started at the beginning of 2001. The first step was to combine the aforementioned three branches together to form an economically strong and sustainable business. The aim, here, was to build an organization that could make profit unlike the rest of Tekevä's branches, which function as non-profit work-trainee units and offer short-term jobs for disabled and unemployed. Organizationally speaking, the main objective of the project was to separate Kotivuokko from Tekevä, becoming its own economic unit and company.

The pilot project overlapped with the planning of the law of social firms in Finland and this influenced the development dramatically: At the beginning of the project, Kotivuokko identified with the social enterprise model, with the basic purpose of welfare service provision and offering employment. Then there was an expectation for wide public subsidies and social enterprise seemed to become the applied model in Finland at the time. However, at the pilot project's half-way point, the tune changed, because it became obvious that Finnish legislation would be consistent with the social firm model, with its subsequently low public subsidies. This meant that Kotivuokko had to rework its resources and means of production to be more profitable.

At first, this appeared as a clear increase in economic calculations and presentations given by Tekevä's financial director. Moreover, new computer technology for calculating the cost-effectiveness of every step of the service production was taken into use. The financial manager of Tekevä and manager of Kotivuokko justified this with the forecast of low public subsidies for the salaries of the employees in accordance with the incoming law. The message, here, was that if the intention was for the normal wage to pay for the workers, their number had to be reduced dramatically.

At the end of 2003, Kotivuokko started to test the service production with fewer employees to raise its productivity. This had the most impact on the output of the disabled employees and some of the workers with a background of long-term unemployment. Shortly after this experiment began, the amount of sick leave used by these employees increased remarkably. After this period, many of the disabled employees were redirected from Kotivuokko back to Tekevä's work trainee units. Whereas the average percent of disabled workers was 60 in 2003, the percentage was only 20 at the end of 2004. Managerialism was practiced in Kotivuokko (a) as a reduction in the number of employees, (b) well advised selection of employees, and (c) making the good

employees (referred to as "number tens") more responsible not only of their own work, but also for the work of "less good" workers also. The management of the employees began to increasingly concentrate on the skills and capabilities of every individual worker. And the selection of the employed was done following the evaluation of their competence.

In Kotivuokko's management discourse, the rhetoric of flexibility gained a lot of weight in 2003 and 2004. Managers asked every employee to be flexible in relation to the duration of work shifts, the amount of daily work, and change in work tasks. Managers supplemented this rhetoric with the rhetoric of necessity. They emphatically told the employees that "now we all must adapt to the rules of business". The term 'normalization' was also in common use. Every renewal seemed to be a step towards a "normal way of action". In the managers' discourse, the business orientation was represented as a common value of the organization and a required basic ethos for everyone working there. It was the "tens" that best adopted this discourse and the mentality it invoked. The "tens" were those who did not question the new way of production and the management of finances, but instead tried to spread it among the other workers also. The social firm model tended to raise the employee's entrepreneurial spirit; every employee had to have a business-orientation and understand that what was good for the company was also good for his/herself. They also needed to understand that they themselves were responsible for their own economic well-being: in the case of unemployment, they needed to improve their economic efficiency and be able to market themselves better and more actively to the employers (See also Rose 1999, 156-158; McKinlay & Starkey 1998).

This pilot project changed the whole organizational mentality of Kotivuokko. Whereas it used to be a non-profit and "pro special employment" organization, at the end of the project, most of the energy and the will of the organization was spent on

economic growth. As is the case in every company, profit became the main goal and motivation of Kotivuokko and started to determine other aspects of its work. A lot of personnel resources – especially of managers – were directed at increasing and evaluating the economic performance of the whole organization and every individual employee. This 'audit explosion' (Powers 1994) came about not only because of the internal needs of the management, but also due to the need to make its economic performance transparent for all the partners, especially those who were supposed to give subsidies for salaries and organizational development in the case that Kotivuokko would transform into a registered social firm. One example of the emphasis on auditing in social firms and other new third sector organizations, which touched upon Kotivuokko too, was the consultant service realized by the Finnish Red Cross. During 2002 and 2003, two representatives of the Red Cross circulated around social firms and institutionalized third sector organizations in order to get them to use the EFQM quality control system, which is an internationally well-known tool for businesses to evaluate their economic and social performance. The model was also introduced for Kotivuokko's staff, but they ended up using Tekevä's own quality control system, which was already in use.

Although the position of economy and business was no doubt hegemonic in Kotivuokko, it was not completely undisputable. From time to time, the business-oriented managers clashed with the work trainers and their ways of thinking about the performance of the organization and its employees. Some of the work trainers did not believe that it was possible to gain economic (profit-based) self-reliance with a labor force consisting of disabled people and the long-term unemployed. Thus, they sometimes tried to decelerate the development towards a more efficient working culture. However, after negotiations and some organizational renewals, they too acquiesced to the transformation.

This change from a work-training unit to becoming an almost-business-like organization raised the status and the value of the economic experts in Kotivuokko. It implemented not only as Tekevä's economic manager's strong hold on Kotivuokko's development, but as that the work trainers of Kotivuokko had to adopt the business mentality and rhetoric too. They became economic experts in addition to being social and employment experts. Moreover, the executive manager and middle management had to adapt the ethos of networking. They continuously tried to find new customers and partners for the service production, and negotiated with the subscribers of the employment services. The increase in the business-orientation also resulted in another kind of change in the expertise of the organization, which is more or less compulsory for all the NTS organizations: interest group expertise raised to a high value in Kotivuokko during the pilot project. Not only did the experts from Tekevä and its owner organizations and representatives of the social and health department of the two cities get their voice heard in the development process, but also some researchers, VATES, and the local service producers came to take up a powerful position within the organization and its knowledge production. They were heard in seminars and steering group meetings, and their opinions were taken into account when the ways of action, marketing plans, and quality of the employees was discussed and decided in Kotivuokko's management. This kind of open and communicative expertise is common for neo-liberal governance: the expertise of public authorities is not taken for granted as it somewhat was during the period of the strong welfare state. It is written inside present policy programs aiming at development of social services that organizations, collectives, and units need to form forums of experts in order to help their work by means of knowledge production and the ability to offer exemplary practices, and also to control their ways of action for the good of the whole community they are serving (Rose 1999, 167-196; Dean 2002, 42).

Kotivuokko adopted the technology of monitoring as a crucial part of its existence in the pilot process. Monitoring occurred through organizational techniques of the self, such as weekly discussions of the employees and the managers, and calculations of efficiency of the employees and different units of the organization. External monitoring was part of Kotivuokko's managerial practices as well. It happened through steering group meetings, economic and social audits, reporting and consultancy of economic advisers. Although Kotivuokko did not turn to the social firm at the end, these technologies remained as inseparable part of its organizational practices and were disseminated among the other work units of Tekevä. Techniques of monitoring made the organization of Kotivuokko more accountable, predictable, and, thus, more governable (cf. Power 1994).

Conclusions

Many factors indicate that new third sector and social entrepreneurship can be approached through theoretical perspectives on NPM, managerialism, and the "economization" of the social. Associations, foundations, and social firms providing welfare and employment services and selling their goods have moved from the politicization of interests and identities to management by results, filled with demands for social and economic efficiency. NTS organizations must be governed in as interest-free way as possible due to the vision that conflicts of interest are difficult for the efficient conduct of an organization and signal uncertainty to the customers. This already strong spirit of consensus is strengthened by the mission they are thought to accomplish for the overall good of the society. Because they produce welfare and employment services, they can not serve the interests of their members but the good of the whole society, like the public welfare services were thought to do before.

Therefore, characteristic for NTS is, on the one hand, even tighter co-operation and connection with the public management and service production than before. On the other hand, commercialization of the practices and organizational administration. This first 'translation' (Law 1992, 5-6) can be opened up with the term governmentalization of the third sector, which relates to the more general tendency of 'governmentalization of the government' (Dean 1999, 193-200). In governmentalization of the government, the public administration continuously seeks to improve itself through audits, development programs, and by utilizing the reviews of citizens' collectives. It also seeks to diminish its sphere of operations in the name of cost efficiency and liberal rationality of governing, according to which it is imperative for the natural liberty and co-operation of the citizens that the state does not interfere civil society too much. The increase in managerialism and management by results – the aforementioned second translation – can well be linked to this as well. All of this mirrors the change in the ways of thinking of the third sector and the nature of its organizations: formerly the third sector and social economy were seen as alternative ways of economical thinking and practices to those of statist and market-oriented models, but now the mediating role of the state and organizational principles of the businesses have become crucial parts of the essence of NTS organizations. Most clearly this can be seen in the case of social firms.

It may well be argued that the commercialization and governmentalization of the third sector organizations, no matter how institutionalized they are, is not without problems and threats, especially if considered from the perspective of the general basic hypothesis concerning how the third sector organizations have been traditionally understood – free of external governance and markets. In the case of Kotivuokko, for instance, the increase of enterprise-like efficiency and profitability did not produce eligible results from the perspective of the organization's social basic

purpose, because the majority of the unemployed and disabled employees did not manage to increase their personal efficiency accordingly the new requirements. In fact, many of them got health problems in the tense working pace. Thus, the new enterpreneurial organizational ethos actually harmed the social purpose: with the high profit expectations Kotivuokko could not employ long-term unemployed and disabled persons as it should have been able to do according to one of its basic purposes. And although the organizational renewal was justified with the rhetoric of increase of organizational autonomy and decrease of the external administrative steering, during the pilot project Kotivuokko was more under the external control than ever before. This is the case with other new third sector organizations as well. However, the control and steering are not direct to a great extend, but take place through new kinds of techniques such as contracts, audits, steering groups and requirements for correspond to the expectations of the financiers.

The recent development of the new third sector in Finland reveals some interesting paradoxes and "silent contradictions" in the political rationalities and technologies of government concerning the third sector: Although advanced liberalism as overall political rationality and NPM as management doctrine emphasize minimal interference in the public conduct and actions of citizens, their dispersion in the Finnish society has not radically diminished the role of the state or municipalities in service provision. Moreover, they have changed the relation of the third sector and the public governance in this field. The direct conduct and organization of the services have changed into 'government at a distance' (Rose 1999, 49-50), the most visible forms of which are external funding, a requirement for reporting, and different kinds of contracts and evaluation systems. In the case of social firms, their registration, legislation and social firms' use of public counseling can be considered as forms of distant governance.

Advanced liberalism and NPM have not scuttled the practices of the welfare state, but renewed them (e.g. Huotari 2008). Actually, interference by the public rule to the work of NTS organizations has increased through this development. This development has revealed a paradox in regards to the liberal ideas of civil society and the forces that evoke its organization: civil society is not merely a sphere of natural liberty or spontaneous order, but rather a construction dependent on knowledge production, use of power in complex networks, and its own practices which all form and reform it time and again (see Burchell 1991).

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Gender changes in Iceland
From rigid roles to negotiations

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Abstract

Radical changes have been taking place in the gender roles of men and women in Iceland for some decades. While they were first mainly restricted to women, the labour market and education, during the last two decades we have witnessed a change among men, mainly fathers. Taken together the changes are affecting families and the power balance within them. The changes are not unique for Iceland, similar changes have been taking place in other Nordic countries and in Europe in general, yet in some ways they have gone furthest in Iceland. In this article the changes in gender roles that have taken place in the last decades and particularly how they have affected men and the families will be evaluated and discussed.

Keywords: Gender, masculinity, parental leave, negotiations

If we look at the statistics for payments to Icelandic men on paternity leave we see a major change. In 1997 around 0.2% of those who became fathers received some economic compensation from the state for a period on parental leave. Nine years later that figure is up to 88% following a radical change in legislation. The change is easily observed in downtown Reykjavík where you see (young) males pushing the prams sometimes even two or three together, or sitting in cafés while the children sleeping outside in their prams and then bottle fed by their fathers once they wake up.

their prams and then bottle fed by their fathers once they wake up.

At the same time more and more women have become visible as politicians, industrial leaders, bankers and scholars. On the whole young women today are far more educated than young men and have to a great degree taken over jobs and roles that used to be male dominated such as priests and medical doctors.

These observations are clear indications of a major change in the roles and possibilities of men and women in Iceland. While the changes in the roles of women have been underway for decades the changes among men are of more resent nature and have developed quickly. With these changes in social possibilities changes have come in ideas about masculinity, what it means to be a man, and what constitutes a real man.

The changes begin

It is almost a truism that the role of the family provider has been a main pillar in the construction of the masculine image in the 20th century, at least in western societies. Iceland was no exception and this role was even sometimes codified in laws. In 1954 for example the Icelandic parliament passed a law stipulating that a man not believed to use his wages to properly support his family could be deprived of 75% of his wages to be given to his relatives instead (Eydal, 2005, 136). The erosion of this pillar of masculinity began in the sixties when married women, mothers, entered the labour market in great numbers. Prior to that decade 35 – 40% of Icelandic women had been active on the labour market with the number of married women on the labour market usually being well under 20%. In 1960 the share of married (or cohabiting) women who were active on the Icelandic labour market was 19%. Eleven years later the percentage was up to 42.3 and in 1980 had reached 63.6% (Hagskinna 1997, 216)[*]. Today

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[*] It should be noted, however, that this somewhat underestimates the participation of women on the labour market and exaggerates the change since the definition of being active was whether you had

there is no discernable difference between married (or cohabiting) and unmarried women in this regard and the percentage of women active on the labour market in 2008 was 77.7% and for men it was 87.1% (Statistics Iceland 2009a).

But this change in the sixties and the seventies obviously came with a price; a bad conscience of women, mothers. In those years even sociological books were being published which stated categorically that when a woman marries she gives up a job that she may have held and becomes the director of the home. Still, it was added that this was not a legal duty and theoretically one could imagine a reversal of the roles. But that was unlikely to happen and "unthinkable in a good marriage" (Jónsson 1965, 88). This idea of the proper role of women was even taught in elementary schools. In 1967 the state run company for publishing school books issued á book titled *Unga stúlkan og eldhússtörfin* [The young girl and kitchen work] intended to prepare young girls for their destiny as housewives. The book was re-issued in 1975 but now it was titled *Unga fólkið og eldhússtörfin* [Young people and kitchen work] and all indications that housework was more for women than men had been removed (Björnsdóttir and Þorgeirsdóttir 1967 and 1975).

When working women at that time discussed their situation the guilt seems almost tangible. The periodical *Fálkinn* ran a number of interviews with women in 1965 later reprinted in two books. One of those interviewed was a lawyer who 21 years later became Iceland's first woman to become a judge of the Supreme Court. She had a 6 months old son when she was interviewed and was asked how she managed to combine her work and family life:

> *"It works remarkably well, I think… Sometimes it is difficult but I am lucky and have a sweet girl that looks*

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been working a third (1960) or a fourth (1971 and 1981) of the year. We know from various sources that many married women participated in seasonal labour while not being active in the routine day to day labour. But these reservations do not change the overall picture of a very different situation for (married) women after the sixties and the seventies.

after him in the afternoon, so that I can work half-time. Besides, I work a lot at home since there is so much hustle and bustle at the office that it can be difficult to browse books, find the right place citation and so on."

Then she was asked if she intended to abandon her praxis now that she was married and a mother:

"No, not at all. And I think that you can be just as good a mother, even though you work outside the home half-time or partly – it would not be better to hang at home and become bad-tempered and enraged" (Briem 1968, 236-237).

It is fairly obvious that the role of the mother is what mainly matters here. She is the one who has to arrange things so that the family life can run fairly smoothly in spite of her working. Her husband, the father, never enters the equation.

In September 1965 *Fálkinn* published a round table discussion of three working women on the subject of men. One was a store manager, another was a principal and the third was an actress and teacher.

In a similar vein to the lawyer cited above they felt compelled to confirm the role of the man as the main breadwinner in the family and the head of the household. The journalist asked what they thought would be the effect on the marriage if the woman earned more than the man:

"Sissa: That must never happen.
Kristín: No that would be no good. The man must always earn more than the woman.
Sissa: He must feel that he is the master of the house"
(Briem 1968, 125)

So even though women were entering the labour market they tended to see themselves as mainly mothers and housewives and second to the husband when it came to provide economically for the family. International studies have shown that when married

women, the mothers, entered the labour market they mainly entered professions that can be seen as a prolongation of traditional women's roles (teaching and caring) and provided opportunities to combine salaried work and housework by, for example, offering part time jobs (Melkas and Anker 1998). Still this was a dramatic change destined to affect deeply gender roles by, for example, providing increased opportunities for women to provide economically for themselves and their offspring, no longer being totally dependent on a man as a breadwinner.

The changes in the role of women, coupled with others such as better opportunities for family planning (the pill) naturally affected Icelandic families in many ways. For one thing the divorce rate rose sharply in the sixties and seventies, from 4.0 per 1.000 couples in 1960 to 6.2 in 1970 and 10 in 1980. After that it has remained fairly stable, fluctuating between 9.1 and 11.6 (Statistics Iceland 2009b). For another the total fertility rate diminished rapidly. In 1960 the fertility rate was 4.265, in 1970 it was down to 2.809 and in 1980 it was 2.478. And thirdly the collectivisation of child care slowly began in the seventies and eighties and developed rapidly after that. Today 82% of all children 0-5 years old are in play schools (kindergarten) with the figure for 2-5 years old being around 94%. And most of them are there a full working day or between 7-9 hours a day (Statistics Iceland 2009c).

This was also a period when more and more women sought higher education. In 1961 women were 12.5% of those receiving a university degree, in 1970/71 – 1974/75 it was 19.7% and in 1975/76 – 1979/80 it was up to 32.7% (Gíslason 1997, 12; Hagskinna 1997, 859).

The sixties and seventies then meant a serious undermining of the prior position of men as providers and heads of households, a development that has continued since then. At the same time families were getting smaller and more unstable. But what was mainly happening was that women were broadening their

possibilities in life, little or nothing similar happened among men, quite the contrary, their roles were contracting.

The parental leave

Figure 1 shows the share of Icelandic fathers receiving economic compensation while on parental leave in the period 1994 to 2006.
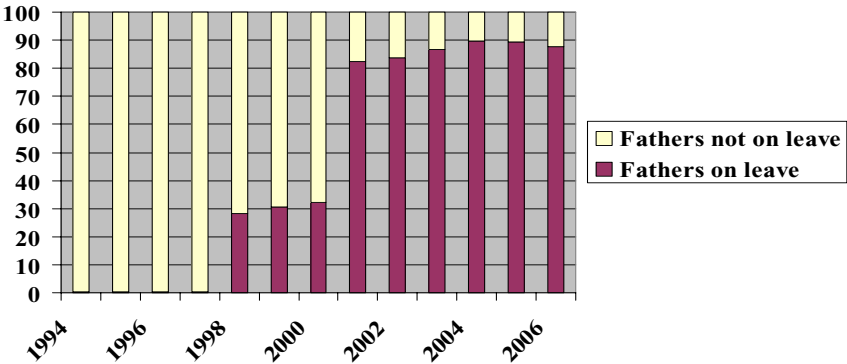

Figure 1. Icelandic fathers on parental leave (1994-2006)

From 1994 to 1997 the total leave was 6 months to a very low, flat rate financial compensation. In principle five months were dividable between the parents, in reality only around 0.3% of fathers used any part of the leave. That does not mean that they did not take leave from paid work when they became fathers. A qualitative study from that period showed that in general fathers left the labour market for 2-3 weeks following birth and the whole family was together during those weeks. But they did not use the parental leave but either used part of their summer leave or had negotiated with their employer so that they could stay at home. Some of them kept their salary during that period (Gíslason 1997).

In 1998 Icelandic fathers got independent rights to a two weeks leave immediately after birth, still to a very low economic

compensation, and about a third made use of that possibility. This figure is though slightly misleading since it only accounts for those fathers who were on the private market. Those working in the public sector simply kept their salary while on parental leave and in all probability they all made use of their right. So the numbers for the period 1998 to 2000 should be higher than presented in figure 1.

In spring 2000, the centre-right government then in office, introduced a bill on parental leave with revolutionary changes. The leave was gradually extended from six to nine months and divided between parents so that three months could only be used by the father, three by the mother and the three remaining could be divided between the parents as they liked. The months for fathers and mothers were strictly non-transferrable except if either parent died before he or she had made full use of the rights. The remaining time could then be transferred to the surviving parent. Economic compensation was now related to salary and parents receive 80% of their salary while on leave. Those outside the labour market or working less than 25% have a right to a grant. A hiring contract between an employee and employer does not change while the parent is on leave and can not be terminated during that time. The same goes for pregnant women. Parental leave is considered a part of working time in regard to several work-related rights such as raises, sick leave, pension and so on (Eydal and Gíslason 2008; Gíslason 2007).

This bill was greeted with enthusiasm in the Icelandic parliament and was passed unanimously after a very short discussion. Opinion polls have shown strong popular support for the law with 85% of respondents having a positive attitude towards fathers using their right to 3-6 months paternity leave (Gallup 2003a) and this seems to be the case among all social groups. And indeed, younger people generally show more positive attitudes with for example 98.1% of 18-30 year old agreeing in a 2005 poll with the statement that men should get paid parental

leave (Stefánsson 2008). Initial worries that employers might prove an obstacle to fathers taking leave have proven wrong.

The most comprehensive study done so far among parents who have used the new parental leave showed that 80.8% had met with a positive attitude from their employer when asking for parental leave (Jónsdóttir and Aðalsteinsson 2008). Still, there was some gender difference as 10.9% of fathers had felt very or rather negative attitudes but 4.8% of mothers (Jónsdóttir 2007, 174). Other studies have confirmed this (Arnardóttir 2008; Hákonardóttir and Jónsdóttir 2004) and of course it seems obvious that we would not have almost 90% of the fathers using their right if employers were generally opposed to it.

Icelandic fathers apparently took to the new possibilities like ducks to water. In the first year after the law took effect 82.4% of the fathers used the possibility and the numbers rose up to 86.6% in 2003 when the fathers got their third month and was 87.7% in 2006, the last year we have final figures for (since parents have 18 months to make use of their rights). As has been the case in other Nordic countries, fathers use on average the time that is allotted to them. When they had one month in 2001 they used on average 39 days, 68 days when they had two months and the average rose to 97 when the third month was introduced in 2003. In 2006 they took on average 100 days. But averages have a tendency to hide important differences. There have always been a proportion of fathers who have not made full use of even the time that only they can use, 5.1% the first year and between 18 and 19.5% since the introduction of the third month. In 2006 the number was 18.5%. But on the other hand, there have also been fathers who have made use of more than their individual right, i.e. used a part of the sharable time. In 2006 this number was 19.7% and has (slowly) grown over the years. Mothers, on the other hand, use on average 186 days, the three months allotted to them and the three sharable.

In a very short period of time we have therefore moved from a situation where the involvement of fathers in the care for their infants was negligible to a situation where it is considered abnormal not to be away on paternal leave for a number of months (Gíslason 2008). This does not mean that the father is the main caretaker while on leave but it does mean that in the great majority of cases he is highly involved. It is safe to state that never before in Iceland's history have so many men been so involved in taking care of their infants.

It should be emphasised that Icelandic fathers do not experience this as something forced upon them against their will. In 1997 the periodical *Heimsmynd* had Gallup conduct a poll among Icelandic men and asking them if they would make use of three months parental leave if it did not infringe on the possibilities of the mother. 87.5% said that they would do it wholly (60.5%) or partly (27%) (Másson 1997).

A number of studies have shown that fathers who are active in the caretaking of infants keep on being caring as the children grow up (Haas, 1992; Hook, 2006; Nepomnyaschy and Waldfogel, 2007; O'Brien et. al., 2007; Tanaka and Waldfogel, 2007). In the only study that has been done in Iceland so far in this respect, similar results were shown. Eydal (2008) compared the amount of time parents spent on care during the night and day respectively as well as participation on the labour market for parents who had their first child in 1997 on the one hand and in 2003 on the other, that is, three years before the changed laws on parental leave and three years after. The parents were asked about time use for the first three years after the birth of the child. The results were on the one hand that the gap in labour market participation was reduced between the periods as was the division of care taking. Mothers in the latter period re-entered the labour market sooner than mothers in the former and similarly there was less difference in the working hours of fathers and mothers at the end of the latter period (2006) than the former (2000). Fathers in

the latter period were much more active caretakers than fathers in the former. Furthermore the active participation of fathers in care taking was not restricted to the period of parental leave but was a continuous trend the whole period under study i.e. for the first three years in the life of the child.

Arnardóttir (2008) examined the effects of the new parental leave on the balance between parents regarding everyday tasks as well as equality between the partners. Around a third of the parents said that the balance had increased and around a fourth that equality had increased. Since the birth of a child has usually meant increased unbalance between parents this is a remarkable development. There was a statistically significant relationship between the length of parental leave used by the fathers and their agreeing with a number of statements about the effect. The longer the fathers had been on leave the more they agreed that the leave had: increased their understanding of the needs of infants; increased their enjoyment of taking care of the child; increased their emotional relationship with the child; increased their understanding of how much work it is to take care of an infant and increased their participation in the caretaking of the child after the leave was over.

It seems fairly clear from international studies that fathers in general are just as good as mothers at understanding the needs and requests of an infant particularly if they are active from the beginning (Lamb 1997). It has even been shown in international studies that caretaking affects the hormonal balance in fathers, diminishing testesteron and increasing estrogen (Berg and Wynne-Edwards 2001; Grey et al 2002; Gray, Yang and Pope 2006) and prolaktin (Fleming et al 2002; Weber 2000). This strongly supports the idea that the ability to take care of babies and young children is a common feature of human nature and not restricted to women (mothers) or more pronounced there. But, as with other talents, those who use it most become most adept.

Icelandic fathers apparently have little or no trouble taking paternity leave and the studies done so far show that on the whole they experience support and well wishing from their social network (Arnardóttir 2008; Jónsdóttir 2007). Similarly the population as a whole seems to support the system. However this should not be taken to imply that the idea of women as first and foremost mothers has disappeared or that fathers have in any way replaced mothers as the "main" parent. The fathers and the mothers are in no way on equal footing when it comes to parenting or making use of parental leave.

We still see that mothers who "allow" the father to use (some of) the sharable time are frowned upon. It seems to be regarded as a mother's main duty to be at home with her child for as long as possible and those who do not comply with that are regarded as inferior. A small scale qualitative study was carried out among nine couples where the man had used the greater part of the parental leave (Gíslason 2005). All but one of the women reported having heard that this was not the way a good mother should behave. One of them described her experience in this way:

> "*Well, of course people were mainly surprised. There were a lot of questions 'what – how did you say that you were going to do?' and yes people commented on the short period that I was at home. I was the one who was always being criticised, what kind of a mother I was and so on... but on the other hand he got a lot of praise for being a fantastic man and of course I found this a bit hard. There was so much of it you see".*

And this is in no way unique for Iceland, similar results have been obtained both in Denmark (Olsen 2000) and Finland (Lammi-Taskula 2007). Lammi-Taskula put it well in her study of Finish parents and parental leave (2007, 147): "[Mothers] feel that in order to gain social approval and recognition, they should take the majority of the parental leave, despite the father's readiness to share childcare responsibility by taking a longer leave period." This

should alert us to the possibility that the reason for the skewed uptake of parental leave by fathers and mothers in the Nordic countries, where mothers on the whole take the lions share of a sharable parental leave, has perhaps less to do with the labour market situation of men and women or the lack of interest among fathers and more to do with the wish of mothers, backed up (or pressed) by popular opinion regarding the proper behaviour of mothers. Icelandic studies show that the idea of the "all-good" mother are very strong (Rúdólfsdóttir 2000) and obviously put a great deal of pressure on parents to behave in accordance with this idea.

Icelandic family legislation has changed in order to both accommodate and encourage these changes in gender roles and gender relations. Prior to and simultaneously with the increased possibilities for fathers to take parental leave there has been a development where more and more divorced couples decide to have shared custody over their child or children. This possibility was first introduced into Icelandic laws in 1992. It immediately became popular and already in 1995 a third of divorced couples chose shared custody. In 2006 this figure was up to 72.5%. In that year the Icelandic parliament changed the law so parents now automatically have shared custody after divorce unless one of them (or both) wants the custody to be with either the father or the mother.

What shared custody after divorce means in praxis, in the actual behaviour of parents, is difficult to interpret. As it is still not possible in Iceland to have more than one lawful domicile it always has to be decided where the child's lawful domicile is to be after divorce, with the mother or with the father, even though the custody is shared. In the great majority of cases the legal domicile is with the mother who then has the legal status of a single parent and the rights and benefits that go with it. And if we look at the development of the gender composition of single parents we see that there have been practically no changes there since the sixties.

In 1965 single fathers were 7% of all single parents and in 2000 the number was up to 7.3% (Hagskinna; Statistics Iceland 2009d). However, we might be on the brink of a change. In 2005 the percentage of single fathers was 7.5% but has risen steadily since then and in 2008 up to 8.7% (Statistics Iceland 2009d).

It seems safe to assume that even though custody is shared, the mother is the main care giving parent in the great majority of cases. But it also seems safe to assume that divorced fathers are today much more active in the care giving role than they were a few years ago and this is brought out in studies (Júlíusdóttir and Sigurðardóttir 2000). For example a recent study concluded that in the capital of Iceland (Reykjavík) in around a quarter of cases where divorced parents have shared custody the children live equally with their father and mother, usually on a weekly basis (Félags- og tryggingamálaráðuneytið 2009).

Housework

Nordic studies have revealed an increase in the participation of men in household tasks in the latter half of the 20th century so that in Denmark, Norway and Sweden husbands now perform around 40% of the household tasks (Lausten, Mette and Karen Sjörup 2003; Statistiska centralbyrån, 2003; Vaage, Odd Frank, 2002). Iceland has not had a similar time study but a quantitative study asking participants directly about the division came to the conclusion that on average Icelandic men did around 40% of the household tasks (Arnardóttir 2008). It is also noteworthy that (at least for Denmark, Norway and Sweden) when the hours of paid and unpaid labour are added up for men and women, they are working similarly long hours. An Icelandic study showed that people regarded that as fair, those who worked less hours on the labour market should do more in the home (Gallup 2003b).

So what we saw in the latter part of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st was a major change in traditional gender roles. Married women entering the labour market in great numbers, a veritable revolution in the education of women and at the same time (or lagging a bit behind) a steadily increasing participation of men, fathers, in family life and child care. This has in all probability meant an alteration of the balance of power within the family sphere, first by the increased economic independence of women and then by the increased independence and initiative of fathers in family life.

Family negotiations

A noteworthy change has been emerging in qualitative studies on family life in Iceland (Atlason 2006; Gíslason 2005; Gíslason and Ólafsson 2005). Generally speaking it appears that couples are actually sitting down at the kitchen table to negotiate about the division of labour. Mostly this centres around the division of the domestic chores, but instances also show up where the negotiations are about where the couple should live and which should shoulder more of the paid work and which more of the domestic work. It appears that it is mainly dissatisfied women who initiate these negotiations but what is highly interesting is that they seem to be very little restricted by former conventions regarding masculinity and femininity.

If we begin by dipping into a study that sought to explain why the rural areas are being depopulated by the women moving away in greater numbers than men we noticed an interesting change. One of our interviewees was a 73 years old woman who had moved from the capital to a town on the east coast shortly after her marriage because her husband got a job there. She stated: *"I was of course married to my man and I just go with him"* (Gíslason and Ólafsson 2005, 154). She also said that later she herself got a job in

that town but that was more to have something to do, the salary was relatively unimportant.

Apparently this view regarding the proper role of wives has changed drastically. Now it seems to be more the case that couples discuss and negotiate their dwellings on a relatively equal basis. A 28 year old woman living and working in a small town in north-west Iceland was, when we interviewed her, very pleased that her husband had finally found a job there. They were both well educated and had moved to this town from Copenhagen in Denmark because she got a job there. When asked about that decision she stated: *"We had sort of a contract between us so that whoever first found a job, we would move there. And the other one would simply have to accept that and find some other work"* (Gíslason and Ólafsson 2005, 153).

Another woman, 35 years old, had moved with her family to a town in the west part of Iceland because she got an interesting job there. The locals were somewhat sceptical. The woman said: *"You constantly get the question… 'what? but what about your husband, what job did he get?" I often got that question. And I just said: "He just comes with me. What has that got to do with it?"*" (Gíslason and Ólafsson 2005, 153).

So it seems that we have moved from a situation where the husband's job was the deciding factor when it came to decide on residence to a situation where this is something to be decided in negotiations between equal partners. But still this is regarded with surprise and scepticism by many, at least in smaller towns. That is probably not surprising since studies have shown that people there tend to be more traditional in their gender views than people in the capital area. Also the labour market outside the capital area is very restricted and there are few opportunities for highly educated people, perhaps particularly for highly educated women. But the point is that couples are no longer encumbered by the traditional view of the male breadwinner or at least to a much lesser degree than a few decades ago.

This theme of negotiations has surfaced in other studies. A qualitative study on couples where the husband had used more of the parental leave than the three months allotted to him revealed that in many cases it is the labour market situation of the mother that is the deciding factor (Gíslason 2005). If she is free-lancing, has her own firm or is highly placed in a firm then there is suddenly room for negotiations. It also emerged that this was not the only aspect of the couple's life that was decided through negotiations. The same was the case for the division of domestic tasks. One of the mothers in the study said:

> "Before, we were always arguing over domestic chores, which should do what and it is as with other women… they have less tolerance for dirt than men and that was the way it was with us. But then he said: 'Look we can stop arguing, let's just get a cleaning lady to come here and then we can stop arguing about which should do it.' And finally I agreed and it was wonderful and we stopped arguing. But of course there were tasks left like washing and doing the dishes… So there were the dishes and such and cleaning the table after dinner and such and cooking of course. So we divided this fairly among ourselves, I take care of the laundry and he cooks and does the dishes. I, of course tidy around and you know and it works very well and no trouble… Yes we just sat down and negotiated and as you can hear I came out very well and this works very well.

The dynamic in the changes that are taking place is obvious in this citation. She is the one who is tired of the housework or his lack of participating up to her standards and she also regards the outcome of the negotiations as very much in favour even though she also describes the division as fair. Implicit is that she was negotiating tasks away from her while he was shouldering them. If they had not come to this agreement the tasks would have

remained her responsibility or at least she would have felt it necessary to pester her husband about doing them.

A similar dynamic emerged in another study (Atlason 2006). There we could see that not only the division of labour within the home was negotiable but also who would work more outside the home and who would be more involved with the domestic side. In this study couples were interviewed (separately) on the combination of family life and participation on the labour market. When discussing recent changes in their life a woman stated:

> *"At that time I was far from pleased, this was not the life I had expected when I fell in love with him. I became isolated, constantly tied to the home and my social life was very little. I just made it clear that we would have to change our family life, he would have to become more active in domestic work and cut down on his paid work".*

Talking about that same period her husband said:

> *"I am sure that I was selfish. I had a very interesting job and spent a lot of time at work and of course that affected our relationship badly. Our relationship suffered because of my long working hours".*

Again we see that it is the unhappiness of the woman that is the releasing factor, the factor that instigates changes. And again we see this being channelled into negotiation which were unhampered by traditional roles. And the results of the negotiations were that he shortened his working hours and shouldered more of the domestic duties while she did the opposite, increased her paid labour and did less work in the home.

Family planning

In Iceland as in most other European countries fertility has been declining in the last decades. It reached its peak in the seventies with 4.26 children per woman. After that there was a more or less steady decline in fertility till the late nineties when (after a change in laws on parental leave which extended it from 3 to 6 months) it rose to 2.31 in 1990. After that the decline continued, reaching an all time low in 2002 where the fertility rate was only 1.93 children per woman. In that year the aforementioned changes in laws on parental leave came fully into effect and since then the fertility has been increasing slowly each year and was 2.14 in 2008, the highest in Europe.

There appears to be mainly two explanations for this. One is that the financial situation of Icelandic parents is much better after the change than before. It seems fairly obvious that this would have an impact on the decision to have a child. The other explanation is perhaps more speculative but relies on insights from European studies. It seems from studies in Austria (Buber 2002), Hungary (Oláh 2001, 2003) and Sweden (Duvander and Andersson 2004; Oláh 2001, 2003) that one of the main factors behind a woman's decision to have a second or a third child is how pleased she is with the father's participation in the care giving of the first. If his performance has been to her liking then she is prepared to have more children. If not then one is quite enough. When almost 90% of fathers make use of their right to parental leave it can not be labelled as a wild guess that they are more active in the caretaking than before. And as has also been mentioned research points in the same direction (Arnardóttir 2008; Eydal 2008).

There are other changes that can be interpreted as increased practical family orientation among men. One is that men seem to be shouldering more of the responsibility for limiting fertility. In the year 1981 461 sterilization operations were made in

Iceland, 438 of them were on women (95%). This did not begin to change until the nineties and in 2000 764 operations were made and 67% of them on women. In 2005 more men than women were sterilized and in 2007 486 operations were made, 296 on men (61%). That Icelandic men do not take lightly the fact that they could become fathers is also brought out in a study in 1996 on contraceptive use among Icelandic teenagers (Bender and Kosunen 2005). One of the results is that young males regard it as more serious than females if an unplanned pregnancy should occur. But in spite of this more males than females agree with the statement that "often it is enough to rely on being lucky."

The changes in the family roles with more involvement of men received a certain manifestation when the laws on gender equality were changed in 2008. One of the public organs with a role in this respect is the Council for Gender Equality which has existed since 1976. Up till 2008 it was composed of representatives from the labour market on the one hand and representatives from various women's organisations on the other. One of the changes made in 2008 was that a male dominated grass roots movement was admitted to the council. This was the *Association for Parental Equality* (Félag um foreldrajafnrétti) which has mainly organized non-custodial fathers. This is indeed recognition of the changes that are taking place in family relations and recognition of the increased role of fathers in the life of children and the importance of these changes for the situation of men and women in Iceland.

The Labour Market

Right now there are in reality no perceivable threats to the ongoing changes in gender relations. On the contrary, long-term prognoses point to a continuous development in these directions; an increased orientation among women towards the labour market and further development of family orientation among men. For one thing women are on the whole much more educated than men

as has already been pointed out. That would seem to support the idea that their position on the labour market will continue to be strong. The proportion of women receiving a university degree in Iceland was 67.5% in 2006/2007, up from 62.6% in 1996/1997 which was up from 48.9% in the years 1985/1986 -198971990 (Hagskinna 1997; Statistics Iceland 2009e). Secondly discussions about the development of parental leave (both in Iceland, the other Nordic countries and increasingly in Europe as a whole) have been in the direction of extending the rights and possibilities of fathers. So have official initiatives, both as regards legal changes (Norway, Sweden, though Denmark is an exception here) and publicly sponsored campaigns. All over, the official pressure is on the fathers to use more of the sharable parental leave although that pressure probably does not extend to discussions in the homes. There it is highly probable that mothers will continue to want to take the greater share of the parental leave at least while it is only nine months long. Thirdly, the last election to the Icelandic parliament, in 2009, saw a radical increase in the representation of women or from 33% of elected members to 42% and in the wake of that election a new government was formed with a woman as prime minister for the first time in Iceland's history. Fourthly, the current crisis should bring about a diminishing gender wage gap. Both because more men than women are unemployed and because excessive salaries that had become characteristic of the bubble economy mainly benefitted men and will be much rarer in the next few years. No trend towards getting women out of the labour market can be detected and as a matter of fact unemployment has for the last decade been very similar among men and women. The first years of the 21st century saw very little unemployment among Icelanders but usually slightly more among men than women. In 2003 it was 3.6% among men and 3.1% among women and in 2008 it was 3.3% among men and 2.6% among women. The sharp rise in unemployment following the bank crisis in October 2008

was at first mainly among men and there are still more men than women unemployed but the gap has been closing.

The increased participation of women on the labour market and the veritable educational revolution has led to changes in the way women think about their carrier. In 2006 *Capacent Gallup* repeated a survey that had been conducted in the mid-nineties with the aim of uncovering the mechanisms behind pay setting in different firms and public institutions and to locate the reasons behind gender wage differentials (Jónsdóttir 1995; Capacent Gallup 2006). The study was based on the one hand on payrolls in four private firms and four public institutions and on the other on questioners among all employees in these firms and public institutions and interviews with about 80 managers. What attracted most attention when the report was published was that there had been almost no change in gender wage differences. The unexplained difference had been 16% in the former study and in 2006 it was 15.7%. But still the authors stressed that obvious changes had taken place. "Managers often mentioned in the interviews that young women were different from the older, they had in many ways adopted "masculine" values, showed more initiative, wanted challenging tasks and were eager to make a carrier" (p. 10). In a similar way the effects of families on carrier aspirations had changed. The report stated (p. 10): "In the survey in 1996 marriage and having a family had considerable effect on how interested people were in positions of authority or promotions so that having a child or children diminished the interest of women but increased the interest of men. This has changed completely so that marriage and children no longer have any effect on people's interest in promotions and there is no difference in the interest of men and women when marriage and children have been taken into consideration".

And, to relate to the cited discussion among working women in the sixties, in about a fifth of Icelandic households in 2006 where there is a man and a woman, the woman earns more

than the man (own calculations based on information on taxed income from Statistics Iceland).

Changes continue on the labour market even though they are very slow. We see for example that there has been a slight reduction in part-time work among women in the last few years (35% in 2008) but no changes among men (10%). But where we do see a change among men is in working hours. They have reduced their working week from 51.3 hours in 1991 to 46.2 hours in 2008. At the same time there has been a slight increase in the working hours of women or from 34.5 hours a week in 1991 to 35.8 hours in 2008. Although this has not been the subject of a study it does not seem far fetched to relate this to the increased family orientation of men, that they have been reducing their labour time in order to be more with their families.

Conclusion

It is very difficult indeed to discern any element of threat to the self of individual men as these changes have taken place. No trace of any threat to so-called "masculinity" appear in studies or in the general behaviour of Icelandic men. Quite the opposite. Fathers have embraced his possibility with eagerness and have shown that what they had been saying in opinion polls for many years was really their wish, namely to spend a greater part of their life with their family and their children. All-in all this experience supports the general idea that in late modernity people are to a much lesser degree than previously restrained by traditional ideas. It is up to individuals and partners what they want to make of their gender, what femininity and masculinity means to them, if anything.

What seems to be happening is that the changes in gender positions are being driven forward by changes in the families with the labour market lagging a bit behind. The division of domestic chores is more equal than before and there are clear potentials for

further steps in the direction of equal sharing. The increased participation of fathers in the caretaking of babies is the obvious case here. However, it seems that on the whole, the labour market lags behind. It operates as if families still only had one breadwinner, one who could devote himself completely to his work when the need arises, in the safe assurance that someone else would take care of responsibilities relating to the home and children. This simply is not the case anymore and unless the labour market is reorganized to take this fact into account we are heading for a collision which will probably lead to a loosing situation for families in general.

It is time to take seriously the notion that masculinity is much less a mystical entity engraved on all men than a question of what opportunities social rules and regulations offer to men and women. We know from several studies that men are in no way worse than women as caretakers and that they want to be more involved with their children. Social rules and regulations have, on the other hand been an obstacle in their way. They still are in many ways both in Iceland and, perhaps to a greater degree, in other countries. But what we have been witnessing in Iceland is how new possibilities can be opened up for both men and women and thereby giving both a better chance to live fuller and richer lives where they are not encumbered by outdated ideas of what is the right and proper behaviour for men on the one hand and women on the other. The road to such a change is not so much blocked by the resistance of men as laws and regulations that do not grasp the potential for change. But we are also faced with a structure on the labour market that has difficulty adopting to a new family situation with two parents, both working full time. To a much too high degree the labour market is still organised on the basis of the dated situation with one housewife and one breadwinner who could be relied on to devote all his energy at work. Unless the labour market can adapt to the new situation we face a halt in the forward march of gender equality.

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Institutional information

International Association of Circumpolar Sociocultural Issues (IACSI)

What is the IACSI?

IACSI is an international scientific association devoted to the study of different socio-cultural aspects related to the Arctic and Antarctic regions. The Association is integrated mainly by scholars from Social Sciences, Anthropology and Humanities, and also from individuals with different backgrounds but interested in these perspectives and themes. As a new association which looks for integration and cooperation, we are also looking for new members in both circumpolar regions.

What are we after?

Assuming the importance that the socio-cultural approach has for a holistic understanding of the circumpolar phenomenon, we have also considered the need to study the "circumpolar theme" in its bi-polar dimension: the Arctic and the Antarctica, in order to look for convergences and divergences under the debates "local/global", "North/South", "development/sustainability", and also looking for the production and transference of knowledge. In this sense, we privilege scientific investigation with reference to:

- Local Communities in Extreme Environments
- Social Problems and Human Well-being
- Participation and Community Attachment
- Habitat and Identity
- Minorities and Native people
- Migration
- Environment and Sustainable Development

What do we do?

- Generate scientific and academic projects bound up with circumpolar socio-cultural issues.
- Organize once a year an international seminar on the circumpolar socio-cultural issues.
- Organize cultural events, such as Films and Documentary Festivals related to these issues.
- Support academically the "Arctic & Antarctic International Journal of Circumpolar Socio-

    cultural Issues", published annually.
- Encourage relationships and academic collaboration between Universities and Research

    Centres sited in one or both circumpolar regions.
- Promote international workshops, seminars, and conferences.
- Contribute and award prizes to investigations, and activities concerning to solve problems in

    one or both circumpolar regions.
- Establish nets with national and international institutions, associations and NGOs linked to

    the matters which are the interest of the IACSI.

According to the aims of the International Association, were organized different scientific meetings where papers from different countries and regions were submitted:

a) April 26th, 2005: was run the ***1st International Seminar on Circumpolar Socio-Cultural Issues***, at the University of Jyväskylä (Finland), organized by the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy of this University and the IACSI.
b) April 7th, 2006: was run the ***2nd International Seminar on Circumpolar Socio-cultural Issues***, at the University of Iceland, organized by the Faculty of Social Sciences of this University, the Icelandic Sociological Association, and the IACSI.

c) November 30, 2007: was run the **3rd International Seminar on Circumpolar Socio-cultural issues,** at the University of Oulu (Finland), organized by the Thule Institute of this University and the IACSI.

Membership

The members can be individuals or institutions. Individual membership: € 30 (thirty Euros), including one copy of the annual issue of *"Arctic & Antarctic…".* Institutional membership: € 100 (one hundred Euros), including two (2) copies of the annual issue of "A&A-IJCSCI". In order to apply membership, take contact to the chairperson nearest to your geographical location and pay the membership fee to the bank account mentioned in the very same context. Membership fee contact and bank account information:

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Universidad del Salvador (Argentina)

Founded in 1956, is the first private university in Argentina, and one of the largest in the country. It has different locations, namely: headquarters in the city of Buenos Aires, in Pilar and Mercedes (province of Buenos Aires), and Virasoro (province of Corrientes).

The main objectives of the Universidad del Salvador are: a) to emphasize academic excellence, b) to value diversity and pluralism, c) to form competent professionals and researchers with a critical judgement, d) to promote the development of knowledge through teaching and research, e) to impact the society as a whole not only through the theoretical analysis of the problems but also providing the possible solutions, f) to foster the internationalization of the students and staff.

The Universidad del Salvador has international joint programs in both undergraduate and graduate levels. It has different Faculties, namely: Administration Sciences; Economic Sciences; Education and Social Communication Sciences; Law; Social Sciences; Philosophy, History and Literature; Medicine; Psychology and Psychopedagogy; Science and Technology. The University also includes the Graduate Schools of Agronomy, Veterinary Medicine, and Food Technology, and the Schools of Theatre Arts and of Oriental Studies.

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- *Research Institutes and Laboratories*
    Within the scope of the Vice-Chancellorship of Research and Development are Research Institutes which form part of the Vice-Chancellorship itself such as the Institute for Drug Addiction Prevention, the Institute for Environment and Ecology, the International Institute for Complex Thought ; the International Institute of Corporation and Economy Law of the Mercosur and the International Institute of Studies and Formation on Government and Society. Taking these institutes into account, there are within the USAL: 26 Institutes, 4 Centres, 10 Areas and 1 Extension Chair that perform research activities. Similarly, the USAL has 52 laboratories, 1 room for Sylvan Prommetric Examination, 1 AATP room, 3 Weather Stations, 2 Hydrologic Stations, 4 Hydrometric Stations, 1 biotherium, 3 workshops and 1 astronomic observatory.

- *Research at the USAL: Thematic Areas*
    The USAL does research on several thematic areas such as: the environment and sustainable development, health, history, geography,

linguistics and literature, psychology, psychopedagogy, psychoanthropology, Eastern studies, agronomy, food technology, biodiversity, the use of the energies, Environmental Law philosophy, complexity, social networks, sociology, social management, local development, volunteer work, territory distribu301 tion, urban planning, heritage, leisure, tourism, informatic development, Mercosur, law, distance learning, mathematics, social communication.

- *Multidisciplinary Research Programmes*

Within the Research Department multidisciplinary research programmes are coordinated by network with other institutions. At present, there are nine ongoing multidisciplinary programmes being developed; foreign institutions participate in three of them: Geo Cities; Globalization; Circumpolar Studies Program; International University Laboratory of Social Studies. Ethics and Globalized Economy: Volunteer Work and Social Networks; Society and Culture in the Globalization Processes; Legislation Harmonization; District, City and Local Community; Environmental Intergenerational Volunteer Work; Research Management and Administration at the USAL.

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University of Iceland
(Reykjavík, Iceland)

The University of Iceland was established in 1911. The university is organized into 5 academic schools, and 25 faculties. The university offers diverse program on all levels. The University of Iceland is the only university in Iceland offering undergraduate and graduate studies in all the main disciplines. In addition, the University of Iceland is an internationally renowned research university and our academics have received a great deal of international recognition for their scientific work.

The University operates around 40 research institutes, and research-based graduate studies are also offered. The number of students is currently around 15,000. Most academic disciplines are pursued, closely linked with the professional sector and Icelandic society in general. The university employs a group of well-educated and experienced teachers and scientists; it has a standing tradition for research and collaborates actively with universities and institutions abroad. The University is at once a national scientific and educational institution and a part of the international academic community. Year after year surveys have shown that the Icelandic people have more confidence in the University of Iceland than any other institution; the university enjoys the confidence of more than 90% of the nation.

Faculty of Social Sciences

The Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Iceland is the largest and most robust institution of its kind in Iceland. The Faculty has been a leader in educating managers and experts in the field of social sciences and research in these fields in Iceland for over three decades. The Faculty's role is to increase and impart exemplary and internationally recognized knowledge in the field of social sciences through scientific research, teaching and services to the Icelandic labour market. The Faculty has been a leader in this field from its establishment in 1976.

The Faculty is divided into seven departments:

- Department of Library and Information Science
- Department of Antropology and Folkloristics
- Department of Sociology
- Department of Social Work
- Department of Political Science
- Department of Psychology
- Department of Pedagogy

Faculty of Humanities

Faculty of Humanities has a lot to offer both exchange and regular international students. One of the main attractions for international students is the studies that are unique to Iceland. Examples of those are Icelandic Studies for International students and Medieval Icelandic Studies.

Departament of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics

The Faculty offers diverse academic programs in Asian studies, Nordic languages, the major European and American languages in addition to classical languages. Programs covering the following subjects are offered:

- Asian studies: Japanese and Chinese
- Nordic languages: Danish, Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish
- Major European and American languages: English, French, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish
- Classical languages: Greek and Latin (a key to European culture from the beginning)

Programa de español

Spanish and Hispanic Studies have been taught at the University of Iceland since the early nineteen-eighties. The instruction takes place in Spanish, the study program is demanding, and students are required to acquire excellence in academic work methods. Students are expected to have completed a matriculation exam from an Icelandic secondary

school (or its equivalent), have completed two years of Spanish as a foreign language, and/or be near to fluent speakers of Spanish when entering the program.

First year students refresh their knowledge of the language and exercise writing and reading skills in Spanish. Simultaneously they survey the cultural and political history of Spain and Latin America and are introduced to the study of literature. During the second and third years, students enhance their fluency and knowledge of literary history and theory, literature and cinema, as well as linguistics, language history and translation.

The study of Spanish can be combined with other program within (and/or outside) the School of Humanities. After a B.A.-degree has been obtained, the postgraduate degrees of M.A. and M.Paed are now on offer in the Faculty of Foreign Languages. An M.Paed-degree grants a qualification for the teaching of a foreign language within the Icelandic secondary school system, while an M.A.-degree is aimed to further the student's knowledge within the field of language and literature, as well as in other fields of Hispanic and Latin American Studies.

The Department of Spanish at the University of Iceland collaborates with a number of Universities in different countries of Latin America and in Spain. Students are urged to complete a semester or a year of their study abroad, to further merge themselves into a Spanish-speaking culturalenvironment. A good knowledge of foreign languages has proven to serve many fruitful practical purposes and a proficiency in foreign languages becomes ever more valuable on the international scene. Knowledge of Spanish can serve as a passport into an ever more international job market in the field of tourism, business, mass media, politics, teaching and science, as well as for diplomatic posts.

Furthermore, an excellent knowledge of a foreign language opens many opportunities within the fields of translation, interpretation and cultural communication.

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Imaginaire du Nord

The International Laboratory for the Comparative Multidisciplinary Study of Representations of the North

University of Québec in Montréal (Canada)

The *Laboratoire international d'étude multidisciplinaire comparée des représentations du Nord* is a centre for research, documentation, publication and expertise on the Nordic and Winter imaginary in literature, film, the visual arts and popular culture. It is intended primarily to encourage

comparison of the different Nordic cultures as exemplified by Québec, the Inuit community, Scandinavia (Iceland, Norway, Denmark and Sweden) and Finland. The Laboratory was founded by Daniel Chartier and is directed by him.

The Laboratoire has led to the creation of an open, multidisciplinary research network, based on a decentralized yet collective work plan and supported by advanced information technologies. The research objectives of the Laboratory are three-fold:

(a) To study Québec literature and culture from a northern perspective by examining the aesthetic use of the North as a component and the underlying issues, while bearing in mind a more general and dialectic objective, which is the establishing of the parameters for a definition of northern culture.

(b) To carry out a comparative study of the different literary and cultural forms produced by Québec, the Inuit community, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Denmark, Greenland, English Canada and Finland.

(c) To determine how representations of the North operate and are received both diachronically and synchronically: how the North, from the myth of Thule to popular representations in the visual arts and film today, constitutes an aesthetic and discursive system that maintains constant tension between the representation of the real and the creation of an imaginary world.

Research and Projects

Since it was set up in 2003, the Laboratory has brought together some 15 researchers from about 10 universities (in Québec, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, France, Israel, Canada, Germany, England, Iceland and Spain) who have used the infrastructure developed at UQAM to study the Nordic imaginary. The Laboratory is a research infrastructure that brings together, in a free and open manner, researchers interested in studying the Nordic and Winter imaginary. In addition to projects directed by associated researchers and dissemination activities, a number of funded research projects are being carried out at the Laboratory on the theory of the imaginary and representations, cultural and literary history, comparative studies, as well as popular and media-based culture.

Teaching

Students may enroll in a research group in the Laboratory. Research groups receive credit in the M.A. and Ph.D. programs of the Département d'études littéraires at the Université du Québec à Montréal. A B.A.-level seminar is offered periodically. Depending on the semester, individual and group work may involve establishing the corpus and analyzing literature and film; it may take the form of a student symposium.

About 10 students from different universities work at the Laboratory as paid research assistants. Graduate students are welcome to participate in the Laboratory's research activities. All activities are part of a universal framework in which students contribute as researchers.

Lecturers are invited by the Laboratory to come and speak. Postdoctoral researchers also participate in the Laboratory's activities.

Documentary Collection

The Laboratory has one of the largest specialized libraries on the Nordic imaginary and the issues related to its study. Its documentary collection includes 6,000 literary works, essays, films and articles.
Its researchers have developed an innovative series of data banks (containing works, illustrations and quotations) which are continually updated. As of May 1st, 2007, these banks contained some 35,000 records, including:

- An annotated bibliography of more than 6,000 literary works with a Nordic component written by the Inuit community or in Québec, Finland and Scandinavia.
- An annotated bibliography of more than 8,000 studies on the Nordic imaginary and Nordic cultural issues
- An annotated filmography of more than 1,000 films
- A bank of more than 11,000 citations related to the Nordic imaginary, classified according to elements, figures, constructs and themes
- A bank of more than 8,000 illustrations of a Nordic nature, described and annotated.

Since the banks are interconnected, they can be queried by means of multiple criteria and key words; these criteria enable users to

link thousands of representations of the North derived from literature, the visual arts, popular culture and film.

To perform its work, the Laboratory has premises equipped with 12 computers, 2 servers and a variety of video, photographic, digitization and viewing equipment. All researchers are welcome to use the Laboratory's resources. Access to the collections and data banks is based on the principle of collective and reciprocal contribution.

Publications

The Laboratory disseminates works on the Nordic imaginary through its own print series and other publications.

The "Jardin de givre" series reissues significant, out-of-print works on the Québec and circumpolar imaginary for research and education purposes.

The "Droit au pôle" series disseminates literary and cultural studies and analyses that enable readers to understand and interpret the Nordic imaginary.

The works published by the Laboratory are distributed by Presses Universitaires du Québec (www.puq.ca) To contact the Laboratory, please refer to its website: www.imaginairedunord.uqam.ca, or email: imaginairedunord@uqam.ca

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Master's Programme in Cultural Policy
University of Jyväskylä
(Finland)

The Master's Programme in Cultural Policy is a study programme in social sciences networked with various disciplines via teaching and research both in Finland and abroad. The programme in Cultural Policy trains students for expert, development and organisational tasks in local, national and international contexts.

Programme prepares students for critically applying and acquiring scientific knowledge and methods in cultural policy and politics. Graduates from the programme work in cultural management, art institutions, higher education, media, research, and cultural and arts associations.

Key study areas are models and practices of cultural and art policy, questions of citizenship and cultural participation, relation between art and technology, and economy and administration of culture, as well as geography and urban cultural politics. Programme consists of 120 ects and lasts two years. Education is given in English and Finnish, the whole degree course can be taken in English.

The Master's Programme in Cultural Policy is aimed at students with a Bachelor's Degree (majoring in social policy, political science, sociology, philosophy, art history, art education or literature), both of Finnish and international origin. The Programme leads either to a Master's Degree in Social Sciences (MSocSc) or in Humanities (MA), and consists of studies in the major subject, studies in Cultural Policy and the Master's Thesis. The programme cooperates with the Department of Arts and Culture at the Faculty of Humanities. Some students will have the possibility to carry out their Master's Thesis in projects led by the Foundation for Cultural Policy Research (CUPORE). Studies can be pursued in a PhD Programme in Cultural Policy.

Key areas of the research expertise of the programme are:

- Theory and History of Cultural Policy
- Multiculturalism and Cultural Policy
- Art World, Culture and Technological Change
- Actors, Instruments and Impacts
- Place, Identity and Cultural Politics

Cultural Policy collaborates with Foundation for Cultural Policy Research (CUPORE) and is coordinating the organizing of the 4th Nordic Conference of Cultural Policy Research. Master's Programme has also been responsible of coordinading the Erasmus Intensive Programme called "Comparative Cultural Policy Studies - Sharing the Variety of European Cultural Policies". Professor of the programme is Anita Kangas, who is internationally well known researcher in the field.

Foundation for High Studies on Antarctica
& Extreme Environments
(FAE, Argentina)

The Foundation for High Studies on Antarctica and Extreme Environments (FAE) is an NGO devoted to know and divulge everything about local community problems in extreme environments as well as Antarctic and circumpolar matters in a broad sense. This task is carried out through an holistic approach – a process of integration that includes a great variety of combined factors: social, cultural, territorial, psychological, economic and environmental ones.

The notion of extreme environment is considered from a point of view which tries to go beyond an ethnocentric notion of "extreme", namely:

a) environments with "determining geographic factors" which turn difficult the community life and human settlement, although these native populations develop significant socio-cultural adaptations;

b) environments with "determining social economic factors" which in some cases lead big population sectors further the "resilience phenomena" (survival in spite of serious determining effects) that could happen responding to the demands of the moment or structurally.

Every environmental issue is considered inside "local/ global", natural/ built-up" and "sustainable /non sustainable" dialectic. For this reason the Foundation attaches great importance to environmental assessment and socioeconomic impact of any human undertaking either local, national or regional.

Teemed up by a body of professionals and scientists from different areas with broad experience on sociological, psycho-sociological, educational, anthropological, and environmental issues, the Foundation tries to find production and transference of knowledge with reference to Extreme Environments in general terms and Circumpolar Regions in particular ones, by means of:

a) Scientific Research and transference of the results to public and private institutions either national or international with reference to: Natural and Built-up Environment, Local communities, Social Problems, and Sustainable Development.

b) Drawing up educational & cultural programs for the different levels emphasizing the use of multimedia distance education modality.

Main activities

a) Generate academic- scientific projects bound up with extreme environments, either natural or built-up as well as convergences and divergences between different circumpolar regions.

b) Publish books and Journals about issues bound to the subjects the Foundation deal with.

c) Design, develop and assess seminars, intensive academic programs, tertiary and university syllabus for presential and distant education modalities.

d) Design general policies in areas the Foundation is interested in, both in the academic/scientific and the cultural/artistic themes.

e) Carry out environmental impact assesment on socio-cultural and socio-economic undertakings.

f) Promote national and international workshops and/or scientific conferences.

g) Contribute and award prizes to investigations, and activities concerning to solve problems taken into account by the objectives of the Foundation.

h) Tend to establish nets with national, foreign and international institutions and NGOs linked to matters which are the interest and purpose of the Foundation.

Contact

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Arctic Centre
University of Lapland
(Rovaniemi, Finland)

The Arctic Centre is Finland's national research institute and science centre for Arctic expertise. It is based at the University of Lapland, the northernmost University in Finland and the EU. The Arctic Centre is also an international, multidisciplinary and multicultural institute of top quality research, and it provides science centre exhibitions and science communication. The Arktis Graduate School of the Arctic Centre leads the international Barents Arctic Network of Graduate Schools. The Arctic Centre provides an undergraduate multidisciplinary Arctic Studies

Program (ASP) that includes Arctic Governance and Arctic Indigenous Studies programmes.

Multidisciplinary research is currently implemented by three research groups:
The *Sustainable Development* group draws on perspectives from the social sciences in order to address international environmental politics, human dimension of climate change, community adaptation and vulnerability to climatic and social changes, social impact assessment. The research focuses also on indigenous and local knowledge, indigenous and non-indigenous identities, concept of the North in politics, economics and culture, mobility and viability in industrial northern communities. The group participates in three IPY pan-Arctic research initiatives: DAMOCLES (Developing Arctic Modelling and Observing Capabilities for Long-term Environmental Studies), BOREAS – MOVE, and CAVIAR (Community Adaptation and Vulnerability in Arctic Regions).

The *Global Change* group encompasses the biological and physical sciences, with emphasis on applied socio-ecological and geographical studies. It addresses the impacts of land use, the use of renewable and non-renewable natural resources, tourism, long and short-term climate change, and UV radiation. Special emphasis is placed on the cumulative impacts of resource and industrial development and related infrastructure. An international glaciology group specialises in climate change and modelling its impacts on Arctic and Antarctic ice masses, extreme events and global sea level (IPY project KINNVIKA, Change and Variability of the Arctic Systems).

The *Environmental and Minority Law* group focuses on legal issues, such as international environmental treaties on Arctic conditions, regulations and the implementation of environmental, social and

strategic impact assessments, the environmental rights of Arctic indigenous peoples and indigenous peoples' participation in environmental management. NIEM (The Northern Institute for Environmental and Minority Law) as a unit of the Arctic Centre has human rights and environmental law as its two focus areas of law from the Arctic perspective.

Arctic & Antarctic

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CIRCUMPOLAR SOCIOCULTURAL ISSUES

Notes for Contributors

a) Submission of Papers

Authors should submit an electronic copy of their paper in Word format file with the final version of the manuscript by e-mail by attached file to the responsible Editor and the co-Editors:

Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez: edelacebo@yahoo.com
Helgi Gunnlaugsson: helgigun@hi.is
Miikka Pyykkönen: miipyyk@yfi.jyu.fi
Daniel Chartier: chartier.daniel@uqam.ca
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Anna Stammler-Gossmann: anna.stammler-gossmann@ulapland.fi

Submission of a paper implies that it has not been published previously, that it is not under consideration for publication elsewhere, and that if accepted it will not be published elsewhere in the same form, in English or in any other language, without the written consent of the publisher.

b) Manuscript Preparation

General: Manuscripts should not exceed 35 pages (including references and illustrations), and must be typewritten, double-spaced with wide margins on one side of white paper. The corresponding author should be identified (include a Fax number and E-mail address). Full postal addresses must be given for all co-authors. The Editors reserve the right to adjust style to certain standards of uniformity. A cover page should give the title of the manuscript, the author's name, position, institutional affiliation and complete address, telephone, fax and/or E-mail numbers.

An acknowledgement may also be included on the cover page if so desired. The title but not the author's name should appear on the first page of the text.

Abstracts: An abstract of not more than 120 words and a list of up to 10 keywords should accompany each copy of the manuscript.

Text: Follow this order when typing manuscripts: Title, Authors, Affiliations, Abstract, Keywords, Main text, Acknowledgements, Appendix, References, Vitae, Figure Captions and then Tables. Do not import the Figures or Tables into your text, but supply them as separate files. The corresponding author should be identified with an asterisk and footnote. All other footnotes (except for table footnotes) should be identified with superscript Arabic numbers.

References: All publications cited in the text should be presented in a list of references following the text of the manuscript. In the text refer to the author's name (without initials), year of publication and possible page numer(s) (e.g. Torpey 2000, 18). For more than three authors, use the first three authors followed by *et al.* The list of references/bibliography should be arranged alphabetically by author's names. Names of the articles in edited volumes or journals are written inside the quotation marks. Journal titles and book names are italicised. Examples:

Torpey, John (2000): *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
Levy, Jacob T. (2000): "Three Modes of Incorporating Indigenous Law". In: Kymlicka, Will & Norman, Wayne (eds.): *Citizenship in Diverse Societies.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 297–325.
Gilroy, Paul (1999): "Between Camps: Race and Culture in Postmodernity". In: *Economy and Society.* Vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 183–198.
Smith, Jane & Korsakofsy, Sacha (eds.) (1998): *Post-Capitalist Economies.* Anchorage: Alaska University Press.

Illustrations: All illustrations should be provided in camera-ready form, suitable for reproduction (which may include reduction) without retouching. Photographs, charts and diagrams are all to be referred to as

"Figure(s)" and should be numbered consecutively in the order to which they are referred. They should accompany the manuscript, but should not be included within the text. All illustrations should be clearly marked on the back with the figure number and the author's name. All figures are to have a caption and source. Captions should be supplied on a separate sheet.

Photographs: Original photographs must be supplied as they are to be reproduced (e.g. black and white or colour). If necessary, a scale should be marked on the photograph. Please note that photocopies of photographs are not acceptable. All photographs are to have a caption and source.

Tables: Tables should be numbered consecutively and given a suitable caption and each table typed on a separate sheet. Footnotes to tables should be typed below the table and should be referred to by superscript lowercase letters. No vertical rules should be used. Tables should not duplicate results presented elsewhere in the manuscript (e.g. in graphs).

(Authors are responsible for obtaining permissions from copyright holders for reproducing any illustrations, tables, figures or lengthy quotations previously published elsewhere. Permission letters must be supplied to FAE and A & A Journal).

c) Electronic Submission

Please specify what software was used, including which release, and what computer was used (IBM compatible PC or Apple Macintosh). Always keep a backup copy of the electronic file for reference and safety. Send text-files in Microsoft Word (.doc) file form, or as .rtf-files.

d) Copyright

Authors are required to assign copyright to *A&A IJCSCI* and *Fundación de Altos Estudios Antárticos & Ambientes Extremos*, subject to retaining their right to reuse the material in other publication written or edited by themselves, and to be published at least one year after initial publication in the Journal, mentioning where it was published first.

d) Book reviews

We welcome book-reviews of academic or non-academic books concerning circumpolar socio-cultural issues. Book-reviews should not

exceed three pages, and must be typewritten, double-spaced with wide margins on A4 paper. In addition to information about the writer of review (name, title and institutional affiliation) review should include full information about the reviewed book: Author(s), name, publisher, place of publishing and the number of pages.

e) Other contents
Articles, notes, information about international conferences and seminars, and items of general circumpolar interest are also published.

f) Peer-review
The Journal operates a blinded peer review process. The reviewers may at their own decision opt to reveal their name to the author in their review, although our policy practice is to remain both identities concealed. In general, Editors will seek advice from two or more expert reviewers about the scientific content and presentation of manuscripts. However, all submitted articles are reviewed at first by the Editors so that only those works that fit the editorial standards, and aims and scope of the Journal, will be sent for outside review.

The authors will be notified in case an article will not be published. Nonetheless, the Editors will not be held responsible for the return of the manuscripts.

CALL FOR PAPERS

Arctic & Antarctic

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CIRCUMPOLAR SOCIOCULTURAL ISSUES

Foundation for High Studies on Antarctica and Extreme Environments (FAE, Argentina) and *International Association of Circumpolar Sociocultural Issues* (IACSI) publish annual, international, peer-reviewed journal called **Arctic & Antarctic – International Journal of Circumpolar Sosiocultural Issues**. The language of the journal is English.

This journal is created to provide a forum for the socio-cultural analysis of both circumpolar regions. Articles in the Journal will be devoted to promote an international and interdisciplinary dialogue concerning the following subjects: Local Communities and Extreme Environments; Habitat, Social Interaction and Identity; Social Problems and Policies; Minorities and Aboriginal Cultures; Migration and Socio-cultural Integration; Prehistory and History; Literature and Arts; Geopolitics and International Relations; Arctic and Antarctic Comparative Studies; and other issues related to socio-cultural themes concerning circumpolar areas.

The first issue of volume 1 of the Journal was published in November 2007. You can find the table of contents of each issue, and instructions for subscription from here: www.iacsi.org → journal. The fourth issue will be published in September 2010, and the fifth one in September 2011. **Deadline for the manuscripts addressed to the fourth issue is May 31, 2010**.

We encourage authors to send manuscripts that are within the areas of interest of both the Asociation and Journal. Furthermore, we also accept book reviews and commentaries on current research and societal/institutional affairs.

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Contents

Volume 3 Number 3 / 2008