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& Universidad del Salvador

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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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Conceptualization of ‘the South’ in Southern Gothic Literature: Changing Perception through Metaphor and Image Schemas *

Dušan Stamenković (University of Niš, Serbia)

Abstract

In different literary traditions, we can see that there are countries where *the South*, being the poorer part of the country, tends to develop certain traits specific to that piece of the land only. These countries include the USA, Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Argentina, Serbia, etc. The ‘souths’ of these countries seem to share a number of social, cultural and historical features, and in them we can identify a cultural “climate” that could be labelled *the southern cultural space*. This space seems to create a specific kind of atmosphere and a social and psychological framework for the development of issues encompassed by the term provincialism. When talking about the South in any of these countries, we usually refer to economically under-developed regions. This economic depravity, lack of financial stability and distance from the cultural centres affect all spheres of life and block the arrival of new knowledge, people and ideas and lead the region towards developing a specific kind of collective (social) psyche. The kind of southern cultural space present in literature related to the Southern part of the USA (predominantly *the Deep South*), usually named *Southern Gothic*, seems to be highly representative of what this social, historical, cultural and political space stands for. This paper explores some of the human cognitive mechanisms that help us conceptualize the South through its literature. The paper concentrates on *metaphor* and *image schemas*, all of which come from the field of *cognitive approaches* to our thought and language. The goal of the paper is to prove that what lies beneath our reading(s) of this kind of literature is highly universal. We all share the same cognitive

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apparatus, which allows anyone to grasp the notions presented in the literature of the Deep South, no matter where they live.

Key words: Deep South, Southern Gothic, Cognitive Semantics, Image Schemas, Metaphor.

1. Introduction

In 1905, Jules Verne decided to place his *Lighthouse at the End of the World* twenty-nine kilometres off the eastern extremity of the Argentine portion of Tierra del Fuego. The name of the lighthouse is San Juan del Salvamento and the place is called Isla de los Estados; the capital of Tierra del Fuego, Ushuaia, is considered to be the southernmost in the world. Perhaps everyone will find Verne's choice perfectly natural and would never ask themselves why his choice had not been placed somewhere in the north, east or west. SOUTH is easily associated with the end, which consequently makes NORTH associated with the beginning and yet we never ask ourselves why this happens to be so. The whole world is by far divided into the rich NORTH and the poor SOUTH¹. Furthermore, SOUTH is linked with many other equally puzzling, but perfectly logical concepts and one of the main tasks of this article will be to contribute to our understanding of how these links have emerged. The prominence of the south as opposed to north was so strong throughout the history that in many countries it created sub-cultures with specific identities. These identities have influenced the appearance of literary genres that have dealt and keep dealing with what we can *southern issues*. Meanings we tend to attach to various social and cultural issues vastly influence the manner in which we approach these issues in various spheres of life and the consequences of our moves are essential to the social modes of function – the way that we think contributes to the way that our society “thinks” (Stamenković, 2010/I: 2). The key goal of this article will be to explore social, cultural and political issues connected to the south and present in these genres from the point of

¹ The North-South Divide (or Rich-Poor Divide) is the social, economic and political division that exists between the wealthy developed countries, known collectively as "the North", and the poorer developing countries (least developed countries), or "the South."

view of cognitive semantics and to use cognitive semantic constructs to improve our overall understanding of these issues.

South is defined as “towards, or in the direction of, that part of the earth or heavens which is directly opposite to the north; With reference to place or location; spec. (U.S.), in or into the southern states” (OED, 2002). When used with the definite article and a capital S, *the South* usually refers to the region of the United States lying to the south of the Mason-Dixon line, i.e. the Southern United States and mainly the Deep South, in a general historical context. *The South* is also used for “the developing nations of the world”, i.e. The Third World. When comparing ‘the souths’ of various countries, or at least comparing literature and other arts coming from those regions, another meaning of these terms might emerge. There are quite a few countries where *the South*, being the poorer part of the country, tends to develop certain traits specific to that piece of the land only. These countries include the USA, Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Argentina, Serbia and many others. The ‘souths’ of these countries seem to share a number of features. In these countries, we can identify a cultural “climate” that could be labelled *the southern cultural space*. This space seems to create a specific kind of atmosphere and a social and psychological framework for the development of issues encompassed by the term provincialism. The cultural “climate” is pretty much independent of the geographical features of these regions – while Italian, American and Serbian south is associated with unbearably hot weather and high humidity, Argentine south provinces of Chubut, Santa Cruz and Tierra del Fuego, for instance, seem to be much colder, but still share cultural similarities with other ‘souths’. When talking about the South in any of these countries, we usually refer to economically under-developed regions. This economic depravity, lack of financial stability and distance from the cultural centres affect all spheres of life and block the arrival of new knowledge, people and ideas. The presence of provincialism and other social and cultural issues caused by poverty and lack of education seems to have created fertile grounds for a number of literary genres and sub-genres. The authors belonging to these genres managed to draw inspiration from southern communities and, in the process, a large number of similarities between these authors have emerged (Stamenković, 2010/I: 128–129). This article will be limited to the South

of the United States, being the most known one of all and having an extremely prolific literary genre blooming in it. The genre, named Southern Gothic, will be analyzed in the second section of the article, while the third section will be dedicated to the conceptualization of the issues present in Southern Gothic.

2. Southern Gothic and Social Issues

2.1 Gothic

Basically, “Gothic” or “gothic” means pertaining to, or concerned with the Goths or their language (Kaliff, 2001). More frequently this term is used in architecture, painting, music and literature. The reference most important for this introduction is the one connecting the term “Gothic” with literature. *The Oxford English Dictionary* and *Dictionary.com* define literary Gothic as noting or pertaining to a style of literature characterized by a gloomy setting, grotesque, mysterious, or violent events, and an atmosphere of degeneration and decay: 19th-century Gothic novels or being of a genre of contemporary fiction typically relating the experiences of an often ingenuous heroine imperilled, as at an old mansion, where she typically becomes involved with a stern or mysterious but attractive man. Encyclopaedia Britannica views it as “European Romantic, pseudo-medieval fiction having a prevailing atmosphere of mystery and terror. Its heyday was the 1790s, but it underwent frequent revivals in subsequent centuries. Called Gothic because its imaginative impulse was drawn from medieval buildings and ruins, such novels commonly used such settings as castles or monasteries equipped with subterranean passages, dark battlements, hidden panels, and trapdoors.” Of course, behind these three definitions is a genre study that would need much space to be presented and discussed in detail. That is why this introduction will only include basic data on the genre of Gothic and its sub-genres – American Gothic, Southern Gothic and Southern Ontario Gothic, all of which are very important for this text. The analysis of the two novels will be preoccupied with a thematic exploration of the gothic found in both of them and what represents the essence of the Gothic can be found in a brief exploration of the genre and its sub-genres (Stamenković, 2008: 10–13).

Gothic fiction is a genre of literature that merges the elements of both horror and romance. It is frequently assumed that Gothic fiction began as a lurid offshoot from a dominant tradition of largely realist and morally respectable fiction. Gothic's representations of extreme circumstances of terror, oppression and persecution, darkness and obscurity of setting, and innocence betrayed are considered to begin with Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), and to reach a crescendo in Ann Radcliffe's *Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) and Matthew G. Lewis's *The Monk* (1796). But genre-defining works such as these also retrospectively redefine their precursors, making it apparent that Gothic elements can also be seen even in the earlier works that began the English novel tradition: Samuel Richardson's epistolary tales of seduction and betrayal, *Pamela* (1740) and *Clarissa* (1747-1748), Defoe's *Moll Flanders* (1722); and even long before them in the romance tradition, or in Thomas Nash's picaresque *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594); along with parts of Shakespeare's plays and much Jacobean tragedy.

Prominent features of Gothic fiction include terror (psychological and physical), mystery, the supernatural, ghosts, haunted houses and Gothic architecture, castles, darkness, death, decay, doubles, madness, secrets and hereditary curses. The stock characters of Gothic fiction include tyrants, villains, bandits, maniacs, Byronic heroes, persecuted maidens, vampires, werewolves, monsters, demons, femmes fatales, madmen, madwomen, magicians, revenants, ghosts, skeletons, the Wandering Jew and the Devil himself. Important ideas concerning and regarding the Gothic include: Anti-Catholicism, especially criticism of Roman Catholic excesses such as the Inquisition (in southern European countries such as Italy and Spain); romanticism of an ancient Medieval past; melodrama; and parody (including self-parody) (Sullivan, 1986/1989; Wikipedia (en)). In answering the question 'what is a Gothic novel?', critics and readers have long been struck by the tension between these two key terms 'Gothic' and 'novel'. Markman Ellis, a scholar on the history of Gothic fiction, says "While 'Gothic' invokes an historical enquiry, 'novel' implicitly refers to a literary form; while 'Gothic' implies the very old, the novel claims allegiance with 'the new'. As Ian Watt jokes, 'It is hardly too much to say that etymologically the term "Gothic Novel" is an oxymoron for "Old New"'. [...] the Gothic novel encodes debates about history" (Ellis, 2000: 17).

In his introduction to the book *American Gothic Fiction*, Alan Lloyd-Smith claims that the hallmarks of the Gothic include a pushing toward extremes and excess, and that, of course, implies an investigation of limits. In exploring extremes, whether of cruelty and fear, or passion and sexual degradation, the Gothic tends to reinforce, if only in a novel's final pages, culturally prescribed doctrines of morality and decorum. The Gothic deals in misdemeanour and negativity, perhaps in reaction against the optimistic rationalism of its era, which allowed a rethinking of the prohibitions and sanctions that had formerly seemed almost divinely ordained. Then, they appeared to be simply social agreements in the interest of progress and civic stability. Free-thinking characters appear frequently in the Gothic. They usually disbelieve the significance of the established social norms and proclaim their own superiority and inherent freedom as rational. Thus, they become the only ones above the conventions and religious faith (Lloyd-Smith, 2004).

Among the extremes and taboos that the Gothic explores are religious profanities, demonism, occultism, necromancy, and incest. This can be interpreted as a dark side of Enlightenment free-thinking or the persistence of an increasingly excluded occultist tradition in western culture, one which paradoxically insisted on an recognition of the continuing existence of magic, religious, and demonic forces within a more and more secular society (Senior, 1959). Much of the apparent supernaturalism in the Gothic is ultimately explained away, as in the "explained supernaturalism" of Radcliffe's romances, but on the other hand, much is not. Gothic interest in extreme states and actions can also be seen to correlate with widespread social anxieties and fears. Significant among these are fears having to do with the suppressions of past traumas and guilt, anxieties concerning class and gender, fear of revolution, worries about the developing powers of science; an increasing suspicion that empire and colonial experience might bring home an unwanted legacy (a suspicion related to xenophobia but also involving a fear of colonial otherness and practices such as Voodoo).

Among the most striking features of the Gothic genre is the style of its architectural settings. In early Gothic these were often medievalist, involving ancient stone buildings with elaborate, "Gothic" arches, walls, passageways, and crypts. This was to become the *mise en scene* of Gothicism, abounding in trappings of hidden doorways, gloomy,

oppressive rooms and secret chambers, incomprehensible labyrinths, speaking portraits, and trapdoors. Landscapes in the Gothic similarly dwelt on the exposed, inhuman and ruthless nature of mountains, crags, and wastelands. In time these tropes of atmosphere, architecture, and landscape became as much metaphorical as actual, so that a simple house, a room or cellar, could become a Gothic setting, and the mere use of darkness or emptiness could call up the Gothic mood (Lloyd-Smith, 2004).

We could dismiss these trappings as trivial stage machinery, as many critics have in preferring the deeper psychological implications of Gothic novels and stories, or we might, with recent critic Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, refocus attention on the nature of Gothic *surfaces*, to see what can be read from them (Kosofsky Sedgwick, 1986). But from an early stage such features can be read as a kind of proto-expressionism, articulating in settings the emotional states within the narrative, as we see in the writing of Edgar Allan Poe (Lloyd-Smith, 2004). According to Kosofsky Sedgwick, a woman murdered and walled-up in a cellar, her body discovered through the howling of a buried cat, might be read as a voicing of silenced domestic atrocity, and also as implicitly connected with slavery motifs, whether or not that was in fact Poe's explicit "intention" in his story *The Black Cat* (Ginsberg, 1998). In the British novels of the early Gothic the feudal antagonists arguably embody in some respects an emergent middle class anxiety about the previously dominant and still powerful aristocracy, while the religious tyrants of monastery, convent, and inquisition suggest a Protestant distrust and fear of Catholicism. Scenes of disruption, mob action, and even possibly such creatures as Frankenstein's creation may be representative of a fear of the growing working class and a risk of class revolution.

2.2 American Gothic, Southern Gothic and Southern Ontario Gothic

Central to the issues discussed in this article are the sub-genres of Gothic Fiction that have developed in Northern American literary traditions – Southern Gothic and Southern Ontario Gothic. These two sub-genres have a precursor, a genre usually labelled as *American Gothic*. Lloyd-Smith claims that in American Gothic, while this remained a

major theme, the trauma and guilt of race and slavery, or fear of what was then called miscegenation², also emerges, along with the settlers' fear of the Native Americans and the wilderness, and later perhaps some suppressed recognition of Native American genocide. It is possible to trace certain other social, political, and class fears, such as the fear and aversion generated against specific immigrant groups: the Irish in the mid-nineteenth century, southern and eastern Europeans and Asians later in the century, or against homosexuality in the twentieth century (Lloyd-Smith, 2004). As David Punter puts it in *The Literature of Terror*, “the middle class displaces the violence of present social structures, conjures them up again as past, and promptly falls under their spell” (Punter, 1996: 28). But the relationship of Gothic to cultural and historical realities is like that of dreams, clearly somehow “about” certain fantasies and anxieties, less than coherent in its expression of them. Widely loathed as infantile, depraved, and potentially corrupting, American Gothic appealed to the popular audience in a rapidly growing readership. This is a consequence of private circulating libraries, the development of cheap printing methods, and an explosive growth in magazine production and consumption at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Ringe 1982: 14–16). The severe and sensational events and descriptions appealed to a relatively unsophisticated new audience, while amusing many of the better educated both as a leisure material and as a field in which previously unexamined aspects of society might be explored. In opening such subjects to literature the role of the newspapers was important: accounts of crime or other unusual doings in the popular press, along with a concern for the behaviour of the people, the dominant political force in the new democracy, increased general interest in what had been dismissed as impolite. Political anxieties about the spread of radical ideas and the predicted instability of the new republican and democratic experiment also lie beneath this early American Gothic, while later, a growing popular interest in psychology and deviance became a further element to intrigue a wide readership (Stamenković, 2008: 13–15).

² The mixing of different racial groups, that is, marrying, cohabiting, having sexual relations and having children with a partner from outside of one's racially or ethnically defined group.

Some aspects of the American experience can be understood as inherently Gothic: religious intensities, frontier immensities, isolation, and violence; above all, perhaps, the shadows cast by slavery and racial attitudes. Romanticism, in aesthetics and to an extent also in philosophy, increasingly replaced the Scottish “Common Sense” philosophy that shaped American thought up to about 1830; this new philosophy tended to privilege the Gothic mode in its concentration on subjectivity, the inner life and the imagination, and the aesthetics of the sublime. The psychoanalytical potential of Gothic in providing a metaphorical representation of trauma and anxiety in American Gothic might be seen as capable of offering a “voice” for the culturally silenced, and the repressed events of the history of the USA. These are complex and fascinating aspects of the reading experience offered by this strikingly persistent form of fiction (Lloyd-Smith, 2004). In *Love and Death in the American Novel*, Leslie Fiedler claims that American fiction has been “bewilderingly and embarrassingly, a Gothic fiction, non-realistic and negative, sadist and melodramatic— a literature of darkness and the grotesque in a land of light and affirmation” (Fiedler, 1966: 29).

Southern Gothic is a macabre writing style native to the South of the USA. Since the middle of the 20th century, Southern writers have interpreted and illuminated the history and culture of the region through the conventions of the Gothic narrative (or Gothic novel), which at its best provides insight into the horrors institutionalized in societies and social conventions. Southern Gothic is actually a sub-genre of the Gothic writing style, unique to USA literature. It brings the atmosphere and sensibilities of the Gothic, a genre originating in late 18th century England, to Southern USA states. Like its parent genre, it relies on supernatural, ironic, or unusual events to guide the plot. It uses these tools not for the sake of suspense, but to explore social issues and reveal the cultural character of the South. It often deals with the troubles of those who are not accepted or oppressed by traditional Southern culture – African Americans, Native Americans, women, homosexuals, disabled, etc. Southern Gothic authors usually avoid perpetuating pre-war stereotypes like the contented slave, the shy Southern belle, the chivalrous gentleman, or the righteous Christian preacher. Instead, the writer takes classic Gothic archetypes, such as the damsel in distress or the heroic knight, and portrays them in a more modern and realistic

manner — transforming them into, for example, a spiteful and reclusive spinster, or a white-suited, fan-brandishing lawyer with concealed motives. Southern Gothic frequently includes characters with “broken” bodies, minds or souls; they are used to symbolize problems created by the established rules and to question the patterns of morality and justification. The “innocent” is a common character, who may or may not be “broken,” but who often acts as a redeemer for others. In most Southern Gothic stories, we can usually find a character set apart from the world in a negative way by a disability or a difference. Southern novels are filled with characters who are set apart from the established cultural patterns, but who end up being heroes because their difference allows them to see new ways of doing things that ultimately help to bring people out of the “dark.” Many Southern Gothic plots include an incident where a character is sent to jail or locked up. Racial, social and class difference often create underlying tension in Southern Gothic novels that threatens and usually turns into violence. As we can see, Southern Gothic literature builds on the traditions of the larger Gothic genre, typically including supernatural elements and mental and physical diseases. One of the most notable features of the Southern Gothic is “the grotesque” — this includes situations, places, or stock characters that often possess some cringe-inducing qualities, typically racial prejudice and egotistical self-righteousness — but enough good traits for the readers to find themselves interested in them. While often disturbing, Southern Gothic authors commonly use deeply flawed, grotesque characters for greater narrative range and more opportunities to highlight unpleasant aspects of Southern culture, without being too literal or appearing to be excessively moralistic. The grotesque will be discussed separately in the introduction, as one of the disambiguated terms. This genre of writing is seen in the work of such famous Southern writers as William Faulkner, Erskine Caldwell, Flannery O’Connor, Carson McCullers, Eudora Welty, Tennessee Williams, Truman Capote, Harry Crews, Lee Smith, John Kennedy Toole, Cormac McCarthy, Davis Grubb, Barry Hannah, Katherine Ann Porter, Lewis Nordan, and William Gay among others (Stamenković, 2008: 15–16).

Southern Ontario Gothic is also a sub-genre of the Gothic novel genre and a feature of Canadian literature that comes from Southern Ontario. Like the Southern Gothic of the USA writers, Southern Ontario

Gothic analyzes and critiques social conditions such as race, gender, religion and politics, but in a Southern Ontario context. Southern Ontario Gothic is generally characterized by the stern realism set against the austere small-town Protestant morality stereotypical of the region, and often has underlying themes of moral hypocrisy. Actions and people that act against humanity, logic, and morality are all portrayed unfavourably, and one or more characters may be suffering from some form of mental illness. Some (but not all) writers of Southern Ontario Gothic use supernatural or magic realist elements; a few deviate from realism entirely, in the manner of the fantastical gothic novel. Virtually all dwell to a certain extent upon the grotesque. Writers of this sub-genre include Alice Munro, Timothy Findley, Douglas A. Cooper, Margaret Atwood, Robertson Davies, Jane Urquhart, Marian Engel, James Reaney, Susan Swan, George Elliott, Graeme Gibson and Barbara Gowdy. Notable novels of the genre include Davies's *Deptford Trilogy*, Findley's *The Last of the Crazy People*, *The Wars* and *Headhunter*, Cooper's *Amnesia and Delirium*, Swan's *The Wives of Bath* and Atwood's *Cat's Eye*, *Alias Grace* and *The Blind Assassin*. In the book *Gothic Canada: Reading the Spectre of a National Literature*, Justin D. Edwards attempts to answer the questions "Does the Canadian gothic differ from its American or European counterparts?" and "Does the 'northern' gothic [including Southern Ontario Gothic] differ from its 'southern' neighbour [Southern Gothic]?" In addressing these questions, it is interesting to note that the American playwright Tennessee Williams identifies gothic production with regional spaces. In his introduction to Carson McCullers's *Reflections in a Golden Eye*, for instance, Williams writes that there is "something in the blood and culture of the Southern state that has somehow made them the centre of this Gothic school" (Williams, 1950/1994: ix). Writers of "Southern origin," according to Williams, have drawn on the early work of William Faulkner in order to develop "morbid," "unwholesome," "sickening," "crazy," "diseased," "perverted" and "fantastic creatures" who are representative of southern life (Williams, 1950/1994: viii–xii). At the heart of this regional form, he continues, is a "sense of dread" that does not arise from anything "sensible or visible or even, strictly, materially, *knowable*" (Williams, 1950/1994: xii). Edwards claims that Williams locates the source of the southern gothic in a non-physical realm, a place too incredible or shocking to utter, a place that

harbours a sense of dreadfulness and unspoken mystery. While Williams's comments are apt, the reader is left to wonder about the 'southernness' of the southern gothic. That is, the qualities that Williams attributes to the southern gothic can in fact be found in numerous gothic texts, from Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* (1764) to Toni Morrison's *Beloved* (1987) (Edwards, 2005: xxvi; Wikipedia (en); Stamenković, 2008: 17–18).

3. Conceptualization of the South

3.1 CMT and the South

Many of the unfavourable issues linked to the South (and more intensely to the Deep South) that have been mentioned so far have its grounding in our basic conceptualization of the world around us. One of the ways to explore these issues embodied in the term SOUTH would be to view it from the perspective of *cognitive semantics* (Stamenković, 2010/I: 128–129). In order to reach the point where we could start viewing SOUTH in a cognitive semantic manner, we should concentrate on *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* (CMT), which is one of the main vehicles of cognitive semantics. According to Joseph Grady, the most fundamental notion of Conceptual Metaphor Theory is ontological *mapping*. This term refers to systematic metaphorical correspondences between closely related ideas. In the CMT system, the features of the *term A* are said to “map” onto the ontological (but, in our case, also cultural, political, historical) features of the *term B*. Other elements of the conceptual domain of the *term A* (*the source domain*) are likewise “mapped” onto elements of the conceptual domain of the *term B* (*the target domain*) (Lakoff, 1993; Grady, 2007: 190–191). The constancy with which different languages employ the same metaphors, which often appear to be perceptually based, has led to the idea that the mapping between conceptual domains corresponds to neural mappings in the human brain (Feldman and Narayanan, 2004: 385–392). According to CMT, metaphors provide rich evidence about the ways in which some aspects of our lived experience are associated with others, for reasons that reflect basic aspects of perception, thought and neurological organization. Within cognitive linguistics, the term metaphor is understood to refer to a pattern of conceptual associations, rather than to an individual

metaphorical use or a linguistic convention (Grady, 2007: 188–189). Lakoff and Johnson describe the essence of metaphor as “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 5). The first step in the cognitive analysis of the concept SOUTH will be to connect it to one of what most authors call the *primary metaphors* (Grady, Taub and Morgan, 1996; Grady, 1997; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999; Grady, 2007). These metaphors are simple patterns which map fundamental perceptual concepts onto equally fundamental but not perceptual ones. According to Jerome A. Feldman, “these primary metaphors allow one to express a private internal (subjective) experience in terms of a publicly available event; this is one crucial feature of metaphorical language” (Feldman, 2006). Source concepts for primary metaphors include UP, DOWN, HEAVY, BRIGHT, DARK, BACKWARD, FORWARD and other simple concepts labelled as “force-dynamic” (Talmy, 1988). These simple source concepts have corresponding target concepts such as DOMINANT, SAD, HAPPY, EASY, DIFFICULT, ILL, HEALTHY, GOOD, BAD, SUCCESS, etc. (Grady, 2007). There is an obvious connection between the target concept of SOUTH and a source concept for primary metaphors – DOWN. According to Western conventions, the bottom side of a map is south and the southern direction has the azimuth or bearing of 180°. True south is the direction towards the southern end of the axis about which the earth rotates. However, in terms of Western conventions, SOUTH is inevitably considered DOWN, not only in the domains of geography, cartography and compass usage, where the arrow pointing to South is always turned towards the bottom, but also in the domain of our language (Stamenković, 2010/I: 129–130). In many Indo-European we can find a phrase corresponding to the English phrase “down in the South”. Another example connected to the link between these two concepts is the one that can be found in economic discourse – if one says that, for instance, “US dollar demand pushes Argentine peso further south,” this means that the demand for the dollar has pushed the value of the peso further down, i.e. has lowered it (Stamenković, 2010/I: 129–130). Moreover, this phenomenon exists in many non-Indo-European as well. In the region called Mesoamerica, we find a number of languages in which “south” actually means “down” (the same word is used for both concepts). All these facts tell us that humans tend to conceptualize

SOUTH in a spatial arrangement that links it to a direction pointing downwards, at the same time making NORTH directed upwards and connected to the concept of UP (Stamenković, 2010/I: 129–130). This spatial set-up brings about a number of consequences which all emerge from the fact that being linked to the concept of DOWN seems to be quite adverse when we come to analyzing cultural issues, because very many of the target domains that are linked to down, as a spatial source domain, carry extremely unfavourable connotational meaning. The list of these target domains is provided below:

Table 1: Target domains linked with “Up” and “Down”

Target domains linked with UP (and consequently with NORTH)	Target domains linked with DOWN (and consequently with SOUTH)
HEALTH AS IN “He’s at the <i>peak</i> of health..”	SICKNESS AS IN “ <i>He fell</i> ill.”
LIFE AS IN “Lazarus <i>rose</i> from the dead.”	DEATH AS IN “ <i>He dropped</i> dead.”
HAPPY AS IN “That <i>boosted</i> my spirits.”	SAD AS IN “My spirits <i>sank</i> .”
GOOD AS IN “Things are looking <i>up</i> .”	BAD AS IN “We hit a <i>peak</i> last year, but it’s been <i>downhill</i> ever since.”
VIRTUE AS IN “She has <i>high</i> standards.”	DEPRAVITY AS IN “Don’t be <i>underhanded</i> .”
HIGH STATUS AS IN “She’ll <i>rise</i> to the <i>top</i> .”	LOW STATUS AS IN “She <i>fell</i> in status.”
HAVING CONTROL or FORCE AS IN “He’s in a <i>superior</i> position.”	BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL or FORCE AS IN “His power is on the <i>decline</i> .”
CONSCIOUS AS IN “He <i>ris</i> es early in the morning.”	UNCONSCIOUS AS IN “He’s <i>under</i> hypnosis.”
MORE AS IN “My income <i>rose</i> last year.”	LESS AS IN “Turn <i>down</i> the radio.”

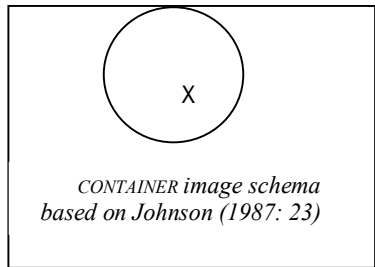
Source: based on Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:14–21

It is obvious that all the concepts on the right of the table are the ones carrying highly negative connotations. As we can see, all of them are linked with DOWN and SOUTH and opposed to UP and NORTH on the right. This could serve as one step toward understanding why people

living in the countries flavoured with *the southern cultural space* tend to label that part of their countries with adverse names quite easily – so easily that it simply feels natural. This obviously happens because the way in which our mind conceptualizes SOUTH is partially innate and partially culture-based and acquired in the early stages of our lives.

3.2 CONTAINMENT image schema and the South

So far, we could see that metaphor, viewed in a cognitive semantic manner, can help us understand the conceptual status of the South. Image schemas, being another cognitive construct, can give their own contribution to a better understanding of why we conceptualize the South the way we do. CONTAINMENT image schema is crucial in human conceptualization of Southern small-towns as presented in Southern Gothic. CONTAINMENT enables our cognition of enclosed spaces and makes us understand the principles they are based on. According to Johnson, CONTAINMENT schema is an image schema that involves a physical or metaphorical boundary, an enclosed area or volume, or an excluded area or volume. A



A CONTAINMENT schema may have some additional optional properties, such as transitivity of enclosure, objects inside or outside the boundary, ‘protectedness’ of an enclosed object, the restriction of forces inside the enclosure, and a relatively fixed position of an enclosed object (the restriction of movement). This image schema seems to derive from our experience of the human body itself as a CONTAINER, from the experience of being ourselves physically located within boundaries and also of putting objects into containers (Johnson, 1987: 21–23). Saeed notes that CONTAINERS can be considered a kind of disjunction: elements are either inside or outside the CONTAINER and that CONTAINMENT is typically transitive: if the CONTAINER is placed in another CONTAINER the entity is within both (Saeed, 2003: 352). In *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson present CONTAINER as one of the ontological metaphors, where our experience of non-physical

phenomena is described in terms of simple physical objects like substances and containers (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 30–33). Human society can be viewed as a partially non-physical phenomenon, as it is based on what we can call a social contract that people have agreed upon. In this view, we can consider the idea of perceiving communities as typical CONTAINERS: they can have firm or loose boundaries, the movement within them can be restricted to a certain degree, people can be included or excluded from them and a sort of ‘protectedness’ of the people inside can be present as well.

Small-towns, present in the works of Tennessee Williams, William Faulkner, Carson McCullers, Eudora Welty and many others belonging to Southern Gothic, are portrayed as isolated, hermetic and self-centred spaces, with no of very little change going on inside of them. In this kind of environment, the inhabitants are almost sure to feel the presence of CONTAINMENT, and the price of being ‘contained’ within a small-town community is to behave in accordance with the established rules. Southern towns resemble CONTAINERS in many respects: a) they are relatively isolated, i.e. there is a boundary between the community and the rest of the world; b) objects within them have movement restriction, especially in terms of behaving according to the established social contact; c) the overall capacity or the volume of Southern small-towns viewed as CONTAINERS is relatively small; d) it is very hard to either enter or exit these communities – the influx of people and information coming in and out of it is negligible. For this sake, we can compare the community to a bottle that has a filter placed onto its neck. The opening of such a CONTAINER seems to be minute. (Stamenković 2010/II: 168–173). These four features are more than enough to make southern small-towns an undesirable ‘habitat’.

4. Conclusion

On the whole, this article is only a brief introduction into the cognitive study of the South and literary genres linked to it. The cognitive processes and constructs that are involved in the conceptualization of the issues explored in Southern Gothic literature are derived from our basic spatial experience and that is one of the reasons why the South is easily associated with all the negative properties that we

could see in the description of the genre. Of course, not all of the possible cognitive constructs have been touched upon in the course of this paper – one could expect good results from tracing other image schemas in Southern Gothic literature, as well as from introducing mental spaces, metonymy and cognitive blends into the study of the South. Furthermore, there is yet another, cultural side of the problem and it would demand much deeper analyses in order to make this study complete. However, this paper should serve as a proof that cognitive investigations can be used in literary semantics and might encourage studies that could be performed along these lines (instead of being traditionally divided from one another). Not only can literary semantics profit from letting cognitive constructs become a part of it, but it could also offer a tremendous amount of material to cognitive semantics that can further be used for cognitive explorations of the creative capabilities of the human mind.

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Body, Colours and Emotions in Buenos Aires: an approach from Social Sensibilities

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Abstract

We live in a permanent relationship between what our bodies tell us and what we have socially apprehended.

This paper aims to show some features of social sensibilities in inhabitants of BsAs city linking their everyday bodily experiences, colours they attribute to the body, and parts of the body in which they say they experience their sensations. Based on a 2010 survey, interpretative patterns concerning colour, body, and emotions are suggested.

First, the theoretical starting point for connecting colours, emotions, bodies, and daily life is reviewed. Some results of the study mentioned regarding the issue addressed are summarised.

Finally, an interpretation of the findings is displayed, evidencing connections of ways of experiencing the body in terms of colours and emotions.

Key Words: Bodies, Colours, Emotions

1. Introduction

The present work springs from the theoretical and empirical articulation of three axes of investigation: body, emotions and colours. The articulation alluded to has hardly been explored —by sociology in particular and social sciences in general— although studies on each of them individually abound.

From the classic reflections of Mauss on the “techniques of the body” to the bio-politics of Foucault, up to the present state of studies, explorations of the human body as the center of processes for production and reproduction of society have been institutionalized in the social sciences.

There are diverse ways to systematize the theoretical orientations on which the studies on the body are based; a possible one, having in mind the Latin American context and without intent of exhaustiveness, is the following: a) a line of work connected to Foucault and his concepts of control, discipline, and technologies of the self; b) an approach connected to Bourdieu and his notions of habitus, body hexis, and social fields; c) a set of investigations in the field of biopolitics referring to Esposito and Agamben on the one hand, and to Negri and Hardt on the other; and d) the investigations that, from a post-colonial vision, take up corporality on a track toward anti-hegemonic thought.

A different perspective toward understanding the theoretical traditions that usually support the studies in this field of inquiry is to turn to the classic authors on the theme: Nietzsche, Merleau-Ponty, Spinoza, and Marx. An additional view is gained in the presence of contemporary authors of sociology such as Goffman, Simmel and Elias, from the philosophy of Derrida, Butler and Deleuze, or the psychoanalysis of Freud, Lacan, and Zizek.

From another perspective, it is necessary to also indicate what Lisa Blackman and Mike Featherstone have recently stated. As publishers of *Body and Society*, they have emphasized the need to repair the multiple connections between life and affects: “In our role as editors we have identified a number of emergent themes that are shaping the field, and these include a renewed interest in relation to life and affect across the social sciences and humanities. The paradigms of both life and affect break down the distinction between humans and other life forms, as we find in various forms of vitalism (Bergson, Deleuze, Massumi) and echoe in debates

across the biological and ‘environmental’ sciences (Varela, Oyama, Lewontin, Margulis, Rose). This is a new post-humanism that examines our communality with other forms of creaturely life and companion species (Haraway), and the need for a non-anthropocentric ethics (Derrida). The focus upon life recognizes the governance and regulation of bodies (biopolitics), as well as investments across diverse practices (media, consumer, biotechnological) in both the materiality and immateriality of bodies as biocapital and biomedica (code, information). (Blackman and Featherstone 2010:3).

As is often seen in Latin America as well as in other regions of the world, body(ies) and society(ies) are systematic objects of research where affectivity and sensitivity are strongly present.

Along the same line, social studies regarding the emotions have also been the object of diverse treatments, from Darwin through Sartre and arriving at the proposals of Collins, Hochschild, Kemper and/or Illouz, just to mention a few of their best known reference points.

Smith and Schenider (2009) maintain that the numerous theories on emotions can be grouped within a tripartite classification: determinism, social constructionism, and social interaction.

Gross and Feldman Barrett (2011), with intent to evaluate the differences of perspective on the “generation” and/or “regulation” of emotions, classify present perspectives for studying emotions in four large groups: models of basic emotions, evaluative models, models of psychological construction, and models of social construction.

At the same time, studies on the connections between colours and society, and colours and emotions, have been tackled by various disciplines. As of the 20th century we have classic reference works on the subjects, which are referenced in the next section.

For more than a decade we have been aiming to account for the importance of the “existential turn” of social theory (Scribano 1998), advocating a close connection between the studies of the body and emotions (Scribano 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2010a, and Luna y Scribano 2007) and also supporting the importance of exploring a line of study regarding the intersection of these works, by investigating the place and feeling of colours in relation to the issues that they raise (2007c).

This article proposes to descriptively explore the emotion/body and colour/emotion connections. It is based on information available from a non-probabilistic survey that we carried out, involving 141 inhabitants of the city of Buenos Aires during the year 2010. After having conducted studies on the connections between colours and emotions using a qualitative strategy, we designed, with other experiences on the matter in mind, a standardized survey regarding the “structure of feelings” that included two specific questions on the theme being addressed here. The empirical material presented here is based on this information.

2. Colours, Emotions, and Bodies

Colour is alive in everyday things, from fruits and vegetables to clothing to social fantasies. Objects, textures, forms, and flavors are coloured, as Michael Taussig maintains: “...but colour as that which pulls the observer into the observed, which may even include being pulled into time as in history.” (Taussig 2008:1).

Within the studies on colour preferences there is a series of works considered classic, such as those of Eysenck (1941) and Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957) just to mention a few. All of them demonstrate social, age, and gender contextualization in regard to colour preference and its implications (Olmo Barbero 2006).

Within the framework of the areas of social sciences, archaeology and anthropology as well as social history have proposed studies into the connections that we explore in the present article. An example can be taken from Gómez Gastélum, who explores the discussion on the universality/peculiarity of the expressions of colours in relation to culturally conditioned impressions (2006).

Another portion of research on the connections between colour, taste, emotion, and the body includes a lexicographical analysis (Valencia 2010) and children's literature (Witter Porto and Alcanfor Ramos 2008) just to give two examples coming from linguistic sources.

A field in which bodies, colours and emotions intersect in a systematic form is that of psychology. Studies can be observed regarding colour tests to evaluate personality such as the one by Lüscher (Aguirre 2006), or the relationship between colours and emotionality in texts from a psycholinguistic perspective (Strapparava and Ozbal 2010).

Within the framework of the diverse research experience (in other discipline areas) regarding the connections between colours, bodies, and emotions, medicine is no exception —given the importance of colour in alternative medicines (Reyes Pérez and Álvarez Gómez 2001) as well as its centrality in industrial medicine (Sánchez *et al* 1996). We should also mention the works on visual perception that connect with plastic arts and architecture, such as those regarding anisotropy of physical space and the dynamics of visual structures where forms, volumes, centers, and peripheries are affected by the use and reception of the colours in particular cultural contexts (Carrillo Canán 2005).

As we can see, numerous studies and paths exist that allow bodies, emotions and colours to be seen in relationship.

3. Exploring Colour in Emotionally Moved Bodies

Within the context of what has been put forth thus far, and as expected, in this section we develop a descriptive perspective of the results of the two questions used in the survey regarding colours and bodies. The aim is to show how emotion, body, and colour are articulated in the experience of the interviewees; this being a path to exploring the “sense” of colour within the social structure.

The two questions are directed to gather information as to what occurs with the interviewees in regard to the connections between colour/body and colour/emotions.

3. 1. *Body(ies) and Emotions*

The question we put forth was as follows: “Now I am going to show you a human figure. Please note in which of these parts of the body you feel. (*Show human figure. Read the name of the feeling, wait for an answer, and mark only one place on the body with an X. At that time, read the following list of feelings*): Anger, Happiness, Fear, Sadness, Love, Distrust, and Peace.”

The record was noted on one of the following parts of the body: Head, Torso/Chest, Arms, Shoulders, Legs, Stomach, Back, Genitals, and Other.

The common responses to this question delivered the following results:

When asked in which part of the body they feel anger, those polled said that 43.7% experienced it in their head, 27.5% in the torso/chest, and 18.3% in the stomach.

In regard to happiness, those polled stated that 44.4% feel it in their torso/chest, 28.9% in the head, and 12% in the stomach.

The parts of the body in which those polled said they feel fear were: 28.9% in their chest/torso, 28.2% in the stomach, and 18.3% in the head.

When asked in which part of the body they feel sadness, those polled answered: 45.1% in their chest/torso, and 31% in the head, with all other options very minimally mentioned.

Insofar as love, those polled claimed to feel it: 44% in their torso/chest, 18.3% in other parts, 11.3% in the head, and 13.4% in the stomach.

Those polled expressed that they feel distrust: 64% in their head, 10.6% in the stomach, followed by 6.3% in the back.

Lastly, peace was claimed to be felt by 23.2% in their torso/chest, 19% in the head, and 31% expressed that they feel it in other parts of the body.

As can be seen, the head, torso/chest, and stomach are the parts of the body most mentioned by those polled in connection with the various emotions.

3.2. Colours and Emotions

In regard to the connections between colours and emotions, we put forth the following question: “Now I am going to show you some colours. Please say which of them you would use to show what happens to you when you feel. (*Read the feeling, wait for an answer, and mark one colour with an X. At that time, read the following list of colours*): Red, Green, Black, White, Yellow, Pink, and Blue.” The answers recorded were regarding the following emotions: Anger, Happiness, Fear, Sadness, Love, Distrust, and Peace.

The common responses to this question delivered the following results:

When asked what colour they would use to show what happens to them when they feel anger, 52.8% of those polled said red, while 39.4% said black.

When they feel happiness, 31% of those polled said that they would colour it yellow, 26.8% green, and 13.4% red.

When they experience fear, those polled replied that: 64.1% would colour it black, 12.7% blue, and 10.6% red.

As for sadness, those polled stated that: 33.8% would colour it black, 24.6% blue, and 15.5% white.

In regard to love, those polled replied that 41.5% would colour it red, 16.2% green, and 14.1% pink.

When asked what colour they would use to show what they feel when they experience distrust, those polled said: 27.5% yellow, 26.8% black, and 10.6% red.

Lastly, when they feel peace, those polled said that they would colour this experience with: 61.3% white, 10.6% green, and 17.6% blue.

It is easy to notice that the colours most mentioned in the “positive” emotions (peace, love, and happiness) are: red, yellow, white; whereas those most recurrent in describing the negative emotions (distrust, sadness, fear, and anger) are: red, yellow, black, and blue.

3.3. Colours, body, and emotions

In the context of what has been stated, and continuing our exploratory intent, it is possible to now combine the answers to the two questions according to their frequency, using the colours ascribed to the body and to the emotions as the center of the analysis.

In Table 1 we can see at least three interesting indications with which we continue the research: a) the central area of the torso/chest is denoted as the “part” of the body that is the axis of the emotions Happiness/Love and Fear/Sadness; b) it becomes evident that the colours Yellow, Black, Blue, and Red are the ones used to depict the emotions listed; and c) that only Peace was depicted with another colour (White) as well as in other parts of the body.

TABLE 1: Colours, bodies, and emotions

	<i>Head</i>	<i>Torso/ Chest</i>	<i>Arms</i>	<i>Shoulders</i>	<i>Legs</i>	<i>Stomach</i>	<i>Back</i>	<i>Genital</i>	<i>Others</i>
<i>Anger</i>	Red								
<i>Happiness</i>		Yellow							
<i>Fear</i>		Black				Black			
<i>Sadness</i>		Black / Blue							
<i>Love</i>		Red							
<i>Distrust</i>	Black/ Yellow								
<i>Peace</i>									White

Source: own elaboration, based on frequency of occurrence.

There are four parts of the body coloured as black in the “imaginary triangle” that forms the head, chest, and stomach; that is to say, the noncolour, the colour naturally associated with both death on the one hand and the powerful on the other. This is the colour that those polled feel in their bodies. It is important to emphasize that the arms, legs, and shoulders —associated (at least in this part of the world) with activity and movement— “do not have colours nor emotions.”

Another noteworthy characteristic in the chromatic sense is that of the connections between anger/head/red and love/stomach/red. From diverse analytical and cultural perspectives, Red indicates intensity, excitation, and stimulation in the context of dialectic violence/love.

In this spatiotemporal context it is probable that Black, White, Red (and Yellow) are representing bodies that experience intensely, but in conditions of limited action.

Finally, white and its connections with peace can be seen as associated with purity and calm, as affective states of stability and “non movement.”

In the explored context and revising all the responses, it is interesting to mention the various connections between life lived among the head, chest and stomach along with sensitivities painted with colours that do not necessarily indicate readiness for action.

4. Toward an interpretation of the Colour of Bodies

Everyday life in its space/time manifestations constitutes that special weave that ties together the body and emotions.

One way to approach the feelings of the body and the emotions, according to the data that has been explored, can be posed from three angles that are interconnected but possible to distinguish analytically: the associationist, the representational, and that of a constellation of meaning:

- a) From an associationist perspective, it may be maintained that the subjects tend to relate in more or less homogenous ways to the pairing up of body/emotion and body/colour. In this framework, the emotions nest in a part of the body and the colours express the “states of the body.”
- b) From a representational perspective, it can be conjectured that to the subjects, the body is an indicator of certain emotions and that some colours are signals of emotional states.
- c) When the “correspondences” between the body, emotions, and colours are analyzed, emotions and colours form constellations of meaning that function as chromatic emotional body language that gives account for the “anchoring” of feelings.

When articulating and connecting these possibilities, a hypothesis emerges from which the chromatic aspect of the body's narrative can be seen as a solid track toward reconstructing, at least partially, the configuration of feelings as part of both social structuring and the political economy of the moral. These connections allow conjecturing with greater intensity that there exists—in the reciprocities between the chromatic, bodies, and emotions—a way to explore the indeterminate points, in the present context, regarding forms of domination and collective interdictions.

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The Icelandic meltdown and the entrepreneurial function

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Abstract

At the beginning of the 21st century the Icelandic economy was characterized by openness, highly educated workforce, diverse international connections, and abundant access to foreign capital. Less than ten years later its banking system had collapsed and many of the country's largest firms were facing bankruptcy. In this paper we use theories of entrepreneurship put forward by Schumpeter, Kirzner and Baumol to analyze how improved innovation capacity, opening of foreign markets, and privatization connects a prosperous micro-state to the international economy with unforeseen consequences. We ask if the favourable conditions at the beginning of the century can be restored and the evolution of the economy directed to a path that is more prosperous for the country. We argue that this is possible by attending to the specialized innovation companies that have survived the crisis and creating a favourable environment for their development.

Keywords: Entrepreneurship, Innovation, Icelandic crisis.

Introduction

The paper is organized in the following manner: First, theories of three scholars on the role of the entrepreneur in economic development are briefly reviewed. Next, the development of the Icelandic innovation system is described and how entrepreneurial

activity changes as a result of the privatization and globalization of the banking system and easy access to international capital. Finally, the changes that have occurred following the collapse of the banking system are briefly discussed and an attempt will be made to answer the research question.

Theoretical Discussion

Joseph A. Schumpeter, Israel M. Kirzner and William J. Baumol have all made a significant contribution to our understanding of the role of entrepreneur in socioeconomic development. In their theories the concept of the entrepreneur refers to an economic actor that performs a certain function in the economy, i.e. entrepreneurship, rather than to specific individuals and their part in the actual course of events.¹

According to Schumpeter (1934, 1942) the entrepreneur's role is to be a driver of innovation in the economy. Schumpeter defines innovation as the introduction of new combinations in the market, e.g. the use of new technology, opening up of new markets or changes in industrial organization. Innovations disrupt the equilibrium in the economy and are the precondition for in new value creation and profit. Through innovation entrepreneurs compete in a manner that is difficult for reigning firms to match as it directed at the very nature of their products and cannot be retaliated simply by reducing price. In the footsteps of entrepreneurs the market is flooded by imitators, moving the economy again towards equilibrium where companies enjoy no profits. In the process, controlling companies and even industries that more often than not had secured their position in a cartel-like manner become unable to respond and as a result industries rise and fall; a process that Schumpeter termed creative destruction

¹ Here, there is no distinction made between entrepreneurship involving the creation of new businesses, entrepreneurship as in existing businesses or entrepreneurship as in individuals and groups.

(1942). Even though the short-term effects can be problematic for incumbent firms, the overall results are positive for the economy and a necessary precondition for renewal and long-term economic development and growth.²

Although entrepreneurs are driving innovation they do not so in isolation or in a straightforward way, e.g. by the application of new scientific knowledge. Innovation is a chain-linked and path-dependent process involving a large number of actors and shaped by the institutional context and historical circumstances (Kline and Rosenberg 1986, Nelson 1992). Furthermore, innovation varies in its novelty. In some cases innovations are local (new under the roof), i.e. they have already been introduced in another context and are being diffused and adapted to a new context. In other cases innovation is truly global (new under the sun), i.e. being introduced for the first time (Freeman 1982).

Entrepreneurs aiming for innovations of high novelty, experience more difficulties in financing their activities due to high uncertainty of outcomes. However, in the wake of innovations, e.g. major technological change, uncertainty is reduced and profit expectations may be heightened, making it easier for imitators to fund their activities. Numerous imitators take the advantage of these opportunities, increasing capital in circulation and the expectations of future profits, resulting in overinvestment and inflation. The result is a bubble economy that is based on expectations that cannot be met in the real economy and must be corrected sooner or later (Perez 2002).

Kirzner (1973, 1997) gives the entrepreneur a different role although his actions are similarly important for the development of

² Schumpeter's ideas about creative destruction were about great technological change, such as the steam engine, railroads and electricity. It can be argued that the term is often misused for events that do not have as extensive impact on society. Nevertheless Schumpeter's basic idea is that the competition between companies is not only based on price and costs for similar products but also on innovation that cannot be addressed with changes in prices and costs of existing products. If companies or industries are unable to meet such competition it can be said that they will be victims of creative destruction.

the economy and economic prosperity of society. According to Kirzner, the entrepreneur is an alert person who is willing to exploit opportunities that arise due to disequilibrium in the economy. For a variety of reasons, such as different knowledge of participants and access to different information, the economy is constantly moved out of its equilibrium state predicted by economic theory. Because of the imbalance, production factors are not priced according to their value, creating an opportunity for profit. However, through his activities, the entrepreneur sends out information about the value of production factors and as a result the economy moves towards equilibrium, leading to better utilization of resources and increased welfare. Kirzner's analysis is to some extent consistent with Schumpeter's ideas about the entrepreneur as a change agent, but ignores the importance Schumpeter assigns to radical change brought by innovation and the role of investors. Instead of Schumpeter's emphasis on the role of entrepreneurs in creating imbalance in the economy Kirzner's emphasis is on their role in establishing a balance.

According Baumol (1993), the entrepreneur performs both the role of the innovative agent who promotes change and disequilibrium in the economy and the one who is alert to changes and through entrepreneurial action drives the economy towards equilibrium. Thus, Baumol combines, to some extent, the views of both Schumpeter and Kirzner. However unlike Schumpeter and Kirzner, Baumol does not regard the impact of the entrepreneur on economic development as always positive. Baumol (1993) argues that entrepreneurship at any point in time depends on the structure of payoffs in the economy. In general, profit motives lead to innovation and prosperity, but in some cases, entrepreneurial activity can become destructive. As an example he mentions rent seeking, where the entrepreneur benefits without a corresponding benefit being returned to the society. This is not necessarily through illegal activities, such as sale of drugs or blackmail, but rather through activities that fit within the laws and rules of

society, such as when a shareholder who threatens takeover is bought out at a premium or when strong investment funds move the markets. The government both directly and indirectly influences the structure of economic payoffs, e.g. with legislation, policies and actions, but they are also dependent on the culture prevailing in society at any given time.

Baumol's ideas can be interpreted in such a way that the institutional setup affects whether an overinvestment following a radical innovation has a positive or negative impact on the overall national wealth. Although an over-investment in the wake of radical technological innovation does not return a profit to the entrepreneur and the investors involved, the community still benefits from the opportunities it creates, through increased technical knowledge and sectoral networks. It is unlikely that the same applies to innovative rent seeking, both because additional rent seeking does not lead to prosperity and also because it is likely that rent seeking is prevented, e.g. by changes in law.

Development of the Icelandic Economy

In the 20th century, Iceland evolved from being one of the poorest countries in Europe to becoming one of the richest, based on national income per capita (Jónsson 2002). As discussed by Örn D. Jónsson and Rögnvaldur J. Sæmundsson (2006) the development occurred over several periods of initiative and development where the government was either an active participant or their policies unleashed acquisitions within the community, more often than not with unpredictable consequences.

For the most part of the 20th century, there was a worldwide conviction that a gradual move towards modern society could be navigated through socioeconomic planning. Despite recurring fluctuations and economic downturns all the major players in Icelandic politics more or less anonymously adhered to this view. The Icelandic version of the above reasoning was that

Icelanders were latecomers and could therefore learn from the mistakes of those that had progressed further elsewhere. However, early on the small size of the nation as well as its poverty severely limited the nation's ability to utilize its abundant resources. The country could be described as a 'substance economy' (Polanyi (1944).

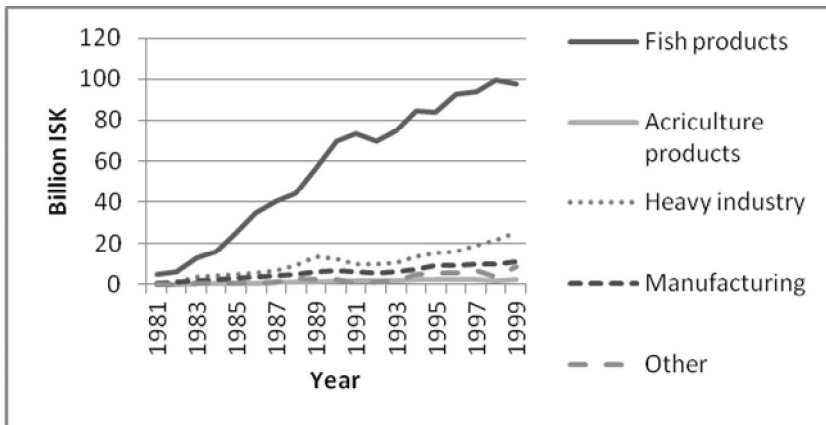
The Second World War changed this situation in a fundamental and lasting way. During Allied occupation basic infrastructure facilities were built and a consequent influx of money led to a long awaited monetization of the economy. After the war, in the early fifties, the government emphasized the creation of a mixed economy built on the Nordic model and the promotion of primary institutes and the organizations that were considered necessary prerequisites for a successful welfare system. Innovation in the modern sense was almost non-existent; it was defined as a political initiative where the emphasis was on adopting foreign technology and practices. Private funding for entrepreneurs was almost non-existent. The need for change and nation building was obvious and visible; the challenge was to prioritize. The government took on the role of innovative entrepreneurs by way of investments in infrastructure and efficient production processes in the fisheries; investments made possible through savings accumulated during the war and development aid from friendly Allies. In the early seventies came the pioneers, tied to the fisheries sector, who saw the opportunity to exploit the rapid technological development like the introduction of the microprocessors and the increased expertise in materials technology. In Schumpeter's (1934) sense, they were innovative in that they developed innovative solutions to remove the obstacles that had slowed down productivity within the sector (Dahmén 2004). Along with other changes, including the introduction of a new fisheries management system, they created the foundation to revolutionize the industry by changing work methods and making associated changes in the power structure within the industry.

It soon became apparent that the solutions that were developed as innovation in fish processing also applied to other food and markets outside Iceland. Efficient fish processing methods and equipment were utilized for chicken production, insulated containers to preserve the freshness of fish were useful in hot countries, and product development initially aimed at fresh seafood became useful in the market for high quality convenience food. At the same time internationally competitive innovation appeared in other industries, such as prosthetics and generic pharmaceuticals.

Despite the emergence of internationally competitive innovation and the existence of free trade agreements, such as the EFTA agreement, activities of Icelandic entrepreneurs were still very much limited to the seafood industry. First, seafood exports, which were about 90% of total exports, were more or less controlled by two business cartels that limited the number of people involved in exports. Second, expertise, skills and networks were difficult to transfer between individual sectors. It became difficult to transfer relationships and expertise from the fishing industry to other industries, even in related fields.³ Third, the economy was relatively closed and there was limited access to funding. For example, there were severe limitations on currencies exchange; no stock market and the major banks were run by the government. Attempts had been made to create a public market for shares in Iceland, but such a market did not stabilize until 1990 when the first shares were listed on the Stock Exchange. The Icelandic stock market grew slowly at first. In the beginning one-third of the companies belonged to the fishing industry and in 1997 their relative value reached its peak at 40% (Erla Kristinsdóttir 2009). These companies, which previously raised

³ The market for frozen fish was based on raw-material, the freeze containers in the supermarkets were monopolized by a few big companies like Unilever. In the United States, the main focus was on large institutional purchases and restaurant chains. In both cases, there was no identification of the origin of the product or other distinction.

funds with the help of political relationships within the state owned banking system, were able to take advantage of market mechanisms in order to grow. Innovative companies related to fisheries were also able to finance their growth with expansion into foreign markets and other industries, such as meat processing. Despite the emergence of capital markets, reduction of tariffs and further opening of foreign markets through membership of the European Economic Area (EEA) (1993) and GATT (1995), these factors as a whole did not have much impact on the diversification of exports, at least initially (Figure 1). Exports of products, as opposed to exports of raw material being processed abroad, increased steadily in the eighties as a result of advances in fisheries management and fish processing equipment.



When the figures are examined more closely, it is clear that the exports of high-technology products suddenly increased greatly in the 1990-1995 period (Research Council 1996) For example, export of fish processing machinery and electronic scales nearly doubled, from 700 millions ISK in 1990 to 1.3 millions in 1995. Also, sales of software rose from virtually nothing to 800 millions, sales of generic drugs rose from less than 50 millions to 600

millions, and sales of prosthetics rose from less than 25 millions to over 250 millions. New opportunities were created with the increased ability to innovate, the development of the stock market and the liberalization of international trade. Alert entrepreneurs in Kirzner's sense had come forward to take advantage of these opportunities for expansion.⁴ Innovation had become international, and despite wealth and competitiveness still being driven by advances in fisheries, they created progress not only in new products, but also in sales of new production equipment that had much greater growth opportunities than consumer products. fish processing.

With the privatization of the banking system, even more opportunities were created for Icelandic entrepreneurs. Access to domestic and, later, foreign capital investment improved and the investment capability of the economy multiplied. Following the privatization, three banks emerged, all of which grew very rapidly with increased activity abroad.

Expansion and the size of the banks had a major impact on the Icelandic economy. When the companies listed on the Stock Exchange in 2006 (Figure 2) are examined, it is clear that their market value multiplied and banks and financial institutions had become the dominant companies in the market. More and more companies had become investment firms, or even hedge funds, even though they held the names of the old companies. Most manufacturing companies in the fishing industry had been taken off the stock exchange along with those companies that were mainly operating on the domestic market. The inflated hedge fund-like firms but still retaining their linkages to their initial sectoral foundations. Neither the fisheries firms nor firms primarily

⁴ What matters here is the development of the education system and the promotion of international knowledge and international ties as a result of more students seeking further education abroad and working there after graduation (see further in Örn D. Jónsson and Rögnvaldur J. Sæmundsson 2006).

operating on the domestic market failed to attract capital from the stock exchange.

Instead of strengthening the economy, the privatization and expansion of the banks had the opposite effect. Increased opportunities for investment were only utilized to a limited extent to strengthen the economic sectors. Instead, conditions and strong incentives were created for rent seeking and asset price inflation (Páll Hreinsson, Sigríður Benediksdóttir and Tryggvi Gunnarsson 2010). The size and type of business agreements were not in accordance with Icelandic realities, which formed the basis of the credit ratings of the Icelandic banks. Despite a radical innovation, the innovative pioneers became the destructive force that Baumol warns against, at an almost unique scale.⁵

Inside the bubble

In the 1980's, Icelanders were in a very favourable position; built up a welfare state in the Scandinavian mould, and extended exclusive fisheries rights to 200 miles around the island. A handful of knowledge-intensive innovative companies start-ups gained substantial weight.

Development in the more affluent countries of the West moves were taken to marketize the society, reducing import taxes allowing a free flow of capital.

The technical skills increased both productivity and product quality in fisheries but the turning point came when it was possible to transform knowledge of fish processing into knowledge to develop and produce fish processing equipment.

⁵ Although the concept of Icelandic businessmen has introduced a new methodology for investment and business operation (see, for example Helga Harðardóttir and Snjólfur Ólafsson 2007), it is questionable to speak of international innovation in this field. The expansion led by Icelandic businessmen took place at the same time as there was a great increase in the supply of credit worldwide and decisions on levels of debt acquisitions are based on expectations of higher asset prices and unrestricted access to credit on favorable terms. However, it is indisputable that drastic changes took place in Iceland.

When it was later found that the solutions developed within fishing, processing and handling of seafood in general were applicable in many other industries, new possibilities, previously unavailable, opened up. In other words, it was not the increase in the value of the catch that was decisive, but the more extensive usage of manufacturing technology and the organization that had been developed for the fishing industry.

Innovative entrepreneurs had created new opportunities for expansion into foreign markets and one can say that this was a natural extension of knowledge, skills and international networks that had been built up for some time. Improved access to foreign markets, both for products and capital, and privatization further increased these opportunities, but also created opportunities for rent seeking of unknown proportions; the City in London had become the frame of reference rather than the Icelandic GDP. In tune with the Zeitgeist in the more affluent nations around the world; liberation of several moves towards marketization were taken; reduction of import taxes; erection of a national stock exchange; free flow of capital and privatization of some of the key institutions of the society of which the banks were by far the most important.

The changes in the political along with economic policy, which was expected, to unleash the dynamic market forces.. As it turned out, these measures led to a turn of events which were not only unexpected but led to a situation which young inexperienced entrepreneurs made use of. The inherent characteristic of the information technology along with the overall marketization resulted in a short-lived enlargement of the national economy. When the bubble burst, Icelandic society was severely hit, and this was characterized as a meltdown. The fact was that the Icelandic collapse was one of the first manifestations of a long lasting worldwide crisis. The daring young entrepreneurs, nicknamed “Vikings”, functioned in fact as the risk takers in the syndicated loans bundled by the hedge funds. The long-term consequences of

the creative destruction in Schumpeter's terms opened up a window for risk takers operating globally and opening up for constructive innovative moves. When the bubble burst, it became apparent that the activities on the stock markets world wide had been altered into a space for opportunistic rent seeking, or bad capitalism, as Baumol terms it.

Following the crash, the 'real economy' has reappeared. Firms, whose profitability during the boom could not match the available rent seeking opportunities, again become the foundation for the economic well being of the country. In addition, a new generation of knowledge-intensive firms has been created; firms that were invisible during the boom years. These firms provide a potential backbone for future development, given the opportunity to prosper. Unlike before, when innovation was localized and focused on adopting technology and practices from abroad, knowledge-intensive firms are likely to create work for the primary sector and not vice versa. Therefore, it is appropriate that policy makers reduce the weight of support for basic sectors and focus on strengthening the innovation capacity of the nation. It is important that the future backbone is not sacrificed for short-term solutions that are based on the further utilization of almost fully utilized resources, no matter how tempting it may be.

It turned out that the logics of the exponential growth of accessibility of cheap money worldwide had little to do with the Icelandic real economy which had been growing simultaneously. The question here is how much impact this exponential growth had on the Icelandic economy and the innovation-driven economy that had developed around the turn of the century. A quick look shows that over the last two decades, a number of knowledge-intensive companies had developed and grown within international market niches. These companies became imperceptible when all attention was focused on financial booms and major investments in the global market. Their income stems from abroad and they are

therefore likely to have extensive potential for growth despite the changed working conditions.

The return of the real economy – conclusive remarks

In some sense the ‘real economy’ based on the four main sectors, fisheries, energy-intensive production, tourism and high-tech innovative firms, has re-emerged following the collapse of the banking system and the associated meltdown of the economy. These sectors have regained its significance, characterized by stable fisheries and growing utilization of hydro- and geothermal power. Production of aluminium increased from 30 000 tons in 1969 to nearly 900 000 tons in 2011. The number of tourists grew from around 90 000 in 1998 to 650 000 in 2011.

Fisheries, energy production and, to some extent, tourism are all examples of industries that utilize limited resources for value creation. While the return on the investments themselves is limited in the long term, due to the fact they all depend on limited natural resources, it is necessary to build future innovation capabilities. As stated in the theoretical part of the article, innovation is an incremental process where historical circumstances affect the structure, skills and conditions for value creation. In addition, history has shown that a small economy like Iceland focuses on individual industries often at the expense of others. This time around, singular focus on fisheries, energy production and tourism is likely to be at the expense of working conditions of knowledge-based businesses.

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‘[...] trabajando por el tiempo’:¹ Argentinean society in need of its entire intellectual potential

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Abstract

(Re)collecting Argentina’s recent conflictive past has been and continues to be an effort that involves the country’s entire intellectual potential and energy. Writers of fiction, no less than the historians, politicians, sociologists, anthropologists and human rights activists, actively contributed to the demand to repeal the amnesty laws of the 1980s. That repeal and the setting up of formal procedures for the investigation and adjudication of the past’s wrongdoing were finally achieved in 2003.

Among the many intellectuals active in this political process were the Argentinean writers Liliana Heker and Cristina Feijóo. Heker’s *El fin de la historia* (1996) and Feijóo’s *Memorias del río inmóvil*, (re)present Argentina’s collective memory as it confronts the junta period. These writers’ self-historical novels question the availability of personal and social ‘spaces’ for those who survived torture, exile and persecution during the military dictatorship.

Keywords

Cristina Feijóo, Argentina, *Memorias del río inmóvil*, Literature, Historical novel, Self-historical novel, Reconciliation and Adjudication of the past.

¹ ‘Working by way of time’ (Author’s translation). From the poem ‘Alguien’ by Jorge Luis Borges. First published in *El otro, el mismo* (1969).

Introduction

Argentinean reconciliation process of the last thirty years has confirmed that structured procedures are needed for a nation to recover from political and social abuses of power and authority. The case of Argentina serves to confirm that the countless cases of state-organised and military-promoted infringements of basic rights that taint Latin American history do not vanish merely by the passing of time. Time does not heal all wounds. Acknowledgements of wrongdoings, as well as procedures for reconciliation are necessary for any possible political, social or cultural mending to take place. As this has unfortunately not always been the case, Argentina's collective memory, as that of much of the rest of continent, is consumed by suspicion and scepticism, and the prevailing distrust is reflected in most social interactions, cultural encounters and personal relations. The time that has passed since the end of Argentinean military rule (1976-1983), one of the most abusive dictatorships on the continent in recent times, has not proven to be enough to alleviate the pain and the feelings of injustice and abuse suffered by the Argentinean people. Despite many steps taken to confront the past, the reconciliation process has become more enduring and manifold than was foreseen and is still underway.

During the first years of restored democracy contra productive measures were taken by the Argentinean government, such as the passing of laws that pardoned military officials. These measures worked against the efforts aiming to document and expose the atrocities exercised by 'junta' rulers. However, the early testimonial documentation collected in the *Nunca más* report (1984),² the efforts of numerous national and international human rights organisations, and the contributions of national activist groups, such as the *Abuelas y Madres de la Plaza de Mayo* (*May Square*

² Report of CONADEP (National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons) 'Never again' (1984).

Mothers and Grandmothers), all served to offer remedies to hasten the healing process that time alone could not advance.³

Literature is history's other archive

Throughout the last two decades politicians and social scientists have been the most recognised participants in the analysis of the many devastating consequences of Argentinean military rule. However, literature has also been important for the drawing up of the country's collective memory and of possible means of confronting that dark period. Short stories, the novel and narrative poetry have become popular instruments for weighing different alternatives of reconciliation and acclaimed international recognition. Recent publications of critical essay collections serve to demonstrate the growing and prolific field of analysis exercised in and outside Argentina.⁴ Hortiguera and Rocha's 2007 collection of essays, *Argentinean Cultural Production During the Neoliberal Years (1989-2001)*, focuses on the role and place of literature and cinema during the years of Argentina's supposed prosperity under the Carlos Menem presidency (1989-1999), when the country enjoyed international recognition because of its economic growth. The editors set the stage for their thematic concerns by referring to Bourdieu's formulations about consumer society and the struggle for the 'monopoly of literary legitimacy' (15). In her own essay, Carolina Rocha identifies a 'culture of memory': i.e., literary 'narratives of memory [that] started circulating in the early 1990s.' [When] 'left wing writers concentrated on their literary

³ These issues have been widely documented. For example, see *Ese infierno. Conversaciones de cinco mujeres sobrevivientes de la ESMA* (2001) and numerous publications by human rights organizations, such as the *Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas* (1984), and others.

⁴ See, for example: *Umbrales y catástrofes: literatura argentina de los 90* (2003), *Literatura argentina de los años 90* (2003), *Polémicas por la patria: literatura y crisis* (2004), and *Lo que sobra y lo que falta en los últimos veinte años de la literatura argentina* (2004). Also see: www.madres.org.ar and www.abuelas.org.ar.

production as a means of reclaiming a space of legitimacy in the field of cultural production'(39).⁵

Rocha's theorising echoes Jorge Panesi's assertion that literature is history's other archive, as well as Fernando O. Reati's observation that fiction is an indispensable tool for the reconstruction of memory.⁶ She emphasises the role of literature as a means or a tool for securing the transfer of past knowledge for the process of the continual upgrading of national identity. Furthermore, she stresses the need for the pluralising of memory through the use of *petites histories*, describing this as positioning memory as a central tool to revisit the past.⁷ They, she explains, 'contest not only History (as a singular, written discipline), but also resist the imposition of the dictum "time is money"' (41). Rocha then explains that 'slow motion (*tempo lento*) is deployed in these histories as opposed to the frantic time predicted by the proponents of the market' (41). She views her own study of Argentinean literature as being a confrontation to the predominant Argentinean 'politics of oblivion' (40), while simultaneously confirming Reati's observation that 'history is really a novel' (1992: 133) and that the past is continuously constructed and reformulated in the present.⁸

⁵ She borrows the term 'cultural memory' from Andreas Huyssen's theorising on the theme of globalisation, but 'the political site of memory practices is still national, not post-national or global' (39).

⁶ Panesi points out that: 'La literatura será siempre el otro archivo' (2003:24). Reati states: 'El interés es determinar cómo la novela argentina fabrica visiones contradictorias y a menudo en franca oposición, cómo se postula como una herramienta de construcción de la memoria, y cómo, en fin, plantea una forma de conocimiento histórico a través de sus versiones alternativas, desmitificadoras y autodesmitificadoras' (1992:127).

⁷ Analysing the narrative production of the Argentinean writers Ana María Shua, Manuela Fingueret and Héctor Tizón from the 1990s (41), Rocha borrows the term from Rhonda Dahl Buchanan.

⁸ Reati: '... la historia es una verdadera novela. La historiografía recuenta hechos pero, al igual que la ficción, los organiza, selecciona y sintetiza imponiendo sobre su materia prima – los documentos– una interpretación'... 'El pasado es una construcción que se está reformulando sin cesar en el momento presente, y si bien el ayer deja huellas en el hoy, también se produce el fenómeno inverso por el cual el hoy determina el ayer' (1992:133-34).

The narratives that are the subject of Rocha's study centre the recovery of the Argentinean national past:

This recovery can be interpreted as a resuscitated form of cultural nationalism, which Sophia McClennen characterises as a 'position [that] typically maintains that there is a story that is being suppressed by official versions of cultural identity (43). [...] the narratives of memory, based on the local and the historical, have been spearheaded in Argentina by leftist writers, especially those who had been exiled. These writers, sought to provide alternative views of the past (39-40).

In accordance with Rocha's observation on the role of exiled writers and their alternative presentation of the past, it seems fitting to draw the reader's attention to the narratives of the well-regarded Argentinean writer, Cristina Feijóo.⁹ She seems to illustrate Rocha's ideas, as she has become one of the acute analysts of recent Argentinean history.¹⁰ In *Memorias del río inmóvil*, a novel that earned her the Clarín Literary Award in 2001, she reproduces the social, political and economic conditions of the nineties, and presents a version of the collective historical memory of Argentina's recent past. The themes of resistance, persecution, exile and alienation, together with images of disappeared individuals and adopted children are persistent in her text. However, Feijóo reveals these much discussed themes from a renewed perspective as she intertwines her narrative voices with information about the implications of the neo-liberal economic

⁹ Feijóo was born in 1944. Her first publication was a collection of short stories entitled *En celdas diferentes* (1992), which earned her the Swedish Cultural Award the following year. A number of her short stories have been published in anthologies; for example 'Como en las películas' in *Antología del cuento latinoamericano* in Sweden (1995) and 'Las cosas en orden' in *Redes de la memoria* (2001). Her most recent novels are *La casa operativa* (2007), *Afuera* (2008) and *Los puntos ciegos de Emilia* (2011). For more information see "La escritora perdida" in *Página 12*, 16 October, 2011, www.cristinafeijoo.com.ar and www.hetrogenesis.se/Literatura/feijoo.htm

¹⁰ See also Portela (2008), who discusses: 'el corpus de testimonios que comenzaron a denunciar la brutal represión de la "guerra sucia" en los años ochenta, concretamente aquellos que lo hicieron desde el exilio...' (72).

policies and consumerism of the nineties. Feijóo seems to urge an abandonment of the widespread feeling of resentment and disgust in Argentinean society, rooted in the years of oppression, and promote a possible reconciliation with the nation's past. Through her literary work, she participates in the rewriting of history, emphasising that economic reality cannot be separated from the political or the social and that constructive dialogue between different social groups is essential.¹¹ She looks for and seeks to promote a conciliatory process in Argentinean contemporary politics while at the same time acknowledging the significant void in the social fabric that is directly related to the time of Argentinean military rule. This void becomes particularly recognisable in a demographic sense within intellectual and political circles, and in Feijóo's novel this is presented as an identity crisis:

He and I represent that something is not right in this simulacrum of a country. In this city where we come across one another in restaurants, meetings, airplanes and on street corners. We observe each other from a bus to a bus, from one car to another –the torturer and the tortured. Each one absorbed in the activities of the day. [...] He is Floyt, my former militant comrade, the lost friend, frozen forever in the time of truths and I'm nobody, not for him nor for myself (111).¹²

Feijóo, like critics and intellectuals from other disciplines, confronts her distorted nation's past history as she organises such themes as the recollection of historical facts, modifications of collective memory and the renovation of national identity in

¹¹ See also María Teresa Medeiros-Lichem (2007).

¹² Feijóo: 'Él y yo somos los símbolos de que algo no está bien en este simulacro de país. En esta ciudad donde nos cruzamos en restaurantes, en reuniones de consorcio, en algún avión, en los semáforos; nos miramos de remise a remise, de coche a coche, el que torturaba y el torturado. Cada uno absorto en su negocio del día. (111). [...] Él es Floyt, mi viejo compañero de militancia, el amigo perdido, congelado para siempre en un tiempo de verdades y yo no soy nadie, ni para él ni para mí' (111). For more information see Gardarsdóttir (2005).

Memorias del río inmóvil.¹³ However, to better situate Feijóo's novel within the framework of social commentary it is significant to observe that while historians, anthropologists and sociologists have occupied themselves with the rediscovery of actual facts, the literature has proved to be a productive tool for addressing the much-needed Argentinean political, social and cultural reconciliation from a more personal or intimate standpoint. In the case of literature written by women, a new sub-genre of the traditional historical novel, which I suggest is best identified with the term *self-historical novel*, implying a fictional text based on real-life experiences of recent conflictive historical events, has shown itself to be a preeminent medium for this reconstruction. The use of this sub-genre has promoted an impressive turnover in the categories of the so-called historical novel.¹⁴ Perhaps because the common definition of the historical novel as 'a text that centres its action on real or fictitious characters from the past', according to the dictionary of the Spanish Real Academia (1539), is being challenged.¹⁵ The term *self-historical novel* indicates that an interactive construction is undertaken and that the process involves the telling of a specific documented historical reality, as personally experienced and lived.

To better grasp the pertinent timing of this new literary sub-genre, the *self-historical novel*, as an appropriate tool for reconciliation, Auli Leskinen's observation is relevant (218). She explains that women, more commonly than men, tend to write

¹³ In his article; 'Villa, el médico de la memoria' (2003), Panesi explains that: 'No hay, no hubo "literatura del proceso". Hubo, sí, literatura *en* ese totalitarismo que denominaron "proceso". No hay tampoco, y por las mismas razones, personajes novelísticos del proceso' (13). He further states: 'los archivos de la historia siempre están adulterados, o pueden ser destruidos. Se conserven o desaparezcan, la literatura será siempre el otro archivo' (24).

¹⁴ Monica Flori (1995) prefers to identify this sub-genre with the term 'fictionalised autobiography' when referring to 'own time testimonies' ['testimonios de esos [sus propios] tiempos'] (256).

¹⁵ RAE: 'un texto que desarrolla su acción en épocas pasadas, con personajes reales o ficticios' (1539).

about autobiographical experiences and that in their texts they focus on individual personal lives as intertwined with and never separated from the memory of historical accounts. In the Argentinean case, numerous female novelists who favour the *self-historical novel*, such as Ana María Shua and Tununa Mercado, deserve our attention. However, before turning to Feijóo's novel *Memorias del río inmóvil*, a case in point is Liliana Heker and her search for a possible meeting point between fiction and historiography at the time of writing the novel *El fin de la historia* (1996).¹⁶ Heker emphasises that her projection of personal experiences during the dictatorship cannot be generalised and urges that the life of her central character, Leonora:

[...] is not that of all the real persons who survived the horrors of the extermination camps, first and foremost because not all the survivors were the same. They weren't identical before, during, nor after being enclosed in these concentration camps, even though undoubtedly none of these lives were trivial, each one had to illuminate in a way the ferocity and the inhumanity of the military dictatorship. It was never my intention to tell all their stories, nor to construct an archetypal single character (1996:45).¹⁷

She draws attention to the fact that the process included acts of remembering, researching and interviewing people to ensure that; 'one day I would have a complete account of the facts that shaped my protagonist, without ruptures. Chronology of a life that I wanted to present and which today is the central axis of my

¹⁶ For more, see Ana María Shua's novel *El libro de los recuerdos* (1994) [The Book of Memories], Tununa Mercado's novel *En estado de memoria* (1996) [In a State of Memory, 2001] and Nora Strejilevich's novel *Una sola muerte numerosa* (1997). Amongst Liliana Heker's other texts are: *Zona de clivaje* (1990) and *Las hermanas de Shakespeare* (1999).

¹⁷ Heker: '[...] no es igual a la de todas las personas reales que sobrevivieron al horror de un campo de exterminio, ante todo, porque esos sobrevivientes no son todos iguales, no lo han sido ni antes ni durante ni después de su permanencia en estos campos de exterminio, y aunque, sin duda, ninguna de esas vidas es trivial, aunque cada una ha de alumbrar a su modo la ferocidad, lo inhumano de la dictadura militar no fue mi propósito contarlas a todas ni tampoco erigir a un personaje en arquetipo (1996:45).

novella' (1996:101).¹⁸ Heker is 'convinced that a novel is a microcosm' (1996:41)¹⁹ and that 'there exist repugnant private histories' [that] 'create their own defence mechanisms and disfigure their own faces' (1996:104).²⁰ In her novel she does not intend to present a simple truth but opts for a comprehensive and complex one. She situates her fictional characters in known situations and, perhaps, lived experiences, within a documented reality already recorded within the official public accounts of historiography. Thus, she represents real events, occurrences and recorded conflicts from the recent Argentinean past, while simultaneously interweaving into the text a more personalised account.

The novel presents the story of Leonora Ordaz, a former member of the Argentinean guerrilla movement *Montoneros*.²¹ The narrator of Heker's novel, Diana Glass, is writing an epic novel about Leonora's life during the violent and conflictive time of the seventies.²² The novel is set in Buenos Aires and based on confirmed historical data. Simultaneously, her own everyday life is intertwined into her narration. Glass, long admired for her political activism, shares Leonora's story, while concurrently disclosing information on the horrific tortures the many imprisoned activists endured during these years. She emphasises the sacrifices they had to make, their resistance and eventually their death in captivity. For years Glass has believed this to be her protagonist and friend's fate. One gloomy day, however, she is informed of Leonora's

¹⁸ Heker: 'un buen día, tuve completa la crónica de los hechos que hacían a mi protagonista; sin fisuras, el segmento de vida que quería contar y que hoy es el eje central de la novella' (1996:101).

¹⁹ Heker: 'convencida de que una novela es un microcosmos' (1996:41).

²⁰ Heker: 'hay historias privadas, repugnantes' [que] 'generan sus propias defensas, desfiguran su verdadera cara' (1996:104).

²¹ The Montonero Peronist Movement [*Movimiento Peronista Montonero*] was an Argentinean left-wing guerrilla group, active during the 1960s and 1970s. For more information see for example Paul H. Lewis's study: *Guerrillas and Generals: The Dirty War in Argentina* (2001).

²² Reati has argued that Diana Glass is Liliana Heker's *alter ego* and that Leonora is the representation of her friend Mercedes Carazo (also identified as Lucy See Reati (2006).

return to Buenos Aires. She learns that her friend owes her survival to her capability to manoeuvre her situation in prison by means of a submissive love affair with one of her torturers. *El fin de la historia* from then on narrates the confusing reality Glass is confronted with when the purpose of her work, to present the heroic achievements of her generation, turns out to be unsubstantiated and perhaps false. She is disillusioned and faces a serious questioning of her understanding of reality, history and human behaviour. 'I don't want to see her again. She has destroyed my personal history, do you understand, my own sacred youth' (234).²³ While Heker leaves her readers to search for explanations, manifold questioning troubles, the narrator questions if survival instincts surpass any ideological convictions or moral beliefs? Can any hero become a traitor or any traitor an idol? What are the writer's possibilities when representing historical accounts marked by blurred margins between the dominant and the dominated?

Whatever the manifold possible answers, Heker's pioneering *self-historical novel* revisits the recent Argentinean past with exceptional precision and substantiates what her compatriot Hebe N. Campanella (2003) identifies as a conflictive bipolar positioning between 'a literary fiction and a historical account' (11).²⁴ Campanella sustains that the historical novel derives its meaning from the certainty of what is narrated, because 'if the reader does not find truth in the presentation of facts he/she will lose out on expected pleasures' (15).²⁵ Campanella further observes that only by exchanging *vida familiar* with *vida histórica* is it possible to construct 'a complete truth' (27), and that 'the renovation of the historical novel in Latin America emerges as a reaction against literature from the seventies, highly self-centred, formalist [and]

²³ Heker: 'No quiero volver a verla. Hizo pedazos mi propia historia, se da cuenta, mi propia primavera sagrada' (234).

²⁴ Campanella: 'una ficción literaria y un relato histórico' (11).

²⁵ Campanella: 'si el lector no encuentra verdad en los hechos referidos perderá gran parte de su placer' (15).

preoccupied with the problems of language' (29).²⁶ She explains that 'where fictitious elements of History meet the historicity of fiction that's where the historical novel emerges' (28) and that it's on this ever unstable equilibrium between what is truthful and trustworthy that the historical novel rests its renewed popularity.²⁷

However, when comparing the contemporary historical novel with its predecessors from the early twentieth century the former diverges from the conventional meaning to find a new place within the frame of contemporary discourses. The new historical novel introduces to its readership a fusion of genres, the most dominant of which are the novelistic and historic, while the *self-historical novel* adds real life experiences of recent conflictive historical events.²⁸ This new instrument of expression and art exploits the literary genre because the text corresponds to the conventions of the novelistic form while remaining based in historiography because it shares both theme and objectivity with the writing of history.²⁹

²⁶ Campanella: 'una verdad completa' (27) y 'la renovación de la actual novella histórica en América latina ha sido provocada por una reacción contra la literature de los años 70, auto referencial, formalista, [y] preocupada por los problemas del lenguaje' (29).

²⁷ Campanella: 'En fin, donde se 'entrecruzan' lo ficcional de la Historia como escritura y la historicidad de la ficción entendida como refiguración del tiempo humano de su devenir, allí se halla la novela histórica, en ese punto de equilibrio siempre inestable de lo verdadero y lo verosímil' (28). For further information see Gardarsdóttir (2002). "Interview with the Argentinean critic and novelist María Rosa Lojo", published in www.revista.discurso.org, Cunha, Gloria da, *La narrativa histórica de escritoras latinoamericanas* (2004) and Gimbernat González, Ester. *Aventuras del desacuerdo: Novelistas Argentinas de los '80* (1992).

²⁸ Monica Scarano explains: 'Pensamos en la 'escritura' como una práctica fuertemente movilizadora que [...] continúa transformando lenta y profundamente la memoria colectiva, permitiéndole rescatar del olvido y celebrar un evento memorable, al ponerlo en escena, inscribiéndolo con diferentes materiales y fijándolo, o por el contrario, demostrarlo y criticarlo, auscultando sus fisuras aún abiertas o, en el peor de los casos, encubrirlo o silenciarlo' (18).

²⁹ For further information see Celia Fernández Prieto's contribution (1996).

Contributions to reconciliation

When Cristina Feijóo's representations of Argentinean cultural and political realities, as (re)presented in her novel *Memoria del río inmóvil* (2001) are questioned through Paul Ricoeur's theorising, as presented in *Memory, History, Forgetting* (2004), it appears evident that history 'remembers' some events at the expense of others. In Ricoeur's view, the reciprocal relationship between remembering and forgetting is constantly underway and affects both the perception of historical experience and the production of historical narrative. He reopens the question of the nature and truth of historical knowledge and shares that the underlying question has to do with how a memory can be of something absent. He explores whether historians, who can write a history of memory, can truly break with all dependence on memory, including memories that resist representation. As is the case with Feijóo's principal characters, he investigates the necessity of forgetting as a condition for the possibility of remembering, and asks if there can be something like happy forgetting in parallel to happy memory. These theoretical predicaments emerge in Feijóo's narration when her character Pinino discovers that: 'Ever since he can remember silence and secrets have been destined to create for him an illusion of autonomy. Now, (when he discovers his mother's secret past) this connection has unexpectedly been broken and dozens of images jump at him, out of control' (168).³⁰

To better grasp the complexity of Feijóo's representation of Argentinean reality it becomes prudent to keep in mind that emerging novelists, as is the case with Liliana Heker, perceive reality –present or past– as a complicated, combined whole that is troublesome, ambiguous and contradictory, a reality that cannot be

³⁰ Feijóo: 'Desde que recuerda, Pinino ha estado conectado a Julieta por una sutilísima red de medias palabras, silencios y secretos destinados a crearle una ilusión de autonomía. Ahora esa conexión se ha roto imprevisiblemente y decenas de figuras le brincan alrededor, fuera de control' (168).

understood with certainty. As a consequence they find themselves obliged to abandon the techniques and the language of realism, because it responds to the conception that reality is organised and that its meaning can be transmitted without ambiguity to paper. It is therefore important to recognise that the innovations of the *self-historical novel* are concerned with both novelistic structural characteristics and forms as instruments that represent a particular political or social reality. Thus, the relationship between the new historical novel at the beginning of the new millennium, as Campanella observes, and the classical historical novel from the early twentieth century is placed between the so-called new Latin American novel and contemporary historiography. It is therefore not surprising to discover that the new historical novel finds its place in the contemporary novelistic discourse because it does not share a traditional rhetoric. As a consequence, the new historical novel –including the *self-historical novel* as a new sub-genre– shares discursive narrative techniques unique to narrative fiction such as fragmented structure, non-linear narration, manifold and interchangeable narrators, and, special to the Latin American novelistic form at the dawn of the XXI century, renewed intellectualism and easily recognisable social criticism. Feijóo questions the referential concepts as used by the realists and promotes a focusing of attention on the writing as a constitutive means for attaining historiographical knowledge. The idea is that the writing of history should renounce positivist pretensions to emphasise an existing relation between narrative traditions, actual reality and historiography.

In this context it becomes relevant to recall that, twenty five years ago, Linda Hutcheon (1988) theorised the rewriting of history through fiction and discussed what she identified as ‘historiographic metafiction’. She argued that this narrative technique incorporated elements from literature, theory and history. Consecutively, Hayden White (1996) presented his formulations on historiography and emphasised that the

distinction between the different genres had become 'blurred' and acclaimed the renovations of literature and history as promising because they permitted new alternative ways to present the past. White also discussed the loss of absolutes and certainties of knowledge, as historical truths and dependable realities are to him entangled with fiction and the result is an 'intertext' that offers new understanding and renewed interpretations. These conscious and elaborate distortions of history are White's so-called 'metahistories' which promote multiple alternatives and possible versions of an occurrence or a specific incident.³¹

However, when the contemporary Argentinean historical novel is examined, both those most easily referred to as traditional and those identified as *self-historical*, it is worth keeping in mind a particular Latin American aspect of the genre because, as Heker points out, the 'innocence of the creator' (1996:41) does not exist. She emphasises that writing about the military dictatorship has not been easy for anyone, because: 'How to tell a traitor's story? How to present a torturer by his own truth? With what other truths can he be confronted?' (1996:103).³² Interestingly, Heker's alternative, in accordance with recent theorising, such as expressed by Campanella, and in accordance with White, has been to present a multiplicity of existing realities, '[...] militant *montoneros* who did not speak out, who fought until death and others that collaborated to preserve their own lives' (1996:41).³³

³¹ In *La reinvencción de la memoria* (1997) the editors discuss the issue of the recreation of past and memory referring to Le Geoff's theorising. They emphasise his formulations regarding the importance of keeping human the psychic's functions in mind when studying memory (26-27). They go on to observe: 'percibimos cómo la interrelación existente entre ficción, invención e imaginación pone en escena un juego entre imágenes y versiones que desaparecen y otras que comienzan a poseer relieve y cobrar nueva forma, y visualizamos la ficción como un tipo de invención, del cal el claroscuro y el entretendido de ocultamiento y revelación son sus rasgos fundamentales (Jitrik 1995: 64)' (27).

³² Heker: '¿Cómo contar a ese traidor, cómo contar a un torturador desde su propia verdad? ¿Con cuáles otras verdades confrontarlo?' (1996: 103).

³³ Heker: '... militantes montoneros que callaron o pelearon hasta la muerte y a otros que colaboraron para preservar su vida' (1996: 41).

Thus, keeping the above in mind and considering the contemporary Argentinean context, *Memorias del río inmóvil* provides an interesting opportunity to study the theme of the new historical novel and the much demanded resistance to social segregation and Argentinean political reconciliation. On one hand, it is ‘a novel of the nineties with ties to the seventies’, as the author observed in an interview with the Argentinean newspaper *Clarín*,³⁴ and, on the other, as Reati observes, it deals with:

[...] the process of re-adaptation of those militants of the political left that after suffering in jail and exile have to reintegrate themselves into the *light* consumer world of the nineties. They become messengers of a past that seems only to exist in remote memories (2004:21).³⁵

The novel is set in the dense urban spaces of Buenos Aires at the end of the 1990s, where neo-liberal economic values and political indifference are predominant. The narrative revolves around the daily lives of Rita and Juan, a middle aged, middle class, childless, professional couple. Their different perspectives are marked by memories from the military rule and the years of dictatorship. Feijóo has put her characters into a particular context, explaining that: ‘My generation, which intended to change things, has something to say. Not many voices from this generation have been heard and even less so those of women’.³⁶ Rita, the protagonist, is a former militant and exiled activist who has returned to her homeland and Buenos Aires. Ever since her return she has equipped herself with a series of middle class social masks that have allowed her to reintegrate into daily life and the activities

³⁴ Feijóo: ‘una novela de los 90, pero anclada en los 70’ (*Clarín* October 11th, 2001).

³⁵ Reati: ‘[...] el tema del proceso de readaptación de aquellos militantes de izquierda que, tras sufrir la cárcel y el exilio, deben resignarse a vivir en un mundo light y consumista de los 90 convertidos en mensajeros de un pasado que ya sólo parece existir en sus recuerdos’ (21).

³⁶ Feijóo: ‘Mi generación, que trató de cambiar las cosas, tiene algo que decir. No se han escuchado muchas voces de ésta generación, sobre todo de mujeres’ (*Clarín*, October 14, 2001:4).

of contemporary Argentinean society. However, these masks – both hiding her past from others and shielding her from her own questioning– start breaking up when a supposedly disappeared *ex-compañero* from her militant youth reappears. Rita is unexpectedly drawn back into a past that she has made every effort to eliminate from her memory. Feijóo has explained that:

The motivation that promoted the writing of the book was that I wanted to know what was going on in the lives of people in the nineties who had stayed together ever since both were active militants in the seventies. How two people that have been together for twenty-two years, one in jail and the other in exile, can continue together after having to abandon their dreams of youth to reintegrate themselves into society (*Clarín*, October 14, 2001:4).³⁷

When researching the thematic concerns of the novel, it becomes evident that the stirring up of the still waters of everyday superficial city-life is initiated with the reappearance of a colleague who symbolically returns from death. The reciprocal relationship between remembering and forgetting is questioned and thereby complacency is interrupted. Floyt not only returns from the past but also emerges from the reigning collective obliviousness. Rita had shared militancy with him in the late seventies and she believed –just as her husband Juan and others had done– that, after being captured by the military, he had been killed and his body dismembered. This hypothesis seemed to have been confirmed by the fact that, for more than twenty years, no one ever saw or heard from him. But then suddenly he is there:

The man at the harbour is in the same place. I see him [Rita observes] and a confusing remembering draws me to the depths of

³⁷ Feijóo: 'Lo que me movió a escribir el libro fue que yo quería saber qué pasaba en los 90 con una pareja que hubiera permanecido unida desde que ambos militaban en los 70. Cómo lograron seguir adelante en su vida dos personas que llevan 22 años juntos, uno de los cuales estuvo en la cárcel y la otra en el exilio, ambos tuvieron que ocultar sus sueños de juventud para reinsertarse en la sociedad' (*Clarín*, October 14, 2001: 4).

my memory. From the moment I first saw him I knew he was the link to an immediate ocean of meaning. It's a troubling feeling that I forget the moment I leave him, but his presence restores that feeling every time I see him (19).³⁸

I don't know what to do about Floyt and I don't know what to do about myself. [...] He is Floyt, my ex-militant comrade, a lost friend, forever frozen in a remote time of truths and I'm nobody, not for him nor for myself (111).³⁹

The narration of *Memorias del río inmóvil*, therefore, revolves around remembering the people that participated on one side or the other in the armed conflict of the 1970s. Feijóo demonstrates how all are tied to and obsessed with this shared past which seems to hold a tighter grip on them the more they try to protect themselves from it. Therefore, through the exposure of the different roles assigned to the respective characters and their interactions with the protagonist, the Argentinean past becomes a microcosm of the *porteño* present. Feijóo has revealed that 'the idea is that the torturers and the tortured interact within the same spaces' (111), but emphasised that the novel is not an autobiography.⁴⁰ 'In Rita, she says, I wanted to project some of the experiences shared by the women of the militant movements',⁴¹ and elsewhere she emphasises that:

No, I am definitely not Rita. I would not say that this is an autobiographical novel because it is too difficult for me to work with my own biographical reality. Furthermore, I have to distance

³⁸ Feijóo: 'El hombre del puerto está en el mismo lugar. Lo veo y un recuerdo confuso me arrastra hacia las profundidades de la memoria. Desde la primera mirada supe que él es la válvula a un inmediato océano de sentido. Éste es un sentimiento desconcertante que olvido apenas me alejo del hombre, y que él renueva cada vez con su presencia' (19).

³⁹ Feijóo: 'No sé qué hacer con Floyt y no sé qué hacer conmigo. [...]. Él es Floyt, mi viejo compañero de militancia, el amigo perdido, congelado para siempre en un tiempo de verdades y yo no soy nadie, ni para él ni para mí' (111).

⁴⁰ 'la idea es que torturadores y torturados estamos en los mismos ambientes' (46 and Feijóo 111).

⁴¹ Feijóo: 'En Rita quería proyectar una cierta faceta de las experiencias que compartieron las mujeres de la militancia' (*Clarín*, October 14, 2001).

myself from my characters to be able to construct them (*Clarín*, October 14, 2001:3).⁴²

Despite Feijóo's declarations, Christian Kupchik observes that '[...] it is a personal story and the text is without doubt one of the best narrative documents set in our relatively recent history.'⁴³ Similarly, Edgar Valdés, from the Paraguayan newspaper *Última hora*, considers the novel to represent memories of an activist and a militant during the dictatorship in Argentina. Furthermore, he considers that the author has demonstrated: 'courage and an enormous nerve by sharing her experiences bluntly and without holding back'.⁴⁴

In *Memorias del río inmóvil*, Feijóo constructs her narration around the questioning of available spaces in neo-liberal, consumerist post-dictatorship society by survivors of torture, exile and persecution during the dictatorship. 'We had to work hard, set goals for ourselves and go on, closing our eyes. There was no other way to grow-up, to be respected –[...] (103).⁴⁵ Through the presentation of identity conflicts, she questions at what cost the much-needed social and psychological national re-integration can take place. In her novel, the personal represents the national and it becomes a mirror that reflects serious difficulties, while offering indications of a possible reconstruction. The protagonist struggles with her self-image and recreation of her identity, while simultaneously recognising that 'now we [the ex-militants] don't exist' (290). Rita feels 'lost in a labyrinth' and realises that she does

⁴² Feijóo: 'No, yo no soy Rita, definitivamente. No diría que es una novela autobiográfica, ya que a mí me resulta muy difícil trabajar con mi realidad biográfica. Es más, tengo que tomar distancia de los personajes para poder construirlos' (*Clarín*, October 14, 2001:3).

⁴³ Feijóo: 'es una historia personal y el texto es sin duda uno de los mejores documentos narrativos que toman como referencia nuestra historia relativamente reciente' (*Clarín*, October 19, 2001).

⁴⁴ Feijóo: 'valor, y un enorme coraje de contar sin tapujos' (*Última hora*, 2002).

⁴⁵ Feijóo: 'Hubo que trabajar duro, ponerse una meta y darle para adelante, cerrando los ojos. No había otra manera de crecer, de ser respetado' (103).

not know ‘whom to trust’ (180).⁴⁶ She discovers that she lives isolated and abandoned in a marginalised sub-culture constantly on guard:

I look at myself, that is, I see what others see and I feel ashamed. [...] a professional forty something that eats low-fat foods, attends openings, buys the latest in books, gets her hair done every month, sweats in the gym and does not differ in anything from other forty somethings sharing the same income. Not in anything. Except that, it shouldn’t be forgotten, she survived (110).⁴⁷

Contrary to Rita, her husband is submerged within the text as an inseparable shadow and a part of the same questioning, however alienated he appears in his own silent existence and space. His questioning is complementary to that of Rita:

I observe my pale skin, the hair, the abdomen and the feet of a guy that has to be me, but it’s not. I am not. I have nothing to do with this cow dung salesman, this bold husband of that stranger that whispers over the phone in the other room. [...] I, Juan Agustín Morante, am under a huge pile of shit. Covered and buried, but still alive (197).⁴⁸

He shares with the reader that: ‘Nothing is left of the socialist, Juan Morante.’ Furthermore, that when emerged in his role as a salesman he has ‘the face of [his] torturer’ [and even] ‘uses

⁴⁶ Feijóo: ‘...ya no somos’ (290). ‘Estoy en un laberinto, y en un punto incierto de estos corredores me espera el horror’ [...]. ‘No sé en quién confiar’ (180).

⁴⁷ Feijóo: ‘Me veo, es decir veo lo que los otros ven y me lleno de vergüenza [...] una profesional cuarentona que se alimenta light, concurre a los estrenos de teatro, compra lo último en libros, se retoca el pelo todos los meses, suda en un gimnasio y no se diferencia en nada de cualquier otra cuarentona con los mismos ingresos. En nada, salvo que ella, claro, sobrevivió’ (110).

⁴⁸ Feijóo: ‘[...] observo la piel pálida, el vello, el abdomen, los pies de un tipo que debo ser yo, pero que no soy. No soy. Yo no tengo nada que ver con este vendedor de bosta, con el casi calvo marido de esta extraña que susurra en el teléfono de mi habitación. [...] Yo, Juan Agustín Morante, estoy debajo de una enorme montaña de mierda. Tapado y enterrado pero vivo aún’ (197).

the same arguments' (197).⁴⁹ The couple's search for truth about who they really are implies confronting personal experiences set in particular historical circumstances. Finding out how to live and integrate into contemporary, segregated Argentinean society, given the models at hand, is reflected in Rita's obsession regarding Floyt, who 'is alive, but lost forever'(110).⁵⁰ Feijóo presents Juan and Rita as being 'out of place' in their everyday existence, and Floyt, the ghost who, Reati explains, is not conscious of his treason because he has lost his mind, as the perfect incarnation of the maximum condition of the survivors. As a representative figure of the thousands who disappeared but continue to exist in the collective Argentinean unconsciousness, Floyt is physically in the world but in reality he is not a part of it (25). He is living but lost. Feijóo speculates on the existential question of both being and simultaneously not being, and demonstrates how the contemporary *porteña* condition is reflected in the presentation of the binary opposition of forgetting and remembering, as well as, being present and absent at the same time.⁵¹ She demonstrates how survivors and disappeared are living next door to each other, and the tortured living opposite the street from their torturers. Simultaneously, Feijóo's presentations of Argentinean historical reality and local conditions have to be credible to complete the picture of Rita's personal life. She must, as Campanella points out (2003: 15), make sure that the contemporary reader finds pleasure in the text and that this pleasure measures against the credibility of the information shared. Interestingly, and to secure the validity of the novel, Feijóo actively engages in an act of intertwining a complex true-to-life scene of her characters, where real locations and known facts form a foundation for the events taking place.

⁴⁹ Feijóo: 'Nada queda de Juan Morante, socialista'. [...] El vendedor tienen la cara de mi torturador en jefe. Usa además los mismos argumentos' (197).

⁵⁰ Feijóo: '...está vivo y, sin embargo, perdido para siempre' (110).

⁵¹ In *Asedios a la memoria: La experiencia de psicólogos bajo las dictaduras militares en América del Sur* (2004) Horacio Riquelme U. discusses the consequences of organized violence and state run persecution and terrorism.

The story of Pinino, a teenage son of Rita's colleague from work, takes over part of the text. At first sight, Pinino seems the typical middle-class youngster. He wanders the streets, dreams of material well-being, is promiscuous and indifferent to political debates and discussions:

The only person who has always been present in his life has been Julieta, but Julieta doesn't have a personal dimension for Pinino. She is the centre and the universe revolves around her. Pinino doesn't have a father and doesn't remember that Julieta has ever made a comment about it. He himself didn't want to know. The two times that necessity urged him to ask, a feeling of uncertainty closed his mouth (168).⁵²

Pinino's eyes slowly open and contemporary Argentinean reality requires him to discover his origins as an adopted child from the time of the dictatorship and find out that his 'mother' served as a 'love-girl' to military personnel. Similarly, he discovers that she had participated in the smuggling of children from the detention centres around the country and that he himself is one of those children. The woman he has admired as a fighting single mother had simply been a manipulated servant to the mandates of dictatorship. The mother-son confrontations that follow these discoveries, just as the couple's conflicts, serve as a symbolic demonstration of the debates needed between Argentinean social groups regarding the country's past. Hence, these are understood to contribute to Feijóo's timely observation about the urgent need for the loosening up of the existing segregation and predominant social silences.⁵³

⁵² Feijóo: 'La única persona que ha estado presente en su vida desde siempre ha sido Julieta, pero Julieta no tiene para Pinino la dimensión de una persona. Ella es un centro alrededor del cual gira el universo. Pinino no tiene padre y no recuerda que Julieta le haya hecho nunca un comentario; él tampoco había querido saber; las dos veces que la necesidad le puso la pregunta en la punta de la lengua, un presagio vago le cerró la boca' (168).

⁵³ For further information see for example: www.hijos-capital.org.ar

It is interesting to discover that Feijóo never falls prey to the victimising of her central characters.⁵⁴ Rita is an educated intellectual, a politically aware social subject, truly traumatised and affected by her experiences, but she is also someone who acknowledges her responsibility to reconstruct her place in society. Feijóo elaborates a *self-historical novel* that presents an alternative instrument for the building of bridges between the time of the military dictatorship and the present. When Feijóo's personal history of activism, imprisonment and four years of exile is observed the novel appears as an autobiographical manifestation and a text in which personal experiences are intertwined with historical facts to create a tool to confront the social and political apathy dominating the daily lives of Argentinean citizens in the 1990s. Feijóo does not simply respond to her proposed objectives of criticising and condemning the past or past decisions, but does so by questioning the conformity of the consumer-oriented *porteño* citizen of the nineties, -distant from his/her own past and tied up in a web of superficial vanities.

In her novel Feijóo presents a constructive model and new alternative as to how to confront Argentinean's recent past. She does so not simply questioning the past but pointing to the conformity of the present as her characters attempt to assimilate into the commodities of the consumerist society. Her characters are confronted with the fact that social and political unconsciousness can't mend wrongdoings, only formed procedures of reconciliation can. Pinino's efforts to grasp, understand and reconcile with his personal history become symbolic of the collective reconciliation mending process Feijóo suggests. She requests an active collaboration in her search for a

⁵⁴ Argentinean writers such as Marta Traba, Luisa Valenzuela and Liliana Heker have dealt with the themes of political activism, participation in subversive fighting, persecution, torture, exile, etc. Isabel Allende, Cristina Peri Rossi, Gioconda Belli, together with countless others, have made their mark on Latin American literary history for similar thematic concerns.

means to eliminate the existing segregated indifference, founded on distrust, so predominant in Argentinean society at the turn of the century. She recaptures the past by rewriting personal histories and intertwining them with official history in order to reinvent the image of it and to initiate the rewriting of a renovated collective national history.

Rita, as the protagonist, questions her decisions and wonders ‘what was it that I could have become if I had selected something different long time ago?’ (240).⁵⁵ She has understood that the past will not be changed, and that she herself is responsible for her actions, her well-being and her future. She confronts her anger, frustration and hatred and, despite her sad tone of voice and doubts, there are constructive indications in all her actions and deeds. Indirectly, she demonstrates that the Argentinean people cannot continue to live in silence and segregation, even though the profound pain of the recent past does not, perhaps, allow for an absolute, once and for all, reconciliation. This study emphasises that even though frustration and alienation have dominated so many people’s lives during the last two decades, Feijóo’s novel can be considered as a blueprint for the new generations, as represented in the Pinino character. She urges the young to take risks when promoting change and to challenge the conformity and priorities of a modern neo-liberal society.

While Reati (2004) emphasises the role of the novel’s protagonist as the passive victim and the dominant paralysing representation of the Argentinean past, in this study the novel is understood to represent quite the contrary. It is seen to indicate an alternative way to confront national identity and offer a possible reconstruction of Argentinean collective memory. It is, however, merely a piece in the nation’s historical puzzle, confirming Raúl Illescas’ observation that:

⁵⁵ Feijóo: ‘Qué es lo que yo podría haber sido si hubiera elegido otra cosa, hace mucho tiempo’ (240).

Memory is always conflictive, never linear nor simply accumulative. It is dynamic and based on a selection of constructed meanings of events from the past. Due to memory the past gains meaning from the elaboration of significance. [...] Considering memory as a construction in the present allows us to foresee conditions for future possibilities. Memory, therefore, offers an explicit relationship with the construction of identity (73).⁵⁶

In Feijóo's representation of Buenos Aires, as a dwelling place for millions of people, special attention is given to the dominant sense of distrust and disagreement, as well as to a continuous personal insecurity. The author questions how thousands of psychoanalysts and psychiatrists are expected to solve the reigning conflicts on a personal level, while forgetting is promoted at the social and collective level. Simultaneously, however, the author urges that the analytical questioning of identity and well-being take place in the public eye, at political, cultural and social levels.

Conclusions

The thematic concerns of Cristina Feijóo's *Memorias del río inmóvil* (2001) demonstrate the author's emphasis on the need for individual and personal incentives as a force to promote reconciliation and secure a political stability. Feijóo's narration stirs still waters of the *Río de la Plata* of the 1990s because they offered the hybrid population of tortured and torturers, of returned exiled leftist and compromised followers of the military junta a false sense of calm. The principal characters, representing the

⁵⁶ Illescas: 'La memoria –siempre conflictiva, nunca lineal ni meramente acumulativa- es dinámica y producto de una selección de construcciones de sentido de sucesos del pasado. Mediante la memoria el pasado cobra sentido a partir de la elaboración de significados. [...] Considerando la memoria entonces como una construcción de presente, este permite entrever las condiciones de posibilidad del futuro. La memoria plantea entonces una vinculación explícita con la construcción de la identidad' (73).

multiplicity of the Argentinean public, no longer float in oblivion on the social surface but are actively working by the way of time. From a contemporary point of view, Feijóo recovers the sense and meaning of what made a whole generation become agitated and act upon social and political challenges. Simultaneously, she reveals that the victimisation and marginalisation of these social subjects has been abandoned, because public indifference prohibits the inevitable process of reconciliation. The novel confirms what Néstor García-Canclini observed regarding the 1990s, that it was ‘a present without memory’, and that the neo-liberal economic interests of the Menem era in reality did interfere with political and social activism and participation.⁵⁷ Through Rita and Juan’s personal histories, set in a well-documented historical reality of the 1970s, as well as in the 1990s, a hidden history is recollected, stripping the characters and revealing their artificial identity as unaffected individuals at ease in present day Buenos Aires.

Feijóo recollects a nation’s past that she knows from own experience. She writes a captivating and painful novel that scratches the wounds of the nation’s past, while simultaneously urging courage and determination in the process of confronting it and its related collective memory. As a social commentator and a novelist, she joins forces with other Argentinean intellectuals and adds arguments to the debate on possible political reconciliation and the much needed reform of Argentinean social identity. She contributes to the reconstruction of historical and social identity through highlighting alternative ways for reconciliation. Feijóo reconfirms her optimism proposing a new social image in which her female protagonist, Rita, and Pinino, representing the socially awakening Argentinean youth committed to change, have abandoned their marginal position to actively participate in the social, cultural and political reformulation. Simultaneously, she emphasises the need for each social subject’s critical self-

⁵⁷ In *La globalización imaginada* (1999) and his more recent publications García Canclini discusses and makes repeated references to the case of Argentina.

examination as a necessary preamble for the formation of social identity within the contemporary political context. Her claims confirm that Argentinean society is in need of its entire intellectual potential to confront its past and move forward. She calls attention to the fact that such a highly political endeavour as reforming identity is only possible through a reconciliation crossing both class and political lines.

Feijóo's contributions to making sense of Argentina's past continue to be the central elements of her novels *La casa operativa* (2006) and *Afuera* (2008), where life in exile, political activism and state promoted abuses are the predominant themes. In these novels she re-examines Argentinean history and confirms that literature is history's other archive. She verifies that fiction is an indispensable tool for the reconstruction of memory and commotion of official history as it 'remembers' some events at the expense of others. Feijóo's *self-historical novels* recapture a past that Argentines need to come to terms with to create a new social identity as a nation.

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The Fractured Memory: The 1970s in contemporary Argentine documentaries

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Abstract

This article discusses the political documentaries made in Argentina in the last fifteen years about the tumultuous 1970s. These 21 films recur to various visual, sound and narrative mechanisms to build a bridge to the militant cinema of that decade, with *The Hour of the Furnaces* (1966-68) as a key referent. Their common discourse is “*setentismo*”, the ideology and praxis of 1970s left-wing political engagement. The article explores the anachronistic persistence of this political imaginary embedded in the films’ belief in a transnational utopia, around Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution.

Keywords

Motion Pictures, Argentina - Motion Pictures, Social Aspects – Argentina, Documentary Films–Latin America, History and Criticism, Ernesto Guevara, Fernando Solanas

*“You’re not going to use the story, Mr. Scott?
No, sir. This is the West, sir. When the legend becomes fact, print the legend”.*
The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance (1962, dir. John Ford)

The political documentary occupies a small but relevant place in the history of Argentine cinema. Its key referent – both formally and ideologically – is *The Hour of the Furnaces* (1966-68), the *agit-prop* film directed by Fernando Solanas and Osvaldo Getino. An

ideological interpretation of Argentina's history and politics from a leftwing Peronist perspective, *The Hour of the Furnaces* inserts both of them in the macro history of Latin America. According to this point of view –anchored in the sixties and revamped for the globalised 21st century, as Solanas latest documentaries show- Latin America is in a continuous process of armed struggle, seeking liberation from colonial and neocolonial powers. In this political and geographical imaginary, the Cuban Revolution and its ideologist Ernesto “Che” Guevara, fulfill an indispensable hagiographic function: the possibility of a transnational utopia. The defeat of Guevara in the jungles of Bolivia in 1967 has not quenched the cinematographic ardor of those who have picked up the mantle of militant cinema.

Between *The Hour of the Furnaces* and a series of recent Argentine documentaries about the terrorist organizations of the 1970s –like Montoneros and ERP (People's Revolutionary Army)– two crucial historical events have changed the political landscape: the collapse of the European Communism in the late 1980s, and the fossilization of the Cuban regime, ensconced in power, unelected, for over four decades.

This paper examines the anachronistic persistence of this political imaginary in Argentine documentaries made in the last fifteen years about the tumultuous 1970s. They adhere tenaciously to views and explanations that have lost their luster and magnetism elsewhere. The paper also studies how these films recur to various visual, sound and narrative mechanisms to build a bridge to Grupo Cine Liberación and Cine de la Base. Their common discourse is “setentismo”, the ideology and political activism that embraces, unmediated, the leftwing cause, the speeches and terrorist engagement of that decade. It is also the ideological discourse of Argentina's current administration.

The two main strategies are the cultivation of a romantic nostalgia for the decade and the manipulation of historical truth. Each film uses them differently, but they can be discerned at work

in the choice of interviewees, the use of archival footage and music, the applications of selective memory, and its all-pervasive ideological slant.

Ultimately, this paper argues that documentaries like *Cazadores de utopías* (1996), *Che, un argentino del siglo XX* (2001), *Los malditos caminos* (2002), *El Proceso* (2003), *Raymundo* (2003), *Che, la eterna mirada* (2005), *Errepé* (2006), *Paco Urondo* (2006), *Montoneros—Una historia* (2006) and *Gaviotas Blindadas, Parts 1, 2 and 3* (2006–08) reflect a fractured and slanted memory of the events and people they are evoking. The documentaries specifically about missing people - *Botín de guerra* (2000), *(H) Historias cotidianas* (2001), *Nietos, identidad y memoria* (2005), *Los rubios* (2005), *Papá Iván* (2006), and most recently *M* and *Our Disappeared/Nuestros desaparecidos* (2008) confine themselves to the emotional first person narrative to avoid, eschew or bypass a truthful take on the complex 1970s. Two documentaries about specific events, *Trelew, la fuga que fue masacre* (2004) and *4 de julio, la masacre de San Patricio* (2007) conduct their journalistic investigations privileging some facts at the expense of others, producing either an unadulterated “setentista” narrative, or settle for a shallow Manichean interpretation.

A caveat before plunging into the analysis: the goal of this paper is not to find fault with these documentaries, since they look back to a brutal decade with nostalgia for the gun, use historical memory with a slant, or lay the entire blame for its bloodshed elsewhere. The filmmakers’ choices and intents are their own and they have made the films they wanted to do. The more militant titles —about terrorist organizations and their leaders— are a continuation of the 1970s by other means, under the same “Che” motto “Hasta la victoria, siempre”.

However, because ideology trumps the historical record in the twenty one documentaries included in this paper, I find that the quote from Ford’s classic Western of the 1960s aptly describes the phenomenon, taking place in my home country today: “setentismo” has become the “official story” of the current

Cristina Kirchner's administration, and the one before her, that of her husband Néstor Kirchner. All these documentaries make the "setentista" discourse explicit, and since they have been financed, supported and promoted by the Instituto Nacional de Cine y Artes Audiovisuales, they have in fact become hegemonic.

The objective of this paper is to note that we cannot understand the 1970s —the decade I came of age in Buenos Aires as a university student— unless we see it whole and tell it true. The contribution of the paper is simple: to examine the mechanisms at work in the "legends" that have become "facts"¹.

1. The "Setentista" Discourse

I have viewed these twenty one documentaries very carefully, including the Uruguayan *Raúl Sendic, tupamaro* (2005, dir. Alejandro Figueroa), similar in tone and content to its Argentine counterparts. The observations that follow derive from these viewings; I approached each film with a *tabula rasa* attitude, unfamiliar with its content or point of view. The conclusions I have drawn and systematized below are derived from this viewing experience. They are worth considering and debating, if only because they may run against the mill. They deconstruct the "setentista" discourse, first by studiously avoiding its terminology when discussing actors, events and political notions of the 1970s, and then by examining its dynamics.

¹ The criteria for selecting these documentaries were primarily their availability on DVD. In *Imágenes de lo real, la representación de lo político en el documental argentino* (Buenos Aires: Librería, 2007), Josefina Sartora provides a complete list of the possible documentaries made in Argentina from 1932 to 2006. With it in mind, and selecting them by their subject, I have acquired those available ones for purchase in Cultural Video, a Buenos Aires store specialized in Argentine cinema, over several trips from Los Angeles, California, where I reside since 1987. I have not been able to find yet a few relevant ones, such as *Juan, como si nada hubiera pasado* (1987, dir. Carlos Echeverría), *Sol de noche, la historia de Olga y Jorge* (2003, dir. Norberto Ludín), and *Los perros* (2004, dir. Adrián Jaime).

a) *The Fetishism of “Che” Guevara*

In the “setentista” discourse, the role played by Ernesto “Che” Guevara as the model for terrorist struggle is consistent in all the films examined. His figure is an unexamined linchpin, disposed off quickly via visual shortcuts – shots of the classic Korda photograph, footage from the Sierra Maestra campaign, the triumph of the Cuban Revolution, and “Che” at work in the cane harvest.

The impact of Guevara’s rural guerrilla theory and practice, including his *Manual del guerrillero*, is commented by interviewees, especially in the three installments of *Gaviotas Blindadas* and *Errepé* (the ERP began its rural guerrilla “foquista” strategy in the Tucumán jungle during the democratically elected regime of María Estela Martínez de Perón in 1974-75). The former terrorists of *Montoneros, una historia*, *Cazadores de utopías* and *Los malditos caminos* also talk reverentially of the martyred Guevara, and his figure is evoked in *Raymundo* and *Paco Urondo*, as a key factor explaining the ideological journeys and choices of these members of ERP and FAR–Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias, absorbed by Montoneros in the mid-seventies). In *Our Disappeared*, the filmmaker protagonist uses the same shorthand, in this case because the emphasis on a personal search —the fate of friends —not the large historical canvas.

The allusions to Guevara emphasize his notions of “revolutionary” and “utopian”, outside of any context, implications or consequences. There is no mention of his disregard for the rule of law, democracy, the marketplace of ideas and respect for opposing views. By validating, unexamined, the concept of “utopia” today, these interviewees gloss over the despotism inherent in the Guevarist praxis, and accept no responsibility for their contribution to the bloodshed.

Another ideological link to Guevara is the notion that the terrorists were fighting for the “New Man”. ERP founding member Roberto Santucho is remembered as the man for whom

“su patria era el futuro” [his motherland was the future]. This elusive goal is tacitly used to blanket the organization’s terrorist depredation.

The two documentaries about Guevara, “*Che*”, *un argentino del siglo XX*, and “*Che*”, *la eterna mirada*, are well researched accounts of his life before becoming “Che”, and after his death. The former examines his childhood and early youth in a patrician *porteño* family of strong anti-Peronist sentiment, noting young Ernesto’s rebellious streak, manifested in support of Axis over the Allies in World War II. He never wavered in his anti-Peronism and anti-US stance (An instance of the legend becoming the fact is the pro-Peronist “Che” in Tim Rice’s musical *Evita*, carried over in Alan Parker’s 1996 version). Interestingly, in “*Che*”, *un argentino del siglo XX*, the director is heard off screen asking the interviewee to gloss over “Ernestito”’s opposition to the fascistic Perón regime, so as not to confuse the audience.

The second documentary deals with the forensic investigation of Guevara’s remains in Bolivia in the late 1990s. A voiceover narrator – Chilean actor Patricio Contreras – recites the text as if reading a poem in honor of a saint. This tone creates a contrast between the nuts and bolts of the forensic explanations about Guevara’s skeleton and clothing, referred “as body number 2”.

Both biographical documentaries are steeped in hagiographical awe. Like Walter Salles’ *Motorcycle Diaries* (2004), “Che” is treated with the reverence given to a saint.

The hagiographic veil that covers the figure and ideology of Guevara is a consistent characteristic of these documentaries. In the case of films about Montoneros terrorism—*Montoneros, una historia* and *Los malditos caminos*, especially - it should also be noted that the contradictions posed by the Marxist component of Guevara’s ideas to this Peronist organization, remain unaddressed by the interviewees of today. There is a surgical strategy at play – as there was in the 1970s by those at the left of the political spectrum: the fascistic core of the Peronist movement is “grafted”

to its right wing sector and its protagonists demonized, as if they were an excrescence of the otherwise progressive body. In this view, Perón stands, immaculate and aloof, sitting on Mount Olympus, similar to the view offered by *No habrá más penas ni olvido* (1983). This re-reading of the Peronist record to “setentize”, is another instance of the legend that becomes a fact.

The hagiography of “Che” is an integral part of the “setentista” discourse. If the 1968 *Hour of the Furnaces* connected to the fetish synchronically via the long take of the dead Guevara’s close-up of 1967, these documentaries use the same footage diachronically, to justify exculpating themselves from their resort to violence, “the monster they generated”, as mentioned tangentially in *Montoneros, una historia*.

b) *Romanticizing the struggle*

The romanticized portrait of terrorism is another shared trait. This process is accomplished in various ways. First, it is done by romanticizing the terrorists themselves, now older men and women speaking on camera about their deeds – university activism, kidnappings, assassinations, assaults to barracks and precincts, and survival in prison. Their testimony is couched in emotional terms and carefully worded statements. Individual stories are generally prefaced by brief descriptions of their hopes and youthful dreams. Some use coded terms and shortcuts like “cárcel del pueblo”, “justicia popular”, or describe specific actions with peculiar wording, such as “recuperar”, euphemism for robbing, or “chupar”, the act of being illegally detained.

These interviews are visual illustrations of accounts that have already been published in memoirs, biographies and history books since the 1980s. But they have here a compelling immediacy, and it is presented as a romantic freedom fighter deeply flawed figures, such as the Catholic priest Carlos Mugica,

the writers Iván Roqué and Francisco “Paco” Urondo, and the filmmaker Raymundo Gleyzer.

These accounts oscillate between the poles of heroism and nostalgia. In some instances, at the hands of skilled editors assembling pithy testimonies from eye witnesses, the stories take the shape of an action film. Such is the suspenseful account of the botched prison escape in Rawson, Chubut province, in August 1972, when only a handful of terrorists succeeded in escaping to Allende’s Chile, and ultimately, reached Cuba for training and briefing. As remembered by those who participated in the planning, outside and inside this high-security prison in the barren Patagonia, the sequence unfolds as a prison escape film, thwarted by a minor but key misreading of signals.

When the documentaries talk about the dead –as in *Raymundo*, *Paco Urondo*, *Papá Iván*, *Los malditos caminos*, (H) *Historias cotidianas*, *Nietos*, *identidad y memoria* and *Our Disappeared*– they resort to interviews with family members (especially mothers, sisters, children and friends. They emphasize the caring human beings who became Robin Hood to right the social and political wrongs that surrounded them. In every case, the personal, the anecdotal prevails over a more encompassing storyline. A common narrative strategy – with huge emotional dividends – is the use of family photos and home movies to punctuate and illustrate the interviews. Their filmic impact cannot be overestimated. In every case this material packs a punch, especially in those films where the children of missing people show their open wounds on camera.

In general, interviews with family members are staged in cozy, intimate spaces, like living rooms, kitchens and leafy backyards. They often show shrine-like spaces where mementos are lovingly kept. These documentaries make the private pain public, and the use of close-ups is the preferred tool to capture emotions.

Musical scores bring exponential results, most notably the folk revolutionary songs that function like musical madeleines. “La Montonera”, written and sung by Spanish rebel icon Joan Manuel Serrat in *Cazadores de utopías* is one of the most effective examples.

If the guerrillas are emotionally romanticized via recollections, photos and home movies, a different but complementary strategy is utilized to mythologize the terrorist acts. It is illustrated by voiceover narrators over footage of *The Hour of the Furnaces* and other examples of militant cinema, including footage from the Cuban film archives – newsreels and agit prop. The effect here is primarily ideological – in the sense of Eisenstein’s expressive montage to elicit a given political response. This strategy functions also as a shortcut to establish a visual and ideological connection between Argentine terrorism and other Latin American counterparts. *Cazadores de utopías*, an exculpatory view of Montoneros terrorism, makes the link explicit from its opening sequence, which begins with a disclaimer: “The recuperation of memory cannot be dispassionate or impartial. To the 30,000 disappeared and to those who still believe that they can go through history with dignity”.

The declared political objective of leftwing terrorism was the implementation of “la Patria Socialista” (the Socialist Motherland), along the Cuban Marxist lines. Repeated as a mantra in the 1970s, it works as a mantra in these documentaries too. It is alluded to, but never explained or elaborated. Therefore, the terrorist project—seen as “utopian” in these films—of implementing the Cuban Revolution model in the Southern Cone – with “Che”’s Bolivian adventure its spearhead— is shrouded in silence. It is the elephant in the bazaar. No one witnesses *Gaviota blindadas*, *Montoneros, una historia*, *Los malditos caminos*, *Errepé*, *Cazadores de utopías*, *El Proceso*, *Trelew*, *4 de julio*, that talk about the “Patria Socialista” for which they were militarily defeated between 1975

and 1980, ever dwells on the meaning –and human cost– of these two words.

This decision not to elaborate on the terrorist ideology functions –I believe– as a conscious erasure of the historical record. What is not shown or examined cannot affect the spectator emotionally or intellectually. This is, in contrast, for example, with the technique of recounting torture sessions in *Cazadores de utopías* or *Raúl Sendic, Tupamaro* on which the reenactments and drawings create a visceral effect on the audience. On the other hand, the unwillingness to discuss the ideological armature sustaining terrorist actions deprives historical memory of a crucial explanatory fact.

Another strategy to mythologize guerrilla warfare, is the use of numbers –the magic figures are “thirty thousand missing people”, quoted matter-of-factly in *Our Disappeared* and *(H) Historicas Cotidianas*, and “five hundred missing children of missing people”, argued in *Nietos, Identidad y Memoria*, and also in *Our Disappeared*, the only English-language documentary of the group.

The historical record has proved these figures inaccurate. The latest correction has come from Graciela Fernández Mejjide’s memoir of working in human rights organizations – including the *Comisión Nacional de Desaparecidos* in 1984. In *La historia íntima de los derechos humanos en la Argentina*, the figure she gives is 9,000 missing people. Nicolás Márquez had previously examined the verified data from a variety of sources, including the Conadep and other records, and had reached a similar conclusion. On his investigation of missing children, the figure of confirmed cases is not the 500 proclaimed but never proved. *Botín de guerra, Nietos, identidad y memoria* and most recently *Our Disappeared* take 30,000 and 500 as facts.

c) *The demonization of the enemy*

The “setentista” narrative sees 1970s Argentina primarily as an ideological battlefield where a progressive leftwing vanguard takes up the cause of the oppressed masses against the twin evils of capitalism and imperialism. The use of violence is legitimized, and the dead are stepping stones to the “Patria Socialista”. The other side –the industrialists, the landowners, the Church hierarchy, the army– is the enemy. (Interestingly, the current president frames her administration quarrel against farmers and ranchers in a vintage “setentista” narrative).

The demonizing of the enemy –in its various incarnations, are all paradigmatically present in the militant cinema of the 70s– This is done by utilizing black and white archival footage of military and police functions, parades and events. The same materials are shown up in most films. A visual trope that becomes a cliché recurs in many of them: helmet-clad soldiers march in slow-motion to a soundtrack of menacing special effects, vaguely evoking Leni Riefenstahl’s goose-step boots. The enemy remains a cipher, behind moustaches and dark glasses. Clichés and caricatures have reduced the uniformed to cartoonish entities.

4 de julio, the massacre of San Patricio, presents a variation of the enemy as a cipher. The film reconstructs the killing of three priests and two seminarians in 1976; it is a gripping account of how these men of the cloth may have been murdered. The directors set out to explore the context of this senseless massacre, but the “setentista” narrative railroads the project by emphasizing the emotions wrapped in a shallow ideological interpretation. To explain the reaction of the stunned Church hierarchy, the filmmakers interview the journalist and former Montonero Horacio Verbitsky, who has an ax to grind against bishops and cardinals. Imagine a documentary on 9/11 voicing only the perpetrator Al Qaeda’s point of view.

For the record, not one of the documentaries interview military, policemen, academics or experts, to present a minimal counterpoint. The victims of terrorist violence –widows, orphans, bystanders– have an equally heart-breaking story to tell, through family, friends and witnesses. They are missing, however, in the “setentista” discourse.²

2. The Limits of Memory

A complementary approach is also rewarded in the study of shared traits among these twenty one documentaries: how the conventions of the documentary are utilized.

The films fall into two categories: a) chronicles of the 1970s – with its timeline extended before and after those years, depending on the subject; and b) the search of missing loved ones -parents or friends. In these cases, the quest for answers becomes the subject of the film.

It is also useful to take into account Bill Nichols’ observations about the types of documentaries, and see how they can be applied into the two groups. Nichols notes six modes of representation that function like sub-genres of the documentary film genre itself. He defines them as: poetic, expository, participatory, observational, reflexive and performative. They “establish a loose framework of affiliation within which individuals may work; they set up conventions that a given film may adopt;

² See Nicolás Márquez, op.cit, and also *La mentira oficial, el setentismo como política de Estado* (Buenos Aires, n/a, 2006) for a redressing the historical record. Juan B. Yofre’s recent chronicles of the decade should also be consulted for his ample use of private and official archives, and the impartiality of his approach. “Fuimos todos”. *Cronología de un fracaso (1976-1983)* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2007); “Nadie fue”. *Crónica, documentos y testimonios de los últimos meses, días y horas de Isabel Perón en el poder* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2008); and *Volver a matar. Los archivos ocultos de la “Cámara del Terror” (1971-1973)* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2009).

and they provide specific expectations viewers anticipate having fulfilled”³

The chronicles correspond to the expository mode of Nichols’ terminology. In the seventeen films the materials are arranged chronologically and organized around interviewees, with the archival footage used as illustrations. Some have voiceover narrators providing a commentary; others are a compilation of interviews. Only one, Román Lejtman’s *El Proceso*, an hour long documentary made for television and integrating a series on contemporary Argentine history, features a voice-of-God narrator. The factual context is replaced by an unadulterated “setentista” discourse. Its companion piece, *La Guerra de las Malvinas (2004)*, also by the same director, follows a similar visual and narrative pattern.

The “Liberty Valance” factor (“when the legend becomes fact, print the legend”) is in full swing when violence is romanticized, terrorists mythologized, and ideological slants rewrite the facts. A revealing example is the use of the date March 24, 1976 –the military coup d’état– to mark the beginning of anti-terrorism warfare.⁴ The militant *Gaviotas blindadas (1973-1976)* presents the most extreme case of this distortion: the bloody assault of ERP to a military arsenal is described as an “intense love story”.⁵ An American counterpart would be a documentary

³ Bill Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2001), p.99. The seventeen chronicles fit exactly in the expository mode, [that] “assembles fragments of the historical world into a more rhetorical or argumentative frame than an aesthetic or poetic one. It addresses the viewer directly, with titles or voices that propose a perspective advance an argument or recount history”. (p.105).

⁴ The democratically elected regime of María Estela Martínez de Perón, the vicepresident of president Perón who became president upon his death in July 1974, had signed two decrees ordering the armed forces to fight guerrilla insurgency, first in Tucumán province, later in the whole country.

⁵ In December 1975 the ERP led an assault to an army arsenal in Monte Chingolo, Buenos Aires province, suffering over 60 casualties. An ERP-related website posts articles and interviews about the event – examples of “setentista” discourse. See http://www.elortiba.org/mch.html#El_combate_de_Monte_Chingolo. In *Juicio a los 70. La historia que yo viví* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2009), Peronist intellectual and

“celebrating” Timothy McVeigh for bombing the Federal Building in Oklahoma City in 1995, killing 168 people, the deadliest act of terrorism before September 11th, 2001. Such a piece of propaganda can only come from the bizarre world of the rightwing nuts.

The indefinite article “una” in the title *Montoneros, una historia*; opens the possibility of an alternative version to “setentismo”. However, it makes the rank-and-file foot soldier Monica (no last name given) an emblematic representative of the dreamers, and directs the critique to the leadership. *Paco Urondo*, about a writer/terrorist, is one of the most sophisticated cases of “print the legend”: the filmmaker had at his disposal a wealth of archival materials, eloquent commentaries by family members and former terrorists, and an excellent editor. The result is the portrait of a dashing Robin Hood.

The last four documentaries constitute a compact group: *Papá Iván*, *Los rubios*, *M* and *Our Disappeared*. They record the search for missing fathers, mothers and friends, by filmmakers that are either their children —the first three— or a friend – Juan Mandelbaum, a US-based director since the late 1970s. The documentaries trace an open-ended quest for information and closure. The children of missing guerrilla, now young adults with a camera in hand and painful unanswered questions, want to understand why their parents chose the armed struggle over them. Their investigation is, on the one hand, a process of grieving, and on the other, an attempt to understand the 1970s from a subjective perspective. The filmmakers’ memory is selective, because it is purely personal, not historical. They fall in the participatory mode described by Nichols -first person narratives where the filmmaker, or his surrogate, interviews and interacts with the subjects.

politician Julio Bárbaro examines the question of violence and terrorism as a divide between guerrilla groups and those on the left, like himself, who chose to fight within the democratic system.

Archival film, home movies, family photos and mementos are used to advance in this search.

Papá Iván, a medium-length film directed by María Inés Roqué, the daughter of a Montonero killed in 1976, uses as a narrative linchpin a letter written by her father in 1972 explaining to his young children why he was becoming a terrorist. Inquisitive and angry, the daughter questions his decision while reconstructing the arc of Roqué's death. Working imaginatively with the conventions of the first person documentary, *Papá Iván* has been widely praised for its handling of form and content.

Albertina Carri's *Los rubios* reconstructs segments of her parents' life and death as montoneros by mixing genre conventions. This cinematographic self-reflexive hybrid documents the process of the director making a fictionalized account of her family life –the “blonds” of the title– with an actress playing her role, visiting places of her childhood, including the police precinct where the Carri were detained. Playing with Godard's experimental techniques, and creating a distancing effects à la Brecht, the one-of-a-kind *Los rubios* received wide critical acclaim in the international festival circuit and has been extensively written about.

In *M*, Nicolás Prividera wants to solve the puzzle of his mother's life. The title is steeped in film and political references, with a “rosebud” at the center of his quest; M can stand for Mother, Muerte, Montoneros, and even Fritz Lang's classic thriller. A first person narrative, with the director as a protagonist, the film has elements of the observational category proposed by Nichols, where the filmmaker is an observer, not a participant. In fact, many of the interviews secured by a persistent Prividera are fishing expeditions with unexpected and disturbing results. Interestingly, if anything can be inferred from the director's quest is that, in a nod to Lang, the demarcation between good and evil is at best blurry; memory, both personal and historical, is treacherous. What

remains, untainted, is the beautiful image of his mother frozen in celluloid.

Our *Disappeared/Nuestros desaparecidos* is the latest documentary available for this study to deal with the 1970s. The fact that the director Juan Mandelbaum lives and works in the United States shapes its form and content. It is an elegantly constructed, first person account of his search for the fate of missing friend that began in Google of all places. Propelling the quest is Mandelbaum's need to articulate an understanding of the 1970s, as one who rejected the terrorist model and left the country. But the director also has an audience in mind, Argentine and foreign, especially the young, whom he wants to help navigate the bloody 1970s from one side of the fence. The questions he asks are rhetorical, yet as someone who rejected the path of violence he lived to tell the story, thirty years later. This personal documentary opens and ends with a photo and a poem about a college sweetheart who had gone to the dark side. In purely cinematographic terms, the "setentista" narrative is encapsulated.

What do we remember? What can we remember? What do we want to remember? What should we remember? The question of memory and historical record is engaged tacitly or explicitly by the twenty one documentaries examined in this paper. In these films the responses given are slanted and incomplete. The whole memory –and I trust that such an enterprise is possible– remains a project to accomplish. *Sine ira et cum studio*⁶.

Filmography

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⁶ Juan B. Yofre, "A manera de prólogo, aclaración obligada para el lector", in *Fuimos todos, cronología de un fracaso*, p.7.

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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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300

- *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, regional integration/Mercosur, law, distance learning, mathematics, social communication.

- *Multidisciplinary Research Programmes*

Within the Research Department multidisciplinary research programs are coordinated by network with other institutions. At present, there are nine ongoing multidisciplinary programs 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.

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

Imaginaire du Nord
**The International Laboratory for the
Comparative Multidisciplinary Study
of Representations of the North**

**University of Québec in Montréal
(Canada)**

The *Laboratoire international d'étude multidisciplinaire comparée des représentations du Nord* is a centre for research, documentation, publication and expertise on the Nordic and Winter imaginary in literature, film, the visual arts and popular culture. It is intended primarily to encourage comparison of the different Nordic cultures as exemplified by Québec, the Inuit community, Scandinavia (Iceland, Norway, Denmark and Sweden) and Finland. The Laboratory was founded by Daniel Chartier and is directed by him.

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

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

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

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

constant tension between the representation of the real and the creation of an imaginary world.

Research and Projects

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

Teaching

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

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

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

Documentary Collection

The Laboratory has one of the largest specialized libraries on the Nordic imaginary and the issues related to its study. Its documentary collection includes 6,000 literary works, essays, films and articles. Its researchers have developed an innovative series of data banks (containing works, illustrations and quotations) which are continually

updated. As of May 1st, 2007, these banks contained some 35,000 records, including:

- An annotated bibliography of more than 6,000 literary works with a Nordic component written by the Inuit community or in Québec, Finland and Scandinavia.

- An annotated bibliography of more than 8,000 studies on the Nordic imaginary and Nordic cultural issues

- An annotated filmography of more than 1,000 films

- A bank of more than 11,000 citations related to the Nordic imaginary, classified according to elements, figures, constructs and themes

- A bank of more than 8,000 illustrations of a Nordic nature, described and annotated.

Since the banks are interconnected, they can be queried by means of multiple criteria and key words; these criteria enable users to link thousands of representations of the North derived from literature, the visual arts, popular culture and film.

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

Publications

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

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

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

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

The University of Oulu 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:

Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez: edelacebo@yahoo.com

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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), with the auspices of the *International Association of Circumpolar Socio-cultural Issues* (IACSI), publishes the annual, international, peer-reviewed journal called ***Arctic & Antarctic – International Journal of Circumpolar Socio-cultural 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 seventh issue will be published in June 2013. **Deadline for the manuscripts addressed to the seventh issue is February 15, 2013.**

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.

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