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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).

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Our past and present beliefs on the History of the Sea Nomads of Tierra del Fuego. Concepts from the 17th to the 21th centuries

Ernesto Piana
(CADIC, CONICET, Ushuaia, Tierra del Fuego)

Abstract

Between the 18th and the first half of the 20th centuries three main concepts dominated the picture on the Magellan-Fuegian sea nomads: they were primitive, cornered in Tierra del Fuego, and had recently settled the region. These conclusions, rooted on historical and ethnographical information and repeatedly concluded in tautological and unverifiable presentations. By the late 20th century new archaeological data lead to discard those previous concepts. In today's panorama the way of life based on the exploitation of coastal resources in the Beagle Channel region would have begun around 6500 14C uncal. years B. P. and not much earlier. The later process is seen as adaptive and not as stagnation. The system was able to maintain equilibrium until the early nineteenth century due to an energy subsidy generated in a much larger area than the actually foraged one. In that century, the balance would have been broken by overhunting of seals by Europeans, Americans and Creole. The sea nomads had no opportunity to retrofit their system to the new environmental state: the almost extinction was immediate.

Key words: Yamana; Yahgan; Tierra del Fuego; Archaeology; Concept's History; Littoral adaptation; Beagle Channel; Sea Nomads.

Early assessments

When the Europeans arrived to the austral tip of America, the Beagle Channel - Cape Horn archipelago was peopled by sea nomads (fig 1) that rowed between islands and made their living mainly from sea and littoral resources. A large list of ethnohistorical writings on them is available (see Orquera and Piana 1999a: 547-567).

Up to the late 1970`s three main concepts lead what was thought to be known on this world`s southernmost people: that they were *primitive*, that they were *cornered* in such extreme tip pushed down by stronger neighbours, and that their settlement in the region was somehow *recent*. All the three concepts floated on the undervaluation of this archipelago environment, and the assumption that the sea nomads had always been as they were seen by the Europeans.



Fig. 1 Ethnic distribution along the 18th to 20th centuries.
Yamana and Alakaluf were sea nomads.

Although earlier close encounters of coastal inhabitants of the Magellan Strait and western explorers had already occurred (García de Loaysa in 1526; Juan Ladrillero in 1557; Francis Drake in 1578; Simon de Cordes in 1599; Sebal de Weert in 1600; Van

Noort, in 1600), the first meeting with the *Yamana* was that of Jacques L'Hermite fleet in February 1624. This event is described in the expedition logbook (Anonymous 1643), most probably written by the cosmographer Jan van Walbeek (Orquera and Piana 1995:188). The encounter turned unfriendly, as may be expected when one of the parties was recruited with piracy purposes (Lane 1998).

From that very start false appreciations on the *Yamana* outcropped: "...by their nature and character, these Indians are more like animals than humans. Apart from feeding on raw human flesh and that we have not noticed in them the slightest trace of religion or culture, they are totally devoid of shame" (from Spanish translation in Gallez 1975).

By then, the medieval preference for the unusual exotic and monstrous over truth and reality was still rampant and a mantle of alleged fierceness was thrown upon the Fuegian sea nomads.

It takes to go forward some 150 years to find new descriptions on the *Yamana*. Into the 18th century, the Age of Enlightenment, when the desire to understand rationally the nature unfolded on distant landscapes and their inhabitants prevailed. There was a bloom of explorations based on commercial objectives and aimed to gather more methodical and systematic geographical data, particularly on navigable routes. This required open minds and sharp observers of what was new to them. At that time geographical, flora, fauna and people descriptions were considered as "naturalist" studies.

In the Magellan Strait, the French Louis Antoine de Bougainville (in 1767) and the Spanish Antonio de Córdoba (in 1786) met the northern sea nomads: the Alakaluf. In the southern region Captain James Cook landed in Good Success Bay (in 1768) and Christmas Sound (in 1774). Along the first trip Joseph Banks accomplished the naturalist on board tasks while the German Johann Reinhold Forster –with his soon Johann Georg Adam Forster as assistant- did so in the second. Both had solid

backgrounds to make systemic observations and records.



Fig. 2 Early draw of the Fuegian sea nomads after Hawkeaworth, 1774, II, pl.7

In the 18th century travel books or exploration accounts became a literary genre in itself, including graphics (as fig. 2), that was highly appreciated by the European public. No wonder why, in spite of the Admirals effort to restrict and control the diffusion of the exploration events, many legal and clandestine publications appeared (Torres Santo Domingo 2003). Even so, from an ethnographical stand point, these publications were more devoted to the South Pacific people so the impact on what the public opinion thought on the Fuegian groups was but light.

For a set of reasons, the publication of travel account scheduled to be written by Johann R. Forster including both his and Captain J. Cook notes, finally appeared under the name of his son (Forster, G. 1777), a young man 22 years old by then. Cook`s own writings appeared few weeks later (1777) and had great public acceptance.

Even so, the most meaningful and substantial analyses of non-Western cultures that have emerged from Cook trips was that

of the father's work (Forster, J. 1778) who extracted a more general sense of such foreground. Forster's approach is thoroughly scientific; it made comparisons to look for causes in the material relations, thus his speech is full of concepts that seem modern today. Nevertheless, J. Forster was not on the more radical line of the materialists of the Enlightenment philosophy, still invoked Providence, still had vestiges of the conception of human degeneration along the History and did not accept biological evolution (in the crude way in which it was conceived then). In contrast in the social and cultural field he was already evolutionist, this long before Condorcet and Lamarck and probably being a source for the later. He did not accept the myth of the "noble savage" that was fashionable in the eighteenth century and his attitude to the Yamana was a distaste based on his belief in the advantages offered by a civilized society. He awarded them with *degradation, indolence, and stupidity* qualifications and considered their way of life as *painful*. But he conceived that human characteristics were not innate and must have some sort of explanation. As for the Enlightenment beliefs in fashion, he focused in two causes to search for such explanation: environment and education. The proposed explanation was rooted in a false and undervalued appreciation of the Fuegian environment. He judged the Yamana country as poor in food and drew social consequences from such evaluation (Forster, J. 1778 II: 317-318). Also, because geographical location, he attributed isolation to the residents and believed that such isolation would have been detrimental for the transmission of knowledge (*idem*: 301 and 317).

Foster assessed that the Yamana seemed to be victims of revenge or insolence of some more powerful tribe that would have driven them to this inhospitable tip of the American Continent (Forster J. 1778 II: 313). Or that they were unfortunate outcasts of some neighbouring tribe, that carried a sweeter life somewhere else, and forced them to live in this wild portion of Tierra del Fuego, where they have imperceptibly lost all ideas except those

that are constantly renewed by imperative needs (Forster G. 1777 II: 505).

Therefore, three core concepts on the valuation of the state and history of the sea nomads of Tierra del Fuego emerged in his work, which later reappeared again and again: the appreciation of the Fuegian **environment as hostile**, harsh or negative; the interpretation of their **lifestyle as miserable** and unhappy (this by comparison with Europeans and other Aboriginal communities); and the belief that they were **cornered** in this environment by other societies pressure.

With end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, Britain devoted the efforts to the expansion of a formal and informal empire. Other European countries soon followed into what in the last decades of the 19th century became an imperialist race. The outside coasts of Tierra del Fuego and surrounding sea were sailed in the late 18th century and the beginning of the 19th by sea lions hunters and passing by explorers, but this activity grew intensively after 1815.

The condescendence and the pejorative trends

The archipelago of Tierra del Fuego used to be considered a hindrance or obstacle to the passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was James Weddell (1825) who, back from his travels around hunting sea lions, reported that in these islands had safe harbours and abundance of drinking water and wood. This modified the consideration that the sailors have had on Tierra del Fuego. Before a decade, the British Admiralty commissioned a fleet commanded by Parker King and Fitz-Roy to recognize the area. Soon other explorers visited the archipelago.

The exploration and commercial exploitation activities carried out in the first half of the 19th century collaterally left more or less extensive records of encounters with *Yamana*. Within these writings two trends may be neatly recognized: one of condescendence, the other pejorative (Orquera and Piana 1995).

Exception made of James Ross none of the ones in the condescendence trend had aristocratic roots. James Weddell (1825), in two journeys maintained repeated contact with the sea nomads, traded with them, gave away small gifts, welcomed them in his brig, and left a handful of stories and anecdotes describing them as friendly, peaceful and picturesque. William Webster (1834) Medic of the Foster expedition, Charles Wilkes (1844), James Ross (1847), and J. Parker Snow (1857) left a peaceful and joyous picture of them. Anyway all of them kept considering the Yamana as miserable and apathetic beings. Also all agreed (judging under Western customs) in express abundant complaints about their fondness for their persistent and blatant thievery. But the writings left by these seamen have not too noticeable prejudices.

Weddell, whose only school was the sea and made it to Captain because of the Napoleonic War (Piana 2006) made some speculation on the Fuegian sea nomads. On the regarded conditions he pinpointed the environmental conditions were they lived as causes of their physical structure and lifestyle. On their past put forward two alternatives either it “must be supposed that the ancestors of these tribes were in the same state of ignorant stupidity as the present race”... “unless we suppose that they were from North of the Magellan Strait and came to an unproductive territory, which gave no means to continue with the arts learned and gradually ceased to remember” (Weddell 1825:189-190). The negative consideration on the Fuegian environment held valid.

At the same time, other writers were much more openly biased to reflect the dominant ideology and prejudices of the 19th century. Most of them had aristocratic origins. Their writings structure the aforementioned pejorative trend. Outlined examples because of their subsequent impact on Western thought are Fitz-Roy and Darwin.

In his first voyage, Robert Fitz Roy came as an officer of the fleet of Parker King on board of H.M.S Beagle from 1826 to 1830, with the purpose to make up a detailed map of the Atlantic -

Pacific oceans pass and to explore the unknown archipelago. Towards the end of the trip, as the fleet Second Commandant Fitz-Roy explored the Tierra del Fuego southern islands and rowed for the first time into the channel named after his Cherokee-class brig-sloop Beagle.

Fitz-Roy relationship with the inhabitants was somehow distant, but enough to born in his mind some detrimental concepts and the idea to take back to England a few natives with the objective of “civilize them” and then bring them back to be helpful in a transculturation process. This turned into a well-known event with the embarking of four sea nomads in the Beagle (Hazlewood, 2000).

After overcoming several obstacles set by the British Admiralty -and largely at his own costs- Fitz-Roy finally made it down again to Tierra del Fuego on board of his old ship, and as Commander. In this trip Fitz-Roy embarked Charles Darwin, his choice as Naturalist, but superior orders gave this charge to a surgeon who latter disembarked in Rio de Janeiro. Then, Darwin undertook the task although being unrecognized by the Admiralty. By 1883 they were in the Fuegian channels (Thompson 2005).

Fitz-Roy was always strongly dogmatic in religious and social concepts while, at that time, Darwin was a young ex-seminarian interested in geology and biology (not the great naturalist who became years later). Both shared the general assumption that the situation of commercial and political dominance of England was a direct indicator of moral, cultural, and even biological superiority. Subsequent personal stories strongly confronted with each other. Also, their writings and actions led to, at least, two new trends of thought on the canoe men of Tierra del Fuego which clearly differed; both having their own lights and darks. This was not a result of their intentions, but a consequence of their thoughts being inserted in a time of changing paradigms in the Western society.

The Fitz-Roy descriptions of the Yamana and Alacaluf still

have great significance (1839 I: 394-430 and 1839 II :175-189; fig. 3), but include frequent apprehensive and derogatory value judgments. Darwin`s subjectivity and dislike (1839: 235-on) of the Fuegian people were even greater. He compared their actions with those of the Royal Garden`s orangutans and judged that their ability could not be improved by the experience, so equivalent to the instinctive behaviour of animals. Both perceived the scarcity of material goods and its simplicity as a symptom of congenital disability and indifference to the "high concept" of work. They felt their way of life as miserable and degraded, and interpreted that this situation was caused by the lack of chieftaincy and private property. Based on previous beliefs and lead-to-please answers of Jemmy Button on board of the Beagle, Darwin and Fitz-Roy kept considering the Yamana to be cannibals.



Fig. 3 Early engraving of a Yamana man, after Fitz-Roy 1839

Darwin (1839: 235) stated that people of the American extreme south had the world`s lowest state of progress, but this is not to be understood as an evolutionary approach, it only meant that the natives were considered to be in the lowest step of a scale ordered from the simplest to the most complex. An appreciation compatible with Creationism so, in general, shared by Fitz-Roy. The evolutionary approach bloomed in Darwin`s mind only years

later. However, when the evolutionary theory won adherents, the supposed hierarchical low position of the Fuegian people generated and maintained a concept which has long dominated the view that Europeans had of them: **biological and cultural primitivism**.

The sea nomads of Tierra del Fuego were used to exemplify stages overtaken by mankind both culturally and biologically, and, given that “simple” was almost equivalent to “antique” or “early”, they were regarded like "living fossils" that enabled to observe the lifestyle and behaviour in the European “prehistory”.

In sake of brevity the two concepts can be exemplified in a single author: Lubbock (1865, 1867). He believed that the canoe men of Tierra del Fuego were "for the antiquarian what the opossum and the sloth account for the palaeontologist " (1865:408) and used with few modifications the Yamana's description of Darwin to illustrate how life was in the Danish Mesolithic *Kjokkenmoddings*, at that time recently discovered.

To conceive the canoe men as living fossils from a biological standpoint, raised the interest for their cranial shape and measurements, and this turned into a serial dug out of graves (of course in the name of science and the museum collections) (Orquera and Piana,1995). The worst and unforeseen effect of the “pejorative trend” outcropped from the interplay between the characteristics ascribed to the canoe men (primitivism, "living fossils", proximity to animal behaviour, oddity, etc.) and certain features of the European society at that time (i.e. ethnocentrism , domain, commerce, capitalism, interest in the exotic, etc.). This is kidnapping or convenes by trickery of entire families of Fuegians so to be exhibited in cages in Europe (fig. 4).

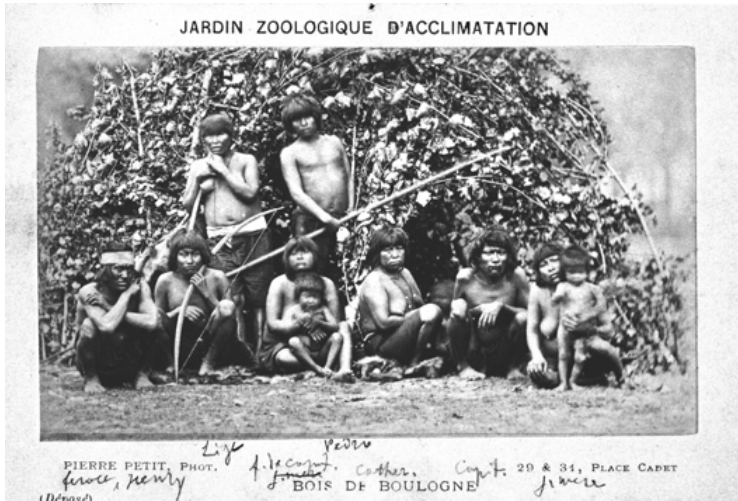


Fig. 4 Postal card done with a photo of 1881 taken by Pierre Petit in the Paris Zoological Gardens during while a group of Alakaluf was exhibited (in Fiore and Varela 2009:305)

In turn, the Fitz-Roy's actions derived into a more conservative trend of thought, it was also pejorative in the beginning but turned substantially modified over time. This trend rode on the globalization of Protestantism, which had in the 19th its great missionary century.

The Anglican Church, as the official church of the Kingdom with highest colonial development, expanded along with the British Empire, throughout a complex logic involving interests of the state, the church and private ones (Seiguer 2006). Consistent with his previous decisions, Fitz-Roy returned the three surviving natives who had been taken to England along with a catechist sent by the Church Missionary Society, Richard Matthews. Landed in Wulaia (Navarino Island, Chile), Matthew soon had to be rescued from the attacks of Yamana. Most probably, these aggressions emerged from the inconsistency between the intent of the newcomers to safeguard their possessions and supplies and the

lack of the concepts of private property and accumulation within the Yamana. A failure, but the seed was sown and the sailor and missionary Allen Gardiner founded 1844 the Patagonian Missionary Society (PMS), later the South American Missionary Society (SAMM), and made a new missionary effort that also failed. The Rev. George Pakenham Despard took up the challenge, but modifying the methods and getting back to the Fitz-Roy idea to take from their country a certain number of natives to be "civilized" and then return them with an assigned role of spearhead of the acculturation process. But instead of England he opted for Keppel Island (Malvinas, Argentina). In 1856 Despard and his family (including his 13 years old adopted son, Thomas Bridges) were established in Keppel. In 1859 they tried to establish a Mission Tierra del Fuego. A new failure. Two years later Despard decided to abandon the attempt and returned to England, but Thomas Bridges decided to stay on the island. In 1862, the PMS submitted a new superintendent at Keppel Island, Rev. H. Waite Stirling. By then T. Bridges had come to speak Yamana with some fluency and had begun to compile a dictionary of this language (Bridges 1933)

In 1869 Stirling found the natives good willed to assist, installed himself in a small cabin in Ushuaia and lived alone among them for six months (SAMM 1869: 106). But then, the Anglican Church appointed him as Bishop -the first one- of the Falkland Islands Diocese with jurisdiction over all of South America. Thomas Bridges, was ordained deacon in London and returned to assume the role of superintendent of the mission in Ushuaia. Respect to the Yamana, the initial considerations of the missionaries were not far from those of Fitz-Roy and Darwin. Stirling also attributed their cultural state to the lack of private property and chieftaincy (i.e. SAMM 1870: 34). But outside his speeches, in fact the missionaries coincided with Forster's belief on the value of education as a potential driver of change. Even though the nominal task of the mission was to spread the Gospel,

the chosen methodology tended to privilege the awareness of the advantages of Western civilization by offering food and tools for work, teaching new techniques (such as agriculture) and sedentarism, inducing to a life in which the effort has good long-term consequences (Seiguer 2006; cf Orquera and Piana 1999 a: 531-on). Also they were taught on the benefits of producing in order to commerce with vessels travelling along the Beagle Channel (Orquera and Piana 1999a:533)

The long lasting coexistence and the chance to learn the native's language allowed the missionaries to go beyond the superficial description of material goods and anecdotes and in most of the other fields emerged a much less incomplete and distorted vision of the Yamana than the one that arose from their predecessors. The aforementioned pejorative trend of thought became into a trend of vindication and understanding. The fallacy of cannibalism ended and the concept of Fuegians as "surviving fossil" was abandoned. In this, T. Bridges was particularly important because he achieved a very good knowledge on the customs of the Yamana, especially in fields as behaviour and social life (Orquera and Piana 1999a). He made public such knowledge in many different writings (cf. *ibid.*: 548-549) and also freely shared it with many incomers to Ushuaia

However, the issues of religion and aboriginal beliefs were left in almost total darkness. In this field the missionaries had an attitude of imposition rather than interest.

In the second half of the 19th century several expeditions sailed the Fuegian waters, from them the Mission Scientifique du Cap du Horn, that settled in Bahía Orange along 1882-1883, is the cornerstone. As part of a Polar Year research, its objectives were broad: astronomical, geological, oceanographic, climatic, botanical, zoological and anthropological (both physical and cultural). The anthropological survey was done by Dr. Paul Jules Hyades, one of the doctors of the expedition, and comments were added by the commander of it, Cap. Louis Ferdinand Martial. The photographic

record of Yamana, -undoubtedly the best available- was in charge of Lieutenant Jean-Louis Doze (fig. 5).



Fig 5 Yamana family. Photo taken by the Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn 1881-1882 (Hyades and Deniker 1891).

In the scientific field, the current of thought in vogue at the time was Positivism. As expected from this standpoint, both Hyades and Martial based their writings in direct experience and empirical data. Their analytical results were clearly presented as objective but dissociated categories. Any speculation or interpretation that was not immediately apparent was left aside (Hyades 1885, Martial 1888, Hyades and Deniker 1891). The Yamana were neither presented as intrinsically good or bad or primitive, nor was any sort of explanations for their condition sought. They simply show them as individuals living and behaving in a certain way.

From popularization standpoint it is interesting to find out that novels (i.e. Alvarez 1898), memories (i.e. Payró 1898), papers of scientific divulgation or the state of the art (i.e. Dabbene 1911) and even newspaper articles (Anonymous 1884, 1902) of the time generally reflected the way of thinking led by T. Bridges on what was believed to know about the Yamana and their ancestors. Some

of them are spotted with - data from the Mission Scientifique du du Cap Horn.

As explained elsewhere (Orquera and Piana 1995: 202-203), since the late 19th century an important part of the Western society did not accept the "geographical determinism", mostly they would agree on the idea that the environment could establish certain limits on human activity and to pay more attention to history but it was conceived as made up by individuals and events without looking for generalizations. The interplay of both positions also entailed a shift towards particularizing the descriptions. Ethnographers and archaeologists followed this particularizing path, devoting him to identify and analyse configurations that apparently possessed unique and incomparable features.

Neither T. Bridges nor the French consider the Yamana as "living fossils" and, as the Positivism of the 19th century tended to avoid any speculation or interpretation that was not immediately apparent, the concept fell into disuse, at least concerning the Yamana.

Nevertheless the idea resurfaced in the twentieth century – somehow surprisingly - in the works of J.M Cooper and M. Gusinde.

The ethnographer's standpoints

The Evolutionism's seed had rooted the notion that data on the past could enable or help to understand the present. The Historicism shared such belief, but restricted it to particular contexts.

J.M Cooper was North American, PhD of Roman Academy and Doctorate in Sacred Theology by Propaganda College in Rome, and he was mainly involved with the "Historical Approach". Basically he believed that the thesis that the "marginal cultures," (as he termed them), were relatively unchanged survivors of cultures of "prehistoric times" (Flannery 1950). Consequently, "knowledge of the savage culture can help us to reconstruct the early stages of prehistoric cultural development" Cooper (1917: V).

He presented what he considered the evidence for this thesis and proposed canons of temporal reconstruction and also emphasized the importance of considering, along with evidence from spatial distribution, both the positive and negative genetic factors which he thought that conditioned the rise of cultural phenomena (Cooper 1941). He believed that through the comparison between cultures it was possible to order chronologically the appearance of different features (Orquera and Piana 1995)

By applying these techniques for historical reconstruction he felt that some headway could be made in inferring temporal depth and so he worked out sequences of development of cultural phases restricted to relatively limited geographical areas. He never subscribed to the over-all worldwide reconstructions arrived at by followers of the extreme diffusionist theories whose generalizations, in his opinion, were too sweeping (Flannery 1950).

Hence, with reference to the Yamana he stated that they looked to be the first human inhabitants of the territory they occupied, even previous to the Alacaluf (Cooper 1917: 219), and perhaps representatives of a culture carried by the oldest immigrants to South America that previously would have occupied all of the subcontinent (Cooper 1917: 225 and 226, 1924: 411-412 and 418), or at least of a culture that developed on the Pacific coast between Peru and Cape Horn (1924: 413-414). He considered that these cultures would have found themselves restricted of their large territory because of other more advanced cultures. Isolation, their nomadic way of life, the low soil fertility, and the usual easiness of shellfish gathering, would have conspired against progress of the Yamana. All these ideas were supported in observers' and missionaries' earlier writings because Cooper never had the opportunity to travel to Tierra del Fuego and meet the Yamana face to face.

The next author who influenced the thinking about the Yamana was Lothrop. He followed the line of thought of Cooper and reshaped the concept of "forced cornering" assuming that the Magellan-Fuegian sea nomads had reached their respective territories by being displaced from northern Chile due to pressure

from Andean farmer (Lothrop 1928: 193-194 and 199). Since by then a no great antiquity was accepted for the agriculture in South America and based on his own examination of the Beagle Channel archaeological shellmiddens, Lothrop suggested that the population of this region could only go back to the last centuries before our era. Along with to the **cultural archaism** and *the cornering*, this **recent peopling** of the world's southernmost islands became the third concept of repeated appearance in the academic image of Tierra del Fuego's past.

The following cornerstone in this account is the extensive work of Rev. M. Gusinde. He was an Austrian Catholic Priest who studied with the Mödling ethnologists, the core of the German Historic-Cultural school and Gusinde was involved with it (Gusinde 1937, 1951: 14-15 and 19). This line of thought was diffusionist, rejected the notion of progress and development stages replacing them with cultural circles and had an idealistic approach of culture. Gusinde also totally rejected the Darwinian Evolution (*ibid*: 24) and in the spiritual realm he neared the Creationism (*ibid*: 28 and 29). His interest on a supposed "primeval monotheism and monogamy" was characteristic of both the Historic-Cultural school as his religious engagement.

Hence, his theoretical standpoint was far away from Cooper's ideas. In addition, within their lifetimes, their countries were enemies in World War I, and although Gusinde was in Chile all of the war time, it is better no to bypass the historical frames. Their outstanding common factor is that they both belonged to the Catholic Church.

Gusinde conducted field studies between the Yamana in the austral summers of 1921-22 and 1923-24 while, as mentioned, Cooper never had such a chance. But it must be pointed out that his informants were fully acculturated and did not maintain their traditional lifestyle (Piana 2009). The remarkable work of Gusinde is based on an excellent compilation of ethnohistorical data and what these informants believed to remember of their past. A methodological problem that is still ongoing ethnographic field (Sahlins 1972). Gusinde's belief on the immanence of cultures and

historical immobility was such that he described his own reconstruction of what the Yamana would have been (as fig. 5) regardless what he actually saw (fig. 6).



Fig 6. Yamana informants and Koppers, Gusinde's assistant, in 1922. Photo taken by Gusinde. It is part of an album given to his guests, the Lawrence family. Collection of the Laboratory of Anthropology – CADIC.

Even so, Gusinde, as Cooper, also assessed that the Fuegian sea nomads would represent the oldest wave of the South America peopling (Gusinde 1922: 432-433). But adding that "these are the only ones entitled to give us a safe and satisfactory response on details of certain institutions and customs of the earliest epoch of mankind, the beginnings of human society" (Gusinde 1924: 42, cf. also 1951: 118), an assertion that could hardly be subscribed by Cooper's restrictive standpoint. A new standard was awarded to the Fuegian sea nomads. A more detailed review of the works of Gusinde and the evolution of his concepts can be found in Orquera and Piana 1995.

The first archaeological excavations in the region were

conducted by Junius Bird and made public in 1938. This researcher proposed two successive stages of evolution with replacement over time: the Shell Knife and the Pit House ones. That is, a dynamic past that refuted the idea of cultural immobility. On the other hand, as a result of his own archaeological research in continental Patagonia, he reported finding evidence of coexistence between humans and Pleistocene megafauna, which means great antiquity. Therefore, when asserting, as Lothrop did, that the human population of the southern archipelago of Tierra del Fuego may not be older than a couple thousand years (Bird 1938: 263), implicitly rejected or placed into serious questioning the concept of "living fossils"

Few years later the bet was raised by Imbelloni (bypassing Bird's assessments). He relocated the concepts of "living fossils" and "cornering" into a higher rank by using them as descriptive of the early peopling of all the Americas. Within this frame (Imbelloni 1947), the sea nomads of Tierra del Fuego were regarded as representatives of the oldest wave of peopling of the continent, a wave that would have occupied all of the Americas, and these ethnic groups would have kept almost unchanged in the southernmost archipelago because the cultural wave to which they belonged had been swept from almost all the rest of the continent by later and culturally better equipped waves. This panorama also floats on the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries misconceptions that under-valuated the Fuegian environment. Something like: they lasted in Tierra del Fuego because no one else wanted to go there, and the proof it was they were living in Tierra del Fuego. Circular reasoning. Tautology.

The general panorama of **primitivism** and **cornering** made up by Cooper, Gusinde and Imbelloni long enjoyed wide acceptance, especially in, Argentina, Chile and the European countries, and even made its way into synthesis, teaching and dissemination writings. The **low antiquity** postulated by Lothrop and Bird was widely spread through the work of the first, while the

assessment of Bird of a past with changes did not impact enough. The latter is not for lack of Bird's personal prestige or problems with his interpretation: it was mainly due to the limited publication of his results; and also maybe to the scarce attention paid by ethnographers to the growing discipline of archaeology, which still had to mature in its methodology.

By mid of the twentieth century, Canals Frau (1950: 405 and 410), as an alternative to the concept of "living fossils" or primitivism, introduced the vision that the lifestyle of Yamana and Alakaluf would have been the result of an adaptation process, but also kept the idea of cornering (Canals Frau 1950: 407). The new concept was to gain importance with time, but not due to Canals Frau's idea. Three reasons for this fact may be acknowledged. First, because he figured an adaptation to a general coastal environment, when in fact the coastal environments are highly variable among themselves. Second, because he presented that adaptation in a very schematic way and within the context of its highly questionable and inconsistent assessments on the total peopling of America. And finally, because the dominant mindset of the idealistic schools previously described, showed little willingness to consider different approaches.

Consequently, at that moment, the archaeological findings of Bird seemed irreconcilable with the ethnographic approach of Cooper, Gusinde and Imbelloni.

Menghin (1960 [1972]) attempted a synthesis (detailed in Orquera and Piana 1995). As a result, he accepted that Yamana and Alakaluf had been cornered, but not that this would have implied any sort of cultural immobility. He envisioned the cornering as generating positive adaptive changes. The process would have been accomplished "without any spiritual stagnation, so to say, an inability to absorb the unfamiliar and to incorporate it properly, much less was it a decline... specialization towards a coastal protolithic culture... was a great achievement" (Menghin 1960 [1972]: 41). One way or another, Menghin began to split

apart two concepts within the peopling of Patagonia: the movement of human beings as carriers from the culture they carried.

Menghin panorama was internally consistent and could be tested. However, nowadays very little remains from his scheme.

The sequence Cooper – Gusinde – Imbelloni - Menghin was, in fact, a succession of reconstruction and explanation attempts on the way of life and the past of the southernmost seamen, which was primarily based on historical documents from the 18th and 19th centuries and in the negative appreciation of the Fuegian environment

On the other hand, the descriptive sequence that may be traced from some writings of the first half of the 19th century and through T. Bridges, had reached its maximum expression for the Yamana with the work of the Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn. Within this line the French Joseph Empeiraire (1955) conducted the last ethnographic survey among the Alakaluf that turned into an extensive published monograph. His explicit intention was to not defend any thesis but try to present the essential parts of the data collected. This entire sequence also flowed over a negative conception of the Magellan-Fuegian environment.

By the same time, J. Empeiraire and Annette Laming (1961) continued the archaeological path initiated by Bird, excavating in 1952 the site Englefield, at the north of the Magellan Strait. The remains of technology and subsistence there found, seemed to them similar to those of recent sea nomads. In 1958 they obtained two radiocarbon dates (then a fledgling technique) with an age near to 8000 ¹⁴C years BP. ¹

This dating was questioned later (Legoupil 1988), but at that time it clearly faced to the presumption of a late or recent peopling. However, either because it was a single, isolated date or for other reasons, the fact is that this review was not done and it

¹ All ¹⁴C dates mentioned in this paper indicate uncalibrated radiocarbon years (non-calendrical)

was quoted as an intriguing and curious data.

Meanwhile, a new change was blooming: a closer attention to the environment.

Steward and Faron (1959) continued analysing the ethnographic information that emerged from the historical record, but focusing on livelihoods and the environment. Explicitly rejected the validity of assumptions such as the archaism and marginality (1959: 374, 381, 449 and 454) and in regard to the Magellan-Fuegian sea nomads, did not mention cornering. Steward and Faron thought that the key to understanding why these Indians were as they were was their dependence on mussels as food (see Orquera and Piana 1995). According to them, the gathering of shellfish would have favoured social isolation (1959: 382-383), a prolonged exploitation of mussel beds would lead to their exhaustion and consequently imposed nomadism (1959: 398) while, in turn, nomadic life would have forced to have few material goods (1959: 391).

Steward and Faron regarded the Magellan-Fuegian sea nomads as within what they considered a general rule: unproductive environments would lead to the formation of small, scattered and undifferentiated human groups (1959: 376 and 381).

The major advance of these authors was to begin to analyse the environmental conditions. His greatest fault was that, based on historical information and the lack of environmental data, overstated the importance of shellfish collection at the expense of activities and revenue from hunting and fishing.

An independent and interesting work, also with an ecological standpoint, was that of Peter W. Steager (1965). He criticized the notion of the Alakaluf and Yamana as cornered and primitive, linked the natural resources and their cultural features, and considered them as regulated by the environment, adapted to a specific niche, which he recognized as highly productive. It was the first positive consideration of the southernmost environment. Regardless warning Englefield, Steager accepted an apparent low

antiquity, found no difference between the -by then- little archaeological records and ethnographic material culture. So, he projected the ethnographic image into the past by postulating that there were no changes and, relying on the alleged persistence, valued the adaptive system as successful because it would have lasted without changes. Again it was circular reasoning.

There were other attempts to understand the Yamana from an adaptive perspective. Stuart (1974) sought the explanation of the flexible and unstructured social organization of those natives in the relationship between navigation conditions and unpredictable weather. Jackson and Popper (1980) focused on seasonal organization of the subsistence search and discussed its possible implications for the archaeological record. They all well warned on the importance of the mussels in regards to their abundance, gathering easiness and location predictability, but also in its scarce caloric revenue and the need for grease from pinnipeds. However, distance with no personal knowledge of the environment and a restricted base literature lead them to some considerably erroneous considerations (comments in Orquera and Piana 1995).

The ethnographic based approach turned into circular thinking, again and again, because of the lack of data from other sources. The attempts from an adaptationist interpretation searching for such new data in the ecological information made some correct statements regarding the sea nomads, but failed to advance much more, or interest for doing so was desultory.

A plateau was reached. To go further required archaeological contextualised and diachronic data, as also verifiable results and assessments.

Nowadays archaeological panorama

However, a traditional archaeological research limited to stratigraphic sequences of material objects or to detailed studies of time-isolated archaeological sites was not enough. To overcome

the state of prior knowledge it was necessary a long-range archaeological research that gained diachronic data from different points in the process of settlement and occupation of the region and made use of ethnographic, environmental and paleoenvironmental information (Orquera and Piana 1995).

In the western Magellan Strait, Ortiz Troncoso (1975 and 1980) excavated the sites Bahía Buena and Punta Santa Ana, finding interesting early dates for the presence of the sea nomads in continental Patagonia. Nevertheless, the analyses were limited to typology and stratigraphy

In the Beagle Channel and southern islands, these requirements led to a systematic archaeological research initiated in 1975 that gave rise to the Beagle Channel Archaeological Project (PACB –initials after Spanish name-; Orquera and Piana, 2009; Orquera *et al* 2006). The first excavated site, Lancha Packewaia, broke down the assumption of a recent human peopling of the Beagle Channel because of identifying occupations of about 4200 ¹⁴C years BP and also suggested that the notions of archaism and cornering were highly controversial (Orquera *et al* 1977). Progressively these concepts were completely discarded (Orquera and Piana 1984; Piana 1984). A little later, Legoupil (1989, 1997, 2003) started similar researches in Otway Sound and other places in the Chilean territory. Also in Chile, the initiative of Ocampo and Rivas (2000, 2004) has to be mentioned.

The archaeological investigation is in progress since then, and it should be expected that what we believe to know today about the past of the sea nomads will be modified in the future.

However, the sustained research provided a mass of information and some firm conclusions that are not easy to summarize and structure a panorama quite different from the previous ones.

Nowadays it is possible to differentiate three regions where the sea nomads peopling acquired certain individuality: the Beagle Channel region, the Otway and Skyring sounds plus part of

Brunswick Peninsula, and Chiloé Island and its surroundings, although the in-between spaces were also populated (Orquera *et al* 2010).

From now on this paper focuses the first region and will relate to others only when necessary for the subject.

Continental Patagonia from the Atlantic to the Pacific was peopled by terrestrial hunter-gatherers as far back as 12.000 years or little more (synthesis in Borrero, 2008). By that time, the Magellan Strait was not totally open so it was possible to walk dry-feet from the continent to today's Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego. Evidences of human presence from the 11th millennium BP found in this island, indicates the population spread of those hunter-gatherers (Massone 2004, Laming-Emperaire 1968, Orquera and Piana 2009, Piana and Orquera 2009).

The flooding of the Magellan Strait some 8000 years ago (Rabassa *et al* 1986) would have isolated a population group, both genetically and culturally. According to unpublished findings made in 2009 in the basal layer of Imiwaia I site on the north coast of the Beagle Channel, these people would have lasted at least until the arrival of the sea nomads (Piana *et al* 2010 MS).

Some 6500 years BP the Beagle Channel region started to be settled by people whose way of life depended on the exploitation of sea littoral resources (Orquera and Piana, 1999b, 2009). Almost from the same antiquity and on, there are findings of the same way of life at the north of the Magellan Strait (Legoupil 1988, 1997; Ocampo and Rivas, 2000; Orquera and Piana, 1999 b; San Román 2005, 2010). In both regions the recovered assemblages indicate an already well-developed adaptation towards the intensive use of littoral resources. Including the specific technology required. No traces of a previous experimentation stage have been still identified (Orquera and Piana 2005).

Where this adaptation did really start is still matter of argumentation (Orquera and Piana 2005). For Legoupil and

Fontugne (1997) and Ocampo and Rivas (2004) this way of life could have either started in the Magellan Strait inner seas or in the Beagle Channel. Instead, Orquera and Piana (1999b, 2005, 2009) pinpoint the Beagle Channel as a less likely alternative. More still, in 1988, based on the facts that the archaeological instruments found were already well developed, on the raw materials used for them, on the way that the environment was exploited, and on paleoenvironmental data, these authors put forward a hypothesis relating the coeval occurrence of this sea nomads way of life with the necessary presence of woods. Hence, such way of life would not be much older than the initial postglacial forest repopulation in the Beagle Channel domains that roughly matches the antiquities already found (Orquera and Piana 1988, Piana and Orquera 2009).

The previous considerations plus the finding in the oldest archaeological records of isolated lithic instruments made on raw materials imported from the Magellan region lead them to interpret the southernmost Fuegian islands as colonized for already pre adapted sea nomads (Orquera and Piana 2005; Fig. 7). No matter the geographic origin where these transformation and technological innovations had begun, the initial expansion of them along the southwestern South American shores would have been very fast. (Orquera *et al* 2010).

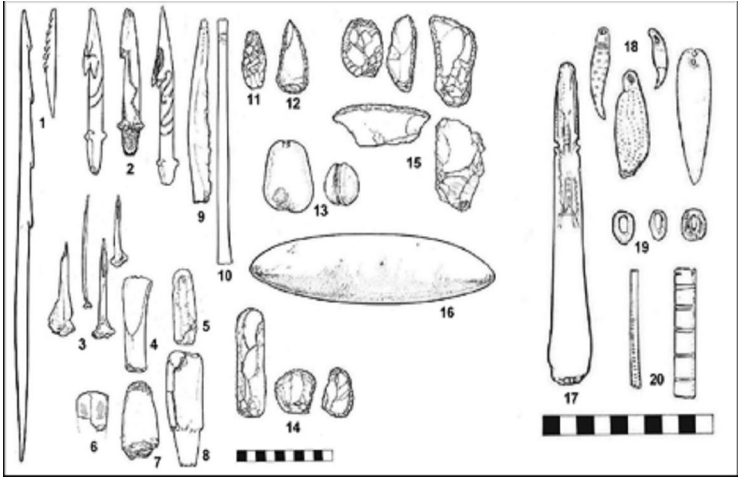


Fig. 7 Earliest sea nomads toolkit in the Beagle Channel. References: 1 Multibarbed harpoon heads; 2 Detachable harpoon heads; 3 Hollow awls; 4 Chisel; 5 Spatula-like tool; 6 Shell knife blade; 7 Wedge; 8 Stemmed wedge; 9 Flaker; 10 Sucking tube; 11 Lithic point; 12 Borer; 13 Fishing line sinkers; 14 End-scrapers; 15 Side-scrapers; 16 Pecked mallet; 17 Non utilitarian decorated rib; 18 Pendants on bone and teeth; 19 Shell necklace beads; 20 Bird bone necklace beads. After Piana and Orquera (2009:108).

In the region of the Beagle Channel it was possible to retrieve information about their continued presence over the last 6000 years. From the very beginning some sort of trustable navigation device had to be available (Piana 1984: 63; Piana and Orquera 1999; Legoupil 1994: 107). No significant differences were found in settlement patterns all along the sequence (Barceló *et al* 2002). All along the sequence data firmly leads to consider a canoeist and highly mobile life, with regular reoccupation of the same locations (Piana and Orquera 2010). There were technological modifications and innovations in the hunting weapons, little in the typology of the processing tools and some in its use (Piana and Orquera 2007, Alvarez 2009). Some authors think that the presence of subfoliated lithic spear points some

4000 years BP would indicate a migration or a population change (Schidlowsky 2001, Morello *et al* 2002, Ocampo and Rivas 2004), but Piana and Orquera (2007) think that it is more likely to see it as only the diffusion of a technological innovation which did not entail ethnic replacements or basic cultural changes. Anyway, their detection is restricted to Lancha Packewaia and one isolated finding.

In the alimentary resources actually exploited there were some changes both regional, depending on microenvironmental conditions, as along time, especially towards the last 1500 years when there was a greater evenness in the diet and an increase of the fishing activities (Zangrando 2009). Yet subsistence was based on the use-in-flexible proportions of pinnipeds, large and small cetaceans, fishes, birds, guanacos (*Lama guanicoe*) and mussels all along the sequence (Orquera and Piana 1999 b: 100). The environment (cold, windy and rainy) imposed high metabolic demands to humans. Local supply of vegetable food was totally inadequate; hence fat consumption was the only way to get enough energy. However, the natives did not live permanently in the verge of hunger, archaeological records indicate that their diet was rich in calories, mostly from fur seal (*Arctocephalus australis*) and from the very beginning the use of detachable head harpoons and canoes could ensure a reliable year round capture (Orquera 1999). Isotopic analyses (Panarello *et al* 2006) confirm the great incidence of maritime resources in the human diet. Currently, mussels are not evaluated as the primary source of food, as the ethnographers did. Measured their kilocalories contribution in various archaeological records, the role of "safety valve" they fulfilled as a source of fresh food -though low in calories- in between more nutritious procurements, is regarded as more important than their contribution to the diet (Orquera 1999).

The Beagle Channel people were not totally isolated. There are strong proofs of contact with de Magellan Strait ones in oldest archaeological records; later, the similarities of transformations in

both regions suggest either that such contacts continued or that both groups reacted the same way to internal or external stimuli, be them natural, cultural or both (Orquera and Piana 2005).

Therefore, in opposition of what could be expected for such a long period, the emerging panorama is that throughout the entire sequence the same trend of a human-environment relationship lasted without reaching points of no return.

This, in turn, required consideration. In general terms, within a half-a-day displacement in canoe, it was possible to find lithic raw materials to knap tools, fresh water, wood, pinnipeds, marine birds, fish, mussels, and, eventually, stranded cetaceans. The encounter rates might have been variable, but all these resources were always available. The only exceptions were the guanacos, restricted to the northern shore of the Beagle Channel and Navarino Island (Orquera and Piana 1999b). The even distribution of resources and the low magnitude of seasonal variations of the available dietary resources made their procurement a somehow predictable task. These circumstances do not necessarily encourage the elaboration of increasingly refined procurement tools and, according to the optimal foraging model, they favour social dispersion in small social viable groups evenly distributed throughout the landscape. Accordingly, no incentive for reaching greater levels of technological or social complexity has been found, and a greater complexity might have been counterproductive (Orquera and Piana 2009).

The unavoidable staple was the pinnipeds. Of them, the most exploited species, by far, was the fur seal (*Arctocephalus australis*). According to Schiavini (1990), its population would have been very abundant and the breeding rookeries would have been located in the outskirts of the Fuegian archipelago, in locations with aggressive seas, outside the scope of aboriginal predation. Also, the hunters did not reach the open seas where these animals fed, and could only catch individuals which approached to the shores. This explains the greater consumption of pre-reproductive

male individuals in the Beagle sites. It is true that the aboriginal predation might have reduced their stock, but also it is that the *Arctocephalus* may repopulate from distances exceeding 800 km. So, human predation would not have threatened the survival of the *Arctocephalus* population (Schiavini 1990, 1993).

More still, the income of migratory fishes from the Atlantic and the Pacific, birds both from northern and southern areas and cetaceous nourished in extended outside areas moulded an energy grant for the Fuegian archipelago. Top predators require extensive areas of primary production being this a limit for its demography. At condition of having the equipment and knowledge required to take advantage of the sea littoral, humans would not have such a roof down in the Beagle Channel region. To unbalance its environment was not achievable for the sea nomads.

And neither had it happened because of natural environmental changes. Due to its geographical location, after the last deglaciation the Tierra del Fuego climate was largely modelled by the surrounding oceans. Also sea waters were the media where more than the 90% of the diet came from. Isotopic analyses of the $^{16}\text{O}/^{18}\text{O}$ content of archaeological *Mytilus* shell indicates that the average Sea Surface Temperature varied less than 3°C all along the last six millennia (Obelic *et al* 1998) well within the range of cope capability of all of the exploited fauna.

The negative misconception of the Fuegian environment that started with the first European explorers was totally discarded. Nevertheless, the risk of having but little alternatives in the calories offer was underlined (Orquera and Piana 1999 b).

The regional favourable balance of resources over requirements - rooted in the almost constant immigration of food resources- should have favoured the Yamana to reach a population of some 2000 / 3000 individuals in the initial moments of contact with Europeans (Stirling 1867: 154, Bridges SAMM 1869, 1892: 317). This means a population density much higher than is common among hunter-gatherers. This demographic rate would

have been some thirty to forty times higher than that of the people of continental Patagonia when compared at the moment of arrival of Europeans to each region (Orquera *et al* 1984). On how was the population growth along the sequence there are only theoretical approaches, but the possibility that such growth has been rapid in the earliest moments with a plateau towards the last millennia is not discarded (Orquera and Piana 2006).

The collapse of this successful system happened by the end of the 19th century and was caused by the catastrophic pinnipeds depredation carried out by American, European, Chilean and Argentine groups, as well as by the introduction of sicknesses against which the indigenous populations had no antibodies (summary in Orquera 2002).

As a result

The assessment of a population of late antiquity has been rejected. The way of life and instruments developed are considered to be designed to take advantage of such environments and not of others, so the concept of "living fossil" was completely discarded. Instead of the concept of cornering, the process is seen as successful colonization of a new environment. The appreciation of primitivism was shelved by the adaptation.

The concept of adaptation abandoned its qualifying characteristic as had previously been used (i.e. Gusinde) becoming a tool for understanding. The social and technological simplicity is considered as a result of adaptive adjustment to conditions of abundance, reliability and low environmental diversity. Not as simple reflection of a lack of resources environment, as previously considered by the ethnographic standpoint. It is considered that it was not a lack of food resources, but its relatively homogeneous distribution, both spatially and seasonally, what lead the sea nomads to be organized into small and unstructured groups. Nor would the shortage of resources, but rather their abundance,

finding predictability and distribution evenness what justified an almost constant nomadism.

The emphasis in the preceding paragraphs to the consideration of environmental resources does not support environmental determinism. The environment shaped human behaviour either by imposing limitations or because some options were more economical than others. But there also was interaction: the integration of nomads with the ecological system was not merely passive (Orquera and Piana 1995). The advent of a greater evenness in the diet, the increase of fishing activities, the adoption of lithic weapons and the greater consumption of sub-adult pinnipeds are but a few reflections of such non passivity.

The current standpoint is not particularism: the pre 19th century southernmost sea nomads are considered as foragers (*sensu* Binford, 1980) or time-minimizer travellers (Bettinger, 2001). There are examples in other parts of the world in which other processes based on the exploitation of marine resources led to stratified societies and more complex technologies; the Beagle Channel case is just one extreme of the variability of human adaptive systems to coastal environments. The differences can be attributed primarily to the selective effect of different local environmental conditions on the possible behaviour variations. The Beagle Channel case is another example that the analyses of the adaptive potential in evolutionary processes should be evaluated not as abstractions but in close connection with local conditions.

The change of perspective is more than just descriptive, but does not include evaluative judgements.

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Iceland's (2008) and Argentina's (2001) crises: Are there any similarities?

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Abstract:

Ever since the dreadful days in October of 2008, when the Icelandic financial system collapsed, questions about the failure have dominated the public debate in Iceland. To many local observers this still remains a mystery, because the three largest banks apparently were all well financed in the summer of 2008, and then suddenly went bankrupt in the fall. How could this happen and why?

A detailed answer to this urgent question was expected to be answered in a report by an Icelandic parliamentary commission published in mid-April of 2010. The commission was set up in December of 2008 by the Icelandic parliament and was charged with investigating the causes of the banking collapse and identifying those individuals responsible, in either pursuing financial wrongdoing, or allowing it to happen under their supervision.

The report was originally expected to be out in November of 2009, but was repeatedly postponed. This delay created enormous pressure and public speculations, about what might be expected in the report.

In the paper some of the commission's findings will be presented and evaluated, by giving insights to both global and local circumstances, which eventually might have led to the Icelandic demise. The findings will also be compared to the

banking crisis in Argentina (2001), to seek whether any similarities can be detected to the Icelandic experience.

Key words: Banking collapse, parliamentary commission, neo-liberalism, laissez-faire, government.

Iceland's banking collapse

The Icelandic banks collapsed in October of 2008 in only a matter of few days. This turmoil in early October of 2008 took us all by surprise, because the banks were thought to be well financed, generating high returns only in the summer prior to their downfall. Suddenly, Iceland, a small nation of only 320 thousand citizens in the North Atlantic, found itself in the world-wide mass media, but for all the wrong reasons – as the nation worst hit by the global crisis (Chartier, 2010). Our local currency was drastically devalued, but the banks still managed to continue operating as before but in public ownership. Similar downfall of the local currency was also experienced in Argentina a few years earlier, or in the beginning of the new millenium.

Since the downfall, Icelanders have passionately debated the causes of this collapse; whether and how Icelandic officials and business community failed, and how much impact outside factors played in the crisis. Not surprisingly, key government figures and local business elites, all blamed outside affairs, such as the global crisis and the downfall of *Lehman Brothers* in the USA. Critics on the other hand, have focused on local responsibility, such as the faulty privatization of banks in 2002, and lax supervisory rules since by the government, in addition to greed and reckless behavior of local bankers and entrepreneurs. The answer to this dispute was not entirely clear, untill a long-awaited report by an Icelandic parliamentary commission, finally came out in mid-April of 2010 (*Truth Commission*, 2010).

In the report, the commission found stark weaknesses of accountability. Three former ministers were accused, as well as three former Central Bank governors, and the Director of the financial regulatory body FME, of gross negligence. What explains the Icelandic banking meltdown? The fall of Lehman Brothers and the resulting paralysis of money markets was the trigger for the final collapse, but a crash would have come anyway, because of the giant structural imbalances and the overreaching of the financiers (Wade and Sigurgeirsdottir, 2010). Thus, what really took place in Iceland up to the crisis in the fall of 2008? The commission set up by Parliament, was mandated to investigate this road to collapse.

The *Truth Commission* launched

This commission was set up in December of 2008 by the Icelandic parliament and was charged with investigating the causes of the banking collapse, and identifying those individuals responsible in either pursuing financial wrongdoing, or allowing it to happen under their supervision. The commission consisted of three people; a member of the Supreme Court and a former Professor of Law at the University of Iceland, who chaired the committee; the Parliament's Ombudsman, and finally a faculty in Economics at Yale University in the USA ("A commission appointed", 2008).

In January of 2009 the Icelandic parliament appointed an additional working group of three people to evaluate whether the downfall of the banks could in any way be traced to unethical behavior, or to the morality norms, prevailing in both business and politics up to the collapse ("Investigating business conduct and ethics", 2009).

The report from the commission, and the ethics group, was originally expected to be out in November of 2009, but was repeatedly postponed, until it finally came out earlier this year (April 2010). Ever since the commission was set up, great

expectations were built up among the public, while key players, both in politics and in the local banking sector, anxiously awaited its outcome. In public debates, many repeatedly referred to the report by stating „Oh well, let’s just wait for the findings of the commission“. This delay to some degree put an official lid on the debate on the causes of the collapse for a while, but at the same time created enormous public pressure and speculations about what might be expected in the report. Would this report be a cover-up by the government? The, then Prime Minister, Geir Haarde, at the outset, referred to the report as being a *White-Book*, which sounded to some as being a sort of white-washing of all responsibility for the collapse. Thus, from the beginning there were high hopes, but at the same time, mixed with suspicions that the whole thing was some how being rigged by the government.

Obstacles facing the *Truth Commission*

During the tenure of the commission several obstacles met them on the way. In June of 2009, one member of the commission was accused of being disqualified to execute their mission. This member had in an interview with a local student magazine at Yale University, where she was a faculty, expressed the view that the causes of the collapse in Iceland was due to both greed in the local business community, and lax supervision of government regulators. This accusation towards this member of the commission was made by the former director of FME, the Icelandic financial regulatory agency, who pleaded to the commission’s chair that she be removed from the commission – because these statements were not based on facts, but filled with emotions and allegations, made by the media and some politicians (“Pressured to resign“, 2009). This question of the removal of her from the commission was in turn forwarded by the chair of the commission to the President of the Icelandic Parliament to settle, and created there some up-roar. After some debate, it was decided that this decision was up to the

commission itself to make. They finally (the two other members probably) decided to keep her on board, after she had publicly claimed, she could still continue her work, despite these allegations.

Just prior to the deadline of the report November 1 2009, the chair of the commission, made a remark in a public radio interview, that the report would bring the Icelandic people the worst news this nation had ever received with their findings. Not unexpectedly, this comment made quite a stir in Iceland and magnified public expectations (“The bishop of Iceland asks priests to purchase a copy of the report“, 2010).

Later, or in January 2010, at a press conference, when the commission announced their second postponement of the report, one of the members of the commission claimed, that he had previously been involved in several investigations of major crime and bankruptcy cases in Iceland – but that this one had exceeded them all in gravity. Often times during their work, he had almost been in tears and felt very frustrated about what they had discovered (“Almost in tears over the report“, 2010). The magnitude of the problem at hand he claimed was not the commission’s fault: This whole affair would eventually become a major problem for the whole nation to resolve; what could best be described as a national disaster. Finally, the commission recommended that a public holiday should be declared for a few days to give all citizens an opportunity to read and digest the content of the report (“Tryggvi Gunnarsson: Annoyed and frustrated over what he has discovered“, 2010). Understandably, comments like this from the commission’s members intensified public expectations and made everyone anxious to see the report’s findings.

In February of 2010, a press release from the commission announced that they had sent out a letter to a total of twelve individuals to respond to the allegations made against them in the report, and that this procedure, would postpone the outcome of

the report for a few more weeks. These individuals turned out to be former ministers in the government just prior to the collapse; directors of the Central Bank and regulatory supervisors (“Twelve received letters of objection“, 2010).

Shocking revelations in the *Truth Report*

Finally on April 12 2010, the report finally came out. This was a 2,300 page report in nine volumes, based on interviews with almost 150 key actors, and a thorough review of documents from the financial system, which the commission had been granted full access to.

If we ever thought that this report would be a cover-up, it definitely did not turn out that way. In short, we can safely argue that the report was positively received by the public. In a way some sort of relief was felt by many. Accusations of misconduct had been flying around informally; now the evidence was standing there right in front of us.

The content of the report includes damning revelations; exposing deep failings in the financial system with senior politicians, regulators and bankers, all believed to be at fault with mistakes or negligence. The deepest criticisms were reserved for the three largest banks, which all had failed in a few days in early October 2008 (“Iceland negligent over banks“, 2010). These banks, which had grown up in a few years to be ten times bigger than the local economy, were said to have been effectively captured by some of their powerful majority shareholders, and their financial vulnerability been deliberately masked:

All of the banks were involved in a web of cross holdings of the owners and linked parties which were favorably treated by the banks they part-owned – and had been granted loans with a value of close to one-third of the equity of the banks by early 2008. Thus, rules about large risk exposures were not followed and difficult to see how the interests of the banks were protected

(“How Iceland’s banking flaws brought down the country’s economy“, 2010).

Not only the owners and the CEO’s of the banks were exposed and attacked in the report but also Iceland’s most senior politicians and civil servants, for their role in presiding over an out-of-control banking system. The most high profile of them all was undoubtedly the chairman of Iceland’s central bank at the time of the crash, who had shaped Iceland’s economy as prime minister between 1991-2004, during which he was the driving force behind rapid privatization of the banking sector – namely David Oddsson, the former leader of the largest political party, the *Independence Party*.

The report delivers him and other senior political and regulatory authorities with „mistakes or negligence“ in conducting their official duties in protecting the interests of the financial system and the public.

Now it is thought likely that some of these accusations will form a basis for Iceland’s parliament to convene a long-dormant constitutional court with powers to punish misdemeanors in public office. A new parliamentary commission was set up to decide on future actions. (“An investigative commission appointed by the end of the year“, 2009). In September of 2010 the Parliament finally decided to prosecute the then reigning Prime Minister of Iceland, Geir Haarde, for negligence up to the time of the collapse in 2008. A court and public prosecutor is now being set up to prepare the case against this former top figure of Iceland’s political system. Not surprisingly, this affair is totally new in Icelandic history, and evoked deep emotional feelings among many, and was very controversial in society and Parliament.

As for the owners of the banks and their CEO’s, a number of criminal cases are currently under investigation and some soon expected to end up in criminal indictments. How many it is difficult to say at this moment, but a few dozens quite possibly.

Iceland and Argentina: Are there any similarities?

Was the financial downfall really a question of a few bankers who went berserk in their greed, or due to public servants, who simply did not perform their official duties on their supervisory shift? Are things just as simple as that? We need to dig deeper in the social and economic environment, both in Iceland and in Argentina, for more meaningful answers to this question. The *Truth Commission* in Iceland gave this at least some lip service in their chapter on morals.

To speak out bluntly here; we can safely argue that an uncritical faith in the virtues of the market had captured the political and economic system in the western world – yet felt in grotesque dimensions and terms in the small economy of Iceland. Argentina also had earlier followed a similar pathway of faith to the market logic, transformation of society into a market, coupled with neo-conservatism and money reductions; a cocktail that just exploded in the hands of Argentinians. Together with hyper-presidentialism, characterized by a high political and administrative inefficiency, became the fuel that lit the fuse of the bomb during the past decade prior to the 2001 crisis (Acebo Ibáñez, 2009).

What we are referring to is a massive adoption of neo-liberal ideas by the ruling elites, with increased marketization, privatization of public assets, changing taxation policies favoring big businesses and the rich, growing materialism and an entrepreneurial spirit; all of this happened in Iceland and Argentina. At a time for Iceland when access to low interest loans was easily available on the international banking market; opening up routes for the notorious viking business raids, in Scandinavia and the UK in particular, where Icelandic entrepreneurs made huge investments.

At the same time, and closely associated with the free market rhetoric, we had a laissez-faire government policy in both countries, based on the premise that an unrestrained market logic

is best for all, and a naive belief in the self-regulatory potential of market forces. All of this turned out to be false, and ended up in a major wreck in Iceland and Argentina.

Thus, we are not talking about 20-30 individuals who bankrupted Iceland as some local observers wanted us to believe (Iceland Review, 2008) and the commission seems to support, at least in part. We are witnessing a bankruptcy of a social and economic policy, favored by great many, not only in Iceland and Argentina, but widely in the western world.

Instead of individual and piecemeal government actions directed against specific individuals, we need to implement a broader social policy change towards greater protection of public interests in the private economy. In short, we need to save capitalism from itself - more welfare oriented policies, where market principles do not absorb everything else.

Iceland's economic situation

But what is the economic situation like in Iceland? Obviously, Iceland is experiencing its deepest crisis since the country's independence in 1944. A huge volume of financial assets was lost in the crash, our local currency took a huge dive, at the same time as interest rates sky-rocketed. A case in point, Iceland became the first western country to apply to the IMF for emergency financial aid since 1976.

These events have seriously affected financial resources of both central and local governments, which are experiencing major deficits and extensive cut backs. The University of Iceland for instance, needs to cut back their budget for 2011, by 7 percent. Our inflation currently stands at 7%, previously usually hovering around 1%. Prices in residential housing have been on a sharp decline, while price-fixed mortgages are creating a serious financial situation for great many households. Individuals and companies who took loans in foreign currencies prior to the crisis have in

particular been severely hit. The current government has desperately been trying to alleviate this situation by various policy actions.

The immediate economic outlook for Iceland is therefore poor. The financial system is not fully functional; with currency restrictions still in effect, and some financial obligations, such as the *Icesafe* dispute still being unsettled. *Icesafe* was a banking scheme operated by an Icelandic bank in the UK and Holland, prior to the crisis, in which citizens of these countries were promised high returns of their deposits. As a result of the crisis these deposits were believed to be lost and the burning question was who was accountable – Iceland or the two countries in question.

In the long term Iceland's future is however somewhat brighter, with the infra-structure of the economy close to being intact. Moreover, local production of goods for the domestic market and exportation looks promising. Thus, all is not entirely black for Iceland, despite hard times. We have a public saying in Iceland, perhaps capturing the national spirit; *things will become better*, one day, we will see better times. Let us all hope Iceland eventually will.

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Landscape and human settlement dynamics in insular environments. An archaeological approach

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Abstract

Archaeological researches in island territories of the subarctic and subantarctic regions, at opposite ends of the planet, have largely developed independently. Therefore independent interpretive frames have also been developed to explore the dynamics of human settlement in the past, especially with regard to hunter-gatherer societies.

In the northern hemisphere, the archaeological studies are part of the research tradition of Paleolithic / Mesolithic Europe, initially developed with a largely terrestrial focus. Although in recent years new emphasis has been placed on research in coastal areas - including the subarctic area, the theoretical frameworks remain similar to those employed in the study of hunter-gatherers of the inland areas of continental Europe.

On the other side, the archaeology of Tierra del Fuego has developed close to ethnoarchaeological research, as native populations lived there until the end of XIXth century. It has emphasized the analysis of social processes, confronting archaeological data with ethnographic and ethnohistorical records.

We believe that models on aboriginal strategies build from this ethno-archaeological perspective constitute an excellent starting point to discuss some aspects of Scottish mesolithic archaeology. Recently we have adopted a comparative

approach; our starting point is focused in the differences in scales of analysis (environment, home ranges, etc.). In this paper we highlight some of the comparable features and offer a new perspective on the archaeological record and mobility of hunter-gatherer sites in Scotland using the ethnohistorical records from Tierra del Fuego.

Keywords: Scotland, Tierra del Fuego, Mesolithic, Selk'Nam, ethnoarchaeology.

Introduction

The history of archaeological researches in island territories of the subarctic and subantarctic regions, at opposite ends of the planet, shows that they have largely developed independently. Therefore independent interpretive frames have also been proposed to explore the dynamics of human settlement in the past, in particular with regard to hunter-gatherer societies. As for northern hemisphere, the archaeological studies are part of the research tradition of Paleolithic / Mesolithic Europe, initially developed with a largely terrestrial focus. In recent years new emphasis has been placed on research in coastal areas including in the subarctic area. Yet theoretical frameworks remain similar to those employed in the study of hunter-gatherers of the inland areas of temperate Europe.

In Tierra del Fuego, on the other hand, archaeology has developed close to ethnoarchaeological research, as native populations lived there until the early twentieth century. Archaeological research has then emphasized the analysis of social processes, confronting archaeological data with ethnographic and ethnohistorical records. Previous joint projects between our institutions have focused for some time on developing the theoretical and methodological areas of our discipline (Estevez & Vila coord 1995). The features of this territory, which is located in

a sub-Antarctic area, and the persistence of aboriginal societies until the beginnings of last century (Mansur, Pique & Vila 2007), facilitate analysis of a range of issues relevant to the establishment of human communities (remoteness, mobility, etc.) Here we discuss a new line of comparative research which aims to explore the results of archaeological and ethnoarchaeological investigations in subantarctic areas of Tierra del Fuego with the evidence for human occupation of Scotland during the Mesolithic. In the first instance we have identified an important difference in the scales of analysis (environment, home ranges, etc. We recently discussed this issue in relation to long distance mobility (Hardy *et al.* 2010). In this paper, we focus primarily in the territories and mobility of indigenous people of Tierra del Fuego, and, based on this we highlight the need to propose a new framework for the interpretation of Mesolithic settlement in Scotland.

Geographical background

Tierra del Fuego is a large archipelago at the southern tip of the American continent, between 54° - 55° S and 67° - 68° W (Fig. I). It is formed by a big island called Isla Grande (48.100 km²) and thousands of smaller islands off its west and south coastlines, up to Cape Horn. The entire area of the archipelago is 73.753 km². This almost parallels the area of Scotland, formed by about 800 islands: 78.772 km². The latitudes of Ushuaia in Tierra del Fuego and Portree in the Isle of Skye are almost exactly the same, though the climate in Tierra del Fuego and the marine environment is somewhat harsher.

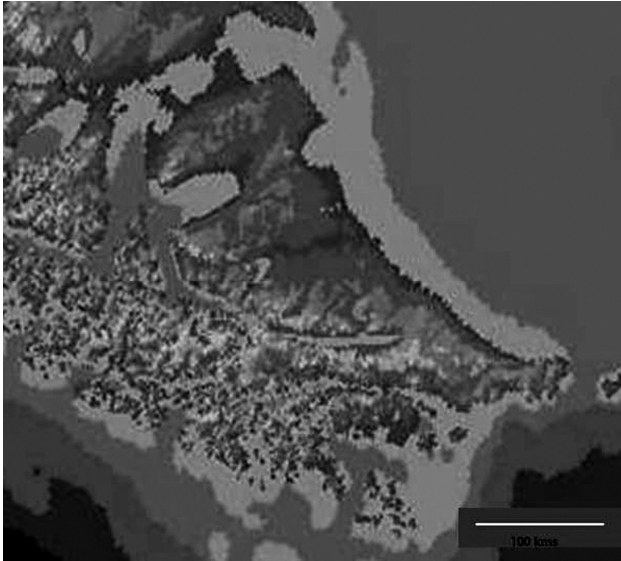


Fig. 1. Tierra del Fuego.

In Tierra del Fuego, the Isla Grande (around 45,000 km², henceforth "the island") is separated from the continent by the Magellan Strait and surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean to the east, the Pacific Ocean to the southwest, and Beagle Channel to the south. Its environmental characteristics are strongly conditioned by the Andes Cordillera, formed by a series of sub-parallel chains oriented roughly East-West. To the south, the Andes sink into Beagle Channel, forming an irregular coast with alternating bays and cliffs; to the north, the slopes descend gradually to terraced plains, modelled by different glacial events (Fig. 2).

The climate is windy and very cold. Humid winds arriving from Antarctica cause abundant precipitation on the southern slope of the Andes, and continue on to dry out the northern plains, where precipitation rarely exceeds 340 mm. In the central part of the island the climate is more continental, with relatively pronounced seasonal differences. In the warmest month (January)

the average is around 10° C, whereas in the coldest winter month (July) it falls to around -4° C. There is frost from the beginning of autumn to the end of spring; the ground can freeze to a depth of 0.80 m. Precipitation is abundant in the mountains (500 mm), where snowfalls can occur at any time of the year, and decreases over the northern foothills (300 mm), where the stronger winds contribute to considerable wind-chill. The winds are permanent throughout the year. more persistent and intense during spring and summer.



Fig. 2. Landscape of Tierra del Fuego a- Beagle channel coast
b- northern inland plateau (Source: M. E. Mansur)

The subantarctic forest covers the mountainous zone of the island, but vegetation types change from south to north according to climatic conditions and soil characteristics. Perennial mixed forests of the southern coast change into deciduous forest on the northern cordilleran slopes (Fig 3), followed by an ecotonal zone with wooded hillsides, and finally herbaceous plains on the northern steppe.



Fig. 3. Guanacos in a clearing of the forest in the ecotonal sector.
(Source: M. E. Mansur)

Tierra del Fuego

Ethnohistoric, ethnographic and archaeological record

Due to its position far away from ancient commercial routes, Tierra del Fuego was distant from usual navigation circuits

until the discovery of the Magellan Strait in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Since then, many sailors and travellers have visited its coasts and come into contact with the native population. However, the effective colonization of the island by Europeans took place as late as the final two decades of the nineteenth century. Because of this history of contacts there is an abundant and rich ethnohistorical documentation concerning these populations, from the first encounters with explorers, sailors, and naturalists, to the arrival of colonizers. Nevertheless, the best documents are those produced by missionary and ethnographer M. Gusinde (1937) and anthropologist Anne Chapman (1986, 2008), even though an intense process of social disorganisation had already occurred by that time (Borrero 1991; Chapman 1986, 2008; Mansur 2006; Martinic 2002).

Along with written information about the population in these recent times, there is an important record of systematic archaeological research results. They concern principally the southern coastal section (Orquera y Piana 1999 a, b) and the northern part of the Isla Grande (Borrero 1991, Massone 2002, Massone et al 1993).

This implies that our present day knowledge about population of Tierra del Fuego is the result of a permanent confrontation and integration of information proceeding from all these sources, and from historical, ethnohistorical, ethnoarchaeological and archaeological approaches (Mansur 2006, Mansur and Piqué 2009).

Up to the early 20th Century, Tierra del Fuego was inhabited by hunter gatherer populations with a material culture and archaeology that has parallels to the Mesolithic of the far north west of Europe (Fig. 4). Archaeological and ethnographic research have revealed that fuegian populations had developed two different strategies in relation to exploitation of natural resources: sea-nomads adapted to sea litoral resources and inland terrestrial hunter-gatherers. The sea-nomads in fact comprised two main

groups: the Yámana, who lived on the southern coasts, including Beagle Channel and the islands and islets stretching towards the south, and the Kawesqar, who occupied the islands and coasts of the western sector of Magellan Strait. In order to exploit maritime resources, they had developed an elaborate technology including harpoons, canoes, and other navigation and sea hunting equipment. Subsistence was based on hunting the two most common types of pinnipeds (*Arctocephalus australis* and *Otaria flavescens*), but they complemented their diet by collecting mussels and other shellfish, catching fish and birds, collecting eggs, mushrooms and berries, and occasionally hunting guanaco (*Lama guanicoe*) or exploiting accidentally beached whales. Families formed relatively independent units that periodically moved, sailing by canoe along the coasts. This strategy was highly dependent on the exploitation of forest resources, as most of the technology required availability of wood for the manufacture of canoes, long harpoon shafts, etc. Archaeological investigations have revealed that this strategy already existed along the Beagle Channel coasts at least 6,000 years ago (Orquera and Piana 1999a, 1999b; 2009).

The second strategy, of inland terrestrial hunter-gatherers, corresponds to two groups who occupied most of the territory of the island: the Selk'nam and the Haush. They had developed generalized strategies combining terrestrial mammal and bird hunting, collection of a wide variety of terrestrial and littoral resources, fishing, etc. The central and northern regions were the territory of the Selk'nam, while the Haush occupied the easternmost part of the island. The latter seem to have decreased in number very rapidly, a process that could be connected with the indiscriminate exploitation of seals carried out by seal hunter ships from the end of the eighteenth century onwards, as well as with the brutal encounters between natives and sealers. A rapid process of assimilation between the Selk'nam and the Haush took place by the end of the nineteenth century, coinciding with the European occupation of the island. When M. Gusinde visited the area,

between 1919 and 1923, the Selk'nam and the Haush lived side by side in the center of the island and the majority of the Haush informants spoke both Selk'nam and Haush languages (Chapman 1986).

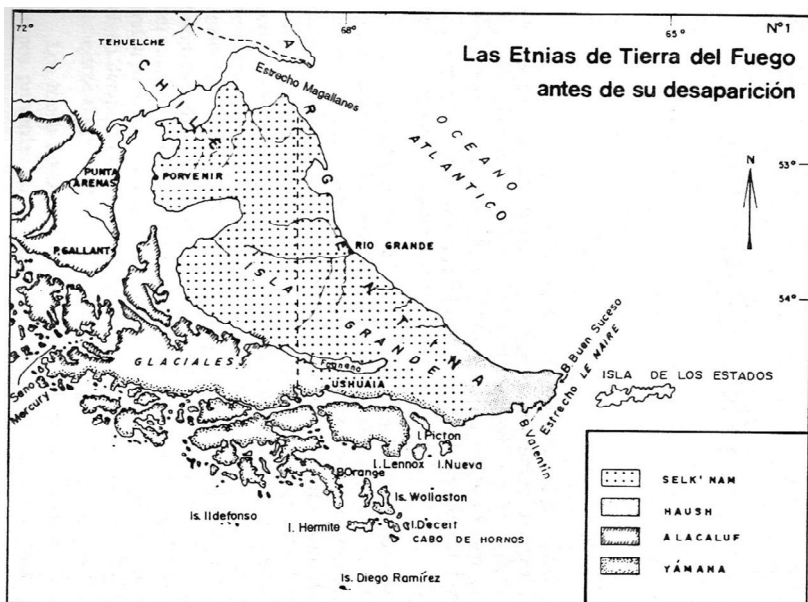


Fig. 4. Native societies of Tierra del Fuego, according to Chapman 1986.

As far as we know today, thanks to archaeological research, these two different strategies had long tradition. Archaeological sites in the northern part of the island reveal occupation by nomadic hunter-gatherers that depended on the existing land resources, as old as 10,000 years ago (Massone 2002). In fact, Tierra del Fuego was populated by hunter gatherers who arrived from the North, through the connection between the Isla Grande and continental Patagonia that existed in the area of the Strait of Magellan, at the end of the last ice age. By that time, the Isla Grande was in fact a peninsula of southern Patagonia. Slowly, they

extended themselves through almost all the territory of the Isla Grande. A second wave of population was that of the inhabitants of the South end of Tierra del Fuego, the “sea nomads”, who arrived by sea, sailing from island to island, from Western Patagonia, as early as 7,000 years ago (Piana 2010).

The Selk’nam territories

This investigation is the result of a series of research projects developed in the central part of the Island, in the environment of sub Antarctic forest. This area was a kind of refuge for Selk’nam hunter gatherers who, for historical reasons, were the group who stayed longer without the influence of the colonizers (until twentieth century, see Parmigiani et al. 2010). Because of this reason, there is a detailed and good quality ethnographic record about this population, produced by Dr. A. Chapman, who reported most of the informants who lived in the eastern Fagnano sector since the 1960s.

One of the subjects recorded was territoriality and mobility. According to almost all the written sources, the *Selk’nam* were divided into two groups, north and south. Their territories corresponded to the principal differences in landscape of their region: the northern *Selk’nam* occupied the steppe zone in the north and east of the island (*Párik*), while the southern *Selk’nam* inhabited the wooded hillsides, meadows and wide valleys of the central region (*Hérske*) up to the northern slopes of the Cordillera.

According to Gusinde, the *Selk’nam* lived in groups formed by a few related families, in defined territories called *haruven*. At the time of Gusinde's visits, thirty-nine *haruven* had been identified, all belonging to different lineages. Chapman (1986), however, working in the late 1960's, recorded 82 *haruven*. Among these, forty-four had territories that were coastal, while thirty-eight were based exclusively in the hinterland. According to Chapman, groups of 40-120 related people occupied each *haruven*. Membership of

the family regulated access to the resources of each territory. Sons inherited the rights to hunt from their fathers; other hunters from other families or different territories needed permission to obtain food or raw materials here.

According to this model of territorial use, all the inhabitable parts of the island were occupied; there were no lands, nor watercourses, that did not have owners. Nevertheless, Chapman (1986) showed that there was a continuous process of fission and fusion of territories, and that the territorial boundaries could be dissolved in a range of circumstances, in particular when food was abundant, such as when there was a beached whale.

Although ethnographic sources indicate that *Selk'nam* subsistence was based on guanaco hunting, it is known that a diverse range of resources were utilised. These included rodents and birds, they also fished in the lakes, lagoons and rivers. They collected different plant products for food, fuel and raw material, such roots, berries or fungi. They also exploited marine resources. Shellfish were collected along the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean and the Magellan Straits. Marine mammals such as seals were hunted on the coast with bow and arrow. In addition, they were opportunistic; for example, when a whale was beached by a high tide. A beached whale was an opportunity for people from different territories to gather together and sometimes led to the celebration of the *Hain* ceremony (e.g. Beauvoir, 1915; Bridges, 1951; Chapman, 1986, 2008; Gusinde, 1937). A high degree of division of labour was characteristic among the *Selk'nam*; hunting and fishing were men's responsibility while shellfish, fungi and plant gathering were the responsibility of woman.

Mobility was very high in the *haruwen*, they normally stayed less than one week in the same place. The main reason for this high mobility was the need to search of food and other resources available at different places and at different seasons. According to Chapman (1986), the migration of guanaco determined their movement inside their territories. Thus in winter, from May to

November, people used to live on the shore or, in inland territories, they would move into the valleys and steppes as the climate was milder here. In summer however, they would move into the forest and low lying hills, which were the guanaco's preferred grazing places. Some resources such as eggs and berries were available only during spring, whereas other resources were available all year round; these included rodents, seals and shellfish (mussels, limpets, conches, razor clams and ordinary clams). Because of a greater abundance of food during late spring, summer and autumn, people tended to gather during these times whereas during winter they tended to split into smaller groups.

Scotland

Archaeology of the Mesolithic.

The evidence for the Mesolithic in Scotland is strongly focused on the west coast, where many shell middens and lithic scatter sites have been found. Though the resource base is very good and there is likely to have been a strong Mesolithic population here, it does not mean that elsewhere in Scotland was as unoccupied as the material record suggests (Fig. 5). Though there are few locations where inland sites have been found, examples such as along the River Dee in north east Scotland and the River Tweed in the south, where concentrations of sites have been found, suggest that the inland use of waterways may be more common than the current archaeological record suggests (Hardy and Wickham-Jones C. (eds). 2004)

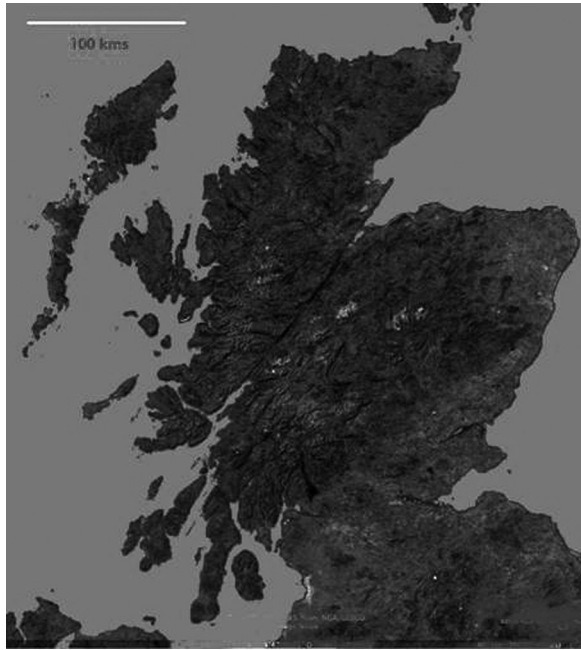


Fig. 5. Scotland territory.

Both these areas have been the subject of detailed and long term survey and it is safe to assume that concentrations such as these could well exist elsewhere. Fewer sites have been found on the east than the west coast though this is more likely to be due to a combination of a lack of archaeological visibility here as well as the nature of parts of the coastline which is relatively inaccessible in many places, due to high cliffs (Figs 6 and 7).

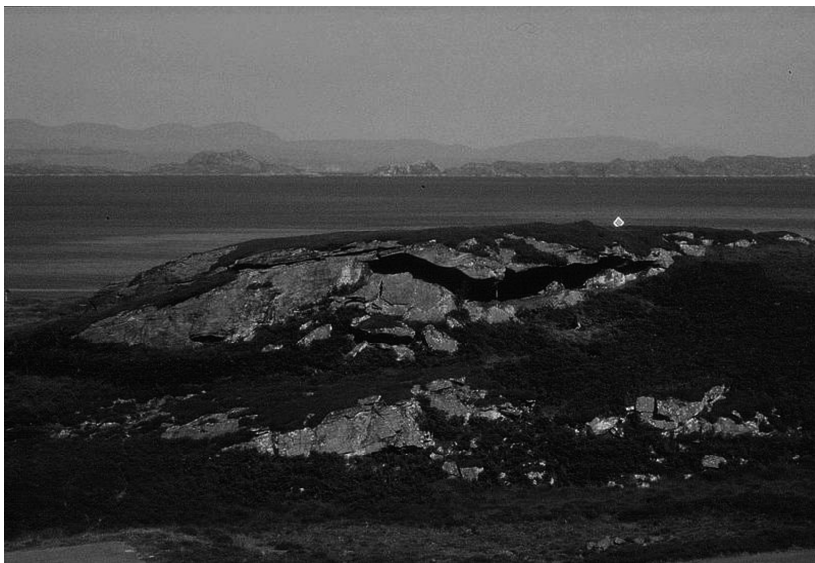


Fig.6: Sand Mesolithic site in Scotland west coast. (Source: K. Hardy)



Fig 7: Inland landscape in northern Scotland (Source: K. Hardy)

The material record for the Mesolithic in the north-west European corner is fairly homogeneous but the quality of information is not. There is a generalised use of microlithic lithic technology, an extensive use of bone and other organic materials to construct items of raw materials. Around the Baltic and along many inland central European river systems large cemeteries and rock art are found while waterlogged sites have produced a much more extensive assemblage of organic material culture. In Scotland and much of northern England, with the notable exception of Star Carr, sites consist primarily of lithics with the occasional evidence for structures of some sort, and some shell middens which can contain a restricted number of bone tool types and some evidence for the use of personal decoration. Consequently, we have little with which to build a social perspective.

Based on ethnographic examples of different hunter gatherer societies from latitudes similar to North West Europe, we cannot really assume that we are simply missing the evidence from other areas, but neither can we accept that our record is representative of a less elaborate social structure. We have little on which to build a social perspective and the contrasts that exist among hunter-gatherer societies in these latitudes in other places in the world, suggest that the level and type of social organization in the northern European Mesolithic cannot be assumed.

Discussion.

What can ethnoarchaeology contribute to archaeological interpretation

Understanding the past is about using a combination of hard archaeological facts in the shape of finds, and interpreting them using deductive logic.

As we have shown, for Tierra del Fuego, there is a wide record including archaeological, historical and ethnographic evidence. All of it allows undertaking discussions about social organization and way of life of the aboriginal populations. We believe that because of insularity (and isolation, after the opening of Magellan strait) as well as the characteristics already mentioned, Tierra del Fuego could be considered as a laboratory for the study of social processes related to maritime and continental hunter-gatherer populations.

On the other hand, our interpretation of the social structure of Mesolithic groups, into family-based bands and groups, is based on anthropological information from around the world. The use of ethnoarchaeological and ethnohistoric information to try to understand geographical structure, long distance mobility and social networks of prehistoric people is no different.

Following present day criteria related to political boundaries (nation, province, department, etc.), archaeologists are led sometimes to search for the same distinctions in the past (for example, “the Patagonian paleoindian”, the “French Mesolithic”, etc.) But we know that this cuttings are arbitrary, derived from present day situations related to research policies and not to past reality. They are conceptual constructions that we have to revise before we discuss the archaeological/social landscape.

Consequently, in this confrontation of information between both territorios, Tierra del fuego and Scotland, and considering similarities, as well in size, latitude, topography, etc., we believe that it is possible to use the fuegian model in order to hypothesize about the forms of past human occupation of the present day Scottish territory.

In our comparison, if Scotland, which was a north-west peninsula of Europe during much of the Mesolithic, is turned around and placed upside down over Tierra del Fuego, the geographies of these places become remarkably similar. They are

roughly the same size and both have thousands of islands around much of their coastline. Additionally, both regions have mountainous interiors and the interior of both places is cut by a deep water channel.

This different orientation of Scotland highlights the startlingly similar geographies of these two regions, and offers the possibility to explore Fuegian regional territories and mobility patterns in the context of Scottish, and indeed British, geography. Early results suggest that the though the weather and sea of Scotland's west coast can be treacherous, which is an argument sometimes used against high mobility, the distances involved even to the most far-off islands off the Scottish mainland, do not match those habitually navigated by the fuegian fisher-hunter-gatherer populations. Likewise the fuegian example demonstrates different possible ways of inter connectedness between islands, and also demonstrates how exclusive use of a small island, such as those found on the Scottish west coast, is not sustainable.

These distributions of population are directly related with mobility. All the inland sites in Scotland are near or adjacent to rivers: Looking at how this would actually have been possible for Scotland with its high mountains and difficult interior, faults such as the Great Glen offer the opportunity to traverse the whole country by boat, getting directly from east to west is more complicated but there are routes which require a very short distance of overland travel, for example up the Forth valley through Loch Katrine, and Loch Artlett to Loch Lomond, two small overland distances of around 1km each.

The extent of coastal and land based mobility of the Fuegian populations, when mapped onto Scotland, suggests that Scotland may have had no distinct or separate coastal and inland populations. Populations in the north, west and east are likely to have been connected through the Loch Ness fault. On the other hand, the area of relatively low lying land from the Midlands south

and east into Doggerland could have supported populations relying on inland resources.

Another important point is that of marine transport. Though we know, based for example on the movement of lithic raw materials, that people lived and moved between islands, this is tempered by the dangers inherent in marine travel here. If we examine the record for marine transport in Tierra del Fuego however, in coastal waters that are considered 'the fiercest place on all the seven seas', we observe that people habitually travelled across extended stretches of water in bark canoes. Even traveling in the Beagle Channel, which is relatively protected in the wider scale of things, can be extremely dangerous and difficult. But we know that people used all the islands, even the Isla de los Estados and the Isla Grevey and Wollaston (all at some 25 km into Cape Horn from the nearest points on the mainland), and this in spite of the winds. So how did they do it? Our answer is that they had a combination of very high resolution understanding of climatic conditions and extremely highly developed maritime skills. The only way to successfully travel in volatile open waters is to have a deep understanding of local conditions. In Tierra del Fuego we see this was not only possible but a part of everyday life. This suggests to us that we underestimate the skills people had, and that water should not be seen as a barrier, but rather as a highway, for movement and visibility.

We are just beginning this work. By looking at the overlying structure in this way, and by looking at large scale patterns of travel, we may be able to predict the most likely locations of archaeological sites, particularly in the geographically complicated north. We are also working with ethnohistorical information from Medieval Scotland. Scotland is a good place to explore use of the interior. It has a complicated geography with many high mountains and deep valleys or glens and lots of water in the form of lochs. This means that routes to travel from one place

to another is normally focused, and easy or even possible routes have not changed much really at all.

Conclusion

As we previously said, understanding the past is about using a combination of hard archaeological facts in the shape of finds, and interpreting these using deductive reasoning together with empirical data that provides usually a part of the answer; stable isotope analysis is a good example of a broad brush analytical technique that provides direction but does not provide 'fact'. The use of ethnoarchaeological and ethnohistoric information to try to understand questions of geographical structure and long distance mobility and social connections of prehistoric people is no different.

We believe that, based on the ethnohistorical and ethnoarchaeological data from Tierra del Fuego, together with the results of archaeological research, it is possible to draw explanatory models about social organization of hunter gatherer societies that can be used for different instances of palaeolithic/Mesolithic Europe.

In our case study, this information is used together with the geography and ethnohistorical evidence for long distance overland travel routes in Scotland, and the evidence of high level of maritime sophistication, the extent of potential distances travelled overland and on water, and the need for a range of environmental zones etc. On this basis, the most likely scenario is that Scotland and northern England was occupied by one interrelated language group, which was probably largely coastal-based and connected. We believe that because of geographic constraints on land-based travel (High mountains), their mobility had to be based primarily on water. We cannot see how a separate inland population group, possibly a different language group, would have had space to exist, until we reach below the Pennines.

The large area of low lying land, in middle and southern England, together with Doggerland and into continental Europe would have offered ample space for separate inland groups to flourish.

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Outdoor bathing: How the outdoor hot tub became the most frequented gathering place in Iceland

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Abstract:

This paper is an attempt to clarify why the abundance of renewable resources is becoming one of the most important characteristics of Icelandic society as nearly 80% of energy used could be categorized as clean. Making use of geothermal water is of vital importance here. Harnessing hot water from the earth is a far from straightforward task; furthermore, it is unique in that it has become the dominant form of energy use in a whole society. Here, implausible as it might seem in view of the Iceland's 'topographical' location, an island in the middle of the North Atlantic, the widespread availability of naturally hot water along with the overall technological capabilities means that its use is varied and has become increasingly important over the years. The principal focus of this paper will be on a partial aspect of geothermal use, i.e. the culture of the rhythm of daily life and public outdoor bathing that has turned out to be one of the most significant features of the Icelandic way of living. The hot tubs of the swimming pools in Iceland have by far become the most frequented places for social gatherings. The analysis is focused on the social aspects of the utilization of geothermal water in Iceland in the context of the nation's modernization process.

Key words: Public places, public pools, Iceland, code of conduct, symbolic interactionism.

The hot tub as a public place

Geothermal energy has become one of the most valuable assets of Icelandic society; it is a curious blend of the desperate need of a poverty stricken people to survive the harsh conditions, coupled with a stubborn determination to search for a viable solution which has enhanced their quality of life.

One of the unexpected aspects of the widespread use of geothermal water is that an everyday visit to the neighbourhood's swimming pool has become an integrated part of everyday living for a considerable part of the population. In 2008 one hundred and sixty three public swimming pools were operated in the country, of which one hundred and thirty were geothermal and mostly outdoors. In addition numerous private or semi-private pools can be found, some of which have become tourist attractions in their own right. A community without a proper public bathing facility, including a hot tub, is considered incomplete.

Despite the widespread discourse about the ambivalent relationship between the public and the private in modern society it is remarkable how swiftly an outdoor hot tub became such an important institution. In just a few decades the tub turned into the most popular place for social gatherings in the country.

Giddens' concept of 'structuration' might be helpful here; or the assumption that all human action is performed within the context of pre-existing social structures, that are governed by a set of norms, distinct from those of other social structures (Giddens 1984). The hot-tub-culture described along these lines is simultaneously a recent phenomenon that has acquired rules, which have been 'normalized' and generally accepted all over the country. In a sense the pools have taken on the functional role of community centres and this partly compensates for the lack of dynamic aspects of street life in the otherwise sprawl-dominated structure of Reykjavík (Duany, Plater-Zyberk and Speck, 2000).

According to a spokesman of the Youth Movement, around 1900 less than 1% of the population knew how to swim (Ívarsson, 2007) With the increasing importance of fisheries it was estimated that the overall drowning of people amounted to two hundred, while according to the same source, three hundred and fifty people mastered the skills of swimming. Learning to swim became a priority. Cleanliness took on a metaphorical meaning as well as a practical one. The plan was to create a good and clean disciplined world, which coincided with the libertarian value of a balanced egalitarian society. Upbringing, aimed at enhancing the capabilities of all, became the core of the Icelanders' fight for independence; freedom *to*, rather than freedom *from*; paternalistic guidance, instead of reliance on the 'invisible hand'.

In the late thirties the plan was to build a thoroughly planned 'suburb' in harmony with the overall visions of the modernizing process of natural urbanization, a logical move for the burgeoning town which had become the nation's capital. The period in-between the wars had been a prolonged period of deficiency due to different and complex reasons such the collapse of the market of salted cod due to the Spanish Civil War.

The seemingly controlled urbanization of Reykjavík in a slow but premeditated and balanced development of the urban and the rural manner took a u-turn in 1940 with the arrival of the British army. The British, and later US, occupation made the previously conceived city planning almost meaningless, increasing the number of inhabitants by 25,000 in a city of 40,000. After the British were gone, the barracks left behind became permanent accommodation for Icelanders due to the housing shortage in the Reykjavík area. These barracks formed whole neighborhoods, of which the biggest camp was in Vesturbær, the area that was intended to be the model for future development. The writer Einar Kárason accurately described the surroundings as tin cans, fallen over and half buried in the ground, deteriorating into leaky and rusty huts unfit for decent living in the cold winter nights.

Every neighborhood has an identity of its own and the residents maintain loyalty to their local traditions. This was partly true of the poverty-ridden community in the Vesturbær area. It had a football team, a cinema and an amusement park. The cinema, inherited from the British and located in one of the barracks, was named after the Lebanese town of Tripoli and the amusement park, which included the dance hall 'Winter Garden', was given the name of Copenhagen's famous amusement park, Tivoli. Neither Tripoli nor Tivoli had much resemblance to the places they were named after. In short, the barracks scattered over the new Vesturbær and other Reykjavík areas were not exactly residential areas of which a nation seeking independence could pride itself. They were a manifestation of the fact that a large part of the population lived in dire poverty.

The fear of the political consequences of the frightful slums in relation to rapid urbanization was genuine, as stated directly by Le Corbusier: "Architecture or revolution" (Le Corbusier, 1989, 267). Now it is generally accepted that the Le Corbusier variant of spacious planning in modern architecture was taken to extremes in the twentieth century. Order took over the social aspects or the needs of the citizens came second, while his advocating for better sanitary conditions is undisputed. The emphasis on street life, found in the work of Jane Jacobs, has more to do with the sense of reciprocal responsibility, which is characteristic of older parts of large cities, but is often lost in the clean cut suburbs (Jacobs 1961). Jacobs has been accused of 'romanticizing' the inner city (Berman, 1983). Jacobs' understanding has been in accordance with the resurgence of the metropolitan city centres such as Greenwich Village, where she lived at the time of writing her book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*.

The Tripoli theatre was replaced by the University cinema, the stately home of the Icelandic Symphony Orchestra, and, as a symbol of the forward-looking gesture, supposedly the largest

movie screen in Europe. The Farmers' Union contributed a large building which housed their Reykjavik headquarters but also a hotel, The Hotel of the Sagas/The Farmers Palace. The hotel had a restaurant and a dance hall that made the older 'Winter Garden' redundant and catered for the residents' secular amusement on Saturdays, while a visit on Sunday to the newly erected Le Corbusier-inspired church satisfied the more virtuous needs.

The new square, like so many modernistic projects of the era, lacked the homeliness of the street culture with its vividness that transformed a neighbourhood into a tightly knit community. Even the most downtrodden slums have a place for playfulness and belonging, which was lacking in the strict and formal organizational plan of the new Vesturbær.

The pool as community centre

As strange as it may sound, the pool became a centre for everyday gathering or took on the role of the village's social centres to some extent, added the element that had been missing in the grand modernistic architectural scheme for the *Hagatorg* square and its surroundings. Locals of various backgrounds used the pool's hot tubs as their daily meeting place. The hot tub concept was imitated all over the country to become one of the most frequented locations for social get-togethers in the country in less than two decades, comparable to the Parisian café, the English pub, the Mediterranean church plaza, the ancient Turkish Hammam, the Japanese Sento, or, closer to home, the Finnish sauna.

Learning to swim plays a fundamental function as well. Children take swimming lesson early on. The training has a wider purpose than learning survival skills and rescue methods. According to the standard curriculum the training is to be adapted to the children's needs and capabilities, from the age of six, when

they start, to thirteen when they graduate. Learning to swim is only a part of the game and could better be described as disciplined fun. Emphasis is on developing and synchronizing the child's senses and motor skills but probably the most important factor is the general social aspect of their cognitive development – learning to respect each other and behave in a responsible playful manner avoiding stigmatization.

In 1953 a fund raising committee, which included some of the most prominent citizens of Reykjavik, was founded in the Vesturbær area. The municipal council donated 75,000 kr. and the nearby Reykjavik Girls' School raised 150,000 kr. The girls' contribution was intended to finance an installation in the entrance of the local swimming pool by one of Iceland's most well known artists at the time, Barbara Árnason. The entrance, with large brightly coloured and playful murals along a sizeable aquarium of Caribbean goldfish, gave the pool an exotic flavour and a Mediterranean feel – a welcome oasis in contrast to the downtrodden barracks. This was an indication that the pool's role was to contribute to the envisioned post war plenitude although the predominant motive for the pool's construction was to provide facilities in the fast growing neighbourhood for teaching local school children to swim.

During the ten-year period it took to construct the pool, the emphasis shifted somewhat from the clear-cut functional intentions to a more varied and pleasurable purpose. The pool was to be a place that satisfied expectations and to some extent the singular longings of an increasingly affluent population, a fact that was literally cemented in the pool's architecture and manifested both in modern fashion and the popular song. One of the first public events in the pool was a fashion show where the year's beauty contest winners exhibited the latest trends in swimwear.

To a certain degree all the above-mentioned functions became integrated into the 'softer' ideology of the Nordic welfare state. The shift was from the pressing necessity of an overall

improvement and the more 'vitalistic' understanding of health as reflected in body sculpting and strengthening the soul in a stringent manner, as was the case in earlier times, to a concept of a common responsibility to improve the quality of life in a more relaxed manner; as such, joint effort and cooperation is required. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), wellness is understood as a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing, not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. In a way, the effort towards a holistic public health policy is also a direct continuation of the ideology of 'positive freedom', so central throughout the twentieth century in Iceland, but now the focus is on health issues directly related to the overall quality of life rather than a Spartan healthiness.

One of the most fascinating aspects of the emergence of the hot tub culture in the country is how fast it has grown into a major institution. Community bathing spaces have been on the wane the world over due to increased affluence and more sophisticated infrastructure in the urban landscape. The tendency to elevate specific cultural attributes is one aspect of the commoditization related to mass tourism. Lee A. Butler has drawn attention to common phrases such as: „In the West, a bath is a place where one goes to cleanse the body; in Japan, it is where one goes to cleanse the soul.” (Butler, 2005, 2). Such a generalization is typical for the 'exoticizing' of cultures. More generally, it must be an overstatement that “spiritual bathing is one of the fundamentals of religion and draws men, women, children and whole communities closer to the Divine”, although this can be the case in various cultures (Arvigo and Epstein, 2003, 1). Roman and Turkish baths had a similar aura of the exotic, as Hackworth has stated: “Early on the Turks perfected the old Roman institution of the steam bath, encouraged by the Islamic belief that physical cleanliness is close to godliness” (Hackworth, 2007, 183).

The Finnish sauna-culture, along with public bathing in Hungary, could probably be seen as closest to the pool attendance

as it has evolved in recent decades in Iceland. The point is that public bathing, always culturally embedded, is and has been a pleasurable social activity, interesting to study and unnecessary to mystify. It is good clean fun. This is a central point in understanding the unrestrained behaviour of the pool attendance in Iceland. A visit to the pool and the hot tubs have in a way simply become a significant meeting point or the public space necessary in the urban landscape where the threat of isolation is always present.

The rules of the game

The city as a place “where strangers are likely to meet” is the well-known definition by Richard Sennet. Public places, in which people feel comfortable conducting routine social interactions with acquaintances as well as unfamiliar persons, are crucial for every community. To maintain such comfort requires a certain level of distance or proximity. Here the metaphor of the ‘bubble’ is appropriate, each and everyone has a personal space which the individual, an acquaintance or a complete stranger, has to respect. Sennet sees this as one of the most important characteristics of urbanization (Sennet, 1977, 16). For Henri Lefebvre, the ‘rhythm of everyday life’ manifests itself in the neighbourhood where ‘locatedness’ or repetition and place converge (Lefebvre, 2004). Edward T. Hall has defined the ‘proxemics’ of intimate space as the closest ‘bubble’ of space surrounding a person and he maintains that the sphere is culturally embedded. Entry into this space is acceptable only for the closest of friends and intimates. He defines social and consultative spaces as the spaces in which people feel comfortable conducting routine social interactions with acquaintances as well as strangers (Hall, 1973).

The rules are subtle and vary from one culture to another. In the case of the Icelandic public pools, visitors quickly become

aware of these rules, sublime or tacit as they may be. Dramaturgical theory maintains that there is a social urgency behind this, insofar as the ‘actors’ are concerned with matters of self-presentation and the emergence of a team impression. The curiously impersonal intimacy of the pool is a clear manifestation of the above traits of modernity. People are constantly shifting roles in a decidedly or in a conditionally restrained manner. Role-playing is a crucial part of the pool-goers’ everyday communal living (Goffman, 1959).

Aquatic customs are a wide-ranging subject and even when narrowed down to bathing, the varieties are almost endless. The Icelandic code of conduct involves minimal touching. You do not greet each other with a handshake; a nod is sufficient; hot pot conversations are general and impersonal, even between regular visitors. Public figures, such as politicians, artists, even internationally known pop stars, can relax undisturbed in a crowded hot tub. Personal questions are not allowed. In some cases pool-goers have frequented the tubs over several years without uttering a single word. Discussions with foreigners rarely surpass the “how-do-you-like-Iceland” barrier.

Doreen B. Massey has defined the politics of co-presence that results from people grouping together in a shared space, without “politics of strong ties and social obligation”. Codes are the ordering mechanisms of conduct and inter-personal behaviour, the ‘throwntogetherness’, in the city’s public spaces (Massey, 2005, 149).

Susie Scott has made a remarkably similar ethnographical study of pool life in England, although there are different nuances such as avoidance of eye contact and, of course, the social life of the hot tub (Scott, 2009). This curiously similar formation of homogenous rules, even immediately detectable by the (unintended) breach of the rules, is central in the theory of Symbolic Interactionism. Breaching the rules makes them visible and encourages conformity (Garfinkel, 1967). The pool culture in

Iceland has a faint resemblance of naturism, despite the fact that public nudity is forbidden at the actual poolside, the relaxed manner characterizing behaviour in a public space is evident. The experience of nakedness and the absence of the gaze of others in the showers is one of the most common comments by foreign visitors to the Icelandic pool facilities.

According to a recent study, 40% of pool-goers attend the centres for reasons other than swimming: they are social gathering places rather than athletic training or body toning. 21% go to spend time with their family and 11% go to meet friends (Birgisson, Jóhannsson 2008).

The culture of public bathing has become an important feature of everyday life in Iceland. Each and every village, and neighbourhood in the bigger towns, has a pool with a character of its own, reflecting the time of construction and the changing architectural trends, functionality as well as meaning, over the years. In a sense it can be argued that the 'pool' has filled in the void that characterized the close knit communities around the country, the fisheries villages as well as the rural ones.

In accordance with Bachtin's concept of the 'carnavalesque' it could be stated that pool going is a way to loosen the restraints of the social order and giving space for the underlying social values of the urbanites (Darren, 2005.). A way to renew the rhythm of daily life as good clean fun.(Bachtin, 1984).

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Re-Bordering the Russian North

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Abstract

For the first time ever in the country's history, Russia has emphasized its identity as a northern country. This new northern spatiality seems to offer a considerable creative capital for political, economical and social paradigms, where Russia can determine its own honourable and respected position. 'Northernness' may even be articulated as an option in the search for a new unifying national identity to replace the 'single united Soviet people' ideological construct that was lost after the Soviet Union. However, the problem of defining the North is fundamental and the question *where the North is* inevitably brings another question *what the North is*.

Many disciplines have attempted for decades to bring forward scientifically grounded definitions on northern boundaries; yet up to the present, combining such definitions to a generally applicable term 'North' may still result in 'an exercise in confusion' (Sater 2003: 3). Consequently, it is seen more meaningful to view the North, as Armstrong, Rogers and Rowley pointed out already in 1978, as 'a group of concepts and attributes' (Armstrong, Rogers, Rowley 1978). Yet how could a coherent definition of an area be negotiated if there are a multitude of conflicting concepts about it?

Space as a whole and in particular as a social reality embraces a huge diversity of characteristics, which cannot be ignored when we attempt to give a general picture of the North in Russia. Every society produces its own space (Lefebvre 1991), and according to Foucault space can adapt to social changes depending on its assigned role and function for society

(Foucault 1986). Borrowing these ideas I conceptualise the understanding of the North as a space that has a specific role and function for Russian society, for which legal characteristics are central components. Both perspectives are important for my analysis and represent the North as a space that is formed by society and as a society that is formed by space. In this article I focus on the North as a social construction, which is produced and reproduced by discourses in legal practices.

Key words:Northernness, Russia, border, space

Space of controversy

Russia as the world's largest country has its unique relations to space in general and to the North in particular. Nowhere else in the circumpolar North we find such big and developed industrial cities and administrative centres than in northern Russia. The majority of the northern population consists nowadays of Russian-speaking immigrants and their descendants. During the Soviet era the North became a region of large-scale industrialisation, including a whole complex of social infrastructure. This industrialisation was tailored for both economical and ideological needs. The idea was that people should not only extract resources, but also live permanently, have families, grow up children and get education in a single location.

It is worth mentioning that although there was no strict distinction between the notions of 'North' and 'Arctic', both definitions were used separately, as economic-geographical and natural-geographical unities, respectively. The term 'Arctic' was used in the Soviet Union mainly in relation to military, nature protection issues, and marine activities. The notion 'North' was applied as the territory of location of indigenous peoples. It was also reflected in the division of interestsspheres. As Vitiazeva and

Kotyrlo state, 'Far North' and 'territories equivalent to the Far North' belonged to the issues of social science and state administration, and 'Arctic' was the field of interests of natural science and military complex. Both definitions were treated separately and hardly intersected each other (Vitiazeva and Kotyrlo 2007:33).

The Soviet 'mastering' of the North shaped urbanisation patterns and demographic structure of the northern population, changed considerably the geographical proximity factor, especially for the European Russian North. Post-Soviet North has become new 'dimensions'. While 'physical' borders of the North after disintegration of the Soviet Union moved north-eastwards with the 'loss' of the parts in the West and in the South, socio-economic borders shifted southwards. Regions previously considered as non-northern were included into the legal category of the North. These processes have strengthened longitudinal (vertical) axes of the European Russian North, where the North can be seen as a continuation of the South. However, northern projections are made around latitudinal lines that are fundamental.

The outcomes of industrial development, political and social transformations have made the North more fragmented on the spatial level. Entire northern debates revolve around largely contradictory assessments. There are concepts based on the calculations of the high costs of the North, emphasising its depressive subsidiary character. On the other hand, the governmental 'Concept of the state support for economical and social development of the northern regions' (Decree Nr.198, 07.03.2000) about its key role in the national economy states that the North 'accounts for around 60 percents of hard currency income'. This has become a standard argumentation in political speeches and scientific research alike. The North here is often interpreted in terms of innovation and modernisation. In this more symbolised quality that is oriented towards the future, the North has the best integrative potential and represents the most attractive

and pragmatic theoretical idea which is possible to use politically and transform into more or less concrete practices (Stammler-Gossmann 2007).

According to some estimation the North may be overpopulated from 25 to 40 per cent (Vitiazeva & Kotyrlo 2007), while other authors may emphasise under populated characteristics. It raises the question of preserving the old Soviet approach to the North as a place of permanent settlements for a large population, as different from seeing the North as a place for settlements populated by transient shift workers. While the federal centre is concerned with these future orientations related to its northern peripheries, regions are searching for different sources to develop their territories on a permanent basis, emphasising the need for switching their orientation from mono-resource development to economic diversification. Furthermore, they also promote to the potential of non-industrial administrative centres (Nikolaev 2005; Lamin & Malov 2005; Fauzer 2008).

Since the beginning of the 1990s, different political and academic approaches have been applied for capturing the essence of the Russian North, which has been subject to several changes. Currently there is a whole flurry of diverse conceptions of how to delineate the North, various projections for the future development of the North and its population. Many visions of the North exercise a significant impact on political and economic activities, financial flow, residents' movement, labour force and regional identities/ This holds true both from the pessimistic view of the North as a burden for Russia and the optimistic view of the North as asset. The existing legal categorisation of the North still provides the key to combining different interpretations of the North into something which has meaning and utility. Solving the lack of legal clarity is seen as the most urgent challenge to form a new model for the North of Russia.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the Russian government forced different institutions of the Russian Academy of Science to

reconsider the existing system of the regional division within the North and determine its southern boundaries (Decree SM RSFSR, 29.08.1990; Decree RF Nr. 107-r, 18.01.1992). In 2004 former president Putin called for a new model of northern development and for clear criteria for defining regions as northern (Putin 2004). Four years later the current president Medvedev once again pointed out the necessity of continuing activities towards the adoption of the Federal Law on the southern borders of the Russian North (Il'in 2008), which has yet to be completed.

Where is the North?

The drawing of the northern borders is complicated in Russia by numerous types and levels of internal administrative, economic, political and other subdivisions: Russia has 7 federal districts, 12 economic districts, more than 80 administrative sub-entities (called „subjects“ of the Russian Federation), and even more complicated divisions if we analyse deeper within this basic framework. Geographical borders not necessarily overlap with economical or administrative divisions. As a result, one region can have multiple spatial belongings. For example, the biggest administrative entity of Russia, Republic of Sakha Yakutia, belongs geographically to Siberia. At the same time, administratively it is a part of the Russian Far East, and in terms of economic zoning, it is considered to be in the Far North. The North in Russia is divided among 5 federal districts and many geographic, administrative and economic zones.

The dominant understanding sees the North in its official classification based on geographical and economic criteria that are a part of the Russian legislation. This classificatory principle is so called zoning into different regions (*raionirovanie*). Zoning divides the Russian North into the Far North and territories equivalent to the Far North. The idea of “Far North” was introduced in the beginning of 1930s (Decree RSFSR 29.01.1934). It was further

extended in 1945 by the understanding of “territories equivalent to regions of the Far North” (Decree SNK USSR, 18.11.1945). These categories were created mainly for economic reasons. In particular, they consider in particular how effective the transfer of the production could be and connected to that the necessity of attracting labour force to the North. The categorisation became part of Soviet law in the “List of regions of the Far North and territories equivalent to the regions of the Far North” (Decree Nr. 1029, 10.11.1967). The Decree from 1967 was revised several times and nowadays there are approximately 20 different editions of that document (Decree Nr.245, 24.04.2007).

The basic principle for this zoning was Slavin’s conception for developing the productive capacities of the North (Burkhanov 1967; Hamelin 1979; Vitiازهva& Kotyrlo 2007). His main interest was in technology and materials for the North with their special adaptation to northern extreme conditions, in terms of construction details, characteristics of long term use and economy. Slavin participated in the organisation of a scientific council dealing with the “problems of machines working under conditions of low temperatures”. Slavin determined the borders of the economical and geographic understanding of the North, considering the specifics of industrial development in the region, and the need for increasing the economical efficiency of technical processes (Slavin 1958, 1972):

He defined the regions as being part of the North if they were 1) situated to the north of the economically stable and settled regions of the country and were distant from the principal industrial centres; 2) distinguished by sparse population and a low level of development of the basic mass-production sectors of the economy; 3) characterised by high costs of construction compared with other regions of the country; and 4) distinguished by a harsh physical environment making economic development more difficult. (Burkhanov 1967: 27). Using a multiple-factor definition of the North, Slavin also recognised the dynamic character of its

borders and was criticised for that by some other researchers (Vitiazeva&Kotyrlo 2007).

In 1967, Burkhanov designed a geographic-engineering boundary for the Soviet North that used a combination of climatic data for a single climatic indicator of the harshness of the northern climate. His criteria used different factors like the distribution of minimum temperatures, wind speed, humidity and solar radiation, the extent of permafrost and other factors for engineering purposes (Burkhanov 1967: 28). Burkhanov and other experts considered a sectoral approach in defining the North as most appropriate. For them, the main characteristic of the North were its constant attributes, which may be represented only by physical-geographical criteria (Burkhanov 1967; Agranat 1984). According to Burkhanov's index, the North was broken down into four zones of different harshness. Mapping the range of harshness values resulted in four zones: The Arctic zone of maximum harshness, the subarctic zone of high harshness, the northern harsh zone, and an eastern moderately harsh zone. Two approaches based on definition have been both in use, but Slavin's model was accepted as a base for the legal map of the North.

The present legal categorisation of the northern regions, even in its revised versions, still reproduced criteria established between the 1930s and 1980s. Nowadays, Soviet criteria of the North do not fit properly to the current situation in the Russian Federation: the goals of northern policy have changed; the question of pioneering mastering the North has changed to issues of industrial restructuring, regional economic diversification; attraction of labour is replaced by questions of out migration or labour migration e.g. from the Central Asia or China. There are many overlapping understandings of what the North is, expressed by particular names for the region that carry certain symbolic meanings.

Today, a highly developed infrastructure in transport and industry of the West- European northern regions of Russia are

comparably close to the economical, political and cultural centres of Russia. Therefore, the urbanised Murmansk region (Kola Peninsula, Northwest Russia) with its highest population density worldwide in the North, is more easily associated with the *Zapolyar'ye* (the area to the North of the Arctic Circle) than with the Far North. From a geographic point of view (in terms of latitude), regions such as Kamtchatka in the Far East or the Republic of Tyva as members of Russia's „northern club“ cause slight confusion: Kamtchatka has the same latitude as Kiev (Ukraine), Tyva Republic has a common border with Mongolia.

On the other hand, all these criteria fit perfectly for regions such as the Sakha Republic in North East Siberia. Its capital Yakutsk is 5680 km from Moscow by airplane, the coldest inhabited place on Earth is there, and the Republic's territory of 3.2 million square km is approximately the same size as India, with the difference Yakutia hosts only 1 million people, relying on an infrastructure consisting of just 115 km railroad and 7000km paved roads (Nikolaev 2002). Therefore the Lena River has to serve as the main traffic artery of the region, but it is only navigable on water for 3 months of the year, the rest of the time being covered by ice.

Along similar lines, the Yamal-Nenets district in West Siberia fits well to this category of the Far North. Its infrastructure is only developed in the southern bits, where oil and gas is extracted, and one city on the foothills of the Polar Ural Mountains with railroad access. Both parts of the region are not connected by ground transport with each other, but separately by railroad to Moscow, which is typical for the central Soviet spatial planning. The category of “Far North” therefore rather misfits the European North of Russia like Murmansk, even though the area is almost entirely located north of the Arctic Circle, whereas only 40% of Sakha Republic and 50% of the Yamal-Nenets district are north of the Arctic Circle.

The zoning of the North and determining which territories belong to it in Russia was introduced to the legislation first and foremost for regulating state guarantees and compensations for the hardships that workers have to endure in a cold harsh climate. Financial assistance was given to northern regions for attracting labour force (salary top-ups called regional coefficients) and stimulating qualified workers to stay in the North (salary top-ups called northern benefits) for developing industry in remote regions (Fig.1).



Fig.1. Northern regions of Russian Federation (Far North and territories equivalent to the regions of the Far North) and northern benefits system (website: Arctic Today, <http://www.arctictoday.ru/region/район/550.html> accessed 17.02.2007)

As mentioned above, after the fall of the Soviet Union the borders of the legal category “North” moved considerably to the south. According to the Ministry for economic development, northern benefits are even paid in 14 other places that are not officially on the list of northern regions (Zhukov 2006). Examples include Vologda, Bashkiria, Udmurtia, Khakassia, and the Jewish Autonomous region in the Russian East. The existing benefit

system for northern regions has also changed. Whereas in the Soviet Union benefits were for the sake of „building communism“ during industrialisation, nowadays, benefits are more conceptualised as compensations for the harsh climatic conditions and high costs of live in the North.

The list of northern regions from 1967 is in spite of numerous changes still the basic document for a number of other lists that were established subsequently. For example, the concept of indigeneity is sensitive to legal territorial categorisation, because the federal legislation related to indigenous peoples is strongly focused on the ‘northern’ group (Stammler-Gossmann 2009). Being accepted as indigenous, but residing outside of the territory defined as the North may have implications on issues concerning state assistance. Belonging to the official North also matters for funding by the government for delivery of goods to remote northern regions with inadequate transport infrastructure. Several documents of the ministry of labour determine the northern salary top-ups, and even for the production, delivery and sale of alcohol there is a list of northern regions in Russia with special regulations. (Decree Nr. 400, 25.06.2007).

It would be wrong to see the North in its legal categories as a stable space. Its consistence was and is constantly changing, sometimes expanding and sometimes contracting through including or excluding particular regions. For example the town of Kandalaksha in Murmansk region is regularly changing its status of “northernness”. Kandalaksha is north of the Arctic Circle, and legally belonged to the „territories equivalent to the Far North” until 1990, when the “equivalent” was dropped and the town became a part of the Far North (Decree Nr. 594, 1990). Two years later Kandalaksha got the “equivalent” back (Decree Nr. 776, 1992). There are many other examples for these changes. For example, there were discussions that the border between two different northern zones may run right through the regional capital of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, Salekhard. This would

happen if a categorization of the North into discomfort zones as discussed below implying different benefit regimes would be implemented for one administrative unit like a town or region. Depending on time and different particular legal documents, the North currently counts for 60-80% of Russia's territory. Depending on this, the number of northern residents changes as well.

The uncomfortable but beneficial North

As we have mentioned before, the question about the borders of the North are for the inhabitants of Russia not only theoretical constructions of space, but have very practical implications. This question is connected to the everyday life within these borders, because the government, according to the Federal Law on 'State guarantees and compensations for persons working and living in the regions of the Far North and equivalent territories' (Law Nr. 5082-1, 02.06.1993; Federal Law Nr.122-FZ, 29.12.2004), pays considerable compensations and subsidies for those inhabiting the North. For example, the "regional coefficients" (*raionnye koeffitsienty*) on top of the usual salary are between 50-80%. Another type of payments is used to keep people in the North, by increasing salary top-ups depending on the number of years a person has worked in the North. Northerners also have the right to retire earlier, they get 14 days more holiday per year, they get once in two years a free return trip to any place in Russia from their northern place of residence, and they are entitled to support in case of resettlement from the North to more temperate regions in Russia after having worked for 15 years or more in the North.

All these financial privileges apply for more than 40 of Russia's administrative entities. For regions, which were added to the list of northern regions later, the new plans for zoning in the Russian North may have the most practical implications. For new

models for classifying the borders of the North in Russia either a single climatic-geographic factor definition or criteria based on climatic harshness combined with socio-economical and medical-biological data are applied. There are different variations of such new categorisations, each advocated by a particular group of scholars from different scientific or political institutions (Zhukov 2006; Vitiازهva & Kotyrlo 2007). One of the most discussed classificatory systems for the North is focused on the principle of “uncomfortability” (diskomfortnost’), which revisits the borders of the North and determines a new “northernness”.

This new model of regional division within the North was discussed in April 2007 in a session of the Russian Parliament on the initiative of the Duma committee for northern affairs and the committee for natural resources. Basing on the “uncomfortability” principle, the model envisions a threefold division of the North: the absolutely uncomfortable zone, the extremely uncomfortable zone, and an uncomfortable zone. The first two zones should cover what is currently called the “Far North” (krainyi sever), whereas the third zone should consist of the “territories equivalent to the Far North” (territorii priravnennyye k krainemu severy). According to this ‘zoning’ model some members of the “northern club”, such as Novosibirsk or Kemerovo, might lose their northern status and express their discontent with the new system (Kuznetsov 2007). According to other classificatory versions, parts of Murmansk, Arkhangelsk and Karelia regions could lose their northern status as well (Shmeleva 2004).

The “uncomfortability” principle does not satisfy all actors interested in northern zoning. Therefore the Russian ministry for economic development went beyond the understanding of “uncomfortability” and came up with a scale of “comfortability” using a single-factor climatic approach. That model classifies all regions of Russia, not only the North. All of Russia is divided into six major zones, three of them being “uncomfortable” and three of them “comfortable”. The last zone is called “favourable”

(blagopriatnaia), covering the area around the Azov and Black Seas and the western parts of the Northern Caucasus (Fig.2).

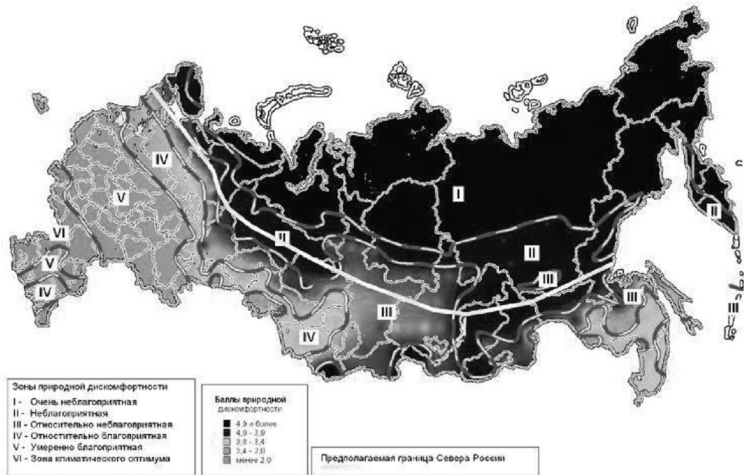


Fig.2. Discomfort zones of the Russian Federation. (Yellow line: the southern border of the North) (website: Arctic Today, <http://www.arctictoday.ru/region/rayon/550.html> accessed 17.02.2007)

Today the inhabitants of all “Norths” wait for a decision about the new official borders of their region, because for them and Russia as a country this will have immense consequences. The current system of financial privileges was inherited from the Soviet planned economy and does not work properly under the conditions the new Russian economy. In many regions the general system of salary-coefficients is not tied to a particular branch of the economy. Nonetheless, there are significant differences in the scales of payments between the extractive industries, where payments are much higher, and, for example, agriculture. Employees of the state administration are also treated differently from those employed in the private sector, where many northern benefits are not guaranteed.

The new models of northern zoning have been criticised along several lines. Firstly, classifying the North along lines of “uncomfortability” is an unnecessarily negative starting point for a definition. Secondly, a new zoning and rethinking of northern benefits may generate significant out-migration from the North, as many might suffer losses in income when staying there. Thirdly, practical questions of payments and structures have been criticised and cause many additional questions that are now in discussion not only on the national level but on the regional level as well:

What are the financial and economical consequences of new zoning in the North and for Russia as a whole? How will the transfer of money among different budgets happen if one administrative entity ends up lying in three different zones? Will this lead to further social and financial stratification of the population? How will the new zoning influence the development of infrastructure and construction in the North? Will a new system be capable of solving the problem of high production costs in the North?

A new system of determining northern finances may also lead to a reconfiguration of relations between the centre (Moscow) and the northern peripheries in Russia. This transformation is accelerated by tendencies of centralisation in Russia in the last 5 years, which had already significant financial consequences in the regions. The crisis of definition in the North is tied to global dynamics too and therefore definitely is not likely to be solved within a year. It will continue to attract attention and thoughts of all stakeholder groups, including politicians, scholars and inhabitants of all “Norths”.

Conclusion

This paper has elucidated the relevance of the Northern territories in Russia for the country's future as a whole. Any country needs to make sense of its domestic space, and in Russia this is a particular challenge due to its sheer size and diversity. Therefore the North has been approached mainly from a legal perspective, focusing the discussion on the following questions: What are the goals of northern development? How can a government push forward its agenda for development through financial incentives? In other words, why should northern benefits be paid and to whom? In order to determine in which regions the population should be eligible for northern benefits, the southern borders of the North become an important defining criterion of inclusion and exclusion.

The existing conceptualisations around the Russian North show an active process of determining spatial frameworks and a growing awareness of the unique possibilities as well as problems of the North. The "legal North" with all its cold and remote characteristics is densely tied to numerous realities in everyday life. Therefore it is not surprising that today the question of who belong **Key words:**the mostly debated topics not only in terms of legal zoning, but also in terms of defining the Russian North in general.

The category of space appears here as a product, which is created by social actors and becomes an instrument for their activities. At the same time, the understanding of the North has its place in society. Our analysis confirms Lefebvre's argument about the constitutive dualism of the category "space". Space has therefore simultaneously global, homogenous, unifying as well as fragmenting and dividing qualities. In this dualism space can develop in all possible options and variations. These characteristics of space may offer new political, economic and social paradigms

for post-socialist Russia, but may also hamper the evolvement of the North as home for their residents.

The contemporary northern spatiality in Russia is without doubt moving towards integration on the global level, which is also having its effect within the country. This, however, does not mean the classification of the entire country as “northern”. Both inclusion and exclusion can occur simultaneously. Only with their multiple and constantly interacting characteristics we can understand local, regional and national forms of geographically diverse practices and identities.

In spite of hot debates around the North during the last two decades the crisis of northern definition continues and will no doubt continue for years. However, the ongoing political and academic discussions around the northern lines show that definition of the North cannot be only limited to legal criteria that should be scientifically ‘measured’ and recorded. A new ‘northern dimension’ of Russia requires careful reconsideration of the legal representation of the North that was established in a different historical context. It is not surprising that some experts suggest keeping the legal base that is already proven by experience and change it only gradually through the introduction of new parameters for defining the northern regions.

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Reports

International Workshop on Northern and Southern Circumpolarities (Socio-Economic and Socio-cultural approaches). Buenos Aires, November 16-18, 2010.

The *I International Workshop on Northern and Southern Circumpolarities (Socio-Economic and Socio-Cultural approaches)* was held at the School of Economic Sciences, University of Buenos Aires, organized by the Center for Research on Local Community and Participation (CICLOP /Faculty of Economic Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires). Local communities and sustainable development, climate change, center and periphery, North and South: all of these are phenomena settled in the international agenda at both scientific and political levels, a fact explaining why *Circumpolarity* has become an increasingly geo-socio-cultural and historical important phenomenon in the contemporary world. Phenomenon that includes both the *Northern region* (the Arctic –including Alaska, Northern Canada, Nordic countries, Baltic countries, Finland, Northern Russia) and the *Southern region* (Antarctica, Patagonia, Tierra del Fuego, Southern Atlantic isles, and even including Southern Africa, New Zealand, and Australia), all those territories being involved in both the convergence and difference terms of problems dealing with more or less stable local communities – according to local circumstances, many a time located in extreme realms (“extreme” is taken in all the different meanings of the word). These facts explain the decision the Center for Research on Local Community and Participation (CICLOP /Faculty of Economic Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires) did take to organize this international conference. All these activities have

been carried on under the auspices of the *International Association of Circumpolar Sociocultural Issues* (IACSI), an organization joining important scientific and cultural experts worldwide, specialized on the circumpolar problems from both the socioeconomic and sociocultural points of view. The International Center for the Patrimony Conservation (CICOP) and the Foundation for High Studies on Antarctica and Extreme Environments (FAE, Argentina) have also sponsored the event. The following aspects have been taken into account: not only the increasing importance of the South-North problems and the Southern Circumpolarity but also the following points: solving the local/global equation in terms of equity and regional/international equilibrium, besides how the crucial magnitude of the Antarctic/Circumpolar problems has been increasing over the years. In view of so important questions, it has been considered to publish these works. Presentations from Argentina, Iceland, France, Uruguay, Canada, Spain and Finland, were accepted. (*For more info and/or the proceedings of this event, contact: Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez, edelacebo@yahoo.com*).

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:

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Universidad del Salvador (Argentina)

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

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

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

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Research Department

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- *Research Institutes and Laboratories*

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

- *Research at the USAL: Thematic Areas*

The USAL does research on several thematic areas such as: the environment and sustainable development, health, history, geography, linguistics and literature, psychology, psychopedagogy, psychoanthropology, Eastern studies, agronomy, food technology, biodiversity, the use of the energies, Environmental Law philosophy,

complexity, social networks, sociology, social management, local development, volunteer work, territory distribution, 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 Government and Society (IIEFGS-VRID- University of Salvador, Argentina)

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University of Iceland (Reykjavík, Iceland)

The University of Iceland was established in 1911. The university is organized into 5 academic schools, and 25 faculties. The university offers diverse program on all levels. The University of Iceland is the only university in Iceland offering undergraduate and graduate studies in all the main disciplines. In addition, the University of Iceland is an internationally renowned research university and our academics

have received a great deal of international recognition for their scientific work.

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

Faculty of Social Sciences

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

The Faculty is divided into seven departments:

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

Faculty of Humanities

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

Department 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 cultural environment. A good knowledge of foreign languages has proven to serve many fruitful practical purposes and a proficiency in foreign languages becomes ever more valuable on the international scene. Knowledge of Spanish can serve as a passport into an ever more international job market in the field of tourism, business, mass media, politics, teaching and science, as well as for diplomatic posts.

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

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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.imaginaireunord.uqam.ca, or email: imaginaireunord@uqam.ca

The University of Oulu and the 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
- Geography 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 branches 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>

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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)

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Arctic Centre University of Lapland (Rovaniemi, Finland)

The Arctic Centre is Finland's national research institute and science centre for Arctic expertise. It is based at the University of Lapland, the northernmost University in Finland and the EU. The Arctic Centre is also an international, multidisciplinary and

multicultural institute of top quality research, and it provides science centre exhibitions and science communication. The Arktis Graduate School of the Arctic Centre leads the international Barents Arctic Network of Graduate Schools. The Arctic Centre provides an undergraduate multidisciplinary Arctic Studies Program (ASP) that includes Arctic Governance and Arctic Indigenous Studies programmes.

Multidisciplinary research is currently implemented by three research groups:

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

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

level (IPY project KINNVIKA, Change and Variability of the Arctic Systems).

The *Environmental and Minority Law* group focuses on legal issues, such as international environmental treaties on Arctic conditions, regulations and the implementation of environmental, social and strategic impact assessments, the environmental rights of Arctic indigenous peoples and indigenous peoples' participation in environmental management. NIEM (The Northern Institute for Environmental and Minority Law) as a unit of the Arctic Centre has human rights and environmental law as its two focus areas of law from the Arctic perspective.

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:

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Helgi Gunnlaugsson: helgigun@hi.is

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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 number(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 & Korsakofsky, Sacha (eds.) (1998): *Post-Capitalist Economies*. Anchorage: Alaska University Press.

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

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

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

Tables: Tables should be numbered consecutively and given a suitable caption and each table typed on a separate sheet. Footnotes to tables should be typed below the table and should be referred to by superscript lowercase letters. No vertical rules should be used. Tables should not duplicate results presented elsewhere in the manuscript (e.g. in graphs). (Authors are responsible for obtaining permissions from copyright holders for reproducing any illustrations, tables, figures or lengthy quotations previously published elsewhere. Permission letters must be supplied to FAE and A & A Journal).

c) Electronic Submission

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

d) Copyright

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

d) Book reviews

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

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

e) Other contents

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

f) Peer-review

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

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

CALL FOR PAPERS

Arctic & Antarctic

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CIRCUMPOLAR SOCIOCULTURAL ISSUES

The *Foundation for High Studies on Antarctica and Extreme Environments* (FAE, Argentina), together with the *International Institute of Studies and Training on Government 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 Sociocultural 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 sixth issue is February 15, 2012.**

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

Se terminó de imprimir el 10 de Junio de 2011,
en Milena Caserola, Yerbal 4831,
Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina.

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.*

The next issue of *Arctic & Antarctic - International Journal of Circumpolar Socio-Cultural Issues* will be published in April, 2012. Contributions must be sent before the end of February 15, 2012. Besides articles, the issues can include seminar and conference reports, book reviews, comments or discussion:

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