Arctic & Antarctic

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CIRCUMPOLAR SOCIOCULTURAL ISSUES

Volume 4 Number 4 / 2010

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), and the University of Québec at Montréal (International Laboratory for the Comparative Interdisciplinary Study of Representations of the North, "*Imaginaire du Nord*", Canada).

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:

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The next issue of *Arctic & Antarctic - International Journal of Circumpolar Socio-Cultural Issues* will be published in Mai 2011. Contributions must be sent before the end of February 2011. Besides articles, the issues can include seminar and conference reports, book reviews, comments or discussions

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Contact:

Dr. Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez

International Institute for Studies and Training on Goverment and Society

Vice-Rectorate of Research & Development

Universidad del Salvador

Rodríguez Peña 770, 2nd floor

1020-Buenos Aires, Argentina

Tel./Fax: (+54 11) 4813-1381 / 4813-0681

E-mail: uds-iiefgs@salvador.edu.ar / edelacebo@yahoo.com

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Volume 4 Number 4 - 2010

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Contents

The low-crime thesis examined in Iceland: Criminal victimization in comparative perspective

Rannveig Þórisdóttir, (Reykjavík Metropolitan Police, Iceland) & Helgi Gunnlaugsson, University of Iceland)

Abstract

Iceland has typically been portrayed as a low crime country. This observation of Iceland as a low crime country has however been confounded by limited official records of crime data. Police statistics have not been easily accessible in Iceland because of irregular record keeping by local officials over the years. A crucial feature of the ICVS (International Crime Victimization Survey) was always the use of a fully standardized questionnaire, with controlled data management and analysis procedures. Bearing in mind this background of ICVS, and relative lack of crime data in Iceland, it is important and timely to compare Iceland with other Nordic and European Union (EU) member countries taking part in the ICVS survey. Iceland participated in the ICVS survey for the first time in 2005. The findings show that Iceland ranked high compared to other Nordic nations, both in terms of overall victimization for the ten crimes measured, and for assaults or threats, and theft. Overall crime victimization was also higher in the Nordic countries than the average in the EU countries, except for Finland. A few factors are evaluated in the paper to shed light on this surprising finding for Iceland. These factors involve methodological issues, social and cultural aspects, in addition to demographic characteristics of the Icelandic population.

Keywords: Iceland, Nordic nations, European Union, criminal victimization, comparative perspective, low crime thesis

Introduction

Iceland has typically been portrayed as a low crime country (Gunnlaugsson and Galliher, 2000; Ólafsdóttir, 1985; Ólafsdóttir and Bragadóttir, 2006). Many features of Icelandic society have been found to contribute to its low level of crime. Iceland´s small and relatively homogenous population is claimed to help facilitating primary group relations, social integration, and informal social control. These social characteristics are often found lacking in other industrialized nations, which are characterized more by secondary social relations and social isolation – and more crime (Adler, 1983; Christie, 2000). Other features of Icelandic society have also been contributed to its low crime rate. Iceland has possessed a relatively egalitarian and cohesive social structure which has been shown to keep crime levels down (Blau and Blau, 1982; van Willsem, de Graaf and Wittebrood, 2003). Baumer et. al. (2002) have also found Iceland to be a prime example of Braithwaite´s (1989) description of the good society, one that is committed to both collective duties and individual rights. Despite a well documented cultural ideal of individualism in Iceland (Durrenberger, 1996), Iceland is depicted as being deeply committed to communitarian social values, with effective informal social control, which help keeping crime down.

In their pioneering work, Shaw and McKay (1942) traced the origins of juvenile delinquency to a breakdown of values in communites affected by socially harmful effects of unregulated urban growth. Areas with large concentrations of juvenile delinquents were found to be strongly related to various community problems, such as low social and economic status, and high rates of immigration. Growth of juvenile delinquency ultimately was a result of social disorganizaton of neighborhoods and lack of community controls. Iceland, with its small and relatively homogenous ethnic stock, despite rapid social changes, has supposedly been able to maintain many of the preventive

social characteristics when it comes to urban crime, and therefore avoided some of the problems associated with rapid urban growth.

This observation of Iceland as a low crime country has however been confounded by limited official records of crime data. Police statistics have not been easily accessible because of irregular or nonexistent record keeping by local officials over the years. Consequently, it has been difficult to obtain a detailed historical picture of crime in Iceland, making criminological research difficult or even impossible. In most recent years, record keeping of crime in Iceland has improved, as crime concern in society has deepened.

Police and justice statistics

Contemporary police statistics show that the total number of crimes known to the police is indeed markedly lower in Iceland than found in other countries. For example, the total number of penal code cases in Iceland, including contact crimes such as assault and robbery, was about 6,000 per capita during 2000-2003, while the number was 9,000 in Denmark, 10,000 in Finland and just below 14,000 in Sweden (Aebi et al., 2006). Earlier Interpol records of crimes known to the police also show that Reykjavik remained lower than other Nordic capitals for all serious forms of crime (Gunnlaugsson, 2000). In addition, per capita imprisonment rates show Iceland below almost all other European nations, further supporting the notion of Iceland as a low crime country (Prison statistics, 2010).

Yet well known problems exist in international crime comparisons of official crime data, in particular police data. Legal definitions of crime are not the same from one nation state to another. Reporting practices also vary between different countries, as well as law enforcement practices, the way police departments record and report criminal and delinquent activity, making comparative crime research difficult.

To address the problem of different police practices of crime data, homicide is some times used as a comparison unit, with recording practices not being radically different between countries. If the homicide rate in Iceland for the time period 2000-2009 is examined the rate was below one homicide per 100,000, or close to, if not a little less than the average in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Finland was higher with a homicide rate of about two per 100,000 in the same time period. In a Nordic comparative perspective, many signs therefore show Iceland to be a low crime country, if we use official crime statistics of the police and prisons.

Theoretical understanding and concern with substance use

Yet, as Durkheim (1964) pointed out at the turn of the 20th century, not only is crime inevitable in any society, but it is also useful and even necessary in maintaining social order. Moreover, an act is not criminal because of its intrinsic character, rather, it is criminal because it offends collective sentiments. The precise nature of criminal behavior varies however according to the type of society and the type of collective sentiments (Lauderdale, 1976). A crime-free society does therefore not exist according to Durkheim, every society has its own quota of crime, with the content varying between different types of countries. These assertions of Durkheim about the nature of crime in society, are however, difficult to prove or disprove. Yet, Durkheim´s observations penetrate us to ask what types of misbehavior have been found to be frequent, or using Durkheim´s terminology, what behavior has offended the collective conscience of Icelanders.

In this regard, Gunnlaugsson (2004) has pointed out that many forms of minor offenses have been quite frequent in Iceland, with serious offenses being relatively low. Moreover, substance abuse has been seen as one of the primary causes of misbehavior, and it is widely agreed that substance abuse must be punished (Gunnlaugsson, 2008). Reflective of Icelander´s collective identity

and long-term concern with substance abuse, this small nation maintained a highly unusual beer prohibition for most of the 20th century (Gunnlaugsson and Galliher, 2000). This law was justified as a means of protecting the nation´s youth. Moreover, alcohol related arrests have been in the thousands each year. For example, in Reykjavik, a city of about 120,000, about 3,000 arrests were routinely made each year in the 1990´s for public drunkenness, and about 2,000 were jailed. Also, thousands have been arrested each year for driving while intoxicated, and the rate has been higher than found in the Nordic countries (Nordic Studies on Alcohol and Drugs, 2008) and higher than in the United States (Cole and Smith, 2001). The surprisingly high levels of alcohol related offenses lead one to expect that alcohol consumption in Iceland must be enormous. Yet, if we compare the consumption of alcoholic beverages, with that in other European nations, we find per capita consumption in Iceland increasing in recent years, but still lower than in most other nations (World Drink Trends, 2005).

Considerable attention has also been given to youth and substance use. Studies have shown that use of cannabis among youth is markedly lower than found in other European countries (Hibell et. al., 2009). Yet, among Nordic countries the rate in Iceland was somewhat higher than those of youth in Norway, Sweden and Finland, but lower than those of Denmark. Lifetime prevalence of cannabis use in the genereal population has also been shown to be higher in Iceland than in the other Nordic nations, except for Denmark (Gunnlaugsson and Þórisdóttir, 1999). If, however, we look at drug use in the last six months Iceland was very similar to other Nordic nations, with a rate markedly lower than lifetime prevalences. Even though these findings may seem trivial to outsiders, they are not seen as minor by Icelanders. Research such as this has fuelled the concern about drugs in Iceland and the impact of drugs on other misbehavior in society and on the social fabric in general.

In sum, Iceland has been depicted as a low crime country possessing many of the social features characterizing such nations. Yet Iceland has a long tradition of concern with substance abuse with an increasing public alarm in recent years. Many signs show drug use among adolescents not to be radically different from youth in other Nordic nations with some alcohol related offenses even higher than found elsewhere. How does the notion of Iceland as a low crime country hold when different forms of crime data are used instead of official crime statistics? How do victimization levels affect sense of public safety of citizens in their residential communities?

Data and methods

Limited official records of crime in Iceland have made it difficult to test the low crime thesis for Iceland with any certainty. Even though recent crime statistics may suggest its validity, this thesis is still based on premature assumptions due to a relative absence of local criminological research. Moreover, comparison of crime across countries is always problematic, because of different reporting and legal definitions, methodological issues and culture. Thus it is questionable whether the low crime thesis can be supported or rejected by official crime statistics alone. In addition, official crime statistics do not measure all criminal activity in society, but only crimes known to the police.

To address the nonreporting issue, crime victimization surveys have been conducted in many different countries in recent years. One of the major objectives of the ICVS (International Crime Victimization Survey) at the outset, was to harness crime survey methodology for comparative purposes (van Kestern, Mayhew and Nieuwbeerta, 2000). A crucial feature of the ICVS was always the use of a fully standardized questionnaire, with controlled data management and analysis procedures. Bearing in mind this background of ICVS, and relative lack of crime data in Iceland, it

is important and timely to compare Iceland with other Nordic and European Union member countries taking part in the ICVS survey.

Iceland participated in the ICVS survey for the first time in 2005. The data were collected by Gallup Reykjavik in January and February of 2005, with a random sampling of 3,000 individuals 16 years of age and older from the National Census. The net response rate was about 67 per cent, and a satisfactory congruence between the sample and the nation by sex, age, and location of residence was achieved. It is therefore reasoned that the sample adequately reflected the adult population as a whole. Phone interviews were used by trained interviewers.

Results

If the overall measure of victimization (Table 1), which is the percentage of people victimized once or more in the previous year (2004), is analysed by any of the ten crimes, covered in the survey, we see the prevalence level was highest in Iceland (21,8%) and Denmark (19,3%), followed by Sweden (16,2%) and Norway (15,6%), with Finland ranking lowest (12,7%). It is also interesting to note, that the overall victimzaton rate in 2004, was lower in the EU-countries (14,9%), than in the Nordic countries, except for Finland, which was lower. The overall victimization level of Iceland for 2004 was similar to Sweden in 2000 and the EU countries in 1992 and 1996. On the whole, victimization rates for Iceland in 2004 were close to those in the United Kingdom, Estonia and New-Zealand.

Table 1. Overall victimization for the ten offenses in the ICVS questionnaire by country:

	Average EU	Denmark	Finland	Sweden	Iceland	Norway
1989	16,9		13			
1992	21,6		17,2	18,7		
1996	21,6		16,2	22		
2000	19,3	20,6	16,6	22,6		
2004/2005	14,9	19,3	12,7	16,2	21,8	15,6

Source: Van Dijk, Manchini, VanKesteren and Hideg (2007)

If we look at victimization experiences by type of crime, we see that Iceland ranks highest among the Nordic countries for crimes of violence and theft (Table 2). The proportion of those having personal property stolen from was 7% in Iceland, but only less than 4% in Denmark, and about 2% in Finland and Sweden. A similar picture appears for crimes of violence. About 7% in Iceland admitted to have been victims of assaults or threats in 2004, but less than 4% in Sweden, just above 3% in Denmark and 2% in Finland. Iceland only ranked lower than the other Nordic nations for bicycle theft, except for Norway which was lower. Thefts from cars was highest in Iceland among the Nordic nations, and only Denmark was higher than Iceland for car thefts. Motorcycle theft is the only crime type where Iceland has lower victimization rates than the other Nordic nations with a similar level as Finland.

Table 2. Percent of population which had been victimized once or more during the last 12 months in 2004 by country and type of offence:

	Iceland	Denmark	Finland	Sweden	Norway	Average EU
Overall victimication	21,8	19,3	12,7	16,2	15,8	14,9
Theft of a car	0,9	1,5	0,4	0,5	0,7	0,7
Theft from a car	3,8	3	2,2	4,2	2,6	3,5
Motorcycle theft	0,1	0,5	0,1	0,6	0,3	0,3
Bicycle theft	4,6	6,2	5,2	5	4,2	3
Burglary	1,6	2,8	0,8	0,7	1,2	1,6
Attempted burglary	1,6	2	0,5	0,1	0,9	1,4
Robbery	0,7	1	0,3	1,1	0,8	1
Theft of a personal property	7	3,5	2,3	2,4	4,8	3,6
Assaults and threats	6,6	3,4	2,2	3,5	2,9	2,8

Source: Van Dijk, Manchini, VanKesteren and Hideg (2007)

As for comparison to the average victimization in the EU countries Iceland has higher levels for all crime categories, except for motorcycle thefts and robbery, were EU was higher and for burglaries which was similar. If capital cities among Nordic countries are compared, the overall victimization rate was highest in Reykjavik and Copenhagen, and lower in the other capital cities.

Measure of personal Safety

How do high victimization levels in Iceland affect safety among the public? The ICVS questionnaire measured vulnerability to street crime by asking how safe respondents feel while walking alone in their residential area after dark. We might expect high levels for contact crimes, such as assaults and threats, to be positively associated with high levels of insecurity. Yet the vast majority of Icelanders felt safe and more so than found in most other countries taking part in the survey (Table 3). Even though the question is hypothetical for those who rarely find themselves alone outside after dark and does not necessarily only measure fear of crime, the findings show that Icelanders perceive themselves to a large degree safe in their residential area. Thus despite high levels of victimization for violence and thefts in Iceland, Icelanders feel safe in their residential community, and even safer than citizens in other countries.

Table 3. Percent of population feeling unsafe or very unsafe on the street after dark in 2004/2005 by countries and main cities:

	2004/2005		2004/2005
Iceland	6	Reykjavík	9
Finland	14	Helsinki	25
Norway	14	Oslo	19
Denmark	14	Copenhagen	21
Sweden	19	Stockholm	21
Average EU	27	Average EU	32

Source: Van Dijk, Manchini, VanKesteren and Hideg (2007)

Concluding remarks

The ICVS results for Iceland come as a surprise. Iceland ranks high compared to other Nordic nations, both in terms of overall

victimization for the ten crimes measured, and for assaults or threats, and theft. Overall crime victimization is also higher in the Nordic countries than the average in the EU-countries. This is also somewhat unexpected, as crime in the Nordic countries has usually been close, or lower, than what we find elsewhere in Western-Europe (e.g. von Hofer, 2004). Official crime statistics do not appear to support the ICVS findings, at least for Iceland. A few factors will be evaluated here to shed light on this finding. Yet it is clear that not any one of them alone can explain this outcome. Most likely do we have a combination of several factors contributing to the results.

Methodological problems might play a part in the high ranking of Iceland. The response rate in Iceland was 67%, 60% in Finland, 55% in Sweden, 44% in Denmark (see van Dijk, Manchin and and van Kesteren, 2007). The response rate in Norway was only 33% (Olaussen, 2006). An important question emerges concerning how far respondents in Iceland differ from those countries where the response rate was lower. In Iceland, respondents with mobile phones were included, but not in the other countries to the same degree. Mobile phones are more common among younger people, and as it turned out in Iceland, the ratio of younger people was satisfactorily achieved in Iceland – but not to the same extent in other countries using only landline phones. As is well known, victim data reveal that young people face a much greater victimization risk than do older people, with victim risk rapidly diminishing after age 25 and becoming negligible after age 65 (Catalano, 2006). Therefore, it is possible that a higher response rate in Iceland resulted in higher levels of victimization than in other countries with a lower response rate. Even though the data are weighted for age to make the samples as representative as possible, it still may cast some doubt on the validity of this comparatively high ranking of Iceland.

Moreover, it is possible that the surprisingly high figure in Iceland reflects that Icelandic respondents are simply more likely

to report victimization than their neighbors in other countries. The overall high victimization in Iceland derives in large part from violence. Beirne and Messershcmidt (2000) have argued, in explaining the high rate of Dutch violence victimization rates, compared to the United States, as stemming in large part from the Dutch population being more sensitive to violence, and far more likely to report it in surveys of this sort. The same may hold for Iceland, even though we do not have any empirical findings to back up this observation. Also, Icelanders perhaps do not feel any sense of stigmatization in admitting to victimization, making them more willing to report it in surveys of this type than others.

The measurement instrument and the questionnaire format might also have exaggerated the number of minor offenses, at least for Icelandic respondents. To illustrate this point, about 36% of Icelanders reported their victimization to the police for one, or more of the crime types, measured in the ICVS, but comparative rates were much higher among other Nordic countries. To further demonstrate this explanation, a high percentage of Icelanders admitted to have been victimized by consumer fraud, or about 13%, which was higher than found in most other countries. In this respect, it is noteworthy, that many Icelandic respondents mentioned illegal price fixing amongst oil companies, a high profile case at the time the survey was conducted (Þórisdóttir and Gunnlaugsson, 2008). This high level of respondents mentioning the oil companies, might also suggest great willingness of Icelanders to admit being a crime victim. Moreover, many respondents in Iceland did not perceive the victimization incident as being a crime, nor as being very serious (Þórisdóttir et. al. 2005). Therefore, it is possible that the ICVS instrument exaggerated more the number of minor offenses in Iceland, compared to other countries. Higher safety levels found among Icelandic respondents in their residential communities compared to most other nations seems to further demonstrate this observation.

An additional explanation for Iceland´s high ranking, not less plausibe, is that Iceland is demographically a young nation, with a higher birth rate than found in most European nations (Dahlgaard, 2006). Icelandic demographics might therefore suggest a higher victimization rate than typically experienced in societies, with a lower birth rate (Ouimet, 2002). Moreover, as was mentioned above, research has shown that younger people generally experience more crime than older people, which might help explain the high rate found in Iceland, compared to both Nordic and EU countries. Declining rates of violent crimes in recent years in the United States and Canada have in part been explained by such demographic changes; with the two nations simply growing older (Blumstein and Wallman, 2000). Similar tendencies have been detected in European countries taking part in all of the ICVS sweeps, where a victimization decrease occurred later than in the U.S. and Canada (van Dijk, Manchin and van Kesteren, 2007). Perhaps, this reduction of victimization experiences might take place later in Iceland, where the birth rate is still quite high. To support this observation, it is worth noting that overall victimization levels in Iceland are closer to the levels found in the other Nordic nations in 1995 and 2000, than in 2004.

Still, whatever can be put forward to explain higher rates in Iceland than found in both EU countries and in other Nordic countries, it is evident that crime, as reported in comparative victimizations surveys, seems not to be any less frequent in Iceland than in other countries. At a time of both internal and external change in Iceland, crime perceptions and crime experiences have indeed become more prominent in the public discourse and dialogue in Iceland. Iceland´s population more than tripled between 1910 and 2009 – from 85,000 to more than 320,000. In 1910, the vast majority lived in rural areas, but in 2008, more than two-thirds of the population resided in the capital area. The occupational structure of Iceland has also radically changed. In 1910, most of the people was involved in either farming or fishing

whereas today these two occupations account for less than 10 percent of the population. At the same time these internal changes have been occurring, Iceland has become increasingly opened up to the outside world during most recent decades. The transformation of Icelandic society traces closely similar developments in W-Europe, only occurring later in Iceland, and, at a much higher speed. This being the case, Durkheim´s observation of crime as being essential, especially during periods of instablity and social change (Durkheim, 1964), makes the assertion of a low crime country seem less meaningful, if not all together meaningless – in particular for Iceland.

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In Praise of Arctic Warming
An Unsettling View by an Anti-Ecological Novel:
Erres boréales (1944)[*]

Daniel Chartier,
(Université du Québec à Montréal, Canada)

Abstract

In 1944, Florent Laurin published *Erres boréales*, a utopian novel in which the French-Canadian people settled lands much farther north thanks to the planned warming of the St. Lawrence River and the Arctic. This anti-ecological picture is disconcerting for today's reader because it is incongruous with modern environmental discourse. The Arctic has always been represented as inaccessible, virgin territory and, as a result, the North has provided a blank canvas on which authors have been inclined to create imaginary Edenic worlds serving ideological ends. That is certainly what Laurin did in *Erres boréales*, but the ideology underlying his representation of the Arctic is so jarring for today's reader that it prompts us to look at the ideology shaping our present-day views of the imaginary North.

Key words: Imaginary, North, literature, Québec, global warming, ecology, the Arctic, the Inuit, conquest, science fiction, *Erres boréales*

General discourse today is marked by environmental concerns. Issues associated with global warming are discussed in every field—from the arts and sciences to society and politics—

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[*] Translated from French by Elaine Kennedy.

and influence our interpretation of facts and events. Such environmental discussion focuses on the poles, and especially on the Arctic: the potential "warming" of the coldest point on earth underscores not only the fragility of the Nordic dessert, but also the interdependence of the rest of the planet on its vast blocks of ice which—although formerly considered useless—ensure global balance. According to Inuit environmentalist Sheila Watt-Cloutier, while the signs of these disturbing changes are physical, such warming is first and foremost "a human issue":

> These monumental changes threaten the memory of where we were, who we are and all that we wish to become. The Arctic is the early warning, the health barometer for the planet. Whatever happens in the world occurs here first. (Watt-Cloutier, 2007)

The prevalence of environmental discourse in most fields has gradually changed some of the parameters we relied on to conceive of the world and our future. By simply taking a look at some works created in the relatively recent past, in both the arts and literature, we can see that the issues of progress and man's control of nature were considered a given. Today, when we review certain cultural premises put forward in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, we realize that this interpretive change has made certain works outdated or, at least, incongruous with cultural discourse at this point in time.

The increased focus on the North, the Arctic and the Antarctic has also opened the door to a re-evaluation of the importance of these territories in terms of physical, human and cultural geography. While such an assessment is taking place, people in most Inuit territories (Nunavik, Nunavut and Greenland) are speaking out and asserting themselves in a way that is dissipating some clichés about the Arctic, in particular about the Arctic being barren and uninhabited.

In the West, the Arctic has always been represented as inaccessible, virgin territory, remote from civilization and characterized by extremes (distance, cold, day and night, luminosity and desolation). As a result of its perceived emptiness,

the "North" has served as a blank page, canvas or screen on which authors, artists and filmmakers have set imaginary, utopian worlds. In cultural studies, the "North" must be analyzed methodologically (1) according to the different elements comprising its representations—the Arctic, North Pole (and, similarly, the South Pole), the Inuit world, wintriness, and so on—and (2) from a multidisciplinary point of view, as indicated by geographer and linguist Louis-Edmond Hamelin, who coined the term *nordicité* or "nordicity" in the 1960s. From this perspective, the "North" can be understood as discourse, as an amalgamation of texts, images, colours, clichés, stereotypes, experiences, narratives and sounds, all of which have created a gap between it and the real north and that have, at the same time, determined it. The discursive amalgamation we call "North" generally has a relatively coherent construction which we can consider and study as the "idea of North." If we compare the "North" with other large geographic cultural spaces, we see that it is distinguished by the amount of discourse that represents it—discourse not based on an experience of the region, but on previous discourse. The "North" is thus a complex of representations that is determined discursively, but based on specific elements that exist in reality (the cold, geography, etc.). The "North," as conveyed by cultural discourse, is conceived of from discourse, but not randomly: it is defined precisely and coherently through signs, colours, stereotypes, figures and discursive schemata that enable the reader and viewer to recognize it.

This network of representations forms a "discursive node" that can serve ideological ends, depending on the times and trends. Today, in discussions about the North and the Arctic, two main types of political concerns emerge, which influence our interpretation of the representations of these regions:

1. fears about global warming, which are quintessentially fuelled by the fragility of the polar ecosystem. Countless popular magazines now publish green issues with *steel blue* cover photography of Arctic ice, along with a few polar bears

symbolizing animal power threatened by short-sighted human action. This colour reversal—*arctic* blue replacing *plant* green as a symbol of nature—is such that, from a semiotic point of view, *arctic blue* has become a sign of environmental green;

2. the fate dealt the people who live there (Natives peoples as well as small communities remote from urban centres) by North American and European societies—a fate that has led to a new "post colonial" view and a fascinating reinterpretation of the past.

The environment and post-colonial political relations thus mark discourse on the imaginary world of the North, from the late twentieth century to the early twenty-first, to the point where it is difficult to dissociate them from any interpretation of the Arctic and northern territories. In the past, scenes of the Greenland icecap might have conveyed the idea of territorial conquest, lucrative whaling, the potential of a cryolite mine, or nuclear and military testing; today, such scenes have been replaced by images of blue icebergs floating in warming seas—a sad reminder of the melting ice—and remote stations evoking the social, cultural and political precariousness of northern inhabitants.

A history of the imaginary

According to the methodological perspective put forward by Lucian Boia in *Pour une histoire de l'imaginaire* (1998), we must take all material provided by culture into account to gain an understanding of the history and structure of the imaginary. Thus, a novel like *Erres boréales* cannot be excluded from an analysis simply because it is a minor work.[1] It bears conflicting signs that enable us to see

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[1] As discussed elsewhere (Chartier, 2000), the selection of "major works" or "classics" is a never-ending process in which random factors, politics, polemics and morality play an important role; consequently, limiting a study to such works may not be the most appropriate means of gaining an understanding of the imaginary of a time, place or society. In terms of the imaginary North, take for example *L'Impératrice de l'Ungava*, written by Alexandre Huot in 1927: it was not recognized by literary critics or history, is

where we stand in relation to representations of the Arctic in the early twentieth century and to comprehend the ideology of our own views on this imaginary world. It should be noted that the selection of *Erres boréales*, although difficult to justify from an aesthetic standpoint, does not mean that other works (ranging from average to masterly) are not also of interest; on the contrary, all works have a contribution to make. On the basis of Boia's premise, we suggest that, in conceiving of the North as a system of representations, a discursive tradition can be discerned; while such a tradition represents the real north, in whole or in part, it has become increasingly dissociated from it, developing modes of operation, organization and combination that are specific to it. The consideration of "marginal" cultural works contributes to a fuller picture of popular history that can provide for an understanding of the way in which a given time or place may conceive of the world or part of it. This history must be included in the study of the imaginary North and Arctic, which must be as cross-cultural and comprehensive as possible.

The North Shore, Labrador and Ungava Bay "tropicalized"[2]

And from afar to farther off
From this snowy dessert
Where you persist
In putting up villages
(Vigneault, 1967, p. 10)

The utopian social, scientific novel *Erres boréales*, published by its author Armand Grenier under the pseudonym Florent Laurin in

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considered poorly written, and has now been forgotten despite the fact that it was widely read in its day. It talks about its time in a way that eminent works do not: it talks about the desire for adventure, conquest, and conciliation with the aboriginals—issues not addressed by Huot's contemporaries, from Claude-Henri Grignon to Lionel Groulx.

[2] One critic of the day spoke of the "captivating view of the almost 'tropicalized' Ungava empire" provided by *Erres boréales* (Lespérance, 1944, p. 32).

1944, has never had any real historic impact and boasts very few literary merits; yet, despite its tediousness, it offers a marker of the imaginary through its incongruity with our times. The novel is part of French-Canadian expansion ideology, a perspective depicted in different forms in the West during the first half of the twentieth century. At that time, a peaceful French Canada imagined it was expanding by branching out demographically and geographically to form the great "French-Canadian crescent"—a demographic that was, in fact, due to a thinning of the population as a result of emigration in the late nineteenth century. Thinkers preferred to see the exodus of hundreds of thousands of people as a symbol of the growth of the nation, which would ultimately extend from Boston to Winnipeg in a northern arcing pattern.

Jack Warwick (1988), the first scholar to study the "literary North" in Canada, emphasized the link between expansion ideology and the literary exploration of Québec's North in his 1968 essay *The Long Journey*: he indicated that the idea of the *pays d'en haut* or "upper country" was referred to in an impressive amount of literature devoted to expansion, and was associated with the nineteenth century and perpetuated well before the twentieth. This "upper country" refers historically to the lands immediately north of the St. Lawrence River, but the author of *Erres boréales* chose to chart his expansion straight toward the Arctic as far north as Baffin Island, with no other barrier than Greenland, which became French Canada's neighbour.

This utopian charting appears more complex when its many facets are considered: links with the past, interference of English-speaking America, cooperative economic system and francization. In this novel, the French-Canadian nation opens up and develops freely toward the North, emphasizing social values and creating ties with the Inuit in disconcerting harmony. The *other threatening people* are completely absent from the imaginary geography of French Canada. English Canada and the United States are off the map, while compatriotic Greenland is on, as the new, Danish

neighbour. The author has created an easy national triumph here, although it is marked by a departure from ethnic theories popular at the time as it provides a positive representation of the Inuit world.

It is not so much the expansion that is unsettling for the modern reader as the *anti-ecological* position, albeit fascinating, taken by the author. Laurin proudly and enthusiastically depicts action that seems utterly inconceivable for the contemporary reader: the deliberate, desirable and systematic warming of the Arctic, enabling Québec to make strong colonial inroads into the North, beyond its present political borders up to Baffin Island—which becomes francized—and to Labrador, acquired from Newfoundland at a high price.[3]

Although fantasy, the novel is based on a keen knowledge of the Arctic world. Laurin refers to a characteristic demonstrated by geographers today (Pouliot, 1998)—that the Arctic Circle is not consistently equidistant from the pole, so the North Shore of Québec is one the regions where the north extends the furthest south in the world: "they exposed the major culprit in this abnormal thermal deflection where our shores meet: the cold Labrador current".[4] What constitutes a distinctive feature for the geographer is an anomaly for the author that must be corrected: in *Erres boréales*, Laurin uses technology to push back the cold zone toward the Arctic Circle and make the lands between the St. Lawrence and Ungava Bay—or even further north—fertile.

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[3] The border between Québec and Labrador is still in dispute. The line was established in 1927 through a unilateral decision by the Privy Council in London favouring Newfoundland, which was not yet part of Canada. Québec has always challenged that decision. The division created two regions: the *North Shore*, i.e., the portion of Labrador along the St. Lawrence River remaining in Québec; and the rest of the northeast peninsula of Québec forming present-day *Labrador*, which is now under the jurisdiction of the Canadian province Newfoundland and Labrador.

[4] The original French quote read: "de cet anormal fléchissement thermique à la rencontre de nos côtes, ils dénoncèrent le grand coupable: le courant froid du Labrador" (Laurin, 1944, p. 13; the novel is hereinafter cited as *EB*, followed by the page number).

The narrative thus (1) serves French-Canadian expansion ideology by developing the nation beyond the English-speaking realm and in harmony with the aboriginals; and (2) emphasizes the ability of science to reverse climate by "tropicalizing" the North Shore, Labrador and the Arctic and making these regions more conducive to agriculture, development and habitation (see Figure 1).

Fig. 1: Drawing from *Erres boréales* (p. 97) illustrating a "tropicalized" island in the Arctic

Sur les berges du golfe de Verchères.
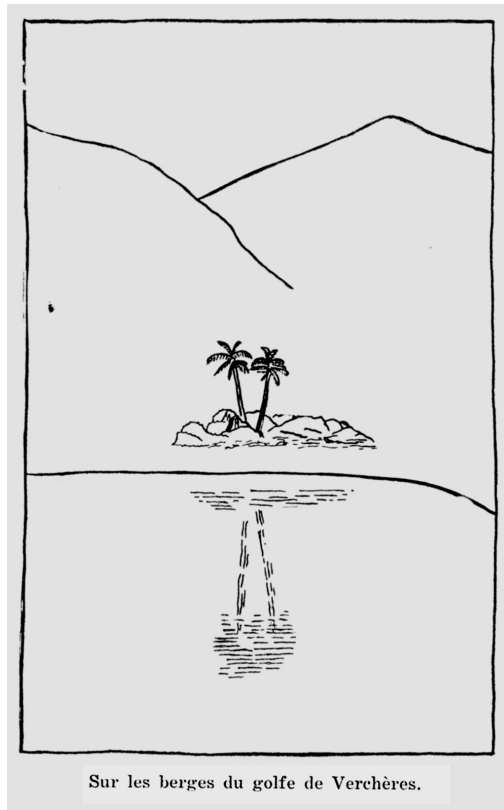
A "crusade against a natural enemy"[5]

> The High Arctic was open, our people were saved.
> (*EB*, 16-17)

Erres boréales was the first novel by Armand Grenier (born in Lac-Saint-Jean, Québec in 1910), published in 1944 under the pseudonym Florent Laurin. In 1953, Grenier published a second novel, *Défricheur de hammada: Le roman d'un misanthrope évadé de l'Amérique*, under the name Guy-René de Plour; in that work, journalist Louis Galliène invents a type of greenhouse enabling him to operate a tropical farm in the Laurentians. Galliène is considered too individualistic by the woman he loves, and it is not until after a period of self-exile in Africa, where he builds domes designed to make the desert fertile (reflecting the author's ongoing interest in climate reversal), that he can hope to earn back the respect of his people. Moral values, utopias, technology, and the environment were thus the themes explored by this author, whose "stilted, pompous style"[6] was judged harshly by the critics.

One of the characters in *Erres boréales*, which is set in the future (in 1968), is a man by the name of Louis Gamache. In his youth, Gamache journeyed to the Arctic and got to know the Inuit. Now old, he returns to his country, but the Québec he finds has been transformed by major, hydro-powered heating units installed in the straits of the St. Lawrence River and the Arctic to warm the oceans and Arctic regions so that new French Canadian provinces could be established to the North of what has become Old Québec. The technological, patriotic narrative is accompanied by simple drawings and an interesting map of the imaginary provinces of French Canada, which extend as far north as the northern tip of neighbouring Greenland. Laurin—referred to by

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[5] G.T., 1946, p. 4.
[6] The original French quote read: "style ampoulé et artificial" (Laurion, 1982, p. 328).

Jean-Louis Trudel as "our first artist of global warming"[7] in the history of science fiction—imagines what can be called the "southification" of the North, from the North Shore where thin black pines and the taiga have been replaced with lush forests, "up to the Arctic Circle"[8] where Fraser fir and Californian sequoia[9] now grow wonderfully.[10] Man's natural enemy—the cold—has been conquered thanks to technology: global warming is a sign of the victory.

This "seemingly scientific, futuristic novel" in which "the characters [establish] a civilisation on the steppes of the tundra"[11] was favourably received by nationalistic critics when it was first published. Laurin's lack of realism, heavy style, convoluted narrative and anti-ecological position did not have the same hold on their minds as the appealing territorial expansion of French Canada and the fantastic use of the climate- and nature-changing technology that paved the way for it: "you can see greenery and lush vegetation grow where there were only snowy solitudes," wrote *La Revue populaire*; "a whole new world is springing forth in New Québec."[12] The novel was an "epic adventure," a "crusade," an "amazing dream," wrote a reviewer for *L'Action catholique*, in

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[7] The original French: "notre premier artiste du réchauffement global" (Trudel, 2006).

[8] The original French: "à la hauteur du cercle polaire" (*EB*, 91).

[9] Trudel points out that "the entire novel reflects a very marked interest in the specific names of plants and minerals, no doubt due to the influence of naturalist Marie-Victorin, whose *Flore laurentienne* was acclaimed when it was published in 1935. The influence was such that the name Florent Laurin is no doubt a partial anagram of that title. The original French: "l'ensemble du roman témoigne d'un intérêt très marqué pour les noms précis de la végétation et des minerals. Il faut sans doute y voir l'influence du naturaliste Marie-Victorin, dont la *Flore laurentienne* avait fait date lors de sa parution en 1935. À tel point que le nom même de Florent Laurin est sans doute une anagramme partielle du titre de ce livre." (Trudel, 2006)

[10] The original French: "à merveille le pin de Fraséride et le séquoyer californien" (*EB*, 92).

[11] The original French: "roman futuriste à l'allure scientifique" in which " les personnages [établissent] une civilisation aux steppes de la toundra" (Plante, 1944, p. 4).

[12] The original French: "on voit la verdure et une abondante végétation s'élever là où il n'y avait que solitudes enneigées; tout un monde nouveau naquit dans le Nouveau Québec" ([Anonyme], 1945, p. 5).

which young people "carry out a gigantic project to melt the ice and snow covering New Québec".[13]

The economic union of French Canadians in the conquest of the Far North

Although the novel is set in 1968, the work by the group supporting the climatic conquest of the Arctic—the "Jeune-Laurentie"—began in the 1940s and was intended to change Québec at that time through patriotic, territorial expansion. The influence of the Jeune-Laurentie, as Jean-Louis Trudel points out, was based on the social action of a real group, the Association des Jeunes Laurentiens, which was founded in 1936 and inspired by the ideas and action of an eminent thinker of the day—Lionel Groulx. In Laurin's narrative, the project advocated by these young people targeted nothing less than "the formation of a colossal *North American* empire, the annexation (to a *free New France*) of several large islands in the Arctic Archipelago, including Baffin Island, which they gave the *fine name* Euryale".[14] It would ensure, in particular, that "both continental and oceanic Labrador were politically united . . . with the large Québec bloc".[15]

As soon as it was founded, the "Jeune-Laurentie" disclosed many of the premises and objectives underlying its project. As Québec expanded toward the North Shore, Labrador, Nunavik and the Arctic, the nation would find a way to

(a) be *North American*, and to disregard its English-speaking neighbours (as indicated by the map on the novel's cover which

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[13] The original French: "aventure épique," "croisade," "rêve magnifique" in which young people "exécutent une gigantesque dissolution des neiges et des glaciers qui couvrent le Nouveau-Québec" (G.T., 1946, p. 4).
[14] The original French: "la formation d'un colossal empire *nord-américain*, l'annexion à une *libre Nouvelle-France* de plusieurs grandes îles de l'archipel arctique, dont la Terre de Baffin, qu'ils baptisèrent par avance du *beau nom* d'Euriaule" (*EB*, 13-14; my italics).
[15] The original French: "les deux Labradors, continental et océanique, se rattachent politiquement […] au grand tout québécois" (*EB*, 51-52).

does not include Canada or the United States—see Figure 2). The nation would thus manage to "focus [its] entire, incoercible migration instinct on the Far North!";[16]

(b) be *free*: with its independence, it would find the power to colonize the others—the Amerindians excluded from this utopia and the westernized Inuit;

(c) be faithful to its roots and thus to *New France*: "having gotten back to itself, its vital function of expansion and its deep-rooted calling as builder, the grass roots [of Québec] would surely repeat the wonders of the olden days" by pursuing the "call of the North" which was that of the descendants, settlers and coureurs de bois;[17]

(d) pursue its identity project in North America by replacing place names with *fine* French *names*: "what magical, soft, clear and resonant names, in the spirit of France, can be read on signs from place to place: Estèbe, Pommereau, Margry, Gorgendière, Abacourt, Grandmesnil, which follow Abélard, Pertuis and Crébillon" (see Figure 3).[18] For the reader, this francization of English names in the Arctic evokes the "re-inuktitutization" of the geography of Nunavut and Nunavik in the late twentieth century, when English place names were replaced with Inuktitut designations.

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[16] The original French: "orienter tout entier vers le grand Nord [son] incoercible instinct de migration!" (*EB*, 11-12).

[17] The original French: "revenu à lui-même, à sa vitale fonction de rayonnement, à sa vocation invétérée de bâtisseur, [le] petit peuple [du Québec] renouvellerait sûrement les prodiges des anciens jours" (*EB*, 11-12).

[18] The original French: "quelles magiques appellations, douces, limpides et claironnantes comme le génie de la France, lit-on, d'espaces en espaces, sur les plaques indicatrices : Estèbe, Pommereau, Margry, Gorgendière, Abacourt, Grandmesnil, qui font suite aux Abélard, aux Pertuis et aux Crébillon" (*EB*, 51-52).

Fig. 2: Cover of *Erres boréales*, with a map showing Québec extending North, excluding Canada and the United States
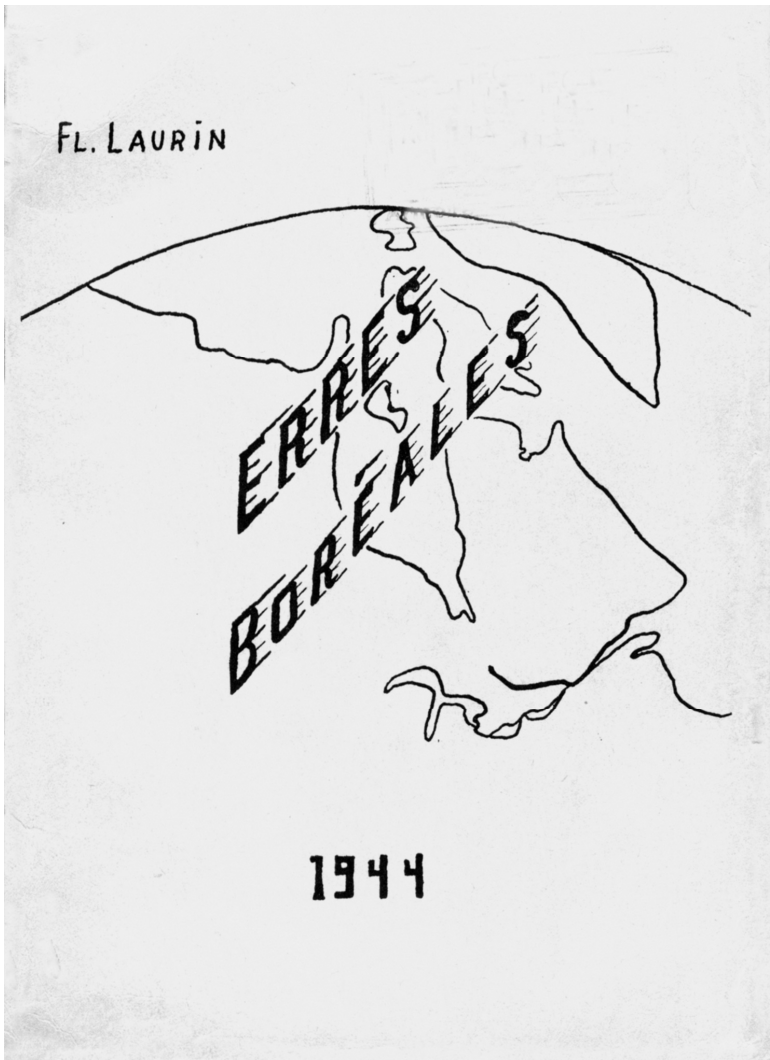
Nationalistic, independent, respectful of traditions and the French language, the imaginary empire in *Erres boréales* is directly in line with the nationalistic movement in French Canada in the early twentieth century. It is also consistent with that movement through the innovative schemes it includes—the use of modern technology to *control* nature and *harness* the resources it contains—and the importance it places on cooperation in managing the development of the territory. The "Promised Land" of the Far North—acquired at the cost of formidable intervention in nature through the electrical heating of waters, ice and land—is settled by cities with cutting-edge technology and amenities: "the tactile extremities of a colossal nervous system,"[19] energetic and all-powerful, can be seen on the outskirts of cities linked by rapid air connections ("Tonight, at 10:00, he is taking a Québec-Arcticity special, which must reach Lescar tomorrow around 5:30").[20] This territorial expansion was marked by a very French Canadian peculiarity: no one had to yield to the temptation of capitalism to achieve it, as the following dialogue indicates:

— Hey! Are you travellers?... are you from the old country?
— Yes, from Québec City!
— Oh, yeah! From the capital, and you're not capitalists?
— Oh, no! We've all signed the Co-o.*
— In that case, I'll pour you a little glass of blue; it's as light as azure and the colour of the flag.
*Short form for the neologism "cœuvre" or joint undertaking (French Canadian economic union for the conquest of the Far North) (*EB*, 44-45)[21]

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[19] The original French: "les extrémitiés tactiles d'un colossal systeème nerveux" (*EB*, 76).
[20] The original French: "Il prend ce soir, à dix heures, un spécial Québec-Arctiquecité, qui doit rallier Lescar demain vers cinq heures et demie" [*EB*, 197]).

[21] The original French: — Tenez! vous êtes des voyageurs?... du vieux pays?
— Oui, de Québec!
— Ah! bon! de la capitale, sans être tout de même des capitalistes?
— Pour ça, non! Nous signons tous de la Co-o.
— Dans ce cas, je vous verse un petit bleu; c'est léger comme l'azur et de la couleur du drapeau.
(*EB*, 44-45)

New (converted) allies: the Inuit

Like the Montagnais in Alexandre Huot's 1927 novel, *L'Impératrice de l'Ungava*,[22] it is through music that the Inuit in *Erres boréales* best convey their heritage and the environment in which they live: musicians in Innuit, their territory, give a concert in honour of the visitors from the South that features Inuit cosmogony. Thanks to the orchestra, "you could easily recognize the Big Dipper (literally the Big Bear in French), the Pleiades and Gemini the Twins in the figures in this indigenous ballet representing the caribou, the pack of dogs chasing the polar bear, and the two stones placed at the entrance of ancient igloos".[23] The picture Laurin paints of the Inuit world is one that is colonized, but also cultivated and coherent, and thus not as dark and gloomy as that portrayed by his contemporaries. The author, contrary to all expectation, shows a genuine liking for these people, and the representation he gives of them seems progressive in comparison to other authors in that day. The Inuit have the status of *subject*, a rare situation at that time in fiction:[24] they take part in the narration and dialogue, are referred to by name, make friends with the other

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[22] In this novel, which describes Innu renaissance, Mentagna, the wife of the Grand Chief, plays a piece of music at the piano; the melody evokes a storm, the suspension of time, space and place: "A soft melody began. It was the rustling of the wind in the forest. The explorers lost all notion of time, space and place. They let themselves be transported in the thick woods of the north. Now a terrible storm came up. The gusting wind was whistling. Then the storm died down. The first notes of a primitive dance were heard. It was a frantic saraband, in which you could have sworn that you heard the cries of savages." The original French: "Une douce mélodie commença. C'était le bruissement du vent dans la forêt. Les explorateurs perdirent la notion du temps, de l'espace, du lieu. Ils se laissèrent transporter dans les grands bois du nord. C'était maintenant une tempête terrible. La rafale sifflait. Puis la tempête s'apaisa. Les premières notes d'une danse sauvage se firent entendre. Ce fut une sarabande effrénée, où on aurait juré entendre les cris des sauvages." (Huot, 2006, p. 103-104)

[23] The original French: "on put facilement reconnaître la grande ourse, les pléiades et les gémeaux dans les figures destinées à représenter, dans ce ballet indigène, le caribou, la meute des chiens à la poursuite de l'ours blanc, et les deux pierres placées à l'entrée des anciens iglous" (*EB*, 142-143).

[24] See Chartier, 2005, on this topic.

characters on an equal footing. The environment in which they live inspires admiration rather than fear and loathing: these people, "long considered the most disinherited in the world"[25] now live in palaces. The "standard Eskimo house" includes "magnificent serpentine marble floors specked with yellowish spherulite and covered here and there with polar bear or muskox skins".[26] Further on, you could see "sofas padded with shiny seal pelts, rustic drawings embroidered on purple linen fluttering on soft green walls".[27] However, Laurin resolves two major differences between the French Canadians and the Inuit through the assimilation of the latter: language and religion.

The Inuit adopt French, convert to Catholicism and become integrated into French Canada, while retaining territory and rights related to their way of life. In this social and political utopia, they favourably replace the people traditionally considered "the others" in Québec—the English Canadians and Americans, who are totally absent from the narrative. When bilingualism is mentioned, it is in reference to the Danish spoken in Greenland: "a nice French Canadian must be able to speak the langue of each of his allies".[28] In this novel, nationalistic French Canada thus found new allies who, through an alliance with the aboriginals,[29] enable them to forget their minority situation in North America (see Figure 4).

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[25] The original French: "longtemps réputé le plus déshérité de la terre" (*EB*, 113).

[26] The original French: "somptueux plancher de porphyre vert taché de sphérolithe jaunâtre, couvert ça et là de tapis naturels de peaux d'ours blanc ou de bœufs musqués" (*EB*, 137).

[27] The original French: "des sofas capitonnés de luisantes pelisses de phoque, des dessins rustiques brodés sur des lins mauves flottaient sur les murs vert tender" (*EB*, 137-139).

[28] The original French: "un Canadien gentil doit pouvoir s'exprimer dans la langue de chacun de ses allies"[28] (*EB*, 151).

[29] Like in L'Impératrice de l'Ungava, where the French Canadians anticipate an alliance with the Amerindians.

Fig. 4: Drawing of a young Inuit, Toutillia Kamagniak,
taken from *Erres boréales* (p. 145)
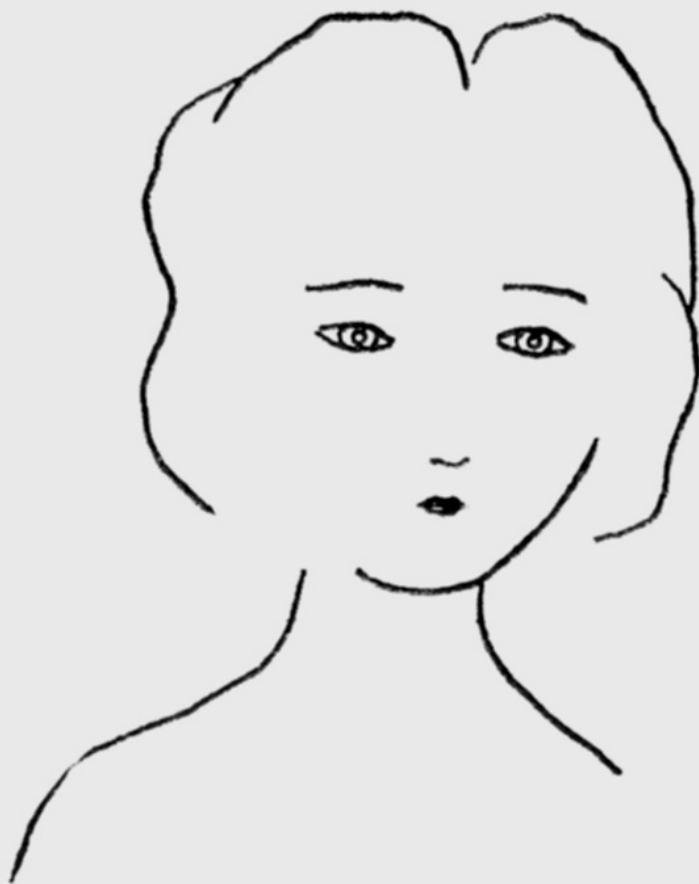
Toutillia Kamagniak

Nature serving "expansion"

In this narrative, the cold Labrador current is the enemy that prevents man from taking advantage of the resources of the North: technology is therefore used to warm and colonize the region, and thus pave the way for the inescapable expansion of the French-Canadian nation. By harnessing the rivers the nation produces the hydroelectric power it needs for this project, which is carried out in cooperation and agreement with the Inuit: "Put up a fitting obstacle to this powerful, gigantic drift [the cold current from Labrador], stem its course if you can, and you will see a lush vegetation zone vastly farther north."[30] This obstacle would be a "heat barrier" made up of "submarine electrical nodes"[31] that heat the water and the climate. While a few concerns about climatic warming can be discerned here and there (for example, the idea of a dyke is rejected because "it would disturb the physical economics of the hemisphere"[32]), Laurin is very enthusiastic about this control of nature. By superimposing time (one character returns to the country after an extended absence), the author provides for a comparison of the desolate Arctic *before* and the developed Arctic *after*, to convince the reader of the relevance of his schemes. He acts as a visionary, imagining what will become of the Churchill dam in Labrador and anticipating that the melting of the ice will open up new sea routes between Europe and Asia. For today's reader, this enthusiasm seems naïve and worrisome: it challenges the values on which our interpretation of facts and events are based, and consequently our interpretation.

Despite its stylistic weakness and drawn-out plot, *Erres boréales*

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[30] The original French: "Opposez un digne obstacle à l'emportement de cette dérive gigantesque [le courant froid du Labrador], enrayez, si vous pouvez, son cours, vous verrez remonter d'un bon démesuré vers le nord la zone de grande vegetation" (*EB*, 13).

[31] The original French: "barrière thermique" made up of "ganglions électriques sous la mer" (*EB*, 152-153).

[32] The original French: "elle bouleverserait toute l'économie physique de l'hémisphère" (*EB*, 13).

can be considered one of the first environmental novels: although the premise that nature must be subjugated by man raises scepticism today, it had long been an accepted idea when the novel was published. Through his themes and utopias, Laurin is one of the only authors of his time to envision climate change and its effects on human geography. Definitely anti-ecological, this novel positions the North as an instrument that knowledge and power can transform for the benefit of man, showing as a victory what our time considers its greatest danger. Through its triumphalism, the novel ultimately highlights what can be called the "negativism" of our environmental thinking: essentially *reacting* to climate change by rightly proposing plans to *fight* and r*educe* it, and being reluctant to consider the possibilities of man and nature's adaptation to these changes, some of which as this novel indicates are not necessarily inconveniences.

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Bordering Immigrants in Argentina.
The case of the Chilean immigration
to Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego[*]

Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez
(Universidad del Salvador, Argentina)

Abstract

International immigration has been a fundamental element in (and for) the socioeconomic development of Argentina, while migration from the neighboring countries happened at the same time than inner migrations within Argentina. As of 1960 neighboring countries immigration was on a constant increase, concomitantly with determined sectors of both the labor market, and geographical regions. In early 90s, immigration from neighboring countries accounted for more than 50% of the whole immigration entering Argentina. The Chilean migration to Argentina began starting long before the creation of both, respective States, even though the higher importance thereof starts as of mid-20th century. Chilean citizens have migrated to Patagonia mainly (but they are found also in the Metropolitan area of the city of Buenos Aires, in the city of Mendoza (center area of Argentina), and also in the city of Bahía Blanca -to the South of the Province of Buenos Aires). Immigration from a neighboring country involves a population displacement the generation of which has to be sought in adaptative strategies developed into the family economy of poor people, perhaps much more than seeking the immigration motive into the

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migrant politics of national States. This article analyzes the migration motives among Chilean immigrants, the insertion types and grades into the receiving society, and also the migratory networks and grade of associativity in terms of social capital and resilience.

Key words: Bordering immigration, Chile, Argentina, Patagonia, Tierra del Fuego

International immigration in Argentina

From an historical point of view, international immigration has been a fundamental element in (and for) the socioeconomic development of Argentina. During the second half of 19th century, and early 20th century, immigration came mainly from Europe. Thereafter, from mid-20s onward, immigration coming from the neighboring countries –namely: Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, Brazil, and Uruguay was more important each time.

First, migration from the neighboring countries happened at the same time than inner migrations within Argentina. As of 1960, however, neighboring countries immigration was on a constant increase, concomitantly with determined sectors of both the labor market, and geographical regions.

In early 90s, immigration from neighboring countries accounted for more than 50% of the whole immigration entering Argentina. And such a proportion increased since mid-20th century, namely: in 1960 immigration from neighboring countries accounted for 17.6%; in 1970: 24.1%; in 1980: 39.6%, and, in 1991: 52.1%.

Nevertheless such figures and percentages do not cover the whole immigration process actuality: indeed Argentina's borders are both large and very easy to cross –in other words, entering undocumentedly is not at all difficult if we take into account the following figures:

The length of Argentine borders along neighboring countries is, in kilometers:

- 5,308 km along Chile,
- 1,699 km along Paraguay,
- 1,132 km along Brazil,
- 742 km along Bolivia, and
- 485 km along Uruguay

That means an almost 10,000 kilometer long total border. Either Argentine or foreign populations can cross in/out by road or river systems.

Argentina's border along Chile is the largest border, basically running through the Andean Range. To the North, the range is extremely high while, to the South, the range is much lower, a fact making the border accessibility easer.

As some geographers and sociologists point out, the "border zone" immigration to Argentina can be explained by different key factors, such as:

a) Both the territorial continuity and proximity between the neighboring countries emission zones, and the attraction areas located in the Argentine periphery.

b) In Argentina, a low vegetative growth concomitant with a superpopulation –thus, demographical pressure thereof, in some neighboring countries.

c) Even though immigrant-labor expertise is likely to be low, labor conditions are better in Argentina for migrants.

d) Mainly in Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay, the existence of systematic expulsion conditions due to either political or ideological causes.

e) In neighboring countries, migratory inclinations among several ethnic groups as a constitution of their cultural heritage.

f) Generally speaking, Argentina's flexibility as regards entrance, re-entrance and residence conditions. In normal

conditions, no entering migrant is demanded a visa or a return ticket –there may exist, however, some higher control periods with regard to undocumented immigration.

2. Important events in contemporary Patagonia

In 19th century "the State strengthening process coupled to the success obtained by the military conquest of indigenous lands, derived in the affirmation of the definitive sovereignty of the national State over those regions. At the same time that tribes were decimated by either the Army or smallpox epidemics (another, equally lethal, weapon of civilization), a new occupation mode of the Patagonian space took place. Lands belonging to indigenous communities were transferred to the State that, in turn, transferred again those estates to new owners. At the same time, the procedure started in the 1880 decade caused an intense, systematic destruction of native cultures" (Bandieri, 2009: 146). The socio-cultural destructuring of native populations –wherein the introduction of alcoholic beverages as a type of domination was of tremendous importance, caused a change in the relationship between people and the land: from an intimate, constitutive relationship between **indigenous cultures and the land**, there occurred a switch in favor of natural resources private appropriation. At the same time –further than any intentions at stake, the conversion to Roman Catholicism was a means to eradicate indigenous creeds that were inextricably united to their cultural ways –that is: after indigenous had been uprooted from their land, they were uprooted from their cultural environment, all of a sudden.

At a geographical level re-location processes took place –more or less forced, more or less mediate but always unjust, however in full accordance with the capitalist system logic as well as the pro-European dominating culture. The so-called "friendly Indigenous" –that is who had accepted the military / economic conquest fostered by the State, were relocated in "colonies" within their same Patagonian zone, while the indigenous that had fought

against the Occidental conquest endured a Diaspora the results of which were marginality, poverty, and exile.

"At that time, either incorporation or extermination seemed to be the sole alternative for discussing [the indigenous problem]" (Bandieri, 2009: 153): i.e. while some people were struggling to incorporate natives after they had been "civilized", other people were struggling for killing them all, direct.

From those questions arose the strong tendency to "Argentinizing" the Patagonian populations, either overcoming or ignoring the cultural diversities, in search for a supposed "national community" that was considered to be culturally homogeneous. It must be said that this problem still exists in Argentina, being one of the structural causes of our socioeconomic and sociocultural unsolved problems.

"However, such a process was neither swift nor simple – particularly in the border zones wherein the indigenous, Chilean, and mestizo populations dominated, mainly in rural zones where they stood for an absolute majority" (Bandieri, 2009: 165).

Table 1: Evolution of Population in Patagonia (1895-2001)

Censos	Neuquén	Río Negro	Chubut	Santa Cruz	Tierra del Fuego	Total Patagonia	Total país	%
1895	14.517	9.241	3.748	1.058	447	29.011	3.954.911	0,73
1914	28.866	42.242	23.065	9.948	2.504	106.625	7.885.237	1,35
1920	29.784	42.652	30.118	17.925	2.608	123.087	–	–
1947	86.636	134.350	58.856	24.522	5.045*	309.409	15.893.827	1,95
1960	109.890	193.292	142.412	52.908	11.209	509.711	20.013.789	2,55
1970	154.143	262.622	189.920	84.457	15.658	706.800	23.364.431	3,03
1980	243.850	383.354	263.116	114.941	29.392	1.034.653	27.862.771	3,72
1991	388.833	506.772	357.189	159.839	69.369	1.482.002	32.615.528	4,54
2001	474.155	552.822	413.237	196.258	101.079	1.737.551	36.260.130	4,79

Source: Bandieri, Susana; 2009.

3. On Chilean migration to Argentina (Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego)

The Chilean migration to Argentina began starting long before the creation of both, respective States, even though the higher importance thereof starts as of mid-20th century.

Chilean citizens have migrated to Patagonia mainly (but they are found also in the Metropolitan area of the city of Buenos Aires, in the city of Mendoza (center area of Argentina), and also in the city of Bahía Blanca -to the South of the Province of Buenos Aires).

Up to early-90s, Argentina has been a primordial destination for the Chilean immigration, as is has been for both the Bolivian and Paraguayan immigrations too as Argentina was the attraction pole "with the higher relative development and higher quality of life and shared well-being" in the region, until that date (Sassone, 1994: 107).

The migratory flows from Chile to Argentina have been influenced, however, by regional inequalities and also by the successive economic and political crises in, and between both countries. Actually, the migration-originating Chilean areas –mainly the Southern areas, had a low demographical density and a scarce contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Matossian, 2006: 3; Marshal y Orlansky, 1981).

Table 2: Chilean Citizens In Argentina: Their Evolution Through Censuses
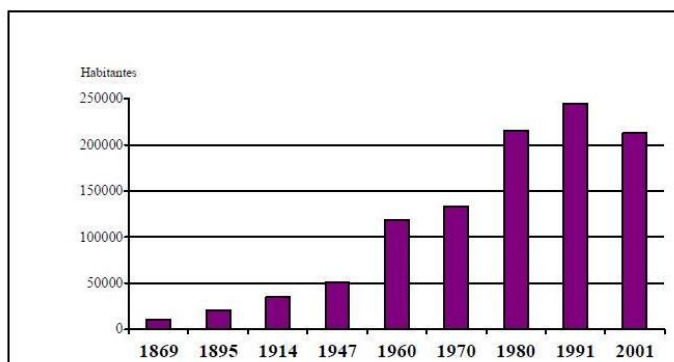
Source: Matossian, Brenda; 2006.

As per Argentina's national 2001 census, the total population of citizens born in Chile, residing in Argentina, sums 211,093 people (masculine index = 91.55) The total of citizens born in Argentina, having either a Chilean father or a Chilean mother sums 218,615 people (masculine index= 108.94 which means that women's proportion is higher than men's). When summing up both subtotals concerning people born in Chile and Argentina, the population of Chilean descent amounts to almost 430,000 people.

The highest number of Chilean immigrants is registered in the following Patagonian Provinces:

- Río Negro: 18.7%
- Neuquen: 13.5%
- Santa Cruz: 9.7%
- Chubut: 9.5%

(When summing up the percentages pertaining to the above mentioned four Patagonian Provinces, a total percentage of 51.4% is attained, regarding residents in Patagonia)

- Tierra del Fuego: 4.2%

As regards the age range of population born in Chile, residing in Argentina is basically located within the 35 to 59 years age-range: that is within the most productive period.

As regards the Chilean immigrants' residence years in Argentina, 66% of them have been living in Argentina for 20 years or more –a percentage contrasting strongly with the percentage of Chilean immigrants living in other parts of the world: less than 47% have been living in other countries for 20 years or more.

4. Migration motives

Immigration from a neighboring country involves a population displacement the generation of which has to be sought in adaptative strategies developed into the family economy of poor

people (Benencia, 441) this, much more than seeking the immigration motive into the migrant politics of national States.

Almost half of immigrants (49. 6%) has taken the decision due to **economic** reasons; the following motives are: **family** reasons (30. 3%), then, **political** reasons (8.5%), and, finally, **educational** reasons (0.7% -these account for the migrant concentration in the city of Buenos Aires).

When the gender variable is introduced, it can be observe that men migrate in a higher percentage than women, owing to both economic and political motives. In a greater percentage, women migrate due to family-related motives (cf. Burnett, 2006: 106ss).

As several authors have observed (Toutudjian y Vitoria de Holubica, 1990:13-19; Benencia: 2004: passim) the Chilean immigration has evidenced their own behavioral patterns that can be differentiated from the behavioral patterns followed by immigrants coming from other neighboring countries: this immigration was much more similar to the inner migration currents within Argentina. Contrariwise, the Chilean immigration was much more oriented to a rural-rural type. That is in the first place it was linked to either seasonal activities such as the wool shearing. Thereafter immigration has been much more linked to fruit-picking in the higher valley of Negro river.

Since 1960 but, more especially since 1980, a detail that cannot be ignored is the **settlement of Chilean workers families in Patagonia**, mainly in peripheral districts of important cities located in the above mentioned higher valley, such as General Roca, and Cipolletti, among others. So, when those families go to fruit-picking activities in the higher valley, they embody a labor percentage that surpasses significantly all the temporary immigrants likely to come from Chile. As Benencia acknowledges (2004: 477) "Now, they form part of the local labor force" (64% of total involved).

5. Insertion types and grades, into the receiving society

Generally speaking it has been observed that "with regard to the register of Chilean citizens living in foreign countries, in Argentina the Chilean population is wider, has been settling there for a quite long time, is older, and their economic situation is quite inferior to the economic situation Chileans enjoy in other parts of the world. Paradoxically, however, the Chilean population living in Argentina are the least interested in getting back to their home land, and, apparently, evidence the highest degrees of satisfaction for their country of residence" (Burnet, 2006: 99). Anyhow, up to what grade does that satisfaction imply a successful integration into the Argentine receiving society, is a fact that should be checked out.

Both the level and the relative insertion success of Chilean citizens into the Argentine receiving society depends upon several factors, namely: a) marriage patterns (either endogenous or exogenous patterns), b) education levels, c) having either a urban or a rural background, d) work-related insertion, e) either manifest or latent motives for migration, f) links immigrants had with some acquaintances when they arrived in Argentina, g) basic needs satisfaction level, h) access to health insurance and retirement (Burnett, 2006: 99).

In that sense, *the family type migration patterns* existing among this class of immigrants have also to be classified –namely: who is the first one who migrates?

a) A married man, more or less 35 years of age, with many children. He is the first one to migrate, looking for a job. Then, he will bring his wife together with the younger children and, finally, he will call the older children to Argentina.

b) A young couple, with, in general, a small child. Thereafter, once they are settled in Argentina, they will have more children.

c) Two or more young people (in general they have some degree of kinship (they are brothers, etc.). They migrate with or

without their couple. (cf. Benencia, 2004: 442).

6. Migratory networks and chains

Of course, relationships established among immigrants and local people are of great importance –and, particularly, relationships set up with other Chilean citizens. Considering the socioeconomic and psycho-sociocultural conditions extant in the native area has always been customary, however it is also necessary. Now, such aspects have also to be considered as regards the arrival or reception area. Reason for which, taking into account the social networks ruling the "migratory chains" is also indispensable a task so that the migratory phenomenon is better understood within its actual, current, and prospective dimensions.

This phenomenon also causes that "…once the immigrant wave is settled, attaining a certain density, a feedback phenomenon occurs, favored by the existence of social networks fostering migration through the dissemination of data and contacts that reduce the economic and emotional cost of migration significantly" (Benencia, 2004: 437).

If we analyze the main Argentine sectors or regions wherein the higher nuclei of Chilean immigrants are settled, we observe the following percentages, dealing with 18-year old or more Chilean immigrants who acknowledge that, when they arrived in Argentina, **they were aware of the existence of known compatriots**: in the Patagonian city of Río Gallegos: 64 %; in the Patagonian city of Neuquen: 63 %; in the higher valley of Negro river: 59,8 %; in towns located into the Greater Buenos Aires: 53 %; in the capital city of Buenos Aires: 45 %; in towns located into the Greater Mendoza: 36,5 %.

Burnet (2006: 109) is quite right when he says that, "as far as Río Gallegos, Neuquen and the higher valley of Negro river are concerned, it is supposed that [previous links with compatriots living in Argentina] are stronger in more rural communities and

smaller urban communities wherein the primary relationships are stronger". In other words, these are more *Gemeinshaft*-type communities, instead of what happens with Chilean immigrants who, when in Chile, lived in cities where predominated more *Gesellschaft*-type impersonal relationships, wherein information dissemination did not depend on a "common knowledge" relationship: instead, in large cities, dissemination is both swifter however more depersonalized through more formal communication systems –in this case, these are the immigrants who prefer settling themselves in other important urban centers such as the city of Buenos Aires, and the city of Mendoza.

These aspects imply both the consideration and analysis of the preservation of links and pre-existing social networks (by means of phone calls, letters, etc.), mainly when they had taken place in the same city / town / village of origin. This occurs at the same time than social relationships that immigrant have set up with their known compatriots who lived already there when the migrants arrived in Argentina (It does not matter whether the said compatriots were family or not).

In Patagonian towns, the number of Chilean citizens who – before they migrated, had known compatriots already living in Argentina, doubles the number of immigrants who lacked such a contact. Again, this means that the need for increasing more solid networks is always present –and most probably, this feature is due to the rigors of both Patagonian climate and landscape.

What do the existence and support of the belonging social networks tell us? That the Chilean immigrant is not considering to settle definitively –at least, at the beginning of the migratory project. Keeping alive the links with family members and neighbors from their original, local community is a fact that feedbacks their radical belonging –thus the idea to request their ID and settling definitively in the receiving country becomes dysfunctional because, as Benencia (2004:437) observes accurately: "Almost always, settling is lived as a violent fact, from a personal

standpoint inasmuch as it supposed a symbolical rupture with one's roots, with one's fatherland". To which we would like to add a subtle but nonetheless present fact –namely, what do Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego mean as geographical spaces? They exist under the burden, so to speak, of a peculiar symbology: they embody the Patagonian desert; they are "the ends of the earth", "the land of the end of world". An area wherein both political and territorial limits are blurred due to the strong presence of a social and cultural imagination making easier both the symbolic (and actual) appropriation of a geographical area what "goes" beyond national States. Once more, the limit has to be visualized as a psychological and cultural phenomenon much more than, or instead than a geographical and political phenomenon.

An indicator of the higher or lesser grade of integration to the immigration place is the **adoption of other nationality**: So, while only 13.2% of Chilean residents in Argentina have adopted the Argentine nationality, 32.2% of Chilean living elsewhere worldwide has adopted the nationality of the country they are living now. This low tendency to change their nationality has also been observed among Chilean citizens living in other Latin American countries. Most probably, this attitude could be due to the fact that not only in countries distant from Chile or pertaining to other continents, adopting other nationality constitutes a strong adaptative strategy a migrant has to deal with –when this is not an obligation stated by the receiving country.

Social capital, resilience, and grade of associativity among Chilean immigrants

Burnett (2006:126) is right when he says that: "One of the factors contributing to migrants' resilience is their level of associativity. This, in principle, allows a migrant to resort to the accumulated experience of the collectivity he pertains to, in order to favoring his own incorporation within the receiving society.

Associativity allows reducing uncertainty, assuming the circumstances he has to live through, optimizing a valid and efficacious decision making, as well as reducing risk factors. Associativity also allows resorting to a contact network, and constructing a base from which this person is apt at projecting his influence within the receiving society.

Verifying that the more important residential urban centers are in Argentina, the lesser participation grade occurs in social organizations. So, "Chilean citizens living in the higher valley of Negro river, and the Province of Neuquen offer the highest associativity grade: approximately half of families one of whose member was born in Chile participate actively with organizations pertaining to the civil society [53.2% and 50.1%, respectively]. Thereafter, percentages are as follows: the city of Río Gallegos (32.9%), the Greater Buenos Aires (31.8%), the Greater Mendoza (28.3%) and the city of Buenos Aires (27. 4%)" (Burnett, 126). As Burnet points out to, among other factors, those percentages are correlated, or not, to the fact that families either counted on known compatriots when they come to Argentina, or not.

This is why, among Chilean immigrants residing in Patagonia, the following ranges are observed: a higher range of associativity, a greater number of immigrants who had a known compatriot there when the come to Argentina –and, also, theirs are much more endogamic relationships (cf Burnett, 126). In Burnett's opinion the development of the associative capacity among Chilean citizens living in Patagonia reflects also the socioeconomic level of migrants involved: "It is quite possible that Southern Argentina localities count on the most homogeneous Chilean populations found in places under survey. Basis thereof is likely to lie on a greater identify for the development of social organizations: a strong link with towns/villages the origin of which had been of a rural type (i.e. a common history is shared), and, in social terms of a more popular aspect, they share common vulnerability factors such as a relatively lower education level, and a low ranking as

regards labor capacity. Finally, in Southern […] localities conjugal relationships are of a higher endogenous character than relationships observed in towns / villages from the central area of Argentina" (2006: 126).

The participation of Chilean citizens residing in Argentina is observed in different types of organizations. It should be noted that their higher participation occurs in *religious organizations* (80.2% in the higher valley of Negro river; approximately two thirds in the remaining Patagonian localities; a percentage lowering down to 52.1% in the city of Buenos Aires).

Thereafter, in percentage, we have: a) a participation in either recreational / sport, cultural organizations (43. 2% in the city of Buenos Aires while, in Patagonian areas, percentages oscillate between 32 and 22%); b) a participation in *neighborhood organizations* (approximately 16% in areas pertaining to either small or more extensive urban zones). Percentages get reduced to fewer than 10% in Patagonian localities.

Burnett (2006: 127) points out that the participation in *political organizations* occurs only in 10% of families having at least one member devoted to some class of associative participation –with the sole exception of the Patagonian city of Río Gallegos, wherein almost 25% of families have at least one member who was born in Chile, and now participates in either political or social organizations. Only in 7% of families wherein one member participates associatively, such participation occurs in *compatriot organizations*. This means that, on the one hand, adaptative strategies are oriented to the labor/economic activity and, on the other hand, both endogamic relationships / relationships with compatriots residing in Argentina comply with both manifest and latent functions so that participating in this type of organizations endowed with a "national" characteristic is not considered as being so fundamental.

7. (In) Conclusion

We are also to conclude, or (in) conclude with some questions. All that within the apparently opposite tendencies to *globalization* and *differentiation*, as Crespi (1996:17) states when dealing with the "the specificity of the different signifié realms and the growing autonomy of inner relationships dynamics within family structures, economic relationships, judicial and political relationships, and so on…" The ways Habermas (1988) has to set out his case, could also be somewhat considered, in terms of a separation between the *social system* level (strongly hit on account of the impact caused by the rationalization process in highly industrialized societies) and *the world of life*. This "world" existing at the daily experience level in such a way that Crespi (1996: 21) commits himself to a new reflection (and valuation) on the concept of existence apt at allowing integration, solidarity, and social justice values to be recovered.

As far as immigration policies are concerned, Argentina works as a new bifrontal Janus: on the one hand Argentina constitutes the receiving nucleus of the Latin America Southern Cone migratory subsystem. On the other hand, Argentina keeps being (since mid-20th century) the ejector of Argentineans who migrate to either Europe or the United States, basically.

The current immigration of native people from neighboring countries is a multidimensional phenomenon both bounded and conditioned by the expansion of international trade, the exchange and circulation of goods, services, and technology as well as labor –a phenomenon also conditioned by the sub regional integration processes (such as MERCOSUR in the Latin America Southern Cone –MERCOSUR is an economic community comprising Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay). Consensus among countries involved is needed when it comes to designing immigration policies –the only way to protect the right to circulating, migrants' human rights, and the legitimity of the

existential projects dealt with by "the other one". There exists a need to analyzing and working on the *expulsion factors* in force in the migrant's country, so that, *ex post facto*, pre-existing social and economic problems are discovered, that, indeed, existed *ex ante* any individual started elaborating his/her migratory project.

The counterpoint between an ejector country and a receptor country could be, at the same time, cruel and/or full of benefits to be dilucidated insofar as parties involved to not acknowledging their mutual need (and dependence).

Because –in this as in many other cases, not every opinion is no longer hypocritical (mainly from the dominating culture standpoint), and hypocrisy could keep being a way to considering facts.

This is a complex phenomenon: migration proper, citizenship, civil and political rights, social rights –that is, human rights hence the migratory problem becomes *a total phenomenon* on its own right.

As Sassen (2003: 62) states: "Inasmuch as many processes are of a transnational nature, governments are no longer competent to deal with some important questions either unilaterally or (from the confines of the interstate system) closely defined. This does not mean the end of State sovereignties, but the 'exclusivity and reach of their competence' has changed […] inasmuch as there exists a narrow range within which the authority and legitimity of the State keep being operative".

We are facing a *topology* of the "crossing borders process" –in this case as in many others, either in Latin America or worldwide: a travel to the nearest place, a discovery of what was already known, a crossing to the place we had already abandoned, a feeling of anxiety over what we had already been suffering from, a hope about what we had already thought of, a total risk into an intimate safety, menaces confirming convictions, biographies endowed with ancient resonances.

A dialectic based on the here and there, the inside and the outside, acting as a pavement over all the crossing roads, and every

border space –a fact that, precisely, moves Serres (1995: 61) to ask us as well as himself, permanently, in search for the true question: "The spirit that/who is there, the being that/who is there is nowhere to be seen, however at times it/he reveals itself/himself to somebody who is not from there. Or, is this possible that the being that/who has just arrived from out there [*hors-là*] appears visibly to the deeply rooted? How can we understand the relationships between the spirit of the place –but, is it a matter of what or who? And the spirit from another place or either the spirit or the place< All this summed up to a radical disorientation implied within the post-modern space wherein –as says Castro Nogueira (1997: 392): "you are never, necessarily, were you are, and you do not fail to be wherein you are not".

In that sense, Lash and Urry (1998: 430) insist that what is peculiar in this new, contemporary construction of the place is "how important is image, and, especially an (aesthetic) reflexivity of the place, the impact of global waves and, mainly the impact of information, games, and willing visitors who invite you to rebuild places at an increasing speed; and the relative weakness of the national States (and the national classes) when facing those waves and effects thereof on the extraordinary re-capture the expression of the place". This is all the more feedback due to the fact that Patagonia is also a mythical territory, it is a metaphor of the ends of the earth, it a Southern circumpolar quality, it is an unlimited space breaking pre-imposed limits –maybe a place inherited from the indigenous imagination.

An itinerary, a crossroad, a rotation point, a conflict: all this is a border space, a real and symbolic topic of *globality*. A place wherein boats are burnt but with the idea of reconstructing them. A place wherein you sink as a way to float to the surface. And, in the case we are dealing with, a way to inhabit, and possess the "land of the ends of the world", existentially speaking.

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The Aleuts and the Pacific Eskimo in the colonial economy of Russian Alaska in the mid 19th century

Marcus Lepola
(Åbo Akademi University, Turuk, Finland)

Abstract

Native labor practices are an important dimension of colonialism. By the mid 19th century the Russian American Company had implemented forced labor practices on the "Aleut" population for a long time and also effectively restricted and forced native mobility along the Alaskan, and even along the Californian coastline. There seems to be a shift in labor practices and some tendency to diversification of labor among the native population from 1819 onward to the end of the Russian era in Alaska in 1867. In this paper I will attempt to look more closely on labor mobility and economic practices among the colonized natives and reflect on the general impact the colonial economic structures had on the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo societies. I also attempt to assert that there is a difference in how the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo participated Russian colonial economy. Sitka as a permanent residential of native workers is also discussed in this paper.

Keywords: Aleut, Pacific Eskimo, Russian Alaska, kaiur, baidarka, Sitka, colonialism, colonial economy, fur hunting, RAC.

Introduction

The Russian Empire had a foothold on the North American continent for almost a century and included mainland Alaska, the

Aleutian, Pribilof and Commander and Kurile Islands, temporary settlement in California and Hawaii, and eventually even Sakhalin. To most Russians Alaska was even more remote than Siberia but due to its distant location Russia was for almost half a century a powerful rival of Great Britain, Spain and the United States for the control of the abundant resources of the Northwest Coast. The Russian colonies required people of every profession and trade, and so attracted people from across the large empire, especially from the areas with strong seafaring traditions such as the Baltic provinces and Finland.

The Russian occupancy of Alaska evolved from the extensive process of eastward expansion that had been launched by Muscovy in the mid-sixteenth century. Furs and week native resistance in the Siberian tundra fueled the expansion and by 1639 Russian Cossacks and *promyshlenniki* (fur hunters) reached the Pacific. (Gibson 1976:3-6)

The explorations of the Danish-born mariner Vitus Bering triggered a phase of rapid expansion to Alaska when his second expedition to the North Pacific returned with valuable sea otter furs to Petropavlovsk. This expansion across the Pacific was spearheaded by the promyshlenniki who were allowed to conduct their businesses in Alaska without official governing. This resulted in ruthless and brutal treatment of the indigenous populations of Alaska, and the passive inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands suffered the most in the hands of the Russian furriers. (Ibid)

This first violent phase of Russian occupation (1743-1797) bench-marked the future relationship between the Russian masters and their Aleut subjects. The Aleuts were skilled in handling the kayak and harpoon, and the Russians needed such expertise in order to pursue the maritime fur trade. So the Aleuts were ruthlessly exploited. Half of the males between the ages of eighteen and fifty were forced to hunt under the supervision of Russian foremen while relatives were held hostage. Such

exploitation halved the Aleut population between the middle and the end of the eighteenth century. (Ibid:7-8)

The first phase of Russian occupation was followed by three other phases. The Second being the Baranov phase 1799-1819, saw the emergence of the Russian American Company (RAC) and was characterized by southward expansion – as far as California and Hawaii – in the face of stronger native opposition and growing foreign competition. New Archangel or Sitka became the new colonial capital, succeeding St. Paul's Harbor on Kodiak (Ibid:9-23).

The third or halcyon phase 1819-39 was characterized by corporate reorganization, a reorientation of settlement northward and inland, less active native hostility, and more regulated foreign company. Subordinate and conservative colonial administration prevailed over the independent management by hard-boiled veterans (Ibid).

The last phase or the waning phase 1840-1867 was one of readjustment, contraction, diversification and deterioration. The company charter was renewed in 1841 for another twenty years. The company became more of a government institution controlled by bureaucrats and officers and even less of a commercial enterprise managed by merchants (Ibid).

This paper focuses on the role of the "Aleut" population in the colonial economy of Russian Alaska from 1819 onward during the third and fourth phases of Russian rule in Alaska. Native labor practices are an important dimension of colonialism. By the mid 19th century the Russian American Company had implemented forced labor practices on the "Aleut" population for a long time and also effectively restricted and forced native mobility along the Alaskan, and even along the Californian coastline. There seems to be a shift in labor practices and some tendency to diversification of labor among the native population from 1819 onward to the end of the Russian era in Alaska in1867. In this paper I will attempt to look more closely on labor mobility and economic practices among the colonized natives and reflect on the general impact the

colonial economic structures had on the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo societies.

It is of special interest to compare native labor practices in the colonial capital of Sitka against the social landscape of Aleut and Pacific Eskimo culture. I also attempt to assert that there is a difference in how the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo participated Russian colonial economy. Sitka as a permanent residential place of a growing working class of "Aleuts" is also taken in to account in this study.

The Aleut and the Pacific Eskimo

The Russian term "Aleut" was a general term used for both the native population of the Aleutian Islands and their neighbors to the east, the Pacific Eskimo. The first group, the Aleuts or the Unangan as they are also called, traditionally inhabited the islands of the Aleutian archipelago, the western tip of the mainland peninsula and the Shumagin Islands (Lantis 1984:163).

The Pacific Eskimo, now termed as Alutiiq or Sugpiaq, ranged to the east of the Aleuts, along the whole coast from Kupreanof Point to Cooks inlet and Kodiak Island. The Pacific Eskimo consisted of a series of Eskimo groups; the populous Koniag inhabited Kodiak Island, The Chugach occupied Prince William Sound east to Cordova. (Clark 1984:185)

Contact between these groups in pre-Russian times was often aggressive. Inter-tribal warfare was commonplace among both groups and violence reached a critical point just before the Russian intrusion (Pierce 1978:51,123)[i]. The Aleut and the Pacific Eskimo resembled their Indian neighbors more than their Eskimo cousins, especially in the size and organization of the war parties and in taking high status prisoners to serve as hostages or slaves. Mistreatment of prisoners was common. Captives of war are considered a key source for cultural diffusion between these groups in pre-Russian times (Lantis 1984:177).

Both groups can be described as maritime as their settlements were along the fringes of the coast. Both groups also employed the kayak, known by the Russian designation *baidarka*, and they also developed a two-hatched version used especially in the sea otter hunt. Whales were pursued from kayaks, using poisoned spears. (Lantis 1984:175, Clark 1984:187)

Even if the vessels used by both Pacific Eskimo and Aleuts were all commonly referred to as *baidarkas*, one has to consider that these vessels are very different both in design and use. The Aleut baidarka is a more slender version of the wide and bulkier Pacific Eskimo model used by the Kodiak and the Chugach. The Kodiak paddlers used single bladed paddles almost exclusively and they also paddled mostly in a kneeling position, placing grasses under their knees. By comparison the Aleut sat with their legs straight in front of them and used a double bladed paddle (Zimmerly 2000:15-36). The RAC preferred to use the Pacific Eskimo model to the Aleut kayak as it was more versatile.

Most food came from the sea: whales, sea lions, fur seals, sea otters, occasional walruses. The fish were salmon, halibut, codfish, flounder, herring, sculpin; of invertebrates, chiefly sea urchins but clams, limpets, and mussels were also eaten. Birds eaten were duck and geese, occasionally cormorants and others (Lantis 1984:174-75). Land mammals were also caught, especially by the Pacific Eskimo (Clark 1984:189).

The typical Aleut house, a semi-subterranean house made of driftwood called a *barabara*, was large, containing several nuclear families, most of them related through males. A village might well be composed of kindred. The Aleut settlements were smaller and more scattered than those of the Pacific Eskimo. Sororate and levirate marriage-practices existed among both groups as well as polygamy. (Lantis 1984:176, Clark 1984:192)

Economic activities followed a natural cycle that formed a calendar for other aspects of life (Clark 1984:190). Work was gender specific, the men hunted and fished mainly from their

baidarkas and the women gathered food sources in the vicinity of the dwellings. Women cured skins and sew clothing for the men (Pierce 1978:140). Women also participated in the manufacture of the baidarkas by sewing the skins on the frames. For a single hatch Pacific Eskimo baidarka six large seal skins were necessary (Birket-Smith 1953:47).

As whole the Aleut and the Pacific Eskimo cultures resembled each other both in economic, material, social and ceremonial aspects.

The Aleut and the Pacific Eskimo did not submit themselves to Russian exploitation without struggle. As the first waves of promyslenniki hit the Alaskan panhandle they forcefully made the Aleuts and the Pacific Eskimo hunt for them. Methods of torture and random killings were also used to intimidate the Aleuts in to submission. The Aleuts and the Pacific Eskimo joined forces in 1761 in an attempt to rid themselves of the Russians and managed to hold their ground for some time until the resistance was brutally ended by the merchant Ivan Solovief in 1766 who armed a large force of promyslenniki and wrecked havoc on all the islands they encountered, brutally ending the uprising (Gibson 1980: 168-70).

The 18th century can be considered as a very violent period for the Aleuts and the Pacific Eskimo. The brutality resonated in to the 19th century under the harsh rule of governor Baranov. Accidents that affected the hunting fleets between 1798 and 1800 resulted in the deaths of over two hundred men, a huge loss for the Pacific Eskimo. The Pacific Eskimo were worn down by the arduous tasks given by the company; men were constantly hunting sea otters or gathering eggs and women constantly busy picking berries or sewing clothing, such as the *kamleikas* (spray shirts made of seal gut used by kayakers), the latter given as payment to others. (Pierce 1978:58,137,147)

Men as well as women were made to work for the company. The women had to dig sarana (yellow lily harvested for food), and pick berries in the amounts order by the Russian foremen. Those

not able to fit the quota had to buy the missing amount from others and present it to the company. The amount of labor forced on the Aleuts and Pacific Eskimo was inhumane and upheld by treats of violence and force (Ibid:140).

The natives were forced in to a closed economic system in which they were given the worst end of the deal. The Russians were in control of all materials and goods produced by the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo populations and used this system shamelessly for their own economic gain. This cruel system of exploitation did however not survive long in to the 19th century.

Early census data from 1815 and 1817 shows a total figure of 8367 Pacific Eskimo and Aleuts living scattered along the Alaskan coast, the males numbering 3960. Children are apparently not included in this census report. The exact ethnicity of the "Aleuts" is difficult to establish due to the fact that the census data is location specific. In addition the Aleut Islands and the Northern Islands (Pribilof) were a subdivision of the Kodiak department. This data suggests an Aleut population of 2239 people in comparison to a much larger Pacific Eskimo population of 6128. The largest concentration being on the island of Kodiak a total of 3252 Pacific Eskimo (Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:16). Native women also intermarried with Russian colonials and their offspring became the creoles (children of mixed decent) of Russian Alaska.

A series of epidemics continued to ravage Aleut and Pacific Eskimo populations in the early part of the century, the worst epidemic being the small pox scourge of 1835-1838 which led to a 25 percent fatality rate among the natives. The "Aleut" population dropped from 7000 to 4000 in just few years time. This fact in combination with the constant shortage of European workers at the colony led to a growing demand for native workforce and natives and creoles received education locally. (Gibson 1976:46-7)

Illustration of men's and women's dress, Aleutian Islands, ca. 1820 from Choris,
Louis. *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde*, ch. 7, pl. 9.
Paris, Impr. de Firmin Didot, 1822.

The Aleut and Pacific Eskimo as laborers in the colonial economy

The backbone of the Russian colonial economy was the lucrative trade in sea otter furs. The main goal of the RAC was to make profit, and as previously mentioned the sea otter skins were the most profitable. As the RAC became more organized the company became more focused on administrative control of available resources and distribution within the Alaskan area. The hunting fleets are a key part of this colonial distribution system as the these wide scale operations required a developed colonial labor

system in which the Pacific Eskimo and Aleut societies had to be involved as whole.

Hundreds of Pacific Eskimo as well as some Aleut men annually partook in the extensive hunting-expeditions organized by the company. Feeding the population was also an ongoing issue and all economic exploits involving the colonial natives had to be seasonally adjusted so that partaking hunters were able to return home in time to catch salmon for their families. For this reason the season only lasted for the summer, from May to August. The salmon runs, an important food resource, start in June and last until September. If there was a shortage of fish the RAC had to supply the Aleut and the Pacific Eskimo populations with expensive imported food. (Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:53-55)

The hunts organized by the company were fairly large undertakings, usually two ships were required to transport the parties to the hunting grounds, between 1818 and 1825, 55-100 baidarkas took part in the hunts. The southwestern coast of Alaska was prime hunting grounds for the fleet. The Aleutian Islands were not included in these large scale hunts. (Pierce 1978:56).

The large hunting fleets were divided in to village parties consisting of five to ten baidarkas, who hunted in designated areas (Ibid:138). As a sea otter was spotted it was surrounded and the party dispatched harpoons at it. As it got wounded by one or several harpoons it had to surface more often until finally overcome by its wounds. Sea otters were caught by the hundreds during the early 19th century but the stock gradually diminished. For instance the RAC records show that 109 large otters were taken in 1820 and only 51 skins in 1829. (Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:35,140)[ii]

Single Aleut hunting parties of 10-14 men and 5-7 baidarkas were transported east as far as Kamchatka with company ships in the spring to hunt on uninhabited islands until autumn. The only rations they were left with besides their hunting gear of arrows and

spears was some tea and sugar. Prevailing weather conditions sometimes made it difficult to retrieve these parties and one group of 12 Atka Aleuts had been left stranded on the Island of Buldyr for three years. (Sahlberg 2007:246)

The fleets were supervised and led by Russian hunters, the *baidarshchiks*. The village toion was responsible for gathering and distributing provisions for the village party. Hunters could draw necessary supplies on account when being sent out. The supplies cost from 10 to 30 rubles per baidarka. The amount was deducted from the profit of the hunt. Many hunters chose not to buy supplies for the hunt in order to receive full payment. The payment for furs varied from year to year but as a rule the contracted hunters received no less than a fifth of the amount that promyshlenniks received. A large sea otter pelt was worth 10 rubles to the native hunters. In addition to this each two-man baidarka received 6 lavtaks, 2 whale gut kamleikas, 7 pounds of whale whiskers for tying and whale sinew for sewing as well as some whale-oil for water-proofing. (Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:51, 52)

The Pacific Eskimo living or dwelling on the mainland of Katmai peninsula supplemented the colonial winter diet with mountain sheep which they hunted from November to May. At Sitka halibut and cod fishing provided additional work opportunities for the "Aleut" living in the colony (Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:99). The surplus catch was sold for monetary compensation to the Russians.

As rule the kayaks used during the summer hunting season were the property of the company and the company was dependent on the skills of the Aleut and the Pacific Eskimo in order to maintain them in working order.

The Aleutians lived in smaller, more scattered communities compared to the more centralized Pacific Eskimo and their range was also more stretched across the islands in the Aleutian archipelago. The Aleuts posed a logistical problem for the

company since there was no way of gathering enough hunters from the islands and returning them in time from the sea otter hunts along the South Alaskan coast. In this case the company would have had to provide for both the family and the hunter during the winter. Kodiak was much more central and the population density was higher. Furthermore the sheer difference in kayak-design between the Aleut and the Pacific Eskimo posed another practical issue. As mentioned earlier the kayak models were considerably different and mixing these types would have posed many practical problems for the RAC.

Most of the hides or *lavtaks* for the baidarkas were likely secured at the breeding grounds on the Islands of St. Paul and St. George (Luehrmann 2008:86). Accounts tell of as many as 120-150 000 sea lions being killed annually on these islands. This was done by means of clubbing and Aleuts were employed for these duties by the company (Sahlberg 2007:217-218). Hides as well as fat were important raw materials for the maintenance of the large company controlled baidarka fleet.

It seems that economic and practical circumstances almost entirely excluded the Aleuts from active participation in the large hunting fleets. The Aleuts became more engulfed in harvesting the fur-seal rookeries on the Aleutian Islands (Simpson 1847:130-31).

The overall Aleut contribution to the large southern hunting fleet was the supply of raw materials for kayak construction and maintenance. The Aleut were involved in more small scale hunting expeditions closer to home, harvesting rookeries or stationed on uninhabited islands looking for occasional sea otters during the summer months. The colonial economic system introduced the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo societies to a monetary economy and a growing amount of European goods. The harvest of natural resources was overseen and controlled by the RAC and the surplus was distribution within the Alaskan colonies and settlements.

Pacific Eskimos and Aleuts as inhabitants and workers in Sitka

Peoples' identities in colonial settings were often associated with the jobs they performed, which varied from unskilled manual laborers and domestic servants to semiskilled or skilled crafts persons, artisans, agricultural specialists, and managerial staff (Lightfoot 2004:26). The town of Sitka – Novo Archangelsk in the middle of the 19th century was the economic center and the largest colony in Russian Alaska. The town consisted mostly of Russian style wooden houses. The larger streets were covered by planks, but for most part the streets were muddy and wet due to heavy rain fall. The Governor's Mansion was the most dominant building in town, even larger than the Orthodox Church. An armed stockade separated the town from the adjacent Tlingit settlement. There was a strict social hierarchy in place among all the colonists and this system was directly linked to occupational categories and salary levels of the RAC.

The European population was divided in roughly two main social categories based on rank and salaries. All Europeans were contracted employees of the company and in theory could return home when their contract was fulfilled. Even if salaries in Alaska were considered high, the cost of living was higher still since most things had to be imported. Many workers belonging to the lower social category soon found themselves deeply indebted and thus unable to pay for their voyage back home which left them stranded at the mercy of the company. Only employees that received higher salaries were able to return home. (Sahlberg 2007:211)

European and Russian RAC officials and their family members viewed their stay in Sitka as a temporary arrangement for earning money and prestige in contrast with the lower workers who became trapped in Alaska for an indefinite period of time.

The colonies were dependent on imported goods as provisions were constantly in short supply and prices soared.

Competition with the American and British traders forced the company to diversify its economy. Farming, fishing lumbering, mining and shipbuilding became more important sources for revenue as the fur trade gradually declined (Gibson 1976:37-8). There were very few European women in the colonies so intermarriages between European men and indigenous women were common. In time the female offspring of these marriages, the so called "creoles" were often married to Russian men of the lower social category. As rule the children of these marriages became part of the European colony (Lepola 2002:74).

The colony was handicapped by the small number and limited skills of the Russians. Adding to this the unsavory reputation as a god forsaken wilderness at the end of the earth also discouraged immigration (Gibson 1976:47). The neighboring Tlingit had only restricted access to the colony. There was a permanent presence of Aleuts and Pacific Eskimo in Sitka due to the constant need of labor. Free native mobility was not tolerated by the company, but it is apparent that native travel between Sitka and Kodiak was made possible (Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:104-105).

The Eskimo population in Sitka lived inside the walls of the colony, their baidarkas were needed for fishing and transportation of goods and people on a daily basis. It is very likely that the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo lived in a very close proximity to the harbor in Sitka, possibly in adjacent buildings. There is no clear indication as to segregation of the Pacific Eskimo inside the colony but Klebhnikovs reports indicate that there were three communal dwellings reserved for the "Aleuts" within the enclosure (Ibid:75,105).

As there were plentiful work-opportunities within the Russian colonial economy most Pacific Eskimo and Aleut were at least partly involved in the monetary economy. The selling of surplus catch to the Russians was most common way of earning money. The colonial situation also added a new social category to the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo societies that stabilized during the

halcyon era; the *kaiur*. The kaiur or the native worker is a problematic social category since the term was originally used for laborers levied by the company to work in the artels and harbors. According to Holmberg the first kaiurs were slaves freed from Pacific Eskimo captivity, as there was a growing need for company workers they were later recruited among natives who had "offended" the company and were thus punished with serfdom (1855: 78-9).

The salaries paid to kaiurs varied, in the early days of Baranov a male kaiur working in Sitka would only receive clothing and upkeep for his services. Later the salaries did improve and kauirs received 1 ruble a day for their services (Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:18, 51)[iii]. The kaiurs were not a totally isolated social unit. It is likely that many Aleuts and Pacific Eskimo had worked as occasional kaiurs at one time, especially the women who often gathered berries, cured hides or sew clothing or baidarka skins for the company. But there was also a group of male kaiurs who worked full time for the company, either as hired service personnel or as free workers to the colony. These full-time kaiurs were not active members of the hunting fleets that were drafted from the Pacific Eskimo and Aleut settlements. Part-time kaiurs at Sitka took part in the seasonal hunt, provided they had access to a kayak and were in condition to handle it. (Ibid:77)

In 1825 there were some 400 men working as service personnel at Sitka, 309 of these were Russian, 58 creoles, 17 Kodiak Aleuts, 13 Fox Island Aleuts and 3 Indian Aleuts. In addition to these there were 147 non-service personell working at the colony. This group of "Aleuts" included 8 Kodiak Creoles and 129 Kodiak Aleuts (Ibid 40). The native workers made up a third of the labor force at Sitka, which is a significant number and the majority of these were Pacific Eskimo from Kodiak. These kaiurs checked weirs for fish in spring, prepare frames for drying fish, chopped wood, cut hay in the summer, trapped foxes in the winter and transported supplies. Kaiurs might also be put to work

gathering pine sap, making bricks and boiling salt in addition to other task they were required to do by the company. The wives of the kaiurs were also employed in many ways, processing skins, making clothing and gathering food (Pierce 1978:136-137).

These native workers were also found among the harbor workers. Most of them were stationed at the lake redoubt (Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:40-41)[iv]. The emerging creole-class was also employed to do the same tasks at the colonial "Aleut" but as time progressed the creoles were trained by the company for specific tasks and were given more high-paying jobs. The Pacific Eskimo and the Aleut were restricted to tasks that were more closely connected to their aboriginal skills or simple manual laborers.

There were some variations in the "Aleut" workforce at Sitka over time. In 1833 the native population at Sitka was reduced to 60 males and 76 females (Gibson 1976;18). The large number of females must suggest that not all of these women were necessarily Pacific Eskimo or Aleut, it is likely that some were of other native background that were married to Russian men. The variations within different censuses make it difficult to form an exact image of the native population in Sitka although it is apparent that there was a continuous "Aleut" presence at the Sitka during the 19th century Russian era. The Pacific Eskimo continued to make up the bulk of the native labor force at Sitka towards the middle of the 19th century (Borgå Tidning no 91, 1838).

The baidarkas manufactured in Sitka were predominately or exclusively of Pacific Eskimo type. Many of these were made by specialized Pacific Eskimo craftsmen who worked in the carpentry shops at the harbor. It is likely that this led to some standardization of the kayak model as keels and framing were made in a quick fashion that resembled an assembly line (Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:77). The building of the baidarkas started in March at the central storage and materials to build the kayaks were provided for by the company. The kayak

laborers received a set monetary compensated for their work. (Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:51, Sahlberg 2007:77) Traditionally each kayak was made according to the measurements of the individual builder who also was the user, but the requirements of versatility imposed by the RAC change the design of the kayak to suit most users. Later accounts from the Chugach suggest that their baidarka design did in fact change as result of Russian demands (Birket-Smith 1953:45).

Aleut and Pacific Eskimo women in Sitka were usually married to two or three husbands. This type of polygamy was known among the Russians as *polovinshchiki* or half-timers. The men were compelled to leave their wives for several months at a time hunting sea-otters along the southern coast of Alaska and Northern California. (Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:104-5, 111)[v]

The hunters that were residents of Sitka were often assigned to catch and transport fish from the lake redoubt close to Sitka in the winter. They might instead of money receive payment in lavtaks. These they used to make their own baidarkas for use in the fall and winter for their own needs. (Ibid 1976:51)

The Pacific Eskimo or Aleut temporarily stationed at the Russian Fort Ross in California intermarried with California natives. These "Indian" spouses also learned how to make Aleut handcrafts such as whale gut kamleikas. Some male native Californians also found their way in to company service in Sitka (Lightfoot 2004:137). It is also probable that some of the native spouses also followed their husbands to the north and became integrated in to the Aleut or the Pacific Eskimo population.

Life in Sitka brought some challenges to the Pacific Eskimo living at the colony, but apparently there were benefits in living in an urban environment. The single biggest risk at Sitka were the Tlingit who apparently still considered the Pacific Eskimo as enemies which actively restricted the mobility of individual Pacific

Eskimo outside the colony as they were at risk of being attacked (Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:101).

A skilled kaiur could get 15 rubles for building a three-man baidarka, by comparison the average pay for a hired Russian carpenter was 400 rubles a year. Repair-work on a baidarka was worth 5-10 rubles (Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:51,80). The kaiurs received less pay than Russians for their work, on the other hand the kaiur was able to at least in part sustain himself by hunting and gathering, this was not an option for the Russian worker who had to buy all goods at high prices.

The kaiur occupation was different from traditional male occupations of the Pacific Eskimo and the Aleuts. A kaiur did not necessarily need to own his own baidarka, let alone hunt for his upkeep. Pacific Eskimo considered the baidarka and good hunting abilities as important male characteristics and a kaiur without a baidarka was ridiculed. The self image of a Pacific Eskimo male depended on being a hunter which was synonymous with owning a baidarka. One of the worst things to say to a Pacific Eskimo man was; - your father is no hunter, he has no baidarka (Zimmerly 2000:35).

The RAC had mixed views of the necessity of having kaiurs working for the company. Klebhnikov stated that the surroundings in Sitka were not suitable for the "Aleuts" and that they way of life in Sitka demanded twice as much as if they were living in their own environment. His statement probably refers to the fact that the Pacific Eskimo living in Sitka could not sustain themselves by traditional means only but also had to pay for provisions and clothes. He also concludes that alcoholism and venereal disease among the Pacific Eskimo was widespread. (Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:105)

The traditional parkas and kamleikas of the "urbanized" Pacific Eskimo were replaced by expensive clothing made of good frieze or fine wool. The women favored printed cotton dresses.

Klebhnikov perceived this type of luxury harmful both for them as for the colony. The Pacific Eskimo working as kaiurs in Sitka enjoyed better economic benefits than their relatives back home, however the new way of life also cast a darker shadow. Alcoholism was a problem since the Pacific Eskimo were able to get alcohol through trade with foreign vessels, in addition venereal diseases were wide spread among the Pacific Eskimo resulting in infertility and a low birth rate. The Pacific Eskimo children raised in the colonial capital were also alien to the traditional lifestyle of their parents and had to fit in to the European colony (Ibid:105). The company took early steps in order to educate the children in basic skills so they could productive members of the European community (Borgå Tidning no 91 1838). It seems that the native children born in Sitka were effectively "creolized" by the company due to their inability to fit back in to the traditional society of their parents.

The kaiury cease to exist as the RAC withdrew from Alaska in 1867. The role of the kaiurs as a colonial phenomenon is therefore hard to come to terms with. Kaiurs are generally considered as workers enslaved through economic means that in theory were enslaved for life unless they were bought out or replaced by their families (Luehrmann 2008:71-72, 178). The term has not previously been extended to comprise the native colonial workforce of the 19th century even if the term was in common use even after the 1821 charter abolished the status of serfdom for the kaiurs. There was considerable development in RAC policy towards the native workers, especially during and after the halcyon era and that there was a positive shift in the status and salaries of the kaiurs. Considering the colonial situation as whole and the situation of the kaiurs was not that much worse than that of the Russian worker living in the colony. Many of the kaiurs of the mid 19th century Alaska seem to have chosen that road, at least according to the observations of Klebhnikov who stated that the free "Aleuts" living in Sitka could travel home to Kodiak to visit

relatives at their own leisure (Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:105). This image is far from the cold and cruel reality of the Baranov phase of Russian Colonial Alaska.

The fact is that the Russians had included the Aleut and the Pacific Eskimo in a colonial system that was rooted in the feudal mindset of the time. As mentioned earlier, lower social classes such as Russian laborers were also forced to work for the company in economic servitude dependent on credit and unable to return home at their will (Lepola 2002:80-83).

In the rigid colonial hierarchy at Sitka the Pacific Eskimo and the Aleut belonged to the lowest social category. The Russian colonial hierarchy was directly connected the occupation of the colonist. As native work opportunities were restricted to unskilled laborers or part-time work they were unable attain a higher status. The emerging class of creoles was quick to fill many of the lower category positions available within the RAC and the Aleut and the Pacific Eskimo were in time successfully out-maneuvered in the colonial labor market by their Europeanized relatives. The "Aleut" population at Sitka was in a steady decline during the 19th century, the growing number of creoles and the decrease in the sea otter population were at least in part the cause for this change. Epidemics that ravage the area between 1837 and 1839 seem to have had an considerable impact on the Sitka "Aleuts" In 1860 the creole population in Sitka had risen to 505, 249 males and 256 women. The European colonists numbered 452, figures of the Aleut population at Sitka during this time is unknown (Enckell 1980:2, 27).

The effects of Russian colonial economy on Pacific Eskimo and Aleut societies

The Pacific Eskimo culture adjusted to Russian rule during the early decades of the 19th century. The impact of acculturation was at this time limited to the gradual replacement of old beliefs by

Orthodox doctrine and a growing dependency on company goods. The company did however try to limit and even discourage Aleut and Pacific Eskimo dependency on imported goods as food was scarce in the colonies (Gibson 1976:51).

The Russians were keen to keep the Aleut and the Pacific Eskimo in a semi-traditional life, even if this conflicted with the notion of the native communities receiving payment for their services. There were good reasons for why the RAC chose a more conservative approach towards them. For one there was the practical issue of supplying the population with imported grain and goods. The abilities of the Aleut and the Pacific Eskimo to sustain themselves from the land and even to contribute to the food economy of colonial Alaska was not only highly appreciated as it was in fact the backbone of the whole colonial economy and the eventual decline of the fur trade also brought an end to the Russian colonies in North America.

The Aleut and the Pacific Eskimo formed an effective hunting and fishing machinery for the company. The hunting fleet was in need of constant maintenance and the Aleuts and Pacific Eskimo were assigned to these duties by the company.

The company had a paternalistic view of the Pacific Eskimo and the Aleuts, the Finnish governor Etholén was very outspoken of his perceptions of the "Aleuts" in his letter of protest to the planned re-organization of the colonies in 1863. He considered the Aleut, by whom he also included the Pacific Eskimo, as children, irresponsible by nature and unable to manage without the guiding hand of authority. His opinions echo that of his predecessor, Baranov. They were to be protected from unnecessary commodities, from alcohol that free immigration would bring, and from the right to freely choose their own place of abode. The regulations that Etholén drew up for the village elders of Kodiak in 1841 required them to see that there were sufficient food stores for the winter, not to put out to sea in harsh weather, not to eat

rotten whale meat and frequently washing themselves in the sauna (Varjola 1990:24).

The integration of Aleut and Pacific Eskimo societies in the Russian Colonial economy had started with Baranov and elaborated further by Chief Manager Muraviev in his directives to the offices of the company in 1822-23. It was declared that the Company must maintain the inhabitants of the islands (Pacific Eskimos as well as Aleuts) in their present way of life and keep a census of the population. The islanders were considered subjects of Russia. Males between ages 18 and 50 were obligated to assist the Company in catching sea animals. Half of the male population was used for hunting on an annual basis and informed of this in the month of January. It was also stated that those selected should preferably be from a family with more than one male member so that there was a provider available for the remaining family. Islanders should be governed by their own native toions, under the supervision of elders whom were recruited from Russian service personnel. These were to settle quarrels and dissatisfactions. Disagreements between the toion and the islanders should be resolved by the administrator of the office. The toions were empowered to select which hunters were to partake in the annual hunts. (Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:40,50)

The Elders seem closely connected to the Orthodox Church as they are often found in the same category with priests and cantors in official censuses. Holmberg states that on Kodiak in the 1850's there was a division in to ordinary and hereditary chiefs and that the company toions were elected from the latter group (1855:78).

Before Russian times an Aleut of Pacific Eskimo "chief" was the head of a village composed of kin, if there were more than one extended family in a village the leader was the one from the strongest. Wealth was important but distribution of food was also important, a successful hunter would give food to others on three principles: obligation to relatives or partners, payment for loan of

supplies and generosity towards less fortunate (Lantis 1984:176-77, Clark 1984:193).

The imposed toion-institution further empowered single chiefs and centralized power on a village level. The new system also channeled wealth to some toions as a few strong leaders were able to manipulate the colonial economic-system for their own gain. The toion Deduchin on the Island of Amlia of the Aleutian Islands was described as a caring leader of 350 Aleuts and considered a wealthy man. He was described as presenting himself always clothed in a bird-skin parka with a sea otter-fur liner. He received all the goods his subjects collected, but in turn he had to cloth and feed them (Sahlberg 2007:247). The use of sea-otter for native clothing was banned by the RAC regulations so the fact that Deduchin was able to wear such clothing in public is proof of his powerful position.

The economic reward-system used by the company must have contributed to the development of a more rigid hierarchy within Pacific Eskimo as well as Aleut cultures. Every hunter was paid according to the amount of skins they caught. The number of sea-otters caught by each baidarka varied, experienced hunters sometimes took as many as 10-13, less lucky or less experienced hunters got only one, sometimes none (Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:56). Successful hunters were able to make considerable earnings during one hunt and this must have had an impact on the perception of hunting as a high status occupation among the Aleuts and Pacific Eskimo.

As the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo society adjusted to the life of colonial Russia so did the native women. A man needed his wife just as much during the colonial era as in pre-contact times. He needed her to mend his kayak, fix his clothing, cure hides and collect food for the family. The company made sure that even unmarried women were put to work as *kauirkas*, preparing *iukola* (fish oil), digging sarana or fern roots, pulling reeds for nets and containers, harvest berries, melt whale fat, preparing and sewing

bird skins for parkas and seal gut for kamleikas (Pierce 1978:137). Native married women in Sitka where able to earn given new work opportunities during the summer months as fish-cleaners as they had did not have to care for their husbands needs. Surprisingly there was only little change in the marriage-practices of the Pacific Eskimo and the Aleut. It was common for two men to share a single wife. Traditionally only the most hard-working woman was allowed such privileges since this also meant that the wife had to attend to the needs of two husbands, sewing of clothing and curing the catches of both husbands.

It is interesting to note that the Orthodox Church allowed polygamy, even in the colonial capital. Reasons of practicality seem to have influenced this decision. Women were scarce in Sitka, free "Aleuts" living in the colony were often away from their families so it was common for a women to have two husbands. Curing skins and materials for clothing was very arduous and time consuming, but as it become more usual to buy cloth more time was available for other tasks.

Finnish as well as Russian museum collections are teeming of beautiful artifacts from Alaska dating back to the Russian colonial times. Many of these artifacts are of Pacific Eskimo and Aleut origin, and to a large extent manufactured by women. Twined baskets made of grass, braided cords, parkas, kamleikas and many more exquisite objects bear witness to the skilled craftsmanship of their makers. Many of these objects such as the miniature baidarka models suggest that the Aleuts and Pacific Eskimo developed specialized souvenir trade (Varjola 1990:210-213).

The material culture of the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo seems to have remained relatively stable in the local communities. The colonial natives living in Sitka became more accustomed to European goods but as they were hired based on their own traditional skills the core of material culture changed only little. Their children however became detached from the culture of their

parents and where probably educated and integrated in to the colony.

Many islands in the Bering Sea were settled by Aleuts, moved there by the RAC to harvest the wildlife population, especially fur-seals. These Islands include the previously unsettled Pribilof and the Russian Commander Islands. These islands were settled by inhabitants that for most parts derived from the Aleutian Islands. I some cases, as in the case of Copper Island there were also people from a Pacific Eskimo as well as mixed Tlingit decent (Jochelson 1933:41-44).

The small scattered Aleut communities were fairly isolated from the rest of the colonies. Difficult weather conditions often made it difficult or even impossible for passing vessels to make port. Life on the Aleutians must have been very different by comparison to the Pacific Eskimo living in larger, more concentrated communities along the mainland, with only 5-6 days sailing to Sitka. The distance between Sitka and Kodiak could also be traveled by native means whereas this was virtually impossible for the Aleuts as they were living on the furthermost islands of the Aleutian archipelago.

The lives of the Aleut were still as much in the hand of the company as the lives of their Pacific Eskimo neighbors. But in the case of the Aleutian settlements there was less official supervision and hunting was apparently often conducted without Russian overseers, the *baidarshchiks*, as was the case with the earlier observation made by Sahlberg. This suggests that the toions of the smaller Aleutian settlement played a large part in organizing hunts and collecting the catch as well as distributing the received payments among the villagers. The example of the powerful Aleut toion Deduchin can thus be considered as norm for most small Aleut societies of that time.

The colonial economy formed the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo societies in a very profound way. The colonial economic system impacted Aleut and Pacific Eskimo communities in different ways

depending on the geographical location of the villages. It seems the natives in Sitka enjoyed more economic freedom than their family members back home in the native villages. The extended family survived as a basic social unit, at least in the rural areas. The village became a more important sociopolitical unit in Aleut and Pacific Eskimo society due to the fact that Russian colonial policy was structured to work on a village level and the colonial government actively resisted free mobility of the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo, Sitka was the only known exception in this rule. The policy of the Russians is almost identical to the Feudal system of serfdom that existed in Russia at the time. This government structure focused power on certain chosen individuals in respective villages who were obligated to act as chiefs and middle-men between the company and the indigenous population.

The colonial era also saw the emergence of a more urbanized population of Pacific Eskimo who seem to have excluded themselves from the toion-system imposed on Aleuts and Pacific Eskimo living in rural settlements. It is not clear how the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo societies organized themselves in Sitka, but it seems that they were not entirely disconnected from their relatives back home.

Conclusion

The impacts of the colonial economy and change in Aleut and Pacific Eskimo society cannot be fully appreciated without consideration to the changing colonial economy as a whole. In the beginning of Russian colonialism Aleuts and Pacific Eskimo were forced in to a closed colonial economic system. The Russians gradually improved the working conditions and treatment of the native workforce. Early violence and raging epidemics drastically reduced the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo numbers. The remaining colonial native societies were as whole involved in the colonial economy which evolved around generating profit from the hunt

for sea otters and the redistribution of materials and goods within the company. The Aleut and Pacific Eskimo cultures became tightly interwoven in the economic fabric of Russian America and many elements in the material culture survived the Russian era because they were regarded as necessary to the colonial economy and actively preserved by the RAC policy.

Food was always an issue and traditional and the Aleut and the Pacific Eskimo provided the colony the means to sustain itself. Russian Colonial Alaska did not only rely heavily on the abilities of the colonized natives but was in fact totally dependent on the traditional skills of the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo.

The state of the colonial economy as whole forced the company to rely heavily on the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo. The RAC acted as middleman and distributor of regionally produced supplies and goods among the colonies and native settlements as well as exporting and importing supplies and goods. The supplying of the hunting fleets is a good example of this system as the supply chain engaged Aleut and Pacific Eskimo societies as whole.

The 19th century saw the emergence of an urbanized class of native workers. The RAC had mixed views on the urbanization of the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo as they gradually became more dependent on European goods and were to a lesser degree unable to sustain themselves. The native workers in Sitka were effectively restricted to work as unskilled laborers or with tasks closely connected with their traditional skills by the creoles that were also employed at Sitka and trained for more advanced positions by the RAC. The colonial natives also managed to create new work-opportunities for both sexes manufacturing souvenirs for European visitors.

The Pacific Eskimos and Aleut economies appear to have developed differently as it seems that the Pacific Eskimo were presented with more work opportunities than the Aleut. The Aleut were distributed and scattered to populate new areas across the Bering Sea in the hunt for marine mammals. The Pacific Eskimo

did not experience such large scale moves to other islands. The Pacific Eskimo were more active in the large sea otter hunting fleets and kayak building in Sitka than the Aleut.

The Aleut were involved in more small scale expeditions closer to home, harvesting rookeries or stationed on uninhabited islands during the summer months. Even if the lives of Aleut and Pacific Eskimo were controlled by the company some individuals living in more remote areas were able to work the system and become quite powerful. These individuals had a large role in collecting the sea otter catch as well as distributing the received payments among the villagers.

The RAC strengthened its control of Pacific Eskimo and Aleut villages through the impose toion-system but in the same time colonial natives living in Sitka were subjected to less control as the colonial control-system which was designed to work on a village level did not extend itself to an urban setting with natives originating from mixed settlements.

The native workers at Sitka became more entangled in European culture, but their numbers were in steady decline due to the growing number of creoles filling the colonial labor market, the decreasing sea otter population and the impact of epidemics that ravaged the native population in the late 1830ies. As whole the role of the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo societies as economic backbone of the Russian American Company cannot be exaggerated. Their skills, resilience and ability to sustain themselves as well as their colonial masters kept the Russians in Alaska for several more decades than the circumstances would otherwise have permitted.

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Notes

[i] The tribal fighting which had gone one before the Russians came was so fierce that whole villages could be wiped out as a reprisal for the death of one man.

[ii] The catch varied greatly on annual basis, for instance 86 large sea otters were caught a year later in 1830.

[iii] Kaiur was originally a Kamchatkan word for a hired worker. In Alaska the term came to refer to a native, generally of Pacific Eskimo origin pressed in to Company service.

[iv] In 1825, 17 Kodiak Aleuts, 13 Fox Island Aleuts and three Indian Aleuts 17 were working as service personnel in the Sitka colony. 58 creoles were also employed among the service personnel.

[v] According to Klebhnikov some 145 free "Aleut" males lived at the colony in 1825 at their own request and sometimes travelled to Kodiak to visit their relatives. This suggests that the "Aleut" were actually Pacific Eskimo. When comparing his statement to the chart we find that 17 Kodiak Aleuts are accounted for as service personnel and 129 as non-service personnel. In total they amount to 146 which is in accordance with Klebhnikov's statements. In addition to these he states that there are a total of 250 "Aleuts" with their wives and children in Sitka at this time. This statement is incoherent if compared to a previous census that only accounts for 167 "Aleuts" of different origin. It is probable that has also included women and children in to this account.

Ethnoterritoriality confronting multinationals:
Indigenous peoples' perceptions of eucalyptus plantation industries in Atlantic coastal Brazil

Susanna Myllylä
(University of Jyväskylä)

Abstract

The rapidly growing pulp sector in Atlantic coastal Brazil has sparked off land disputes between the Multinational Corporations (MNCs) and the indigenous peoples. This article, based on primary, fieldwork data from Brazil, examines how the corporate actions and eucalyptus plantations affect the livelihoods of three indigenous communities: the Tupinikim, the Guarani and the Pataxó. The concerned companies are Aracruz Celulose S. A., Veracel Celulose and Stora Enso. The MNCs have exerted diverse tactics from social programs to violent confrontations and the devaluation of indigenous identities. These land struggles are inherently related to the primary livelihood for these communities, the critically endangered Atlantic Forest. In conclusion, the confrontations with the MNCs have profoundly affected the indigenous communities in terms of their identities, social cohesion and their worldviews as they have been forced to form a new collective resistance movement; this change can be referred to as 'ethnoterritoriality'.

Keywords: Pulp, MNC, Finnish forest sector, business ethics, indigenous peoples, Aracruz Celulose, Veracel Celulose, Stora Enso, Fibria, Atlantic Forest, Brazil.

1. Introduction

The areas of the indigenous peoples of Latin America have constantly diminished as multinational companies (MNCs) have entered to exploit their natural resources. Global companies often fail to take into account the prevailing poor socioeconomic conditions on the one hand, and the indigenous territories on the other, in countries where they set up branch operations. In Brazil, pulp production by multinational corporations is also linked to regional development and broader societal problems: the unequal division of land and natural resources, particularly where wealthy landowners and firms have taken over indigenous territories, and more recently, prepared them for sale to multinationals. Confronting these new powerful agents in their backyards, indigenous communities have had to create collective strategies to maintain their traditional territories and livelihoods. This also contributes to the creation of new identities and practices of re-territorialisation within their collective action.

In Brazil, what are now known as intensively managed planted forests (IMPFs)[1] occupy six million hectares and are primarily eucalyptus for pulp. IMPFs occupy less than 0.65 per cent of the country's land base; however, the sector is predicted to expand in the near future. Brazil's pulp and paper sectors have grown rapidly: while in 2007 exports totalled 6.1 billion US dollars, the growth was then 18 percent, and another 12 percent increase was predicted by the end of 2008. The expansion of the IMPF sector has primarily been concentrated in the Atlantic Forest region. (The Forests Dialogue 2008.) Agribusiness continues to occupy ever-greater land areas in Latin America, and particularly in the central and coastal regions of Brazil, which also fundamentally affects the region's economic, political, social and ecological

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[1]The critics argue that eucalyptus plantations are not forests, but large-scale plantations that have contributed to the destruction of Brazilian native forests.

development[2].

Profound environmental change caused by intensive industrialisation has led to conflicting interpretations about the environment in Atlantic coastal Brazil. The fundamental problem is particularly within those indigenous territories that are not officially recognised and demarcated[3], and this ambiguous status makes them especially vulnerable to the influence of MNCs. The Swedish-Finnish Stora Enso and Jaakko Pöyry Consulting, and to a lesser extent, some Finnish companies operating in the pulp sector have been entangled – through their Brazilian business partners, namely Aracruz Celulose S.A. – to the land conflicts in Atlantic coastal Brazil. The companies have exacerbated socio-economic injustice situations in the country's poorest rural eastern regions, which already have a very lopsided land ownership system, as well as severe human rights violations concerning the indigenous peoples (see United Nations 2005; Warren 2001).

This article is based on a qualitative, ethnographic research methodology using case study approach. Concerning the corporations, the data consists of written sources, business rhetoric and practical actions, such as public statements, corporate reports, public campaigns and personal communication. The main corporate tactics in gaining societal legitimacy, both in Brazil and in Finland, were identified and further categorised into thematic groups. Finally the tactics used in practice were compared to the companies' CSR principles, exhibited a great discrepancy between the two. (See also Myllylä and Takala 2010; Myllylä 2007.) In

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[2]Welch (2006) has studied Brazilian rural labour and agricultural history. He has analysed recent agrarian transformations associated with globalisation, including the organised response of workers and farmers to the loss of millions farm livelihoods. This development explains the rise of an autonomous peasant movement in the late twentieth century and the agricultural capitalist (or neoliberalist) model promoted by powerful agribusiness interests (see also Kröger 2008; CAPOMA 2009; Holden and Jacobson 2008).

[3] Out of Brazil's 988 indigenous lands, so far only 366 have been registered, also 665 are in various stages of official action and the rest, 323 are without any process (CIMI 2009).

addition, the tactics from the other side were also analysed – the indigenous groups' various social or resistance movement strategies and their counter-arguments as they searched for legitimacy for their land claims. In other words, how they speak and act for themselves?

The empirical, primary data is based on two fieldwork periods in Brazil, during 2004 and 2006. I also include material from my previous research project (2004) when I studied the Atlantic Forest, its conservation systems[4] and conflicts. Land dispute issues will be followed up with a new fieldwork phase in the near future. The field research material consists of interviews and personal observations among numerous parties or actors: the indigenous communities, various levels and sectors of authorities, civil society organisations and local researchers. Ethnographic research material was collected among the indigenous communities. Here I look at three indigenous groups: in the state of Espírito Santo (ES), the *Tupinikim*, who have become allied with the *Guarani*, and in the state of Bahia (BA), the *Pataxó* – all whom share a rather common background concerning their territorial claims, and experiences of pulp production by two multinationals, Aracruz Celulose S.A. and Stora Enso/Veracel Celulose. Instead of examining the internal power relations among and between the indigenous groups, my viewpoint focuses on the complex relationships between the indigenous communities and the multinationals, especially scrutinising: i) those changes the companies have caused in their livelihoods and cultures, and ii) the land dispute power struggles.

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[4] It is declared a global biodiversity hotspot by UNESCO: The Atlantic Forest Biosphere Reserve (*Mata Atlântica* BR). My research in Brazil has focused on the four eastern states: Bahia, Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The Atlantic Forest stretches from the northern state of Rio Grande do Norte, to Rio Grande do Sul in the south.

2. The tactics of knowledge politics, new social movements and ethnoterritoriality

In spite of some internal problems among and between the Tupinikim and the Guarani in Espírito Santo state, both tribes have shown the capacity to operate as an alliance in the land dispute issue. Their resistance represents a New Social Movement (NSM), which commonly arises from a certain incident created by a social injustice situation. The structure of the NSM comprises actors from local, national and international levels, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in particular[5]. Thus, indigenous peoples can also be transnational when they network with international actors. NSMs are "new" in the sense that they a) challenge dominant power structures; b) imply some radicalism; c) include an awareness of the past; d) involve new dimensions of identity, including personal aspects of human life; and e) represent alternative values (Doyle and McEachern 1998: 56-61). According to the Tupinikim leaders, "we have to keep up voice, also internationally, since if our issue is ceased, we are gone". In Bahia, the Pataxó Indians have used similar collective actions, although the land dispute issue there has not been as intensive as in the case of Espírito Santo.

Pramod Parajuli (1991) states that one of the major tasks of the NSM is to develop knowledge systems, which represent the experiences of the marginalised groups, such as indigenous peoples. These systems use alternative ways to produce and justify knowledge, aiming at challenging the prevailing power structures and knowledge traditions, as in the case of Western scientific knowledge. It is not only a question of political and economic autonomy, but power to define the group and its needs, including

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[5] In this case various levels of networks are, for example: *Rede Alerta Contra o Deserto Verde*, *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra* (MST), *Fórum em Defesa dos Direitos Indígenas* (FDDI), *Comissão Pastoral da Terra*, *Brigada Indígena*, World Rainforest Movement (WRM) and NGOs from Europe, Robin Wood, among others.

the entire development process, such as survival, progress, identity, health, nutrition, time/space and the human-nature relationship (ibid.). In the long-term, the process of the land struggle, the revival of traditional cultural features and the resulting new ethos among the Tupinikim in particular has been illuminated in the campaign discussions and rhetoric. The Indians have claimed transparent public administration and equal treatment as citizens. Their tactics and alternative expertise are well representative of those typically used within the NSMs: protests, land/space occupations, "self-demarcations", use of civil society networks and improving the movement's discursive capacity (*articulação*, as they often refer to).

When comparing the rhetoric and actions of the different parties in the land conflict situations, there is a great discrepancy between the global company and the indigenous community in terms of how the reality and "justice" are perceived. The Indians' rhetoric based on their life-world experiences and cosmologies has been left without any attention. According to campaign statements by the Tupinikim, their collective trauma since 1967 (due to Aracruz's initial violent invasion in the area) has obviously been replicated in later violent incidents by the company. This phenomenon of traumatised communities – the feeling of losing control over one's life in the face of "collective disaster" – has been observed among various indigenous communities that have lost their livelihoods, often due to an external factor (see Erikson 1994: 230–231). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) addresses corporations using technological advances and their failure to recognise indigenous belief systems and knowledges, especially in regard to ecologically related issues. James Carrier (2004) points out that situations, where local communities encounter powerful discourses arising from outside, they have to interpret the debates correctly and participate in them actively in order to be credible and protect their interests. Hence, with the help of supporting institutions and civil society organisations, the Indians could also

have fine-tuned their argumentation or articulation to the "same level" as the global company, in order to acquire more credibility and acceptability in the society; for instance, technical reports proving harmful environmental impacts of pulp production.

In the land conflicts with the MNCs, it could be argued that the indigenous peoples' territories, livelihoods and identities have been mutually recreated via the processes of *ethnogenesis* and *ethnoterritoriality*. By the latter, central theoretical concept, I refer to the indigenous communities' struggles for maintaining their traditional cultures and practices, which are profoundly attached to a certain locality: the identity and entire subsistence of a community is based on the land and its resources, all which can be threatened by an external actor, such as a MNC. Thus, it could be said that the claims and mobilisations of these communities have a geographical underpinning or spatial reference, which manifests especially in conflict situations, where land is contested (cf. Moreno, 2000: 63). The land disputes with the MNCs have fundamentally affected the identities, social cohesion, and even worldviews of the indigenous communities as shown here. The Brazilian anthropologist, Sandro da Silva, whose research has focused on the Tupinikim community, argues that the Tupinikim are in the middle of an *ethnogenesis*, in which new identities are created in time and space, critically affected by the land dispute with Aracruz Celulose (Silva 2006, pers.comm.; see also Castro Ossami de Moura 2008). The ethnogenesis can be seen as a process of both a social and symbolic struggle (Barreto 1992, in Silva 2001). In a way, while the Tupinikim and the Guarani have fought to regain their territory and plan to even rejuvenate its natural resources, their ethnic identity is also being revived through the combination of traditional practices in response to contemporary elements.

3. The changes in the Atlantic Forest as livelihood for indigenous peoples

The indigenous peoples in the eastern coast of Brazil have derived their subsistence from the Atlantic Forest (*Mata Atlântica*), its land and water ecosystems long before the arrival of the Portuguese in the 16th century. The principal indigenous groups along the coastline were then Tupí-Guaraní. The Atlantic Forest includes various types of interconnected ecosystems including tropical and subtropical rainforests, evergreen trees, *araucaria*s, mangroves, and those known as *restinga*s, which are low forests growing on stabilised coastal dunes.

The Atlantic Forest once covered 1.3 million km^2 (15 per cent of Brazil), but due to intensive urbanisation and industrialisation in the coastal region, it has been reduced to a mere 7 percent of its original size, and now comprises tens of thousands of fragmented forest islands. Currently, this "biodiversity mosaic" is the second most endangered tropical forest in the world (after the Tropical Andes). It is characterised as one of the "global hotspots" since it has an exceptionally high diversity of endemic species that are found nowhere else on Earth. The Southern Bahia's rainforest fragments are regarded as the globe's richest in terms of the number of tree species per hectare: even 476 different tree species can be found on just a single hectare plot of forest. In addition, even today new primate species can be found in the heavily deforested, northern states such as Pernambuco. (Lino 2004, pers.comm.; Galindo and Gusmão 2003; Thomaz and Monteiro 1997). The northeastern forests have been drastically diminished to some 2–4 per cent, due to historical development comprising intensive logging, plantation and cattle economies (see Dean 1995).

Yet large continuums of forests still exist especially in the southern coastal states, where at the same time, the pulp companies seek to build new factories. In the conservation of the

Atlantic Forest, a central idea is to protect the forest islands and connect them by using ecological corridors. Any type of monoculture plantation poses a threat for the recovery and conservation of the already fragmented forest. (Oberlaender 2006, pers.comm.) In addition, pulp industries cause complex socio-ecological chain reactions, in which the poor, landless farmers have to move to the fringes of the forest, leading to further deforestation of the Atlantic Forest. Strict conservationists are for a "zero logging" policy and run campaigns to reduce numerous illegal activities that constantly decrease the extremely vulnerable forest. It appears that civil society is somewhat divided into environmentally (e.g. *Fundação SOS Mata Atlântica*) and socially (e.g. FASE, ISA) oriented NGOs, in which the former often see that not even the indigenous communities should be allowed to live within the protected areas[6]: not all indigenous communities use sustainable livelihood practices and the Atlantic Forest is critically endangered (Camargo 2004, pers.comm.). For the environmental authorities the situation is very tricky because the rights of the indigenous peoples have higher status compared to even strictest protected areas (Azevedo 2004, pers.comm.; Campolim 2004, pers.comm.). As the indigenous communities cannot be evicted from the parks, the state governments have attempted to direct and restrict the continuous regional movement of the Guarani. There are numerous Guarani communities living in the fringes of the cities like São Paulo.

Hence, pulp production – heavily supported by the Brazilian government with various incentives – is both directly and indirectly causing deforestation in the Atlantic Forest, and this is

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[6] The NGO representatives interviewed in 2004 and 2006: E. Camargo and M. Mantovani (*Fundação SOS Mata Atlântica,* São Paulo); W. Overbeek and M. Cavalcantes Soares (*Federaçao de Orgaos para Assistencia Social e Educacional* / FASE, Vitória, ES)*;* F. Zanirato (*Instituto Socioambiental* / ISA, São Paulo); H. Maltez and Luciana L. Simões (World Wide Fund For Nature, Brasília & São Paulo); P. Reed from *Flora Brasil* (Itamarajú, BA), and B. Neal (Rede de ONGs da Mata Atlantica, Brasília).

critically affecting the livelihoods and cultures of the indigenous peoples. They have been forced into unproductive lands and poor living conditions. The communities depend on subsistence agriculture, fishing, crafts and other minor commercial activities. Unemployment and the lack of subsistence, especially among the Tupinikim, is high. Some of the Pataxó use endangered Atlantic Forest species of trees from the surrounding protected forests (national parks of Monte Pascoal, Descobrimento and Pau Brasil) for tourist crafts, while others prefer more sustainable forest use practices. Hence this is one example showing that the indigenous communities are not a single homogenous group, which merely uses sustainable livelihood methods.

My field research from 2004 to 2006 indicated that the eucalyptus plantations of Aracruz Celulose have had a multitude of negative impacts on Espírito Santo indigenous communities, such as a) cultural (language skills, traditional customs), b) economic (unemployment, loss of subsistence agriculture), c) social/health issues (weakening of community cohesion, drug abuse, new diseases) and d) environmental (loss of forest and animal species, drying of land, water pollution), particularly for the Tupinikim, but also for the more isolated Guarani. In Bahia, the Pataxó pointed out a number negative social and environmental impacts following Stora Enso/Veracel Celulose's arrival (see also *Instituto Observatório Social*, 2005), which are quite similar to those experienced by the Tupinikim and the Guarani. (Myllylä 2007.)

In various critical studies, both Brazilian and international, on the societal effects of pulp production it is argued that industrial tree plantations increase rural poverty and skew land ownership as pulp corporations become powerful landowners and thus also political forces. Pulp production units require gigantic land areas and also well-educated professionals who are often brought from outside the region. The pulp production sector creates poverty pockets out of rural communities, which cannot (or do not want to) become involved in this modern and highly

mechanised production, particularly in the case of women in traditional communities, who have organised numerous resistance movements (see Barcellos and Ferreira, 2007; Santana 2004, pers.comm.). Community forests, farmlands and parts of the villagers' rotational agricultural systems are easily described as "degraded" by forestry experts and plantation proponents. When land is converted to tree plantations, local livelihoods are destroyed. (See e.g. Lang 2008; De'Nadai, Overbeek and Soares 2005; Carrere and Lohmann 1996.) Epitomising numerous social resistance movements against pulp industries in this coastal region, hundreds of rural women from the southern coastal area invaded a plantation belonging to Aracruz Celulose in 2006. The movement was organised to denounce these multinational companies, which in various parts of the country have displaced indigenous peoples and other traditional people, namely Afro-Brazilian Quilombos (communities descended from escaped-slave settlements) and other landless peasants. Pulp corporations have also caused severe environmental contamination with the intensive use of agro-toxins as well as the depletion of forest resources (Ribeiro 2008). In the following chapters I will examine more closely the various impacts of pulp production on indigenous peoples' lives.

The multinational companies concerned here are the Brazilian Aracruz Celulose S.A. (previously of Brazilian-Norwegian ownership) and Veracel Celulose. The latter is a joint venture formed by Aracruz Celulose and the Swedish-Finnish Stora Enso, in which both own a 50 per cent stake. In September 2009, the ownership of both companies was changed: it was announced that Aracruz had merged with its Brazilian rival, Votorantim Celulose e Papel (VCP). Fibria, the new company, was a result of the acquisition of Aracruz Celulose by VCP, through its holding company, Votorantim Industrial. It holds a 29.3 per cent stake, while the Brazilian National Economic and Social Development Bank has 34.9 per cent, and 35.8 per cent is a free float. The new, larger company has a production capacity exceeding 6 million

tonnes of pulp and paper annually, and about 90 per cent of the pulp is produced for export. (Fibria 2009.) In this paper, I will discuss the situation before this recent merging of the two companies.

Aracruz has been the world's leading producer of bleached eucalyptus kraft pulp, which is used by paper manufacturers to produce a wide range of products, such as tissue, printing and writing papers and specialty papers. Sales to customers outside Brazil, especially in North America, Western Europe and Asia, has accounted for 98 per cent of total sales volume. Aracruz's nominal bleached hardwood eucalyptus pulp production capacity, totalling 3.2 million tons a year, is distributed between three pulp making units: Barra do Riacho in Espírito Santo (2.3 million tons), Guíaba in Rio Grande do Sul (450,000 tons) and Veracel Celulose in Bahia (450,000 tons, or 50 per cent of the unit's total capacity). This corresponds to over 30 per cent or a third of the entire global supply (Aracruz Celulose 2009; International Finance Corporation 2009; Aracruz Celulose 2005.) In addition, the company has run a Forestry Partners Program that involves approximately 96,000 hectares contracted in partnership with more than 3,900 farmers in the states of Espírito Santo, Bahia, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul (Aracruz Celulose 2009).

In Bahia state, the Veracel (Aracruz-Stora Enso) project led to a series of contracts for European and Nordic companies. Jaakko Pöyry Consulting produced a range of feasibility studies and an environmental impact assessment. Metso Automation (a subsidiary of Finnish company Metso Corporation) won a US$7 million order to supply valves and online analysers; Partek Forest (Finland) won a US$25 million contract, its largest ever, to deliver harvesting equipment to Aracruz and Veracel. Pöyry's Brazilian subsidiary Jaakko Pöyry Tecnologia Ltd subsequently won US$16 million in engineering contracts on the construction of the Veracel pulp mill. (Lang 2008, 31-32.)

In 2005, Veracel's pulp mill started operations in the municipality of Eunápolis, south of Bahia. Veracel Celulose has an annual capacity of 900,000 tons of bleached eucalyptus pulp. (Aracruz 2008.) The company's total land area of 164,600 ha is distributed in ten municipalities in the south of the state of Bahia. Plantations occupy 90,870 ha (Soikkeli 2009, pers.comm.). The rest is destined for environmental recovery and preservation, and a minor percent for infrastructure. Veracel's Forestry Partners Program has contracts with farmers to grow eucalyptus on an area covering a total of 10,000 hectares. (Veracel Celulose 2009a; 2009b.)

4. The land struggle and attempts to make Indians better citizens

In the 16th century, the Tupinikim already occupied a large coastal territory, reaching from the southern part of Bahia and Paraná, including Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo. The area between Espírito Santo and the south of Bahia supported 55,000 Tupinikim. In Espírito Santo State (Barra do Riacho area), the Tupinikim had settled their forefather's lands and lived in 44 indigenous areas – *aldeia*s or villages – comprising 30,000 ha of the original Atlantic rainforest. (Executive Commission of the Tupinikim and Guarani 1996: 11, 39; see also Langfur 2006; Whitehead 2000.)

Land is usually the most central issue determining indigenous peoples' lives, and this is also true for the indigenous peoples in Atlantic coastal Brazil. They consider that the land belongs to them since their forefathers have lived there for centuries. They still refer to the land document, which was given by the Portuguese crown in 1610. When the Portuguese colonialists first arrived, the Tupinikim had to accept the official program of mission villages organised by the Jesuits. They brought about a restriction of freedom for the Tupinikim: they were not able to express their culture, rites and traditions, and had limited access to

the land they had traditionally occupied. In 1610 Father João Martins received a 'sesmaria' on behalf of the Tupinikim. It was a piece of 'abandoned' land, which the Portuguese crown granted to the colonists to be cultivated. The sesmaria was granted to the Indians and covered a much wider area than has been contested between Aracruz and the Indians today. In 1760, the Portuguese crown demarcated the area inhabited by the Tupinikim, which was also confirmed by travellers such as Wied-Neuwied (1817) and Auguste de Saint-Hilaire (1818). (Executive Commission of the Tupinikim and Guarani 1996: 12-14.)

Prior to Aracruz Celulose in the 1940s, the local government in Espírito Santo State allowed an iron company, COFAVI (*Cia Ferro e Aço de Vitória*), to use an area of natural forest of 10,000 ha to produce coal. Aracruz Celulose arrived in the area in 1967 when it purchased this forest area from COFAVI and a larger area of 30,000 ha from the federal government. Aracruz's land purchase in an area that was already inhabited by two indigenous Indian groups – the Tupinikim and the Guarani – was assisted by the military regime and some opportunist land speculators and politicians. Originally the company's name was Aracruz Florestal. (Executive Commission of the Tupinikim and Guarani 1996.) Just before the arrival of Aracruz in 1967, a group of Mbýa Guarani Indians from the south had settled close to the Tupinikim *aldeia* of Caieira Velha. They accepted the Guarani group as new neighbours due to a mutual solidarity among the Indians, and also because the Guarani considered that their ancestors had lived in the region.

In 1967, 60 per cent of the natural forests were still left in the Aracruz Municipality. The company immediately started massive operations to establish new eucalyptus plantations on what were considered indigenous lands by the Indians. First, the company's tactics, with the permission of the authorities, involved the use of violence and burning down the majority of the Tupinikim *aldeia*s and evicting the population from the area. The remaining few decided to stay and survive in the remaining villages. The incident, still well remembered by the elders of both

tribes, caused a critical dispersal of the Tupinikim community and ended their traditional hunter-gatherer and fishing activities.

One older Tupinikim woman remembered the moment when bulldozers came and they were connected by heavy iron chains, by which the rainforest was dragged down. Aracruz contracted the Finnish company Jaakko Pöyry Consulting to plan the pulp mill and its plantations. The next step in founding a plantation was also straightforward when the remaining flora and soil were erased by agrotoxins, which helped to make a flat and stable growing ground for eucalyptus seedlings. As the original thin layer of rich soil was left, more agrochemicals such as fertilizers were needed.

The Indian leaders travelled to the capital Brasília to denounce the invasion of their lands by the company to the former Indian Protection Service that is currently the [Brazilian](#) National [Indian](#) Foundation, FUNAI (*Fundação Nacional do Índio*), a protection agency for Indian interests and their cultures. Yet the reaction to the incident was quite the opposite of what the Indians expected: at the beginning of the 1970s, FUNAI started to transfer all the Guarani and some of the Tupinikim to the Indian Reserve in the Minas Gerais State, famous of slave work and prisons. Since the Tupinikim and the Guarani had always lived in the vicinity of the sea, they felt very uncomfortable in central Brazil. The Guarani chief (*cacique*) stated that they perceived a strange mixture of different Indian tribes and also, a punishment: "We were taken to *fazenda guarani* as if it was a jail". According to a Brazilian anthropologist Celeste Ciccarone, who has studied the Guarani community, it was a question of civilising the Indians, to make them "good citizens" (Ciccarone 2006, pers.comm.; see also "domestication" [integration] of indigenous peoples, Saugestad 2001:103.). A few years later the Indians managed to leave the reserve and return to Aracruz Municipality, which had now been mostly deforested by Aracruz Celulose.

In addition, the Tupinikim said that FUNAI had also previously negotiated with Aracruz to move them to the Indian Reserve located as far away as Amazonia, including "a deal

concerning some kind of land exchange". As the elders heard about it, they fled and hid in the remaining forests in order to avoid the possible forced migration. The Guarani *cacique* has criticised FUNAI's role and the overall land rights problems of the Brazilian indigenous peoples:

I have tried to ask as to why FUNAI let the company arrive here in the first place, but I have never received any answer. This is always the case wherever the Indian villages exist: they are given farewell from the area and nobody knows what happens next.

In 1978, Aracruz began to operate its first plant that was situated next to the one of neighbouring Tupinikim *aldeia*s. A small group of the Tupinikim and Guarani resisted in an area of a mere 40 ha. Despite the fact that in 1979 FUNAI basically designated three areas totalling 6,500 ha for them, in 1980 the Indians started to demarcate the lands themselves due to delays on the part of FUNAI. The incident led to violence by the police. Aracruz demanded a new proposal by pressuring the state government, and this ended in an agreement with FUNAI. It implied that the designated areas were reduced to 4 492 ha, demarcated in 1983, and officially registered in 1988. Thus, the Indians and Aracruz made an initial contract to settle the land dispute.

The process of land demarcation, including ambiguous legal procedures and decisions, has continued to be complex up today. Despite FUNAI's responsibility to organise administrative procedures for the demarcation of indigenous lands, we can notice that its role both in Espírito Santo and also Bahia has been rather contradictory. The registration of indigenous territories has been very slow, and also hindered by the pulp companies. Article 231 in the Federal Constitution recognises the native rights of the Indians to their traditionally occupied territories. (Executive Commission of the Tupinikim and Guarani 1996: 27). In the identification phase, the Working Group appointed by FUNAI collects the proof of traditional indigenous occupation through various multidisciplinary studies in the region. In the contestation phase, interested parties may present their contestation with proofs to FUNAI on the possession of the land. Declaration implies that the

Minister of Justice will declare the boundaries of the indigenous area and establish its demarcation (also the identification may be rejected on the basis of noncompliance with the Federal Constitution). In the administrative phase, FUNAI demarcates the land boundaries by placing official landmarks on the boundaries, which have been indicated in the edict of the Minister of Justice. (Executive Commission of the Tupinikim and Guarani 1996: 27-28.)

During the 1990s, the Indians continued their land claims, supported by national and international campaigns, run by NGOs. FUNAI formed a new Working Group to re-examine the boundaries of the indigenous areas of the Tupinikim and Guarani, and as a result of the first study in 1994, their indigenous area was identified as 13 579 ha. However, according to the Indians, FUNAI pressured the *cacique*s to travel to Brasília, to the Ministry of Justice, in order to sign a new contract with Aracruz. The agreement included 10 million USD, implying that they would accept a considerable smaller area, only 2 571 ha. The company was to pay the sum within 20 years, as well as to rejuvenate the polluted local river and carry out reforestation. As the *cacique*s were still reluctant to value their land, they were pressured and mislead by the authorities, as they claimed. Afterwards the *cacique*s have regretted that they agreed to sign the paper and its contents, which they did not fully understand. In order to make a stronger alliance in the "land fight" (*luta pela terra*), they established an organization, *Associação Indígena Tupiniquim e Guarani* (AITG) and a Commission, which ever since have articulated their own interests when campaigning against the company.

FUNAI continued to carry out two more official studies up till 1998, and the indigenous area was identified as 18 070 ha. It was recommended that it should be registered in order to guarantee the physical and cultural existence of the Indians. As the area was confirmed by FUNAI, but the land demarcation was delayed, the Indians decided to start a second self-demarcation in 1998, and this was ended once again by the Federal Police who suffocated the uprising with violence and temporarily isolated the *aldeia*s. The Minister of Justice (at the time) acknowledged

FUNAI's studies, but still confirmed only an area of 7,061 ha to be registered and the remaining 11,009 ha were left without recognition – this area was to become a major cause of future disputes with the company. (Photo 1)

Photo 1: *Eucalyptus plantation meets Atlantic Forest.*
Photo: Susanna Myllylä.

5. The Tupinikim: a turn from subsistence farming to plantation economy[7]

According to FUNAI's census, the Indian population was 2,765 in 2004: 2,552 Tupinikims and 213 Guaranis live in their *aldeia*s in the Aracruz Municipality (Barcellos and Ferreira, 2007, 14). The current Tupinikim *aldeia*s are Caieira Velha, Comboios, Irajá and Pau-Brasil, which are not tightly bordering each other, but rather left in "pockets" between plantations. (Photo 2)

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[7] This chapter is mainly based on the group discussions with the Tupinikim.

Photo 2: *Tupinikim* aldeia *Caieira Velha, affected by Catholicism. The Catholic Church, according to the Tupinikim, was the only actor who supported them in the early years of the land dispute. Photo: Susanna Myllylä.*

The Aracruz's impact on the livelihoods of the Tupinikim has been fundamental and manifold. Most of the marshes and mangroves have gone because eucalyptus plantations have drained the land. Due to deforestation, as well as soil and water pollution, wildlife resources have also become depleted in the area. The Ibama environmental authority[8] has prohibited the Tupinikim from collecting materials for their traditional activities or killing animals for food. Previously they used to live in abundance:

We did not have difficulties hunting wildlife, such as armadillos, antelopes, pigeons, and also sloths, which we would love to eat. Jaguar, which was also common here, we did not hunt for food, but because we were afraid of it. Our *cacique*s used parrot

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[8] *Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente e dos Recursos Naturais Renováveis.*

and *jacu* feathers for headdresses, now they have to mainly use coloured chicken feathers instead.

Lianas and bark from trees (such as *imbira*) were used for women's wear, handcrafts and domestic utensils (like *samburá* baskets for fishing). Whenever Ibama has found the Tupinikim snaring fish, crabs and oysters in the nearby rivers during the breeding season, it has confiscated their catch and devices. The Tupinikim have observed that before hunting and fishing were not a problem, but after the arrival of Aracruz, the wildlife population has collapsed, and suddenly their traditional lifestyle has come under the scrutiny of Ibama. (Photo 3)

Photo 3: *The livelihood of the Tupinikim in the past.*
Photo: Susanna Myllylä.

The Tupinikim cultivate coffee, beans, coconut and cassava, but not every family possess their own fields. Coffee has been their main source of income: "if we do not have *pire pire* (money) we

cannot purchase things". They would also like to plant corn, but the soil is too exhausted and polluted, so they should first purchase fertilizers – "for a place that was previously soil-rich rainforest".

From the 1990s, Aracruz Celulose started to approach the Tupinikim and the Guarani with social projects, offering some medical services and education, for instance. In this "socio-environmental game between the actors" (Andrade 2007; see also Aracruz Celulose 2006), modern commodities were given, such as mobile phones. The critics have argued that the company just aims to use social control tactics over the indigenous groups, which, in the long term, will not suffice as long as the land dispute remains unsolved. (Myllylä 2007.) In addition, the critics also claim that in order to apply for the FSC certification label, the company's strategy has been to generate social projects.

The main income for the Tupinikim has come from selling coffee outside – but they also started to grow eucalyptus for Aracruz in 1999. How did they end up at this point in the first place? Due to ever decreasing options for daily subsistence, they decided to join the Aracruz's Social Forestry Program. Aracruz donated the seedlings and fertilizers to the community and they started to plant eucalyptus in their territory, to be later sold to the company. (Photo 4)

Photo 4: *Aracruz's Social Forestry Program on Tupinikim land. Photo: Susanna Myllylä.*

However, due to the seasonal nature of this new livelihood, the majority of the young adults were unemployed. Despite the fact that just few of them worked in the Aracruz's factory, the company was accused of saying they employed more Indians than they actually did. Also the company "banned them from speaking Tupí, as the early colonialists did their ancestors". The language gradually vanished among the tribe in the region. It was also said that in the beginning of this century, in the Espírito Santo community, there was only one person, a young man (currently one of the activists in their association with the Guarani), who "learned back the language, taught by a helpful university professor". The Tupinikim use both Portuguese and Tupí personal names. The company's social program serves an illuminating case of governance and guided inclusion in regard to indigenous communities.

By the end of 2004, the Indians had not given up their land claim and hence the "Aracruz management did not want to communicate with them anymore". The Tupinikim also stopped participating in the company's Social Forestry Program. Instead, they kept clinging to the hope of reforesting the *Mata Atlântica*, but said that they lacked a suitable partner to do it. It seemed that sustaining this positive, if not romantic, vision and already planning future operations – as much as it seemed to be an impossible endeavour, not only due to land dispute but also ecological constraints – was the whole basis behind the land struggle. The Tupinikim appeared to be very sure of getting back their territory as a whole and rebuilding their livelihood as well as identity.

6. The Guarani and the quest for a Land Without Evil

The Guarani (Mbyá[9]) *aldeia*s are Boa Esperança, Três Palmeiras and Piraquê-açu. The Guarani prefer to keep their own basic cultural traditions – religion (or worldview), subsistence farming, education, and language (Mbyá Guaraní) including names – isolated from the impact of Brazilian society. (Photo 5)

Photo 5: *Guarani* aldeia *Boa Esperança in November 2004. In December 2006, only one of these houses remained. Photo: Susanna Myllylä.*

The surroundings of the three *aldeia*s include some natural forest. The Guarani consider themselves forest protectors and they did not want to become part of the Aracruz's Social Forestry Program like the Tupinikim. For the Guarani, the eucalyptus species are without any nutritional importance for the people, nor

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[9] The Guarani in Brazil are divided into three groups: Kaiowá, Ñandeva and Mbyá.

do they produce seeds for animals. The livelihood of the Guarani is based on forest gardens. Between the trees are grown among others; cassava, coffee and banana, as well as medicinal plants, of which their healer knows over 70 different species. In order to get milk and other food products they do not have, they sell coffee and crafts for the tourist trade. The Guarani rarely consume meat as the animals they catch from the forest are strictly regulated by their religious practices.

Also, the elder Guarani remember the time before the company, as the area was covered by rainforests, mangroves and swamps, and it was common to see alligators in the nearby river. They claim that Aracruz plantations have dried up the soil and because of the lack of buffer zones, agrochemicals spill into rivers when it rains. However, the Indians take drinking water from these rivers. Like the Tupinikim, they have also found unusually high numbers of dead animals, such as birds, small antelopes and armadillos. According to the healer, after the "non-Indians" (Aracruz) arrived, and simultaneously contributed to the "rush of other Whites" onto indigenous land, air pollution has made respiratory illnesses and severe headaches common among the Indians, as well as "new diseases" like cancer. In addition, alcohol has become a new problem for the community. Previously, Aracruz's doctors visited the villages within the social program, but this was not enough to cure the people's diseases. (Photo 6) The Guarani also criticise the State administration, which has given its full support to Aracruz.

Photo 6: *Guarani healer, vice* cacique *Tupã-Kwaraÿ knows how to use the* feijão-guandu *bean for food and tea, but also as a medicine to cure some respiratory illnesses. However, the tribe has problems coping with the new respiratory diseases caused by Aracruz, as the community members perceive the issue.*
Photo: Susanna Myllylä.

Compared to the official political and geographical definitions of regions[10], the territorial perception of the Guarani is different or a much wider concept, as one *cacique* explained:

In Brazil, our territory reaches to Pará (in the North coast). Paraguay is our centre of the world.

The Guarani dominion over a large territory takes place through social, economic and political dynamics (see Ladeira 2001). It explains why numerous Guarani groups move between Brazil and Paraguay, from where they originated, and constantly construct and deconstruct their *aldeia*s in various places. However, the Guarani are not nomads, as they are often called (Ciccarone 2006, pers.comm.; cf. Clastres 1995: xi). In this Atlantic coastal region, which has become the most industrialised and urbanised domain in the country since colonialism, the Guarani still 'navigate' according to their cosmology, searching for suitable living places, and the ultimate *aldeia*; "The Land without Evil" (*terra sem mal*). This refers to a place that is located outside of the dominant society and its rules. According to Maria Inês Ladeira (2003; see also 2001, 2007; Ribeiro 1992): "...their mythical precepts that are at the foundation especially of their relation with the Atlantic Forest, on which, symbolically or practically, they condition their survival. Establishing villages in these 'chosen' places, including flora and fauna typical of the Atlantic Forest, means being closer to the celestial world, since it is from these places that access to *yvy marãey*, 'Land without Evil', is made easier."

According to Hélène Clastres (1995: 54), it is a question of the active denial of society and the search for the 'Other' which forces the Guarani to remain isolated from the influences of Brazilian society. Their migration could also be interpreted as manifesting community empowerment (Ciccarone 2006,

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[10]The "obsession of modernity" can be discussed here concerning the concept of territory: it can be seen as a narrative or imagination, physically and materially constituted. The Guarani define their world according to both material and symbolical meanings (see Ladeira 2001: 13-14).

pers.comm.). The most powerful Guarani leaders are found among women, passing this position via the blood-line (see more in Ciccarone 2004). According to Kretsu Miri (deceased in 2005), a shaman's prophecy gives the wider Guarani community information about where to move to next. This movement usually happens every 6-8 years. She had already received a divine vision of a "holy mountain" situated in the north, to where part of the community should move to establish a new *aldeia*. As when the Guarani first arrived in the Aracruz Municipality, this place would also be covered with Atlantic rainforest, which seems an embedded feature in the visions. Furthermore, the Guarani healer defines the metaphor *terra sem mal* as follows:

It is a place without sorrow and bad things. There one can live in peace and outsiders do not disturb us. It is a place, where there is no violence, and no Aracruz.

Interestingly, Aracruz's presence and the land dispute had encroached here in an old cosmological definition. This may reflect a cultural change in their religious discourse as a response to the modernisation of society. As 'traditional' or local knowledge constantly changes as an ever-evolving syncretistic process (see Pottier 2003: 1-2), due to competing definitions and external influences, also the arrival of modern industries in the neighbouring areas has affected the terminology of the Guarani. For instance, eucalyptus has been named as the "tree without a soul" (*árvore sem alma*) or a "poison tree" (*árvore tóxico*). Petrobras, the biggest Brazilian energy company, planned to build a gas pipeline across the indigenous territory in the 1980s – which also would have had a positive result for Aracruz – when the land dispute would have ceased concurrently. The researchers at UFES[11] made a study according to which the pipeline was relocated to the border of the indigenous territory. The Guarani started to call the pipeline a "fire road" (*caminho de fogo*), and fire is an apocalyptic metaphor for the Guarani. (Ciccarone 2006, pers.comm.; see also Ribeiro 1992). (Photos 7 and 8)

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[11] *Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo.*

Photo 7: *Environment of* Tekoa porã *(aldeia* Boa Esperança) and the neighbouring two Guarani indigenous areas drawn by the healer Tupã-Kwaraÿ. Aracruz plantations are located to the left corner. Photo: Susanna Myllylä.*
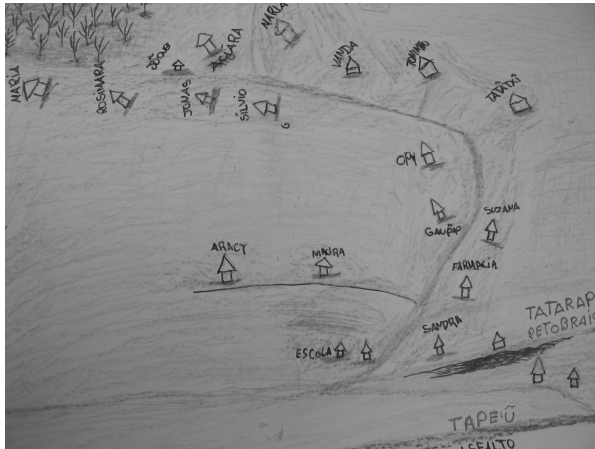

Photo 8: *The village map of* Tekoa porã *(aldeia* Boa Esperança) indicating the location of families and a few services (school, pharmacy) by Joana Tatãtxĩ Ywa Rete. Coffee plants begin the way to the gardens in the upper left. Local road (*Tape'ũ) and Petrobras pipe (*Tatarape) are also shown. Photo: Susanna Myllylä.*

Moreover, the Guarani knowledge system is heavily based on non-verbal expressions, like singing, which is a central element in sacred shamanic traditions ("the beautiful language" *Ayvu porä*, "common to gods and human beings", see Clastres 1995: 73-75). It has been questioned that language is a sufficient tool for accessing knowledge. The knowledge production of indigenous peoples often includes improvisation and creativity (Pottier, 2003: 7). In all, it would be interesting to study more, how modern industrial production affects the Guarani worldview and practices. The Guarani *cacique* described Aracruz's impact on their mobility:

Before Aracruz, all Indians were free to move along the coast. When the company arrived and started to destroy the Indian cultures, they left. Now if Indians try to return, the company calls it an "invasion". These pulp companies conduct development towards the progression of death. There are many ways to kill a culture, like the company destroys our livelihood.

7. The myth-oriented and malevolent corporate tactics

Being not fully supported by the Ministry of Justice on several occasions, and receiving contradictory actions at the hands of FUNAI, it was not until in 2005 that the Indians' claims were taken into account. The Minister of the Interior proclaimed the contract between Aracruz and the Indians illegal, and recommended the new Minister of Justice announce the entire 18,070 ha as indigenous land, including the remaining 11,009, which had been left out of the deal in 1998 and was still in the hands of the multinational company.

Yet in 2005, frustrated at waiting for the court decisions to be implemented, and disappointed at the inefficiency of FUNAI, the Indians decided to carry out a new demarcation of their own by cutting down eucalyptus to define the boundaries of their area. They also rebuilt two old Tupinikim villages, which was "also 'reconstructing' their way of life with traditional housing and traditional subsistence crops" (CIMI 2006). In early 2006, the situation escalated into outright conflict when Aracruz's interests

were supported by the arrival of the Federal Police, who destroyed the two rebuilt villages and injured several Indians by shooting them with rubber bullets from helicopters. The company made a statement about this incident on its internet homepage, but with no mention of its own unethical actions. Furthermore, according to its corporate Code of Conduct, the company is committed to various good governance principles, including respecting human rights of the indigenous peoples.

The Indians reported that more than the physical damage, the emotional and spiritual injuries remained after the incident, evoking collective memories of the violence in 1967. In their campaign material the wounded leaders were photographed and under the photos were written: "Today we have been humiliated … in the 21st century, we are hunted like animals". Despite the fact that these clashes resembled a kind of a "David and Goliath" situation – from an outsider's viewpoint – the Indians continued their resistance movement and soon organised another demonstration, indicating their resilience in the land struggle (Photo 9)

Photo 9: *The young Tupinikim* cacique *Wilson Jaguaretê is going to be one of the leaders in the forthcoming resistance movement in December 2006, for which he is preparing at home some traditional wooden weaponry to confront again Aracruz security forces or Federal Police. Photo: Susanna Myllylä.*

In September 2006, a wide-scale campaign started in Aracruz town, targeting the Indians in the land dispute issue. The campaign included wide media coverage, demonstrations, street signs, school materials, booklets, Aracruz web pages, PowerPoint presentations (meant for the company's business partners) and other measures. However, the campaign was not in the company's own name, but it was considered obvious that Aracruz had financed this level of campaign. Large billboards, with the logos of Aracruz company partners, were situated along the roadsides. (Myllylä 2007.) The campaign presented the company as an important actor that has brought economic wealth to the inhabitants, whilst the Indians were insinuated as being less meaningful, if not even an obstacle to the region's development:

Aracruz brought the progress, FUNAI the Indians (*Aracruz trouxe o progresso, a Funai, os índios.*)

Also, the campaign presented the idea that the company was the victim, and the Indians were blamed for harassing Aracruz workers:

Enough, Indians, bullying the workers (*Basta de índios, ameaçando trabalhadores.*)

This referred to situations where the Indians arranged various types of protests; occupying corporate spaces, street demonstrations, etc., and these included hundreds of participants. They also represented members from other Indian tribes and NGO activists. Other NSMs that resisted monocultures expressed solidarity with, for instance, was the Movement of Small Farmers. In the campaign rhetoric, the Indians addressed their peaceful aims despite the company campaign attempting to present the opposite message. The situation escalated to physical conflict as the company's security forces, workers and the Federal Police turned to violence to remove the protestors who had occupied sites owned by the company. To cite an example, the workers at Plantar, a partner firm of Aracruz, started to remove the Indians

using heavy force, because they had occupied the Aracruz harbour.

According to the indigenous social movement rhetoric, particularly expressed by the supporting NGOs, as well as by some researchers, the company's campaign was based on a *racist*[12] approach: the company used all possible means to win the land dispute and attempted to interfere with the cultural identities of the Tupinikim and the Guarani. The main campaign argument was that neither of the indigenous groups had title to the land as though they were only "alleged Indians", culturally degraded (the Tupinikim), or, originating from elsewhere (the Guarani). (Movimento 2006a, 2006b; UFES 2006[13]; Myllylä, 2007.) Thus, according to the Indians, the company decided to rely on another type of rough tactic by spreading disinformation about the indigenous groups, and targeting Brazilian society to achieve acceptance of its actions in the land dispute. The *cacique*s from both tribes were astonished to know the company's new argument because Aracruz had previously made various agreements with their Indigenous Commission *per se*. In the campaign material some maps and aerial photos were also used to indicate that indigenous villages did not originally exist in the area that was contested.

It is obvious that "quasi-scientific" research was used in the campaign, namely a report written by a number of anonymous anthropologists hired by Aracruz for the company's appeal in response to the Federal Court decision to widen the area of indigenous land. According to the local NGOs the report was also distributed to Aracruz's partners in order to gain support for the company's interests. The purpose of the report was to devalue the contemporary Tupinikim community and culture as unauthentic by invoking the colonial impact, their *caboclo* (mixed Indian-white) background, and also referring to modern lifestyles, as many Tupinikim live in brick *houses* and some possess satellite dishes,

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[12] Concerning "ethno-racism" towards indigenous peoples in Aracruz Municipality and discrimination at the State level, see Lopes 2008; Cota 2008.
[13] Research group discussion, *Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo*, Vitória.

which are typical of Brazilians in general. The *cacique* Wilson Jaguaretê, whose entire Tupinikim identity – from his name to his headdress and skin painting – was deconstructed: it was claimed that all his cultural features were false or copied from other tribes, in order to illustrate the assertion of "alleged Indians". The *cacique* challenged the report written by anonymous experts, and referred to the collective memories held by the elders as more valid knowledge:

Who were these 16 anthropologists and where have these studies been published since we have not seen them? The memories of our elders, what happened in the past, are more important.

Thus, the company's campaign arguments as to how the 'real' Indians should *not* live and express themselves, represent an imaginary and myth-driven viewpoint that is discussed particularly in the postcolonial indigenous peoples' studies (cf. Tuhiwai Smith 1999[14]). Sidsel Saugestad (2001: 64-65) points out that when contrasting various cultures, indigenous peoples have been defined through *dominant negations* and *generalised characteristics*; for example, in the case of the Bushmen, presenting them as the people of the past, or defining them by the *absence* of valued qualities from the dominant culture (lack of resources, living outside towns etc.). However, he also argues that indigenous peoples want to participate in development, but on their own terms, and not to reject development. A living culture's chance to survive and develop itself depends on its ability to control the introduction of modern elements, such as new technologies, and not to turn them down (p. 64). As Veli-Pekka Lehtola (1999) also analyses certain stereotypical images about the Saami people, he concludes that remaining in a static cultural state as "authentic Saami" would have led to cultural atrophy for the Saami people. On the contrary, an

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[14] Linda Tuhiwai Smith rejects "post-colonialism" as she considers that colonialism continues to have comprehensive impact on indigenous peoples.

awareness of their own culture's vitality has enabled the open-minded assimilation of new influences, and thus a cultural upheaval. So according to Aracruz campaign rhetoric, representing a kind of museum approach, the Indian cultures should remain unchanged and without connections to Brazilian society. This is also related to the "ethnic purity" approach (Silva 2006, pers.comm).

The Guarani *cacique* described their view of the campaign, comparing it to the ostracised position of the indigenous peoples of Brazil:

We have already suffered that our reputation is spoiled in general. Now we are referred to as something that we are not: attempts are being made to take our identity away and simultaneously, the land struggle is twisted. The Aracruz president himself has claimed that the State area has never been inhabited by Indians, even though already at the beginning of the 18th century, the Tupi-Guaranis lived here. By denying the existence of the Indians the company tries to close its eyes on our presence.

Aracruz's workers and over 300 partner companies – including the Finnish Metso Corporation, which supplies Aracruz and Veracel with pulping technology – became involved in the campaign because these company logos were included on the roadside signs. According to the Metso management, they did not know about the campaign and hence their logo was used illegally (Seppälä 2008, pers.comm.). Local researchers claimed that Aracruz employees were pressured into participating in the street campaigns in order to keep their jobs. Furthermore, according to several Brazilian civil society organizations, their staff and activists, who supported the Indians in various protests, were intimidated by the company in various ways. (Myllylä 2007.)

The campaign led to a lawsuit against Aracruz, filed by Brazil's Federal Attorney's Office. In December 2006, the publication of the report, together with allegations that particularly the Tupinikim are no Indians, lead to a condemnation of Aracruz

by the Federal Court, for discriminatory behaviour. (MST 2007.) Furthermore, in August 2007, Brazil's Minister of Justice signed an administrative ruling declaring the contested area claimed by the Indians as indigenous land (18 070 ha). This resolution changed the direction of the long-term land dispute. It remains to be seen how the situation between the Indians and the company will develop in the near future.

8. The Pataxó: divided due to social programs?

In the state of Bahia, the Pataxó Indigenous Reservation was officially registered in 1861 as an Indian settlement, although the Pataxó have been living in the area long before the colonial period. The principal settlement of the reservation is *aldeia* Barra Velha, located on the coast of Porto Seguro. It is divided into several smaller recognised regional sub-units or sub-villages. According to the 2005 official census, Barra Velha's population was 1082 people (*Sociedade Nordestina de Ecologia* 2001: 58). As it is legally registered, some others, such as Guaxuma, still claim demarcation and legalisation. The relations between the Pataxó and Veracel Celulose are diverse since the company has only recognised three of the 16 Indian villages. Veracel has a rather good relationship with Barra Velha while there is no dialogue with the Guaxuma community.

According to the *Instituto Observatório Social* report (2005: 39-42) Barra Velha villagers have mentioned several positive initiatives and social programs by the company, namely the preservation of the environment, the prevention and control of forest fires, preservation and recuperation of rivers and some donations to the community. Among the negative aspects identified, a reduction in the number of jobs and the toxic contamination of environmental resources were mentioned. In my research in Guaxuma, water pollution and the death of fish were observed by the villagers.

Aldeia Guaxuma keeps claiming the right to demarcate the land, for which they have been waiting for around 15 years, living on insufficient land of 240 ha for 28 families (150 people). This area of land was degraded by the former occupant, the wealthier landowner (*fazendeiro*), and there is no natural forest left. The community's livelihood is precarious, coming from subsistence farming and crafts for tourism. (Photo 10)

Photo 10: *Guaxuma in a poverty pocket. It is a rather striking view that a eucalyptus field surrounds the village on every horizon – one member described it as an "approaching tsunami". Photo: Susanna Myllylä.*

In 2004, in an attempt to grab the attention of the authorities regarding the Guaxuma community's land claim, they decided to organise a demonstration obstructing federal highway BR-101. They set fire to a lorry holding Veracel eucalyptus and kept some public officials captive. According to the Pataxó, Veracel was the

demonstration's target because it had planted eucalyptus on a property it was aware within the boundaries of the area being claimed. The Indians stated they have no interest in a dialog with the company, and that all they want is recognition, legalisation and respect for their land. Veracel, in turn, argued it had only bought the properties after verifying there was no conflict or litigation between the 41 proprietors and Indians, and that until that moment the authorities had not concluded studies to define if such a tract is traditional Indian land. (*Instituto Observatório Social* 2005: 40-41.)

It seems that Veracel has not been explicitly involved in such violent confrontations as in the case of Aracruz in Espírito Santo[15]; rather the *fazendeiros* have forcefully evicted Indians from their villages to prepare land sales to Veracel. This is indicative of how complex the phenomenon of agribusiness is and that it entails numerous actors, whose role is not sufficiently acknowledged when discussing the impacts of pulp production. Some Pataxó leaders argue that when the company tries to persuade them to support its production by offering money, it is just a corporate strategy to expand the area used for eucalyptus. The different relationships with the villages raise the question of possible negative impacts for internal cohesion among the Pataxó, i.e. the divisive tactics aimed at driving a wedge between the groups[16]. The *cacique* of the Guaxuma states:

When (the President) Lula came to inaugurate Veracel, the company attempted, as always, to present themselves as a friend of the Indians – as if it would have some kind of informal partnership with *all* the Pataxó. In Barra Velha the company has helped with tree nurseries and given cattle. We in Guaxuma try to keep voice

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[15]In 2010 the armed security team of Aracruz/Fibria opened fire on two small farmers who collected firewood in northeastern Bahia. One farmer died and another one was injured.

[16] The study by Haller et al. (2007) shows that in many instances, the MNCs' strategy is to attempt to divide the indigenous groups: this applied to the majority of the oil company cases they examined (14 out of 18).

that things are not quite what the media presents. So we took back the area where we started to cut down eucalyptus.

According to Veracel – already two years prior to the completion of the pulp mill in 2005 – the company trained a group of Barra Velha villagers on how to grow native Atlantic Forest tree species:

For three days, members of the tribe learned the techniques that will allow them to establish a nursery in their village for the production of native species. The idea is to produce trees destined for recovering degraded areas on their land, also ensuring the reproduction of species used in their production of handcrafts, the main economic activity of the Indians in the extreme south of Bahia … Although they live in the Atlantic Forest, the participants in the training program revealed that one of the most important things they were taught was how to recognise the trees when they were still very little. "We only see big trees and never knew how to identify the seedlings". According to Cosme Brás dos Santos (Tixuí Pataxó), the knowledge of the production processes of these types of seedlings will help the Pataxó remain true to their cultural roots. (Veracel News 2003.)

This social project would serve as a useful practice for the Pataxó in search of sustainable use of forests, considering that some families use illegally felled hardwood for making crafts to be sold for tourists. On the other hand, it bears some kind of irony when a global monoculture firm, which just started to plant gigantic areas of clone species in the area, teaches indigenous peoples how to sustain biodiversity of natural forests that have been mainly logged by numerous monoculture activities throughout Bahia's history. (Photo 11)

Photo 11. *From the road to Monte Pascoal National Park. Colonisation and exploitation of the Atlantic Forest for more than 500 years have taken a heavy toll, and as everywhere along the Atlantic coast, the original forest can be mainly found in isolated patches and steep slopes, conserved due to the difficulty accessing them. Photo: Susanna Myllylä.*

9. Corporate tactics to deny historical facts

The Pataxó have a minor relationship with Veracel in regard to employment opportunities. Their suggestion to collect plantation waste wood was rejected by the company, as it does not want outsiders to enter its area. Land use diversity in general has diminished in the region, as observed by one Pataxó:

The arrival of eucalyptus has created more poverty. It has not created jobs – nothing. Before, coffee, papaya, and also cattle used to be grown here, all of which created employment. Instead of improving the socioeconomic situation in the region, Veracel, on the contrary, has increased poverty.

Some Pataxós claim that Veracel has illegally planted their traditional lands, and not even the discovery of human bones in an area that appeared to be their old cemetery has stopped the company from planting eucalyptus there. Speculations arise as this disrespect or even denial of the historical existence of the Indians in the area represents purposeful strategy by the company:

It has happened at least in one case, but after the company had already bought the land. In front of Meio da Mata village, close to Monte Pascoal Park, was all our ancestral land, and there human bones were found according to my knowledge. Nevertheless, the company started to plant eucalyptus in the area. Then there was another case – a French journalist arrived in our village and saw the negative social impacts caused by Veracel. He travelled to a conference organised by the pulp producers in the United States and exposed what he had seen. Veracel tried to prevent the publishing of the news by announcing that this area did not have Indians when it arrived here.

In addition, the plantations have erased their ancient trails. The above examples resemble the claims by the Tupinikim in Espírito Santo where they accused Aracruz of intentionally purchasing land where their traditional cemetery is located. The Indians considered it part of corporate tactics to destroy existing historical evidence of their presence in the region prior to the arrival of the company.

Veracel aims to achieve national and international acceptance by emphasising that it is not a rainforest logger, but rather a protector of the region's last natural forests. However, this typical corporate "rainforest protector argument" has been challenged due to several incidents connected to environmental violations, and problems concerning the reception of FSC certification, which also addresses respecting indigenous peoples' rights. (See Myllylä and Takala 2010.)

In the 1980s, the government granted the Pataxó villages access to 21,000 acres of the national park and kept the remaining

36,000 acres under government control. Since then the federal officials have been talking with tribal leaders about giving the tribe more land, but only if the Pataxó move to another area and relinquish their claims to the park. (Rohter 1999.) More recently, co-management (*a gestão compartilhada*) of the park has been discussed and suggested by the environmental authorities and FUNAI, however, its contents have remained ambiguous for the Pataxó. Besides, co-management of protected areas is generally an uncommon phenomenon in Brazil. Hence, due to numerous interest parties – the Pataxó, Ibama, Veracel, *fazendeiro*s – the land ownership question in Bahia is very complicated in terms of what may be expected to take place in the near future. According to FUNAI and its research (i.e. identification process) carried out by anthropologists, the entire Monte Pascoal National Park and adjacent areas – including large portions of Veracel's plantations – are to be demarcated as Pataxó territory, which is based on archaeological excavations in the study. This news will not be warmly welcomed by other actors, namely the protected areas administration of Ibama and conservationists, nor Veracel Celulose. (Myllylä 2007)

10. Conclusions

It is obvious that in Brazil the government's various policies – that of economic growth, protecting biodiversity and demarcating indigenous peoples' lands – collide in many instances. The ever-expanding agribusiness of multinational pulp corporations occupy greater land areas, which are often inhabited by indigenous peoples and other poor rural communities. Their unresolved and ambiguous land ownership question due the bureaucratic, and even sometimes corrupted practices by official institutions lays the basis for land disputes.

In this analysis, I have attempted to discern those multifaceted local situations in which the three communities of

indigenous peoples encounter global corporations in the form of land conflicts. The ultimate goal of the companies seems to be a strategy indicating that their adversary does not represent an indigenous group originating from the place in question. The pulp corporations have exerted diverse tactics, from social programs to violent confrontations and the devaluation of indigenous identities in ways that seem imperialistic. Much of these tactics have been aimed at obtaining societal acceptance for corporate interests. Social programs by MNCs often serve as cases of governance and guided inclusion targeted at indigenous communities. The three Indian groups, in turn, have defended their territories by collective action, as a New Social Movement and via their own tactics, such as protests and land occupations in order to achieve publicity and societal acceptance. The land struggles are inherently related to the communities' primary livelihood, the Atlantic Forest. The processes of ethnoterritoriality, due to confrontations with multinational companies, have profoundly affected the identities, social cohesion and even the worldviews of the indigenous communities.

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Contributors' information

Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez, Doctor
E-mail: uds.iiefgs@salvador.edu.ar / edelacebo@yahoo.com
International Institute for the Study and Training on Goverment
and Society
Vice-Rectorate of Research and Development
University of Salvador
Rodríguez Peña 770
1020-Buenos Aires, Argentina

Daniel Chartier, Professor
Email: chartierdaniel@uqam.ca
International Laboratory for the Comparative Multidisciplinary
Study of Representations of the North
Département d'études littéraires
Université du Québec à Montréal
Case postale 8888, succursale « Centre-ville »
Montréal (Québec) **-** Canada H3C 3P8
Tel.: (514) 987-3000 (ext. 4926)
Fax: (514) 987-8218

Helgi Gunnlaugsson, Ph.D., Sociology
E-mail: helgigun@hi.is
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Iceland
101 Reykjavik - Iceland

Marcus Lepola, MA
E-mail : mlepola@abo.fi
Department of Ethnology
Åbo Akademi University
FIN-20500 Turku, Finland

Susanna Myllylä
E-mail : susanna.myllyla@uta.fi
School of Business and Economics
40014 University of Jyväskylä
Finland

Rannveig Þórisdóttir
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Iceland
101 Reykjavik - Iceland

Reports

After the Gold Rush – Iceland Conference

In May of 2010, a conference titled *After the Gold Rush* was held in Reykjavik, Iceland, organized by the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, at the University of Iceland. The aim of the conference was to explore various aspects of the current global economic crisis from a broad social science perspective.

Many observers had pointed out that Iceland was the first victim of this world wide crisis and the nation worst hit. Therefore, Iceland was felt to be an ideal location to host such an event addressing these historic events.

In the conference global and local aspects of the crisis, as well as their intersection, was emphasized. Furthermore, the current crisis was compared historically with other such events, and how different crises connect to each other.

The conference was very informative and successful. International scholars, who participated in the conference, turned out be more than twenty, representing different parts of the world; Europe, Canada, Africa, United States of America, South-America and India. Icelandic scholars, who participated, numbered more than forty. The conference was multi-disciplinary, with sociologists, anthropologists, historians, economists, councellors, librarians, philosophers, political scientists among others, submitting papers on the subject matter. Many of the participants expressed the view that this multi-disciplinary approach was the key to the success of the conference. Social reality was profoundly captured, by using a variety of theories and methods from different scholars, representing multiple disciplines. The topics addressed in the sessions, included economic and labor market issues, social morality, the role of mass media, social images, health care issues,

immigrants, and crime related matters, and how these reflect and are being shaped by the current world-wide crisis.

The President of the Social Science Facutly at the University of Iceland opened the conference. He formally invited all participants to the conference, and emphasized, how important the topic was to modern society – in particular how the topics address every day lives of common people, but not only the elites and the business world. Three plenary presentations were given, by two international scholars, and one local researcher. Karin Ho, Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Minnesota gave a lecture titled „Financial Dominance and Crisis in the United States: The Cultural Practices and Consequences of Wall Street Financial Institutions". In it, she analysed how different indexes in Wall Street are being interpreted and socially constructed by different actors on the market. Stefán Ólafsson, Professor of Sociology at the University of Iceland, gave a presentation called „From Gold Rush to Collapse: Iceland´s Financial Rise and Fall Explained". In the talk, Ólafsson put the current crisis in Iceland in a historical perspective, tracing it back to the Great-Depression in the 1930´s. Finally, Fantu Cheru, Professor Emeritus and Research Director at the Nordic Africa Institute in Sweden, closed the conference by his paper; Ripe for a Revolution: The Quadruple Crisis and the Search for a Progressive Global Development Strategy. In his presentation, Faru demystified the power structure of the world economy, and how less affluent nations are being subjected and oppressed, by reigning market forces and the logic of rich and powerful nations. Social resistance was neccessary and possible, by adoping global social strategies to alter the social order of our world economy.

The conference ended with barbecue and wine on an island just off the Reykjavik harbor. This island, Viðey, has become internationally known since Yoko Ono helped setting up a peace monument there in the memory of her late husband, John Lennon.

The night was beautiful and there conference participants enjoyed themselves, over looking Reykjavik City a few miles away.

Please check if possible to insert a photo of participants from this news letter – on page 8.

http://www.hi.is/files/skjol/felagsvisindasvid/Frettablad%201tbl.pdf

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) In 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) In 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) On 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:

Miikka Pyykkönen, miipyyk@yfi.jyu.fi
IBAN: FI3550350420022335 (Swift/BIC code: OKOYFIHH).

Contact

Dr Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez
International Institute for the Study and Training on Goverment and Society
Vice-Rectorate of Research and Development
Universidad del Salvador
Rodríguez Peña 770, 2º p.
(C1020ADP) Buenos Aires - Argentina
Phone/Fax: (+54-11) 4813-1381 / 4813-0681
E-mail: uds-iiefgs@salvador.edu.ar / edelacebo@yahoo.com

Miikka Pyykkönen, PhD
Cultural Policy
Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy
P.O. Box 35
40014 University of Jyväskylä - Finland
Email: miipyyk@yfi.jyu.fi

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.

Vice-Rectorate of Research & Development

Paula Ortiz MBA, Vice-Rector
Viamonte 1856
(C1056AAB) Buenos Aires - Argentina
Phone: (+54-11) 4813-9630/1408
Fax: (+54-11) 4812-4625
E-mail: uds-vrid@salvador.edu.ar

International Cooperation and Exchange Department

Dr Mirta Barreiro, Director
Rodríguez Peña 752
(C1020ADP) Buenos Aires - Argentina
Phone: (+54-11) 4814 – 5026

Fax: (+54 - 11) 4814 – 5025
E-mail: internacional@salvador.edu.ar

Scientific Publications Department

Prof. Haydée I. Nieto, Director
Rodríguez Peña 770
(C1020ADP) Buenos Aires – Argentina
E-mail: hnieto@salvador.edu.ar
300

Research Department

Dr Geneviève de Mahieu, Director
Rodríguez Peña 770
(C1020ADP) Buenos Aires – Argentina
Phone/Fax: (+54-11) 4813-1381/0681
E-mail: gmahieu@salvador.edu.ar

- *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.

International Institute for Studies and Training on Goverment and Society (IIEFGS-VRID- University of Salvador, Argentina & Università di Pisa, Italy)

Dr Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez, Director
Rodríguez Peña 770, 2º piso
(C1020ADP) Buenos Aires – Argentina
Phone/Fax: (+54-11) 4813-1381/0631
E-mail: uds-iiefgs@salvador.edu.ar / edelacebo@yahoo.com

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% or 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.

Contact Information:
University of Iceland
Sudurgata, IS 101 Reykjavík
Tel.: (+354) 525 4000
Fax: (+354) 552 1331
hi@hi.is, www.hi.is

Office of International Education:
Neshagi 16, IS 107, Reykjavík
Tel.: +354 525 43 11
ask@hi.is, www.ask.hi.is

University of Iceland, Registration Office:
Sudurgata, IS 101 Reykjavík
Tel.: +354 525 4309
nemskra@hi.is, www.hi.is

For comments and/or questions about the University of Iceland Web site please contact: webmaster@hi.is

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

The University of Oulu & Thule Institute (Finland)

The University of Oulu in Finland was founded in 1958. It is one of the largest universities in Finland with an exceptionally wide scientific base. There are 17 000 students and 3 000 employees at the University and research is done in more than 70 fields of science in six faculties. The faculties are humanities, education, science, medicine, economics and business, and technology.

In 2008, 1932 Master's and Bachelor degrees and 123 Doctoral degrees were taken. Scientific publications numbered 2238. 84 invention disclosures and 3 patent applications were realized.

There are three research focus areas at the university:

- Information Technology and Wireless Communications
- Biotechnology and Molecular Medicine
- Northern and Environmental Issues

In addition, new initiatives are advanced steel research, international business, and geo- and mining engineering.

The Thule Institute is a unit of the University of Oulu that promotes interaction between different disciplines and carries out high quality research in the field of Northern and Environmental Issues, one of the University's focus areas. Thule Institute's activities focus around research programmes, graduate schools and Master's programmes. The Institute also operates in national and international networks in the field of Northern and Environmental Issues.

The research programmes are titled Global Change in the North, Northern Land Use and Land Cover, and Circumpolar Health and Wellbeing. Research is also done in the fields of Environmental and Resource Economics, Environmental Technology and in the programme Human- Environment Relations in the North - resource development, climate change and resilience. The research

programmes include academic education and research training. In 2008, the number of staff working at the Institute was 38 and the number of researchers, PhD students and graduate students working on research projects supported by the Institute was approx. 210.

More information:

http://www.oulu.fi/english/

http://thule.oulu.fi/englanti/index.html

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

The Master's Degree Programme in Cultural Policy is a social science based study programme, connected to many disciplines via teaching and research both in Finland and abroad. The key areas of education are:

- Actors, instruments and impacts
- Access and participation
- Cultural economy and creative industries
- Cultural diversity and citizenship
- Relationship between art and technology
- Geaography and cultural policy

The multidisciplinary master's and doctoral programmes in cultural policy develop students' preparedness to:

- analyze the historical development and future of cultural policy in various geographical and sectoral contexts
- compare and explore international and national systems of cultural policy and questions of cultural economy

- evaluate the position of culture and cultural policy in societal transformation processes in public, private and third sectors
- critically apply theoretical, methodological and empirical know-how in working creatively in internationalizing brances of culture

The programme is aimed both at Finnish and international students with a bachelor's degree (majoring in social policy, political science, sociology, philosophy, art history, art education, literature, music science, ethnology or history), offering them the opportunity to complete a master's degree. It is possible to continue from the master's programme into the Doctoral Programme in Cultural Policy. As a unit, Cultural Policy collaborates with the Foundation for Cultural Policy Research CUPORE.

The Doctoral Programme in Cultural Policy leads to a Doctorate (PhD) in Social Sciences. The programme collaborates with the Finnish Doctoral Programme in Social Sciences (SOVAKO). Research and teaching within the master's programme are part of the multidisciplinary "Centre for Research on Multicultural Issues and Interaction", and the programme participates in the U40 capacity building programme 'Cultural Diversity 2030', organized by the German Commission for UNESCO.

In addition, the unit of Cultural Policy coordinated the organization of the 6th International Conference on Cultural Policy Research (2010) and the 4th Nordic Conference on Cultural Policy Research (2009).

For more information check our website:
http://www.jyu.fi/ytk/laitokset/yfi/oppiaineet/kup/en

Contact:
Kangas, Anita, PhD, Professor
Cultural Policy
Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy
P.O. Box 35
40014 University of Jyväskylä
Finland

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

Fundación de Altos Estudios Antárticos & Ambientes Extremos (FAE)

Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez, President

Ayacucho 926, 4º B

C1111AAD – Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina

Phone: (+54-11) 4961 9958

Email: edelacebo@yahoo.com

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.

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
Jarkko Saarinen: jarkko.saarinen@oulu.fi
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

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CIRCUMPOLAR SOCIOCULTURAL ISSUES

The *Foundation for High Studies on Antarctica and Extreme Environments* (FAE, Argentina), together with the *International Institute of Studies and Training on Goverment and Society* (University of Salvador, Argentina) and the *International Association of Circumpolar Sociocultural Issues* (IACSI), publish the 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. The fifth issue will be published in June 2011. **Deadline for the manuscripts addressed to the fifth issue is February 15, 2011**.

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.

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), and the
University of Québec at Montréal (International Laboratory for the Comparative
Interdisciplinary Study of Representations of the North, "*Imaginaire du Nord*", Canada).

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
- 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
- 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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The next issue of *Arctic & Antarctic - International Journal of Circumpolar Socio-Cultural Issues* will
be published in Mai 2011. Contributions must be sent before the end of February 2011.
Besides articles, the issues can include seminar and conference reports, book reviews,
comments or discussion:

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