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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), Universidad del Salvador (Faculty of Social Sciences, 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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Replacement or extension? Changes in the economy of the Selk'nam hunter-gatherer groups of central Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego in the XIXth Century

*Vanesa Parmigiani, Hernán De Angelis & María Estela Mansur
(CADIC-CONICET, Argentina)*

Abstract

Tierra del Fuego has a large documentary register concerning the original hunter-gatherer societies as well as the arrival of European sailors, since the sixteenth century, and the establishment of settlers since mid-nineteenth century. The archaeological record lets verify changes and continuities in aboriginal way of life during the forced contact period, until the disappearance of Indian societies. In this paper we discuss two aspects that we could analyze from the archaeological record of Ewan site: utilization of new raw materials and new faunal resources.

Key words: archaeology, economy, resources, lithic, fauna

Introduction

Before the arrival of Europeans, the subsistence of the hunter-gatherer Selk'nam society was based on the exploitation of animal resources, including guanacos, rodents, birds, mollusks, as well as on collection of different varieties of plants and fungi. The technology used for the exploitation of these resources included diverse artifacts made with raw materials such as rocks, shells, bones, etc. All the resources used and consumed were of local origin.

The coasts of Tierra del Fuego island were explored since the discovery of the Strait by Magellan's expedition in 1520. Anyway, due to its insular character and its geographic situation in the circumpolar area, Tierra del Fuego remained without European colonization until practically the late XIX century.

Nevertheless, since the first ship wrecks and still before the European settlers' established in the Island, the Selk'nam groups had access to non local (European) raw materials and began to take advantage of them. Then, with the establishment of Europeans, other resources were incorporated; they produced important changes in the economy, in some cases extending the spectrum of local resources, or replacing them in others. This situation remained almost unchanged until the collapse of the native societies (Martinic2002).

Evidence of these changes can be found not only in written documents but also in the Archaeological record. We will mention as example the case study of the Ewan site, in which, based on the archaeological materials, it is possible to discuss the changes that occurred, particularly in two scopes: lithic technology and exploitation of ovine cattle.

Human and geographic setting

The Isla Grande of Tierra del Fuego is located in the South end of the American continent, between the 52° and 56°S, and 63° and 75°W. Several environments are represented in the island, but its spinal axis is undoubtedly the Andes mountain range (Fig.1).

The entire island's mountain zone has chains and depressed valleys oriented West-East, responding to their main axis. The western section of the Magellan Strait and the Fagnano lake occupy the main depression of a fault zone that continues to wards the east, passing through the north of Isla de los Estados (Mansur 2002).

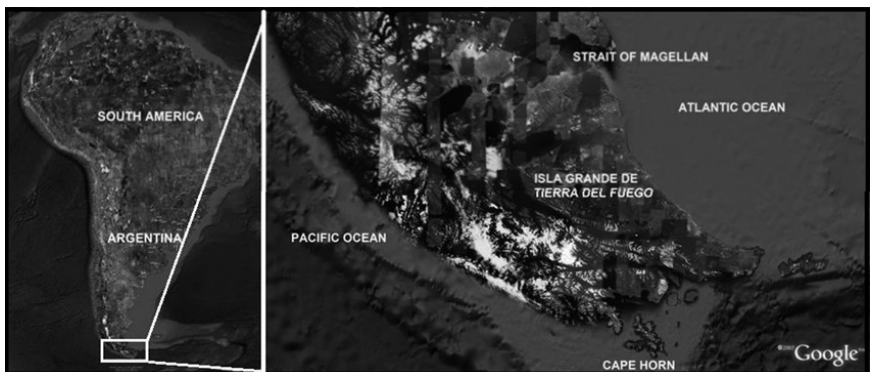


Figure 1. Geographic location of Isla Grande Tierra del Fuego

Tierra del Fuego was populated about 10,000 years ago by nomadic hunter-gatherers who had developed generalized strategies for exploitation of land resources (Massone 2002). They arrived from the North, through the connection between the Isla Grande and continental Patagonia that existed in the area of the Magellan Strait, at the end of the last ice age. Slowly, they occupied almost all the territory of the Isla Grande. A second wave of population arrived by sea, sailing from island to island, from Western Patagonia, as early as 7,000 years ago (Piana 2010). These “sea nomads” were hunter-gatherer-fishers that mostly relied on maritime resources and they populated the southern coastal areas of Tierra del Fuego.

At the time of Europeans’ arrival to the region, the central and northern zones of the island were the territory of the Selk’nam people, hunter gatherers who occupied both inner and coastal zones. The southern coast of Isla Grande, as well as the islands that extend towards the south, until the Cape Horn, were inhabited by the hunter-gatherer-fishers, the Yámana,

As mentioned in the introduction, in our investigation it was possible to study some of the changes produced by the contact with the European settlers, based on the record of an archaeological locality situated in the Ewan river valley, in the central zone of the island. This locality, called *Ewan*, is formed by two sites separated around 200m from each other. The site Ewan I is characterized by the presence of a conical log structure, still standing. Oral tradition from settlers in the area suggested that it was a ceremonial Selk’nam hut. According to this information, it was the place where a Hain ceremony had been carried out, this is the Selk’nam ritual for the initiation of young males who become adults. Field work developed in this site included excavations inside and outside the hut as well as analysis of different classes of archaeological materials. (Fig.2).

The second site, Ewan II, is about 200 meters away to the west from Ewan I. Excavation revealed a collapsed hut structure, smaller than Ewan I, where there also was a big combustion area in the central part of the hut. As well as Ewan I, most of the archaeological materials were in or around the combustion structures (Fig.2).

The results of the field research and from the different lines of analyses implemented (spatial, carpology, anthracology, dendrochronology, lithic analysis, archeozoological analysis, etc.) allowed

to confirm our first hypothesis on the site. Ewan is the camp of a Selk'nam group who established there to celebrate the Hain ceremony. Ewan I is the ceremonial hut, where as Ewan II corresponds to the domestic zone, where small huts were installed for the families to live during the time of the ceremony. The dendrochronological study of the logs that form the ceremonial hut allowed to determine that it was built in the spring 1905 (Mansur *et al.*, 2007, Mansur and Piqué 2008, 2009; Bogdanovic *et al.* 2009; Mansur & Piqué 2012).



Figure 2.A. Ewan I; B. Ewan II (A - De Angelis, H. B - Mansur M. E.)

The colonization of Tierra del Fuego and the exploitation of ovine cattle

Since its discovery in the XVI century, the fuegian archipelago was a target of interest for the Europeans, for many reasons such as the discovery of the Terra Australis, the establishment of commercial navigation routes, the search of precious spices and metals, the seals exploitation, diverse scientific objectives, etc.

The first contact between Europeans and the hunter-gatherer Selk'nam took place in 1580, when some of the members of the Sarmiento de Gamboa expedition disembarked in the North coast of the island. The expedition was trying to recognize the Strait, to determine optimal places for future settlements and to foment the good relations with the natives.

This way, it was hoped to obtain interpreters and informants, to know more about their customs and to find out about the resources that the island offered, in particular the precious spices and metals. Never the less, the objective of fomenting good relations failed, from the moment they took a native by force, which finished in a skirmish in Bahía Gente Grande. This capture is the first of a long series of “kidnappings” that took place in the Island; it inaugurates the “style” of interaction that the Colonizers established with the natives (Mansur 2006).

Since then and during three centuries, Spanish expeditions, as well as English, French and Dutch expeditions, sporadically passed through the area. By the late XVIII century and early XIX, the outer coasts of the magellanic-fuegian archipelago were visited by seal hunters and expeditionaries; among them was Captain R. Fitz Roy, commanding the Beagle, who discovered the channel that today takes the name of the brig. In his second expedition, Fitz Roy was accompanied by the young naturalist Charles Darwin (*cf.* Piana 2010).

The first colonization attempts in the region, although unfruitful, were those carried out by Spaniards in the Magellan Strait region during the XVII century. Nevertheless, the effective colonization of Tierra del Fuego just begins at the end of the XIX century, with the installation of an Anglican mission directed by Rev. Thomas Bridges, who settled on the Beagle Channel area in 1869. Shortly after, starting in 1893, a Salesian mission settled in the northern section of Tierra del Fuego.

In 1886, the Bridges family established the Harberton estancia, on lands donated by the Argentine government. Towards the end of the century, other estancias dedicated to sheep breeding were established in the northern zone of the island. Among the oldest is Estancia Maria Behety, founded by Jose Menendez in 1899 to the north of the Rio Grande.

The success of the sheep ranchers' colonization was due to several factors, among them the high quality of the grasslands, that made possible the adaptation and fast proliferation of the wool cattle imported from the Malvinas archipelago. Secondly, to State policies, oriented towards favoring the access to lands; they mobilized businessmen who, in few years made important investments in property. Thirdly, to the increasing demand of farming products ingeneral, and in particular the high price of wool in the international market, along with the possibility of a direct connection with Europe through Punta Arenas. And finally, to the

affluence of immigrants with experience in ovine cattle, coming mostly from Scotland and Malvinas islands, which guaranteed the availability of specialized manpower (Luiz and Schillat 1998).

In the South end of Patagonia, the first essay in sheep raising was carried out in early 1877.

Three hundred sheep coming from the Malvinas islands were disembarked in the Isabel island, in the Magellan Strait, rented by the magellanic government to the British Henry L. Reynard. This contingent can be considered as the origin of the ovine settling in the austral region. During the following years the operation extended to the continental territory, occupying and filling with ovines the northern coast of the Magellan Strait and progressively all the inner lands. In 1878, the second remittance of sheep from Malvinas was brought in; it was placed in the Marta and Magdalena islands. Of these, the majority died of scabies and lack of water and nourishment (Duran1943).

The third sheep breeder was Don Mario Marius, who placed 500 sheep in the San Gregorio Bay. He then sold to Jose Menendez and Menendez the animals and the rights, thus beginning the current cattle exploitation of the Menendez Behety Company in 1878. By 1883, there were around 30,000 sheep (Duran 1943).

At the beginning of the last decade of the XIX century, the first sheep farming companies devoted to wool production were formed in vast extensions of rented public land: the Tierra del Fuego Sheep Farming Co and the Phillip Bay Sheep Farming Co., both with head quarters in London, and the Sociedad Explotadora de Tierra del Fuego (organized in 1893). These three sheep farming companies would monopolize practically all the favorable territories of the Chilean sector of the Isla Grande to the north of parallel 54. Towards the end of the XIX century, the first estancias were settled north of the Rio Grande; they brought sheep herds, causing conflicts with the Selk'nam people, who were expelled from their territories and persecuted (Fig.3).



Figure 3. Shepherds (Parmigiani. V.)

Changes in the Selk'nam economy

Since the beginning of the XX century, different missionaries and ethnographers observed the way of life of aboriginal groups that inhabited the Isla Grande; they described it in numerous different written sources. Among them, we could mention the work of M. Gusinde (1937), A. Chapman (1986, 2008), L. Bridges (1951), A. De Agostini (1956), C. Gallardo (1910), J. Emperaire (1955). Most of them reflect, in an explicit or implicit way, the changes occurred along this process.

Animal resources

The Selk'nam people exploited the diverse animal resources present in the island, such as birds, fish and rodents. However, all the documents coincide in indicating that the most exploited animal resource was the guanaco (*Lama guanicoe*) (Fig.4). Its use was not reduced just to food, but to the whole economic sphere (clothing, technology, etc). Moreover, the guanaco integrated the symbolic world of the Selk'nam society, taking part in myths, rites and songs of the everyday life, as well as of the Hain ceremony (Parmigiani *et Seal*. 2013).



Figure 4. Guanaco (*Lamaguanicoe*) (Parmigiani, V)

One of the first extensive quotes about utilization of guanaco products in technology is that of C. Gallardo (1910). He describes what products were obtained from it and how they were employed by the Selk'nam people. Among these he mentions:

- Wool, fat and skin: wool to clean the children; fat, to prepare the *ákel*, red paint used for leathers treatment, or to grease different parts of the body such as hair, face and hands every morning, etc; skin, to elaborate elements of clothing (cloaks or fur blankets, skirts, genital covers, foot wear), bags and containers; to make the tent for dwelling, mattresses for the children, etc. (Fig.5)
- Bones, for many different purposes, such as making wedges to split wood; once burned, to make with them white paint; to carve awls, arrow tips, harpoon and knives; to use as dish plates, etc;
- Nerves, to make ropes, laces, nets, cords of all thicknesses; to sew clothes, the tent, the bags, to tie the arrow tips or the feathers to the arrow, to make the string of the bow, for the necklaces and bracelets, etc.



Figure 5. Utilization of guanaco hides for clothing. (Gallardo 1910, p. 195)

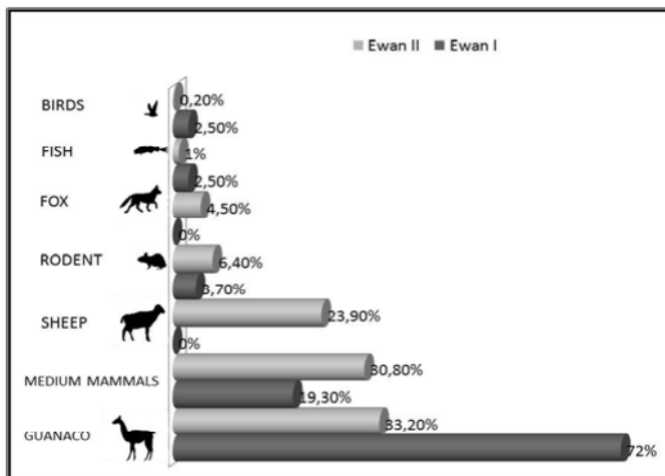
The installation in the island of the first estancias for sheep farming modified the pasture territory for the guanacos (that on the eyes of the farmers were considered as competitors of ewes). Sheep farming also affected the presence of *tucutucu* rodents, since sheep trampling destroyed the caves in which these lived, also modifying their distribution. On the other hand, sheep appeared like a new resource for the hunter-gatherer societies, as they were much easier to hunt than guanacos.

This situation is presented in different documents; some of them indicate that the only risk for ovine farms were the incursions and assaults of the natives, who constituted an obstacle to the activity during several years. This fact explains the character of the relationships between the new settlers and the natives. For example, in 1891 the Tierra del Fuego Sheep Farming Co., after losing 2500 sheep – a quarter of the total grant of the establishment situated in the Primera Angostura of the Strait, on the Chilean territory –, demanded the implementation of measures to protect the business investments (Luizand Schillat 1998).

The use of animal resources at the Ewan site

The archeozoological analysis offered important results for the interpretation of both excavated sites of Ewan locality (Camarós and Parmigiani 2007, Camaros *et al.* 2009, Mansur and Pique 2012). In general, bone remains were deteriorated by thermal alteration and consequently very fragmented. Consequently, the analysis was based on the study of these fragments, most of them smaller to 2 cm. We concentrated in counting them, determining degrees of thermal alteration and, whenever possible, attributing them to an anatomical and taxonomical categories. From this analysis 30,933 fragments were counted, from which 821 could be determined anatomically and taxonomically.

In the domestic hut (Ewan II – Structure 1) the bone remains correspond mainly to guanaco (*Lamaguanicoe*) and sheep (*Ovisaries*), although there are also remains attributable to fish, rodents, foxes and birds (Graphic 1). They show different degrees of thermal alteration, from unaltered to calcinated bone fragments. They are distributed all over the site, so much inside the fireplace and in its immediate peripheries outside of it.



Graphic 1. Bone remains in Ewan I and Ewan II

On the contrary, within the ceremonial hut (Ewan I), all the bone remains were burnt, very fragmented and concentrated in the fireplace

area. Most of the fragments that could be identified belong to guanaco. There is a scarce representation of rodents, fish and birds; in contrast, no sheep remains were identified in the site.

The lithic technology

The search of good quality lithic raw materials for stone tool knapping is an important activity for the hunter-gatherer societies. For the Selk'nam people, it required moving through certain distances, due mainly to the fact that the rocks utilized, although abundant, are not everywhere, but only in specific places.

The local lithic raw materials (referring to all rocks pertaining to the geological formations of the island) generally appear in redeposited geological units (secondary quarries) originated by glacier movement. They correspond mainly to the Yaganand Le Maire formations. It has to be mentioned that primary out crops also exist, but they present major access difficulties. From a technological point of view, these rocks are characterized by their good to average quality for knapping; some of them are very hard; certain rocks, like quartz, present irregular fractures.

Nevertheless, these raw materials allowed the manufacture of a wide variety of lithic artifacts, such as arrow heads, knives, scrapers, etc. (De Angelis 2013) (Fig. 6).

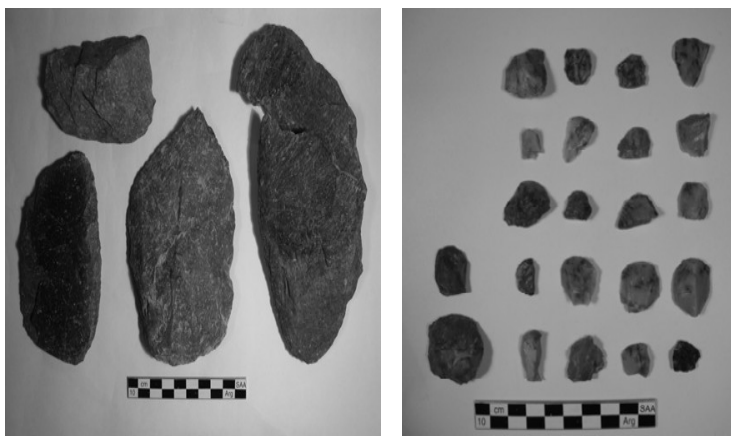


Figure 6. Instruments made with local raw materials. A. Side scrapers; B. End scrapers

Along with these strategies for raw material provision, evidences exist of exchanges with groups that lived in other zones of the archipelago; this is the case of the obsidian, for example, originating in the Chilean area.

With the arrival of the first European ships and even before, with the first ship wrecks occurred near the fueguian archipelago, several materials of industrial origin began to arrive to shores. Among these materials, we can mention fragments of metal and glass.

Written data

Most of the written documents, since those produced by the first travellers to the researches published by ethnographers in the XX th Century, refer to the exchanges of materials between the hunter-gatherer groups and the sailors; they also mention the collection on the beaches of different European materials, such as glass fragments, bottles, metals and other ship wreck remains arrived to shores (Outes 1906; Gallardo 1910; M. Gusinde 1935; Lothrop 1928).

The provision of raw material was normally on the beaches, by remnants of glass from shipwrecks:

“From what they can get on the coasts, thrown by the sea, the most used is the glass, for the manufacture of arrow beads called JEURRT; in addition they use such material to make scrapers with which they prepare hide and woods to make the arrows, to make themselves incisions when they want to show testimony of their sorrow, to make teeth on the knife blade so that it can cut, and sometimes even as a cutting tool” (Gallardo 1910, p. 261). *“...they abandoned the use of stone and nowadays, it can be assured that, except for rare cases, no other arrow beads are being made, but the glass ones.”* (Gallardo 1910, p. 277).

Regarding the manufacture of artifacts, the most cited is the confection of scrapers and arrowheads, by means of pressure retouching: *“... The bones called COJEURASSHE... with which, as if it were a clamp, small pieces are taken out from the stone or glass and thus forming the cute arrow beads that we know”* (ibid., 272). (Fig. 7).



Figure 7. Selk'nam man making an instrument by pressure flaking.
(Gallardo1910, p. 272)

Finally, regarding its hafting: “*Like brush, scrape or scraper they use[...] the CHAHAM, tool in which the iron [...] is replaced by a piece of glass, shell or stone*”. “*It is used for thinning and smoothing wood, as well as for scraping leather [...]*” (Gallardo 1910, p. 269).

Archaeological data

Based on different archaeological researches carried out in vast sectors of the Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego, it was possible to assert the use of glass as lithic raw material for tool manufacture. In the northern part of the island, systematic excavations discovered glass micro flakes in the house N° 89 of the Tres Arroyos site (Massone *et al.*, 1993). In the Beagle Channel area, some artifacts made of glass were also found at Harberton Cemetery site (Piana *et al.*, 2006), also in the Recent component of Lancha Packewaia, dated 280 ± 84 A. P (Orquera *et al.*, 1978) and in a site destroyed by erosive processes in Bahía Cucharita.

Nevertheless, until now, the sites of the Ewan locality are the only sites presenting abundant glass material and showing all the reduction steps towards the manufacture of diverse instruments (Fig.8).

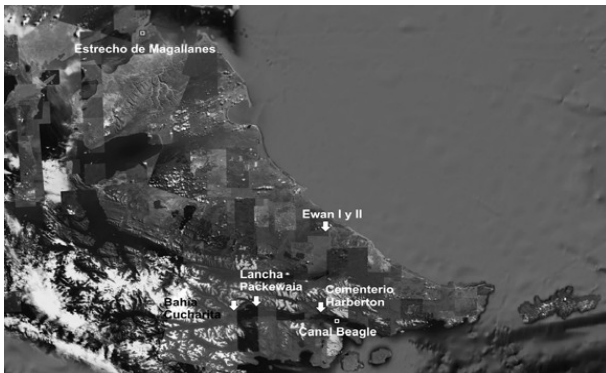


Figure 8. Map of Tierra del Fuego with the archaeological sites

Archaeological materials of the Ewan site

The excavations in Ewan revealed that glass is the only raw material represented in the sites. Nevertheless, the representation of types of artifacts is not the same for both sites (Fig.9 a y b) (De Angelis 2009, De Angelis 2013, De Angelis *et al.* 2010, Mansur and Pique 2012).

The remains are arrow heads, scrapers, and numerous microflakes in Ewan II – structure 1 (the domestic hut), and exclusively microflakes in the case of Ewan I (the ceremonial hut).

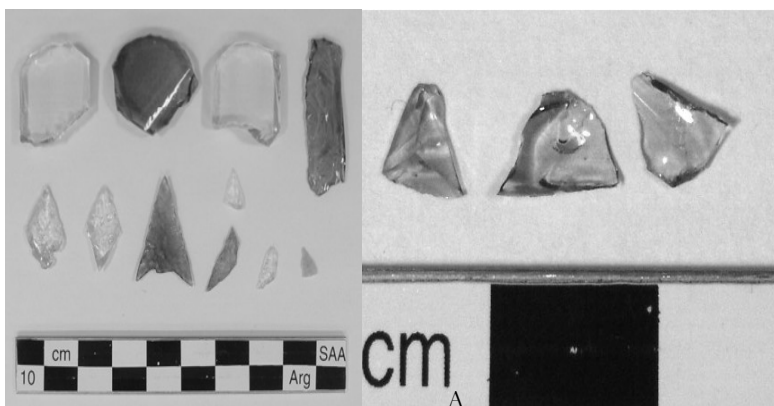


Figure 9. A. Instruments of Ewan II; B. Microflakes of Ewan I

The arrow points are made in two colors of glass, green and translucent; all of them show some degree of fracturing. The triangular morphology can be recognized in only two of them; they also presents tem and wings. The scrapers correspond to *ungui* form scrapers, sizing around 2 cm by 2 cm, with fronts made by regular parallel retouch. There is a difference in the colors, since two are made on transparent glass and one on green glass.

The techno-morphologic analysis of microflakes allowed determining that there are important differences between the two sites. One of these concerns the abundance of remains. The number of microflakes of Ewan II - structure 1 is more than 4000, while in Ewan I is only 83. Another important difference is the variety of glass colors represented at the sites, with seven different at Ewan I site and only two at Ewan II (De Angelis 2013, Mansur y Pique 2012).

Discussion and conclusions

The results obtained in the study of the Ewan archaeological locality allow to draw some general conclusions concerning resource management by the Selk'nam people who occupied the sites.

As we previously said, according to dendrochronology and analysis of archaeological materials, the Hainhutin Ewan I was built in spring 1905; the whole occupation lasted at least during the summer 1906. Until then, the contact with European settlers had produced the expulsion of Selk'nam people from the northern territories, their concentration in missions first and in Estancias as workers later.

Consequently, we can suppose that the Selk'nam people who took part in the Ewan Hain were probably not free and had been acculturated. This assumption is confirmed by the analysis of archaeological materials that reveal specific management strategies for animal resources and for lithic/glass raw materials.

In first term, regarding the fauna, a differential management is observed between Ewan I and Ewan II. In Ewan I, the ceremonial hut, around 21,000 bone fragments were recovered; most of them correspond to guanaco remains. In Ewan II, the domestic context, there are only 8,000 bone fragments, and the most represented species are sheep and guanaco. This difference in tax a representation can be interpreted as a difference in the consumption contexts. In Ewan II, the presence of

sheep remains in the domestic context reveals the introduction of this resource in the daily life of the Selk'nam people; on the contrary, in Ewan I, in the more traditional, ceremonial context of the Hain ceremony, -the only mammal consumed is guanaco.

Concerning the introduction of glass as raw material for the technology, it is possible to assert a total replacement of raw material, since it was not possible to find evidence of lithic remains. Due to its better quality for knapping, the glass came to totally replace the local rocks.

Ewan represents practically the last moment of the Selk'nam society in the center of the Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego. For this reason, we believe that the introduction of these two types of resources, and their abundance in late archaeological sites, goes in parallel with the whole acculturation process, as far as this case study dates from the beginning of twentieth century, in a moment when missions were already installed, as well as the estancias.

If this site represents one of the last attempts to express their own tradition by aboriginal people, the archaeological record shows the introduction of sheep, extending the variety of faunal resources exploited in the Selk'nam economy, and replacement of local raw materials for traditional tools manufacture (scrapers, projectile points, etc.).

Aknowledgements

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Gender display in a lifestyle magazine in Iceland (1978 to 2009)

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Abstract

One of the marks of gender roles in each society is the way men and women are portrayed in popular culture and advertisements. A number of studies exist that explore this theme, one of which is Goffman's study from 1979, *Gender Advertisements*. The study presented here takes Goffman's analytical framework as its starting point and looks at the presentation of women in pictures in an Icelandic lifestyle magazine over a period of thirty years. The main results are that women have increasingly been portrayed as socially independent and they are more often shown without clothes and objectified. This suggests that as traditional social indicators of femininity and masculinity have become blurred, there is an increased focus on the body as the definition of femininity.

Key words: Gender, advertisements, Goffman, Iceland, lifestyle magazine

Introduction

Iceland is generally regarded as one of the most gender-equal societies in the world and has for four consecutive years (2008-2012) topped the equality list published by the World Economic Forum (World Economic Forum, 2012). Women's political representation has been fairly high since the late eighties both in municipalities and parliament and is currently at around 40%. Around 78% of women are active on the labour market compared to 83% of the men and women comprise over 66% of those receiving a university degree. Compared to most other societies, Icelandic women are doing fairly well on traditional indicators of gender equality (for an overview see Gíslason, 2007).

In gender studies it has often been pointed out that a similar position of social strength does not necessarily translate into a similar regard for men and women occupying these positions (Connell, 1987; Clover & Kaplan, 2000). For example, women in politics are more often discussed in terms of looks and clothes than their male counterparts (Anderson, 1995; Braden, 1996; McChesney, 1999). The same goes for women in business (Kelan, 2013) and academic women (Fotaki, 2013).

One way to look at the portrayal of men and women in a given society is to study their representation in popular culture and advertisements. Several studies of that kind exist and one of the most famous is Goffman's *Gender advertisements* (1979). According to Goffman men and women are systematically portrayed differently in advertisements and this creates a "genderism" meaning a general idea about the personal and social roles of people based on their gender. These are not necessarily reflections of how men and women really are or how they behave, but more how we think they are and behave, i.e. our cultural ideas about men and women. As such the advertisements are both a reflection of culture, a reinforcement of cultural ideas and ideals and, potentially, an agent of change. Goffman's focus is mainly on the portrayal of women and he demonstrates how women are belittled on several levels and given a status inferior to men. Has this changed and if so in what direction?

A few studies exist that have utilized Goffman's ideas (Belknap & Leonard II, 1991; Bell & Milic, 2002; Kang, 1997) or discuss their applications (Smith, 1996). The present study adds to that body of literature by looking at the development of the portraying of women in an Icelandic lifestyle magazine over a period of 30 years.

Methodology

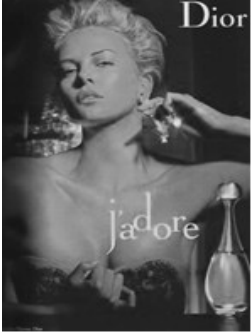
Conceptual definitions




Goffman divided the advertisements that he selected into six main categories; *relative size*; *feminine touch*; *function ranking*; *family*; *ritualization of subordination* and *licensed withdrawal*.




In the study presented here, we take Goffman's scheme as our analytical departure. However we drop one of his categories and add two. The one that we drop is *family*. The main reason is that this appeared very rarely in the magazine under scrutiny, probably because it is a lifestyle magazine and not focusing much on families or the role of women there.

The two categories that we added are from a study by Kang (1997). She used Goffman's categories as her base (except for *family*) but added *body display* and *independence/self-assertiveness*. We decided to use the former and originally we also intended to use the latter. However, during the initial analysis we deemed Kang's definition to be too broad and difficult to use. Kang uses *independence/self-assertiveness* to look at the "big picture" namely to see what the overall message of an advertisement is (Kang, 1997, p. 986). We felt that this was a valid point but needed to be operationalized better to be useful. We took our lead from John Berger (1972) and decided to call the category *reversibility* and define it as the possibility to switch the gender used in the advertisement with the opposite gender without it altering the message. Finally we added one category, namely *objectification* which we define instrumentally as the portraying of only a (sexual) part of a woman's body or showing her as a plaything.

We were therefore left with eight different categories; the analytical scheme was as follows with pictures from the magazine that we used to illustrate the categories:

Category	Picture	Definition
<p><i>Body display</i></p>		<p>Un- or semi-clothed bodies. Naked, in underwear or a towel, close-up pictures where shoulders are bare and the model might be, very tight clothes or see-through.</p>

<p><i>Feminine touch</i></p>		<p>When women use their hands or fingers to trace the outlines of objects or touch themselves. They take an object almost without touching it.</p>
<p><i>Function ranking</i></p>		<p>When the man obviously has the leading role or manipulates a woman's body by lifting her or holding her in a possessive manner.</p>
<p><i>Licensed withdrawal</i></p>		<p>Being there physically but not mentally by for example looking out of the picture, talking on a telephone, covering mouth or face with her hand or smiling in an extensive way.</p>

<p><i>Objectification</i></p>	 <p>... og svona á litinn!</p>	<p>Showing only a (sexual) part of a woman's body (breasts, buttocks), showing her as a plaything.</p>
<p><i>Relative size</i></p>	 <p>Spáðu í okkur</p> <p>SPARISJÓÐURINN</p>	<p>When the man is shown as being taller in the picture, or given a higher position.</p>
<p><i>Reversibility</i></p>		<p>Whether the genders can be exchanged without the advertisement becoming silly or ridiculous.</p>

Ritualization of subordination



When women are portrayed in a lower position than men; for example sitting or lying on a floor or a bed, tilting their head, bending their body or knees.

Sampling

One of the criticisms voiced against Goffman's study is that he selected pictures "at will... chosen to fit into sets..." (Goffman, 1979, p. 24). Goffman's study was therefore not based on a randomized set of advertisements; he chose the advertisements to illustrate a particular category. We wanted to look at changes over time and therefore decided to use a randomized approach. We chose to use the lifestyle magazine *NýttLif* (New life) since it is the longest running of its kind in Iceland having been published continuously since 1978. We ended our sampling with the 2009 issues. For each year we chose three issues, the first issue of each year, a summer issue and an autumn issue. We decided to focus on three parts of the magazine; pictures on the front pages, in advertisements and in the fashion sections. We randomly chose four advertisements in each issue for analysing with the requirements that they had to be full-page and show adult individuals on them. Sometimes there was only a man or men pictured and then that one was given the code 999 (or missing) and kept in with the samples.

Measurement

Each picture was coded in accordance with the analytical scheme and each category of the encoding was given points, i.e. 1 was for images that conformed to the definitions (for example the man taller, the man guiding the woman) and 0 for images that deviated from the definitions (the man not taller, not guiding the woman, etc.). One of the variables (*reversibility*) had a special coding, the variable being defined as follows: If it was possible to exchange the gender of the model in the picture without

altering the message it got 0 but if it was not possible it got 1. The numbers from each picture were added together and the result gave the degree of gendered display according to our categories. A high outcome indicated a highly-gendered display while a low outcome indicated the opposite.

In the following analysis we focus on the question whether the portrayal of women in advertisements has been changing in the last three decades (from the year 1978 when the magazine *NyttLif* was first published). Time is thus our independent variable and we have divided it into three spans, 1) 1978-1988, 2) 1989-1998 and 3) 1999-2009. Our dependent variables are the different types of portrayal of women. We use Kramer's V to explore the strength of the relationship between the variables (under 0.10 = weak relationship, .11 to .30 = moderate relationship and over 0.30 = strong relationship (Neuman, 2005)). Chi square (χ^2) test is used to analyse if the relation is statistically significant, i.e. if the percentages of each type of portrayal of women in advertisements are significantly different in the three decade categories.

Results

Front pages

The results of the study of the front pages are shown in table 1. As it can be seen there, *function ranking* was almost non-existent during the whole period and *relative size* was very rare. In 1978-1988, *objectification* was fairly rare or in 6.8% of the pictures analysed. In the years 1989-1999, however, the percentage had increased to 22.1%, but in 1999 to 2009 it decreased again to 9.7%. The difference in *objectification* between the three time periods is statistically significant. On the other hand *feminine touch*, *body display*, *reversibility* and *ritualization of subordination* were all fairly frequent and increased significantly over the years except for *feminine touch*. The only category with a significant relative decrease was *licensed withdrawal* from 50% in 1978-1988 to 29.7% in 1999-2009. This might be interpreted as an indication that the increased social activity of women on all levels makes it more of an anomaly to portray them as not being mentally present though their body is there.

Table 1: Front pages in the decades 1978-1988, 1989-1998 and 1999-2009

Variable	1978-1988	1989-1998	1999-2009	χ^2	V
Body display	31.1%	52.3%	62.1%	18.857	0.249**
	23	45	90		
Feminine touch	41.9%	48.8%	45.5%	0.774	0.050
	31	42	66		
Function ranking	1.4%	0%	0.7%	1.120	0.061
	1	0	1		
Licensed withdrawal	50%	34.9%	29.7%	8.868	0.171*
	37	30	43		
Objectification	6.8%	22.1%	9.7%	10.570	0.186**
	5	19	14		
Relative size	2.7%	2.3%	3.4%	0.259	0.029
	2	2	5		
Reversibility	62.2%	79.1%	66.9%	6.009	0.140
	46	68	97		(p=0.05*)
Ritualization of subordination	10.8%	30.2%	26.9%	9.573	0.177**
	8	26	39		
N	74	86	145		
Valid= 305	Missing= 20	Total= 325			
* p < 0.05 ** < 0.01					

And even though it is not shown in the table, it should be mentioned that the number of men on the cover grew throughout the decades.

Advertisements

The results of the study of the advertisements are shown in table 2:

Table 2: Advertisements in the decades 1978-1988, 1989-1998 and 1999-2009

Variable	1978-1988	1989-1998	1999-2009	χ^2	V
Body display	52.9%	77%	78.6%	22.717	0.259**
	64	77	92		
Feminine touch	66.9%	61%	65.8%	0.929	0.052
	81	61	77		
Function ranking	11.6%	7%	5.1%	3.547	0.102
	14	7	6		
Licensed withdrawal	66.9%	65%	55.6%	3.689	0.104
	81	65	65		
Objectification	18.2%	32%	35.9%	10.084	0.173**
	22	32	42		
Relative size	21.5%	8%	6.8%	14.288	0.26**
	26	8	8		
Reversibility	62.8%	71%	77.8%	6.420	0.138*
	76	71	91		
Ritualization of subordination	47.1%	35%	51.3%	6.124	0.104*
	57	35	60		
N	121	100	117		
Valid= 338	Missing= 28		Total= 366		
* p < 0.05 ** < 0.01					

As was the case with the front covers, *relative size* and *function ranking* did not occur often throughout the decades in advertisements. *Relative size* decreased significantly or from 21.5% in 1978-1988 to 6.8% in 1999-2009 and *feminine touch*, *function ranking* and *licensed withdrawal* moved in the same direction though the changes are not statistically significant. This indicates a move towards more socially independent women and their increased agency. On the other hand, *ritualization of subordination*, *body display* and *objectification* all increased significantly as did *reversibility*, all of which

indicate a move towards a sharper focus on sexuality and the body as the defining features of femininity.

Fashion sections

The results of the study of the fashion sections are shown in table 3.

Table 3: Fashion sections in the decades 1978-1988, 1989-1998 and 1999-2009

Variable	1978-1988	1989-1998	1999-2009	χ^2	V
Body display	22.1%	41.6%	55.3%	49.499	0.300**
	48	52	115		
Feminine touch	56.2%	67.2%	61.1%	4.039	0.086
	122	84	127		
Function ranking	13.4%	3.2%	1.9%	25.362	0.215**
	29	4	4		
Licensed withdrawal	58.5%	69.6%	57.7%	5.371	0.099
	127	87	120		
Objectification	5.1%	12%	10.1%	5.904	0.104
	11	15	21		
Relative size	20.3%	6.3%	2.9%	37.134	0.260**
	44	8	6		
Reversibility	42.4%	52%	58.7%	11.335	0.144**
	92	65	122		
Ritualization of subordination	45.6%	0.48%	49.5%	0.655	0.035
	99	60	103		
N	217	125	208		
Valid= 550	Missing= 36		Total= 586		
* p < 0.05 ** < 0.01					

In the same way as with front covers and advertisements the categories *relative size* and *function ranking* were not frequent in images in the fashion sections and both decreased significantly with time. *Relative size*

decreased from 20.3% in 1978-1988 to 2.9% in 1999-2000 and *function ranking* from 13.4% to 1.9%. *Feminine touch*, *licensed withdrawal* and *ritualization of subordination* occurred fairly frequently the whole time and no statistically significant change was detected. That indicates that the behaviour and body language presented through these categories is regarded as a fairly consistent indication of feminine behaviour. *Reversibility* also scored high and increased significantly over time (from 42.4% to 58.7%) meaning that less and less often can we switch genders in the images without it becoming ridiculous or changing the meaning of the image. *Body display* increased dramatically or from 22.1% in 1978-1988 to 55.3% in 1999-2009. *Objectification* moved in the same direction even though it occurred fairly rarely and the increase was not statistically significant.

Discussion

The study presented here reaches similar conclusions as the study by Belknap and Leonard II (1991) and Kang (1997) regarding two of Goffman's categories. *Relative size* and *function ranking* occur fairly rarely. We also see in our study that both decrease over the years. As for the former Goffman claims that it is thoroughly "... assumed that differences in size will correlate with differences in social weight..." (Goffman, 1979, p. 28). He also claims with regard to the latter that in gender interaction the man is likely to perform the executive role and that this "...seems widely represented in advertisements..." (Goffman, 1979, p. 32). It is tempting to see the relative lack of these categories and their decrease over time in the Icelandic magazine as an indication of the changed, and changing, social roles of women. There is certainly much more social weight attached to the roles of women in Iceland today than was the case in the sixties and seventies, so picturing men as taller than women is an anomaly. Similarly, an exclusive emphasis on the executive role of men would probably be seen as ridiculous in a society where men and women are used to seeing and experiencing women in the executive role.

As for *feminine touch* both this study and the one by Kang (1997) report no change in frequency and that this is something that is often portrayed. Belknap and Leonard (1991) also found this fairly frequently. It therefore seems that this is regarded as a fairly un-controversial portrayal of women, that it is quite normal behaviour for them to touch themselves

or delicately fondle objects. Here it would be highly interesting to see if or to what degree a similar behaviour is present in lifestyle magazines for men. Our guess is that such has been and still is pretty rare.

The only category where our results are in the opposite direction to the one in Kang's study is regarding *licensed withdrawal*. Kang found that this had increased from 1979 to 1991 and found it surprising (Kang, 1997, p. 993). We found that it decreased over time particularly on the front page or from 50% in 1978-1988 to 29.7% in 1999-2009. Again, we think that this might be an indication of the fairly strong social position of Icelandic women.

Ritualization of subordination increased over time in our study while it didn't change in Kang's. The increases are statistically significant on the front covers and in advertisements but not in the fashion sections. It is not entirely clear how to interpret this though it is tempting to see it as an indication of the constant sexualisation of women's subordination.

The remaining categories, *body display*, *objectification* and *reversibility* all increased in our study. In general it goes for magazines as well as other aspects of popular culture that the body is much more on display today than before. People, both men and women, show more skin than they used to do. This has both been called sexualisation and pornification. That is a debate we don't want to go into but only point out that this is a general development, not confined to women (for a discussion of the increase in images of naked or semi-naked men in popular culture see Bordo, 1999). This is not to claim that the processes are necessarily the same for men and women or the social meaning similar but only an observation of a general trend (see Gill, 2009 for an in-depth discussion).

Though it is perhaps not quite as clear, we think that the increase in images where we cannot change the genders without altering the message (*reversibility*) points in the same direction. Without recourse to gendered social roles the attention has to be on the body if one wants to emphasize the difference. There would be nothing ridiculous about changing the gender of an executive so the body must be what is focused on.

It seems to us that there has been a diminishing of images that show, or can be interpreted as showing women in an inferior social position. In that regard men and women are increasingly portrayed in a similar way in magazines such as *NýttLíf*. Simultaneously there has been an increased focus on the body (*body display*, *objectification*). That is to say, we propose that as the social worlds of men and women become increasingly

alike the body becomes more prominent as the defining area of femininity (and masculinity). The body becomes the bedrock, the one remaining marker of the difference between men and women which explains the changes observed in *Nýtt Líf* 1978-2009.

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Constructing an Indigenous Model of the Self to Address Cultural and Mental Health Issues in the Canadian Subarctic¹

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Abstract

Since the last decades, academic research has paid much attention to the phenomenon of revitalizing indigenous cultures and, more precisely, the use of traditional indigenous healing methods both to deal with individuals' mental health problems and with broader cultural issues. The re-evaluation of traditional indigenous healing practices as a mode of psychotherapeutic treatment has been perhaps one of the most interesting sociocultural processes in the postmodern era. In this regard, incorporating indigenous forms of healing in a contemporary framework of indigenous mental health treatment should be interpreted not simply as an alternative therapeutic response to the clinical context of Western psychiatry, but also constitutes a political response on the part of ethno-cultural groups that have been stereotyped as socially inferior and culturally backward. As a result, a postmodern form of "traditional healing" developed with various forms of knowledge, rites and the social uses of medicinal plants, has been set in motion on many Canadian indigenous reserves over the last two decades.

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Keywords: mental health, indigenous identity, self, cultural models, Canadian subarctic.

Introduction

Since the last decades, academic research has paid much attention to the phenomenon of revitalizing indigenous cultures and, more precisely, to the use of traditional indigenous healing methods both on individual and social levels. At the same time, contemporary indigenous sociocultural movements are acting in terms of political activism in hopes of healing colonial wounds to the national narratives of oppressed peoples. The colonization of North America by European people continues to be the most powerful symbolic marker for the modern construction of indigenous identity. Colonialism offers indigenous societies a symbolic reference point for distinguishing an arcadian era, when indigenous societies lived without today's traumas, difficult living conditions, and intergroup conflicts, to a later era characterized by anomy, stress, violence, social disorganization, and mental illness (Brass, 2008; Waldram, 2004; Bruner, 1986). In practice, contemporary salvation discourse functions as a healing drama for producing a symbolic and spiritual kinship in the recovery from mental health problems that afflict indigenous peoples world-wide. For authors such as Kuper (2005) and Sahlins (1993), the distinguishing feature of this contemporary social phenomenon is the affirmation of indigenous peoples' own ways of life as superior in value, and political rights precisely opposed to a globalized materialistic civilization. More than an expression of ethnic identity, this postmodern cultural consciousness of recovering traditional bodies of knowledge assumes the intention of devalued social groups to control their relationships with dominant societies, including control of technical and political media which until now have been used to victimize them. Sahlins, who calls this phenomenon "Culturalism," has argued that we are witnessing a spontaneous world-wide movement of disobedience and cultural defiance, of which the full meaning and historical effects are yet to be determined. Various sociocultural studies have taken account of this phenomenon over recent decades, including the cases of the Baruya of New Guinea (Godelier, 1991), the Kayapo of Brazil's tropical rainforest

(Turner, 1991), the Tukanoans in Colombia (Jackson, 1995), the Mi'kmaq in Canada, and the Apaches in the U.S.A. (Prins, 1997).

Empirical studies, most recently centred on North American indigenous reserves, have documented how the social uses of various bodies of knowledge, rites, and medicinal plants are being used as psychotherapeutic treatments alternative to the hegemonic context of biomedicine. This field of research is very promising, and consequently a line of research has emerged with the intent to explore the intersection between psychotherapeutic discourses and the fight for indigenous regeneration and community healing in various Canadian and American settings (WalDRAM, 1997; O'Neil, 1998; Adelson, 2004; Berman, 2003; Fast, 2002; Pickering, 2000; Warry, 1998; Brass, 2008; GrobSmith, 1994). Further, the revaluing of traditional indigenous healing practices as means of psychotherapeutic treatment for the construction of an indigenous self has been perhaps one of the most interesting sociocultural processes in the postmodern era.

For this paper we draw upon cultural models theory from cognitive anthropology, socio-linguistics, and sociology to examine how specific schemata are learned and internalized among initiated into the neo-traditional social movement known in Canada as the indigenous healing movement. This theoretical framework is based on the view that culture is best viewed as internalized knowledge structures that are shared by particular groups, and that play a key role in informing behavior (Strauss and Quinn, 1997; Shore, 1996; D'Andrade, 1995; D'Andrade and Strauss, 1992; Holland and Quinn, 1987). In our view, cultural models are comprised of both mental representations as well as overt behaviors.

Indigenous Social Movements and Mental Health in Canada

Over decades, social and epidemiological experience on Canadian indigenous reserves² has been characterized by high rates of psychosocial and mental health problems such as addictions, depression, suicide,

² With the approval of the Indian Act of 1876, indigenous peoples were declared to be the responsibility of the Canadian state (Yahn, 2009). Settling indigenous peoples took place by applying the so-called "reserve system," a new social organization system the purpose of which was to bring about the assimilation of indigenous peoples. The reserve system was the legal instrument for judicial regulation of the social, economic and political lives of indigenous peoples living in Canada.

domestic violence, parental neglect, and sexual abuse;³ this situation has generated a type of cultural awareness elaborated within the neo-animist, neo-traditional social movement known in Canada as “the indigenous healing movement” (Tanner, 2008). The historical development of this pan-indigenous spiritual regeneration movement coincides with the emergence of the civil rights movement in the U.S.A. and Canada during the 1960’s. The American Indian Movement in the U.S.A. and the National Indian Brotherhood in Canada represent the countercultural current known as “Red Power,” and established the foundation for the pan-indigenous spiritual regeneration movement. Since the 1980s, and particularly during the 1990s, this movement has spread the idea that traditional animistic culture is the only way of healing and overcoming social pathologies and mental afflictions for indigenous peoples (Brady, 1995). This pan-indigenous social movement is still expanding in local cultural settings throughout Canada. Observed in the contexts of reserves as well as in urban centres, the indigenous healing movement relies on rituals, discursive sources and indigenous cultural imaginaries to configure a supra-tribal ideology that crosses cultural borders to unite indigenous groups in a regional, or more broadly national, identity (Kirmayer and Valaskakis, 2008; Tanner, 2008). The cultural imaginary of this pan-indigenous ideology comes from the indigenous cultures of Canada’s central provinces, and is expanding to other communities throughout the country. Pan-indigenous ideology draws attention to concepts of healing and abstract symbolic references to the medicine Wheel, sacred fire, sacred medicines, sacred teachings or grandfathers (Brass, 2008; Tanner, 2008).

This neo-traditional animism that inspires the healing movement could be considered as a reformulation or cultural revision at the moment of the transmission of ancestral and traditional knowledge to confront the social problems caused by successive epidemics of mental illness. To relearn and to revitalize animist and spiritual ontologies are the ways that contemporary indigenous communities use to attain a satisfactory social

³ Today, indigenous peoples in Canada continue to have the worst mental health outcomes in comparison to the rest of the ethnic groups that make up Canadian society. (Virchez & Faucheux, 2012; Chiefs of Ontario, 2010; King et al., 2009; Kirmayer & Valaskakis, 2008; Health Canada, 2008; Waldram et al., 2006; Jones, 2004; Quintero, 2002; Dyck & Waldram, 1993).

and psychological life which empowers them to challenge their marginal position in the Canadian sociopolitical context.

In the framework of the cultural theory proposed by the healing movement, the concept “culture” and the social category “indigenous” have become a rhetorical discursive practice as well as a moral ideal that informs “health,” “healing treatment,” “a good life,” and “spirituality.” These notions are parts of an alternative discourse that establishes a moral standard to define new contemporary indigenous identities; this discourse offers a cultural narrative to transform the suffering, the desperation, and the lack of identity that accompanies psychosocial problems, all within a re-presentation of a regenerated, revitalized self.

This article calls attention to the phenomenon of the revitalization of indigenous cultures, specifically to the use of traditional indigenous healing methods in mental health programs in Canada. In this sense, the incorporation of different modes of treatment in the contemporary structure of indigenous mental health should be interpreted as an alternative therapeutic response to Western psychiatry’s clinical context. Additionally, this phenomenon constitutes a political response on the part of ethno-cultural groups that have been devalued as socially inferior and culturally backward. As a result of these responses, a postmodern form of “traditional healing” developed with various forms of knowledge, rites and the social uses of medicinal plants, has been set in motion on many Canadian indigenous reserves and urban centres over the last two decades.

Case Study

The sub-arctic region of Northern Ontario is the home of many indigenous communities; it is an excellent location to test our hypothesis: cultural rationalizations such as “ancestral culture helps to heal contemporary psychosocial problems”, employed by the indigenous healing movement, offers an interpretative framework for empowering indigenous groups in the contemporary sociopolitical context; as well as to be a therapeutical way to solve psych-social problems and reconstruct indigenous people’s self-images. As such, the expression “traditional indigenous healing” could be understood as a rhetoric and practical discourse that makes possible a reconceptualising of the problems in socio-structural rather than psycho-social terms.

Since 2005, the recreational use of prescription drugs such as Oxycotin and Percocet, has been a social problem on indigenous reserves

in Ontario's subarctic region. In 2010, indigenous organizations in Ontario declared the abusive consumption of opioid analgesics (Oxycotin and Percocet) on the reserves to be an authentic social epidemic because it extended to all of Northern Ontario's reserves (Kelly et al., 2011; Chiefs of Ontario, 2010; Sioux Lookout, 2009). For example, in 2012 in the Sioux Lookout region, out of a population of 25,000 indigenous people, at least 9,000 were addicted to Oxycotin. On the Fort Hope First Nation and the Cat Lake First Nation reserves, almost 80% of working age people have problems with Oxycotin (NAHO, 2012). In the course of our fieldwork on one reserve, a Health Centre survey revealed that about 50% of the adult population admitted to using opioid analgesics recreationally; approximately 40% stated that they consume illegal drugs. This situation has affected family and community structures by increasing the levels of violence, robberies, divorce, and other social problems.

At the same time, in Northern Ontario there has been a renewed consciousness of spirituality, indigenous identity and traditional healing. At the local level, a pan-indigenous healing movement has emerged as a community effort to counter this social epidemic. The healing movement calls for abstinence, emphasizing ancestral cultural and spiritual values to heal the broken spirit caused by colonialism. In the form of a collective trauma, the historical experience of colonialism continues to play a significant role in shaping cultural memory on Canada's indigenous reserves. On these reserves, mental illness is seen as a direct result of colonization. In practice, each indigenous community has had to deal with the trauma that impacted its members. This necessity brought subgroups of Ontario's indigenous sub-Arctic peoples to treat their communities' symptoms by developing traditional therapeutic initiatives considered by the communities to be adequate and effective.

The description of the symbolic content of the indigenous therapeutic model presented in this article belongs to a research project carried out between 2008 and 2012 in several indigenous reserves in the province of Ontario's sub-Arctic region. The north of the province is unique because of its large number of indigenous communities, primarily Cree and Anishnaabe (Ojibway). Today this region is home to 121 of the 145 indigenous reserves in Ontario,⁴ representing 11.5% of Ontario's indigenous population (Yahn, 2009). Actually, all communities in Northern Ontario are living through a period of crisis and profound economic

⁴ Ontario has the largest indigenous population of all Canadian provinces, with 22.7% of the total Canadian indigenous population (INAC, 2010).

restructuring, generating doubts about their long-term economic viability (Dow, 2008; Bones, 2003). In spite of efforts to diversify the economic structure, the mining and forestry industries are still the economic engine of the region and remain the largest employers in the province's north. The communities are small, between 500 to 10,000, and overall are less economically diversified than southern cities. Small business and government services are other, much smaller, economic drivers. Therefore, the contemporary Cree and Ojibway peoples with whom we interacted during our fieldwork, should be classified, according to the social and structural class stratification framework, as a subcultural variant of the class of rural workers, with an emerging class of middle-managers (Flanagan, 2008; Kuper, 2005; Rhoner y Bettauer, 1970).

Traditional Healing Methods and Mental Health: The Medicine Wheel

In Canada, the significance and impact of the healing movement have been felt at local levels by contributing to the creation of a post-colonial paradigm based on the Medicine Wheel as a cultural model of the self. This paradigm treats mental health as a cognitive and sensory process in the creation of an ecocentric and sociocentric self. Cognitively, this cultural model of mental health and self creates an epistemological and ontological paradigm using cultural representations of personality. The cultural model of self that the healing movement offers on reserves attempts to inject in the individual a cultural expectation that reinforces a type of conduct that has always been normal and natural for the indigenous subject. From a cognitive perspective, this cultural model tries to offer a consistent theory of indigenous personality and psyche as guides for conceptualizing human development and mental health.

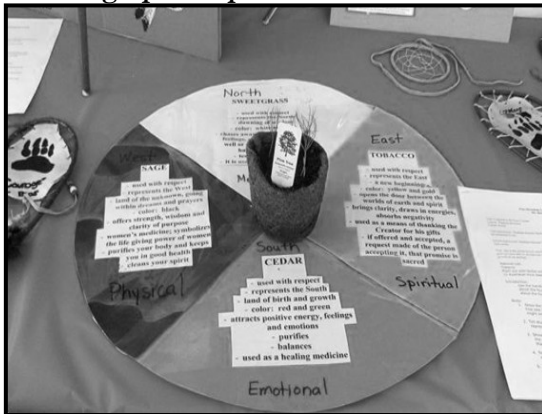
The Medicine Wheel represents a powerful cultural symbol within the healing movement. It is capable of influencing people's own self-perceptions and of provoking cognitive, emotional and behavioral changes in order to recover from psycho-active substance abuse. The Medicine Wheel, as a semiotic and cognitive mechanism, is a cultural representation of a conjoining of assumptions, propositions, beliefs, metaphors, and symbols within a social movement of revitalization and community regeneration. The fundamental proposition of the model is that ancestral culture is "our medicine," giving meaning and purpose, and leading to the process of change and personal recovery. In this model, alcohol and other drugs are substances contaminated by their roots in colonialism, and

therefore prohibited. Abstinence and sobriety are the normal ways of behaving, and are prescribed as part of the healing movement. This behavior involves searching to recover spirituality and purpose in life.

This cultural model of mental health and personality is based on ancient circular pictographic representations. This cultural symbol is signified visually as a circle divided into four quadrants to represent the four fundamental dimensions of indigenous people: the body, the mind, the emotions, and the spirit. (See photograph 1.) The basic idea behind this representation is that the indigenous way of life should be an equilibrium of these four elements. The circle is considered to be a sacred geometrical shape that suggests the experience of establishing a sense of connectedness, security and confidence. As a sacred symbol, the circle reveals that spirituality is central to the indigenous vision of the world.

In this cognitive model, connection and belonging are strongly held values, and the whole is considered to be more than the sum of its parts.

Photo 1: Iconographic representation of *Medicine Wheel*.



Source: Alfonso Marquina-Márquez

As a cognitive model, the Medicine Wheel is a cultural resource for facing contemporary social realities on the reserves, offering an understanding of the problem of the over-consumption of alcohol and other drugs. Interestingly, as a cultural theory of human development and personality, it is becoming widely accepted in the contemporary Canadian indigenous world. The Medicine Wheel is a cognitive and symbolic vehicle that offers three things: a moral guide; a model for conduct; and a valued

identity. This cognitive model offers people a new cultural perception of the self, of their past, of alcohol and drugs. Most importantly, it is a system of beliefs to foster social and personal recovery. Equilibrium, connection, and relationship are three of this model's fundamental concepts.

Table 1. Features and symbolism of *Medicine Wheel*.

Medicine Wheel	The Four Directions			
	East	South	West	North
Colours	Yellow	Red	Black	White
Dimensions of life	Spiritual	Emotional	Physical	Mental
Cycles of Life	Child	Youth	Adult	Elder
Sacred plants	Tobacco	Cedar	Sage	Sweetgrass
Elements	Fire	Earth	Water	Air
Seasons	Spring	Summer	Autumn	Winter

Source: own elaboration based on Union of Ontario Indians (1995).

This belief system holds that all of existence comes from the same spiritual source: the Creator. Everything proceeds from this superior power, and everything will return to it in the spiritual world. The conceptualization of the indigene in this cognitive model reinforces the belief that the contemporary indigene needs to live with a sense of harmony and equilibrium within the self, the family the community and the

environment. In this conception of the indigenous person, the person's spirit exists prior to the person's inhabiting a physical body, and continues to exist after the person's death, returning as a spirit to the supernatural world.

Other fundamental beliefs are that all things are connected, and that the indigene has a sacred relationship with the universe. To obtain harmony, equilibrium, and connectedness involves a transcendental process. Following the spiritual guiding principles of the Medicine Wheel suggests following a way that leads to developing a strong sense of identity, meaning and purpose.

Authentic medicine, the authentic healing treatment to escape drug addiction, is mediated by the system of beliefs contained in the Medicine Wheel. It acts as a guide to understanding the nature of reality and the indigenous personality. Following traditional spiritual beliefs is the only medicine adequate for treating indigenous people's addictions. Taking part in ceremonies and rituals, and seeking knowledge and advice from Elders are adequate practices for personal healing. These practices enable indigenous people to be physically and mentally healthy, to maintain healthy relationships with others, and achieve self-respect and a sense of belonging. Reconnecting with spirituality and traditional animist beliefs is the way to recovery.

In order to accomplish this reconnection indigenous people need to undertake the Red Path/Red Road, as a unique route to true spiritual recovery from the historical trauma of five centuries of colonization. The central theme on this route to reconnection and regeneration is the healing of the indigenous spirit, broken on account of an alienated life. The Medicine Wheel assumes, above all, a cognitive process of "changing lenses" in order to understand the nature of reality, of the self, and of society. Integrating this cultural model means that the individual takes on a new perspective of reality (ontology), a new way to think and to understand reality (epistemology) and a new set of morals and ethical behaviours (axiology). The cultural process of cognitive decolonization that informs this cultural theory requires cognitively reprogramming the individual, showing to the individual a traditional mode of being, and introducing a new self-understanding to enable the healing of addictions and intergenerational trauma.

Cognitive Ethnotheory of the Person: the Indigene as a Moral Category

The cultural model constructs the self as an equilibrium of spiritual, physical, mental and emotional components. The circle, in the form of the four-part Medicine Wheel, geometrically represents a holistic, sociocentric and ecocentric self. The circle is a metaphor for the conjunction of experiences and concentric social relations: self—family—community—indigenous nation, as well as spiritual, mental, physical and natural worlds. The circle is the iconographic representation of the indigenous self, implying a sense of moral integrity and personal power.

According to the cultural model, to be indigenous means to fulfil a prescribed cycle of ceremonies that recognize and respect the spirit world (Creator⁵ and Grandfathers⁶) and natural (Mother Earth⁷). In order to attain mental health an indigene requires a strong spirit. The way to maintain this strong spirit is to follow the ancestral Midewiwin⁸ teachings and spiritual practices. This is the only way to recover physical and mental health, and the ancestral power that have been eroded by problematic

⁵ Nowadays, the “Creator” is a pan-tribal expression. Traditionally, in Ojibway culture the Creator is known as “Gitchi Manitou,” a term that can be translated in various Algonquin languages as “Great Spirit.” Christian missionaries used “Gitchi Manitou” as a suitable synonym for “God.”

⁶ Grandfathers are considered to be entities or spiritual forces representing ancestors who live in the spirit world.

⁷ Equally important as the Grandfathers, Mother Earth is another neo-traditional cultural symbol that represents nature as a spiritual entity.

⁸ Algonquin religious-medical animism is known as Midewiwin. In this religious system the central figure of the Creator, from an ethno-historical perspective, had little relevance among the Cree and Ojibway hunter-gatherers, the ancestors of the people who now live in the area where our research took place. According to Tanner (2008), the Algonquin hunters practiced an animist religion involving multiple spiritual entities. These diverse spiritual entities were identified with animal species and natural forces. Traditional animist religion was not so much central to healing as it is with pan-indigenous religiosity. This religiosity focuses on predicting and interpreting encounters with the spirits of the animals that they were going to hunt. The hunter had to negotiate with the animal’s spirit so that the animal would allow the hunter to hunt it in exchange for a series of prescriptions and taboos (Tanner, 1979). These encounters with animal spirits are no longer relevant in contemporary pan-indigenous religious ideology. However, some characteristics are shared, such as spiritual searching in the supernatural world, ritual offering of tobacco, and sweat lodge and shaking tent ceremonies. Even now these religious practices are used on reserves as therapies for healing addiction.

consumption of alcohol and other drugs. This cultural idea is the primary basic assumption that must be learned and internalized by the individual who decides to follow the way of self-transformation and personal change.

Because the individual sustains an intimate relationship with the spiritual ancestors, the Grandfathers, and the natural world, Mother Earth, spirituality is fundamental to maintaining a balanced and healthy mind, body and spirit. To be once more an indigene—Anishinaabe or Cree, in this case—means believing oneself to be a self-healer based on the ancestral teachings that are the only sacred instrument given by the Grandfathers to heal the minds of contemporary indigenous people.

In this cultural model, the body is conceptualized as a gift from the Creator and the Grandfathers; it is a moral obligation to take care of the body. An indigene, as a spiritual being, must live in harmony with the body, mind and spirit. Ignoring this moral imperative of the ancestors produces a broken spirit. Weakening the indigenous spirit, and damaging the body by consuming alcohol and other drugs, is to weaken the whole community, to stray from the responsibilities that the Grandfathers and the Creator gave to the indigene. The term “community” in this cultural model, does not refer exclusively to the human community, but extends also to relations with spiritual ancestors, the animal and vegetable world, and animal and vegetable spirits. The spiritual cycle in relation to mental health and well-being is connected to this extended community. According to the healing movement, the people with addiction problems have forgotten this concept as a result of sociohistorical forces—colonialism. The fundamental objective of this spiritual regeneration movement is to reconnect the alienated indigenous memory with the cultural premise of the ties with the extended spiritual community.

The power of self-healing is acquired by means of personal compromise following ceremonial protocol: to trust in the traditional teachings, to practise spiritual ceremonies, to take care of Mother Earth, and to respect the Grandfathers and the Creator. The indigene has only this way to recover mental health, pride, self esteem, and an authentic identity—including learning an indigenous language. Some adherents of the healing movement say that the ancestors did not need drugs or surgery; they cured themselves through spirituality, the power of their minds, and the power of nature. Establishing a respectful relationship with the mind and body is the prerequisite to physical and mental health. The methods used by the ancestors to achieve mental and physical health were personal

daily ceremonies that connected them with the Grandfathers and the Creator. For example, an indigene might undertake a healing voyage in the hands of a spiritual helper, an Elder called a “keeper of teachings.” In this cultural system, the indigene must first arrive at the conviction that he or she has been created to live a spiritual life; for indigenous people, this is the principal meaning of what it means to be human.

Following a cycle of ceremonies to maintain a connection with the physical and spiritual worlds, is the “natural” form of indigenous being in order to be mentally healthy. Indigenous people need to open themselves to the spirits through visions and dreams to attain mental health and to become self-healing through personal ceremonies.

Above all, individuals who have access to this cultural system try to revive the Midewiwin teachings that were forced to disappear during the enthusiasm of establishing colonies and Christian proselytizing. Midewiwin teachings claim to be a spiritual way or “red path” defined by the ancestors in order to create a “manidookewin,” a ceremonial way of living. These teachings are an authentic ontological project for discovering authentic being—for returning to the land of the ancestors. Initiates must, as a basic premise, conceive their connection with the land as the natural indigenous home; they must understand their reserves in Northeastern Ontario not as rural communities, but as their traditional lands that are inhabited and have been inhabited spiritually by the Grandfathers.

The beliefs and assumptions of this cultural model (see Table 2) retain the romantic notion that by practising a series of animistic beliefs, any contemporary individual with indigenous ancestry, incarnates a natural, pure source of spiritual knowledge.

The indigenous neophyte needs to construct a self-image as a person whose social role in this world is to protect, respect, care for, and live in harmony with nature. Authentic indigenous communities must be imagined as “nature people,” in contrast to the rest of Canadian society, that is alienated from nature. Personified as Mother Earth, nature is the incarnation of life and hope for a revitalized indigenous future.

Table 2: Assumptions, premises and moral causes of the cultural model.

The true cause of indigenous addiction problems and others social pathologies lies in a collective trauma over centuries of colonization and acculturation.

Alcohol and other drugs are substances contaminated, impure substances, outside the ancestral tradition by their roots in colonialism, and therefore prohibited.

Alcohol and other drugs have been a way (unconscious) of “self-medication” to escape of feelings such as anger, rage, inferiority, loneliness, etc.

The ancestral teachings are the only sacred instruments given by the Grandfathers to heal the indigenous mind of contemporary addictions.

The body is conceptualized as a gift from the Creator and Grandfather; it is a moral obligation to take care of it. An indigenous, as a spiritual being, must live in harmony with the body, mind and spirit.

The power of self-healing is acquired by means of personal compromise following ceremonial protocol: to trust in the traditional teachings, to practise spiritual ceremonies, to take care of Mother Earth, and to respect the Grandfathers and the Creator.

Abstinence and sobriety are the normal ways of behaving, and are prescribed by the *Creator*. This behavior involves searching to recover spirituality and purpose in life.

An indigenous must respect the sacred medicines: tobacco, cedar, sage and sweetgrass. These four plants are curatives because they are the sacred means to communicate with the Creator and Grandfathers.

An indigenous must have a spirit strong. The way to maintain this strong spirit is to follow the ancestral Midewiwin teachings and spiritual practices.

Red Road teaches spiritually to indigenous people to live a life of self-control, equilibrium, harmony y humble. *The Medicine Wheel* guides the life of an authentic indigenous.

Source: own elaboration based on fieldwork.

By definition, contemporary indigenes come to discover that they have been created by the Creator to be spiritual, and that they must be keepers of the ancestral Midewiwin teachings. They should “keep the spirit strong” by respecting the Sacred Medicines (cedar, sweetgrass, tobacco, sage),⁹ and fulfilling the values of sharing, caring, being humble and respectful. This spirituality is the beginning of the way to personal and spiritual recovery and renewal; in metaphorical terms, neophytes need to follow the “red path.”

Cultural Symbols: The Red Path

Within this cognitive model, the cultural symbol of the red path or red road stands for a vital route to hope and healing; it is also a key idea that inspires people to behavioral change, including becoming sober and overall personal recovery. In other words, the red path represents a process of emotional, behavioral and cognitive restructuring that takes place within the spiritual domain.

To begin this journey to spiritual regeneration, neophytes follow certain cultural procedures and protocols. The first is to be in contact with an Elder (a medicine man or woman). The neophyte offers tobacco, and asks the Elder to act as a spiritual guide and counselor on the path to reconnecting with the spiritual and ancestral world. Accepting the role of spiritual guide to a neophyte comes with certain responsibilities because it means communicating and interacting with the spirit world, that is to say, the Grandfathers and the Creator. The elder needs to ask the spirit world for a spiritual name for the neophyte and for the kinds of ceremonies that would be suitable. When the elder accepts the neophyte’s offering, it signifies the beginning of a sacred and intimate relationship among the neophyte, the elder and the spiritual world of the Grandfathers, the Creator, and the spirits of animals and plants. The neophyte at all times expresses respect and humility, and follows the advice, the directions, and the sacred nature of the spiritual healing process, as established by the elder. This spiritual advisor’s role is to organize a series of ceremonies to provoke and challenge the neophyte’s personal motivation and dedication to becoming a spiritual indigenous person.

⁹ In the healing movement, these four plants are considered to be sacred, ways to communicate with the Creator.

Next on this spiritual path the neophyte begins a ceremony of fasting that lasts between three and four days. The neophyte stays alone in the forest, waiting for the spirits' communication, and ultimately hosting the returned spirits. Throughout the process of spiritual healing, it is important that the neophyte learns that the spirit world communicates by revelations. These revelations occur in dreams, visions, fantasies, and even through spiritual messengers in the forms of animals.

To complete the period of fasting and seclusion, the neophyte orally tells the elder about experiences with animals, whether physical or in dreams; the elder then interprets the messages that the spirit world wants to communicate with the neophyte. It is possible that the animal wants to communicate the spiritual clan to which the neophyte belongs, or who the neophyte's spiritual protector is. All that happened during the solitary fast is important because the elder interprets each element of the neophyte's story as a sign from the spirit world. The elder acts as a semiotic mediator between the spirit and physical world, explaining what messages the spirits have shared.

Once the sacred healing process is underway, the elders present to the neophytes personal sacred objects, such as a pipe, a medicine bundle,¹⁰ and an eagle's feather. These objects are believed to bear grave responsibility because they are sacred instruments used to communicate prayers directly to the Grandfathers and the Creator. Through these cultural implements, neophytes become conscious of a new self-understanding as indigenous people. The sacred tools work as mnemonic mediators, cultural mechanisms that serve to help the neophytes to be aware of who they become.

At this point the individuals have succeeded in reconnecting with their authentic spiritual selves and these sacred objects remind them of their obligation to live a certain way, in which alcohol and drugs are contaminated, impure substances, outside the ancestral tradition.

Neophytes who have succeeded in obtaining the cultural instruments behave with enormous responsibility, in compliance with the four cardinal virtues of a spiritual indigenous being: caring, sharing, respectfulness, and humility. They must be kind to others and respect all living things. Initiates understand and internalize the meanings of the

¹⁰ A bag that contains sacred medicinal plants and other ritual objects used in healing ceremonies.

cultural instruments and the body of knowledge to which they have had access as a gift from the Grandfathers and the Creator. If this gift were to be used irresponsibly, for instance by ignoring the ethical precepts that guide the Midewiwin teachings, the Grandfathers would intervene from the spirit world to take back the gift and the initiates' spirit, provoking, as a consequence, mental and physical imbalance and dissonance—that is to say, sickness.

Discussion and Conclusion

This article has explored the cultural processes by which the indigenous healing movement has been able to construct a psychotherapeutic way to challenge public health problems caused by various social epidemics on reserves. These traditional healing methods that are used on indigenous reserves in Northern Ontario, a region of the Canadian Subarctic, create a conceptual and symbolic space that is intended to treat the wounds inflicted by colonialism. Our analysis reveals that the healing movement on reserves uses a cultural model of self as a cognitive and semiotic tool to build for its members with personal afflictions a cultural prototype of hope. The revitalization movement on reserves attracts people who are passing through personal crises of faith and meaning, and/or are experiencing psychosocial problems. Metaphorically, these individuals of indigenous ancestry are spiritually wounded. The healing movement develops a style of interpersonal relationships and a ritual life that offers to people in crisis a framework for understanding and dealing with their difficulties. The ritual forms of individually relating to the Creator and other spiritual beings, collectively praying and living communally, are cultural practices for healing horrendous memories and other afflictions that plague both individuals and entire reserves. The healing movement has been able to create a communicative and phenomenological cultural context by using various cultural resources to achieve simultaneously this individual social goal. The movement towards revitalization tries to offer an interpretation of experience, space, the universe, and individuals' histories, in metaphoric language that makes known the will of the Creator and the creativity of Mother Earth.

The indigenous self is characterized and portrayed as a particular type of person with a specific identity in relation to other selves. However,

because selves/persons are representations and objectivizations, the cultural world can be inhabited by various types of selves/persons other than human beings. For an indigene, the personal domain includes not only human beings, but also phenomenologically real spirits who are living in the cultural world, with whom, presumably, human beings are able to interact. In the healing movement's cultural and multisensory world, the individual needs to learn the types of persons and culturally constituted entities towards which the self needs to be oriented. The self, previously ontologically indeterminate, achieves, inside the cultural world of the healing movement, self-determinacy; that is to say, the self becomes spiritual and sacred in that it is oriented in a definite environmental context, defining what it means to be an indigenous human being. In regard to this cultural orientation, from an analytical perspective, and as researchers interested in the intersection between subjectivity and society, the notion of the self that we would expect to observe is an indeterminate capacity oriented in a cultural context. In this regard, we need to recognize the creative and changing nature of the self, the creative possibilities for changing the self, and also the degree of the subject's self-awareness.

As we have said in this article, self-transformation implies a transformation of the sense of space, along with a specific way to inhabit the natural environment. The indigene must address the reorientation of the experience of "effort" through a fundamental characteristic of the self as being reflexive. The red path offers a location for the ritual transformation of the relative dispositions of temporality and spatiality that needs to be distinguished from the secular and rural reserve. As neophytes rediscover and cultivate ancestral spirituality, they participate in the spatial-temporal alternation that is intrinsic in the temporal structure created by the ceremonial order of the rituals. To initiate the red path indicates a ritual and phenomenological transformation of the self. The ceremonial order that promotes the healing movement does not only regulate everyday conduct, but also informs the fundamental motivations of conduct. Performing the rituals regularly is essential at the moment of establishing the doctrine that is codified in the cultural model's propositions. For example, rituals such as smudging, used constantly and routinely in daily life, end up being natural conduct. Abandoning the ritual conduct as defined by the healing movement, means giving up indigenous identity; the indigene becomes alienated from Canadian life. The function of the coordinated disposition of the red path that generates the ritual practices

and representations of the healing movement is precisely to revise the alienated consciousness of contemporary indigenous people.

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A bilateral free trade agreement between China and Iceland as a European country

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Abstract

A Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between China and Iceland was signed on the 15th of April 2013. The paper discusses the negotiation process and the actual business activities in the respective countries, focusing on the FTA's socio-economic significance. Our study is for the most part an empirical one, an overview of the free trade negotiations, procedures and the topics covered along the issues and the actual activities on the firm level. From the outset in 2004–2005 and up until the negotiation process, the project has had strong political connotations with its geopolitical location but by the time it was finalized, it turned out to be first and foremost a bilateral trade agreement between two nation states.

Key words: Free trade, China, Iceland, geopolitics, European Union

Introduction

The formal negotiations started in April 2007 and went on until the fourth round in April 2008. However, in early 2009, soon after the decision of the Icelandic government to apply for EU membership, China called for a suspension of the FTA negotiation on the grounds that the EU membership would invalidate such a bilateral trade agreement. China and Iceland decided to resume the FTA negotiation during the official visit of the Chinese Premier at the time, Wen Jiabao, to Iceland in April 2012. One year later, after two more formal rounds of FTA negotiations, the FTA agreement was signed during the official visit to China of the Icelandic Prime Minister, Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir. The geopolitical importance of such a free trade agreement with Iceland is historical, as it is China's first

FTA with a European country, or with a member state of the EES agreement. China's FTA negotiation with Switzerland was also concluded soon after the signing of the Iceland-China FTA and, although the present political disputes have stopped the negotiations between China and Norway, both countries have a vested interest.

The geopolitical settings

When a population of over 1.35 billion is negotiating on equal terms with a nation of 320 thousand, the outcome is obviously not just a bilateral trade agreement. A more sensible understanding is to regard it as a further step in consolidating its position in international business for a nation that has become more and more embedded in the global economy. China had become an industrial giant in global manufacturing industries in a matter of decades but was and is not a market driven economy. As late as 2001, China joined the World Trade Organization, long after it had become a major trading partner globally.

A deepening global post 2008 crisis has made it imperative to retain an efficient global trade system. The emergence of 'neo-protectionism' is a matter to be tackled with. USA and EU free trade negotiations just started on 17 June 2013. However, EU is on the defense when it comes to a FTA with China: "Brussels seems to have ignored Beijing's proposal to do a feasibility study to kick off FTA negotiations. Instead, amid a double-dip recession, Brussels has increasingly resorted to trade protectionism to hamper China's exports" (*China Daily*, January 25, 2013).

The present FTA between Iceland and China is hardly an issue in the escalating friction between the world's superpowers in global trade. A more plausible explanation is to regard it as an attempt to retain the diplomatic relations with Icelanders initiated by China in 2002 at a time when dealings with Europe had become problematic due to the worldwide criticism of human rights violations and as a part of the "side door strategy" (Lanteigne 2010). Although it might seem banal today, the initial repeated visits of prominent delegations to Iceland in the early 2000s must be understood in this context; Iceland was a test bed, or a training ground, for diplomats and trade negotiations, but as time goes by it becomes less important in the overall context (Schram 2005).

According to Martin Jacques, “China will take on the challenge of acting according to its global stature: in global rather than absolute terms, obliged to learn about, and to learn from, the rest of the world without the presumption of underlying superiority, the belief that ultimately it knows best and is the fount of civilizational wisdom.” (Jacques 2009, p. 145).

The Memorandum of Understanding between China and Iceland

From April 2012, when Premier Wen Jiabao made Iceland his first stop on his visit to Europe, the bilateral relationship has generated a broad range of cooperation projects. On 20 April 2012, following a bilateral meeting, the following bilateral and business agreements were signed in the presence of Prime Minister Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir and Premier Wen Jiabao.

The MOU covered the following:

- Framework Agreement between the two governments on Arctic Cooperation.
- MOU between the Icelandic Foreign Ministry and the Chinese Ministry of Land Resources on Geothermal and Geosciences Cooperation.
- Letter of Intent between the Government of Iceland and China National Blue Star Group on a Polycrystalline Silicon and Metal Silicon Cooperation Project in Iceland.
- Framework Agreement between Orka Energy Ltd. and China Petrochemical Corporation (SINOPEC Group) on Expansion of Geothermal Development Scope and Cooperation.
- Memorandum of Understanding between Promote Iceland and China Development Bank on Planning Consultancy Cooperation.

In connection with Chinese Premier Wen Jiabo's visit to Iceland, Elkem-owner China National Bluestar signed a joint declaration agreement for building two new plants on the island; a 10,000 metric ton solar silicon plant and a 50,000 metric ton silicons melter to be developed in Iceland. China National Bluestar owns Elkem, which already owns and operates a smelting plant in Iceland. The CEO of Elkem, Helge Aasen, a board member in China National Bluestar, stated: "This agreement shows that there is a strong long-term market outlook for our products. The project is however in a very early stage and there is still much uncertainty related to a possible implementation." (2012)

The silicon smelter, *Íslenska járnblendifélagið*, was bought by the Chinese when Bluestar bought the Norwegian firm Elkem's silicon-related operations such as Silicon Materials, Elkem Foundry Products, Elkem Carbon and Elkem Solar which means that it can be regarded as a project close at hand as the company is already operating a plant there but a MOU *building a plant in Iceland and increasing the Bluestar/Elkem/Járnblendifélagið* in operations in the country is doubtful taken into account the situation on the solar cell market in Europe.

It is however highly unlikely because the solar cell industry is expected to be in trouble for several years to come due to oversupply and trade frictions between EU and China. A decision to erect a new Chinese production facility in Iceland is not a political decision alone but has to fulfil the criteria of profitability. Officially Bluestar is a semi-public company, but is 20% in the hands of one of the biggest and mightiest hedge funds worldwide, Blackstone. Hedge funds do not have hands on management of the firms they invest in but make their decision on arbitrage and political interference is not accepted. The vague statement of Elkem's CEO is rendered close to meaningless under the present situation on the world market or a mere political gesture.

Utilization of geothermal energy in China for heating of houses and production of electricity

The second concrete business related MOU has to do with the geothermal sector, its use for spatial heating and generating electricity. Orka Energy Ltd. and China Petrochemical Corporation (Sinopec Group) signed an agreement on the utilization of geothermal energy in China for heating of houses and production of electricity. Shaanxi Green Energy

Geothermal Development Co. Ltd. (SGE) has been established. Sinopec is a 51% owner but Orka Energy owns 49%. This agreement recognizes Icelandic know-how in geothermal technology in China. Currently Orka Energy is building a central heating system in Xianyang, a city with a population of half a million people in the Shaanxi province.

Sinopec is the 5th largest company in the world with more than six hundred thousand employees, one million employees if subsidiaries are included. Its market share in the petroleum market in China is around 80%. Sinopec Star is a subsidiary of Sinopec and in its strategy renewable energy is to become one of their three most important business areas. Sinopec's operating income is approximately 400 billion USD.

The first joint project will be to continue the development of the heating system in Xianyang. The goal is to enlarge it by 1500%. Currently the system heats one million square meters of housing space but SGE plans to heat 30 million square meters by 2015 and 100 million square meters by 2020. The next project will be in Xiong County in the Hebei province and other projects are in the Shandong province.

The other paragraphs of the Memorandum signify “good weather”, a joint statement to foster the responsive relationship between the two countries.

The development of the China – Iceland FTA rounds

The first round of Iceland-China Free Trade negotiation was held in Beijing on 11-12 April 2007. A total of 40 representatives from relevant departments of both governments participated in the 2-day talks of different working groups. Both sides agreed on the ultimate aim of concluding a comprehensive FTA. Three more formal rounds of negotiations and some expert meetings were held in the pursuant 12 months with positive progress on various issues of a would-be comprehensive FTA, such issues as trade in goods, trade in service, investment, economic cooperation and the text of the agreement. After the 4th round of FTA negotiation in Iceland on 28-30 April 2008, both sides were confident of an earlier conclusion of the FTA.

The following months after the 4th round of Iceland-China FTA negotiation became rather eventful, thus slowing down the good momentum of the efficient negotiation process in the previous year. In China, the biggest earthquake in Wenchuan in May and the Beijing

Olympic in August took most of the nation's effort, while the launching of FTA with Norway in September 2008 and on-going FTA negotiations with other countries also consumed quite some portions of the resources of Chinese negotiators. The situation in Iceland was even more serious as the whole nation was plunged into great difficulty after the collapse of its three biggest banks in early October. A new coalition government was elected; one of whose vowed tasks was to apply for EU membership. The call for Iceland to join EU has cast some kind of uncertainty over the fate of Iceland-China FTA, as the EU membership would invalidate such a bilateral agreement. China asked to suspend the FTA negotiation with Iceland soon after the newly elected coalition government decided to apply for EU membership in mid-July 2009.

In spite of the repeated calls to resume the negotiation from the Icelandic government later on, China maintained a "wait-and-see" attitude, claiming that they did not want to work on signing a Free Trade agreement that may be invalidated immediately after its finalization. By any measures a trade agreement at a time with a micro-state like Iceland on the verge of "bankruptcy", which was furthermore trying to ally itself with the EU, must be regarded as unwise, to say the least.

The suspension dragged on until the first official visit of a Chinese Premier to Iceland in April 2012. At the bilateral meeting between the Premier Wen Jiabao and the Icelandic Prime Minister Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir, the two heads of governments declared to resume the FTA negotiation and expressed their wish to see the conclusion of the FTA negotiations in one year. This significant change of China's position should be carefully interpreted on multi-lateral basis and in a much broader context, e.g. the public opinion in Iceland on Iceland's EU membership, the EU difficulties as well as China's new identity as a defender of free trade. Nevertheless, to both countries, active preparations were made immediately after this historical visit.

The 5th round of Iceland-China FTA negotiation was held in Reykjavik on 18-20 December 2012. The long-awaited round generated constructive progress in all major issues in spite of the 3-year suspension and change of most of the negotiators on both sides, laying a ground for eventual conclusion of the FTA negotiation.

The 6th round took place one month later in Beijing on 22-24 January 2013. Substantial progress on all the major issues was made during

the negotiation. The two parties were determined to conclude the negotiations as soon as possible.

The 6-year Iceland-China FTA negotiations were formally concluded at the signing ceremony in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, witnessed by the new Chinese Premier Li Keqiang and the visiting Icelandic Prime Minister Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir on 15 April 2013. This is the first FTA China has made with a European country and several Icelandic firms regard it as a window of opportunity to operate on one of the biggest markets worldwide.

The Iceland-China FTA is a comprehensive agreement as envisioned at the beginning of the negotiation, covering a wide range of issues like trade in goods, rules of origin and trade facilitation, intellectual property rights, trade in services, investment, competition, cooperation, institutional provisions and dispute settlement. The agreement is hailed as the most open FTA China has had so far, and both countries also make more commitments than they made to WTO on trade in services. This FTA can be regarded as a guiding light for China's on-going and future FTA negotiations with European countries.

According to information from the Chinese Ministry of Commerce, the FTA will provide zero tariffs to all industrial products from China, which account for 99% of the total exports of China to Iceland at present. At the same time, China will implement zero tariffs to Icelandic products under 7830 tariff lines, accounting for 82% of current Icelandic exports to China, while tariff on a small number of products shall be dismantled after a transitional period of 5 or 10 years.

The FTA as a window of opportunity for Icelandic companies

At the signing of the trade agreement most of the exported products were seafood and fisheries-related products and the total value of the export was 34 million Euros

Figure 1 shows the Iceland-China trade for the period 1999-2011 according to the Icelandic statistics. The trade balance is in favour of China, as can be expected. During this period the export from Iceland to China has grown by 1.400%, while Iceland's import from China has grown by 1.000%.

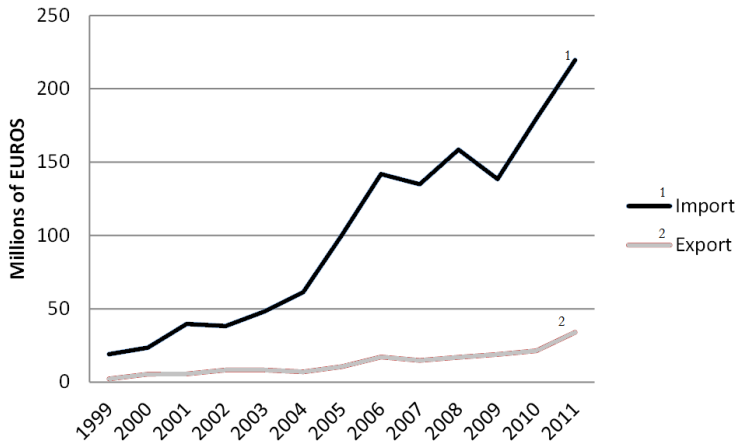


Figure 1. Iceland-China trade 1999-2011 in millions of Euros

Table 1 shows Iceland's export to China 2009-2011. More than 90% of the export from Iceland to China is seafood. Some of the seafood is processed further in China and re-exported. Less than 1 per cent of Iceland's total export goes to China while more than 7% of Iceland's imports come from China and is increasing fast.

Table 1. Iceland's export to China 2009-2011 in millions of euros

	2009		2010		2011	
	Million EURO	Percentage	Million EURO	Percentage	Million EURO	Percentage
Export to China	19		21		34	
% of Iceland's total export	1		1		1	
Export of seafood to China	18	0,94	19	86,8	32	94,3
Export of agricultural products to China	0	0,37	1	4,1	1	2,4
Export of manufactured goods to China	1	0,04	2	8,7	1	3,2
Export of other products to China	0	0,41	0	0,4	0	0,1

Despite the relatively minor significance for Icelandic companies in the coming years, the significance of the trade agreement should not be underestimated.

The Icelandic market is of course insignificant which means that the trade agreements must be evaluated primarily on the firm level. At the

outset the agreements have the biggest impact on the trade of fisheries equipment. In the fisheries the Icelandic fisheries sector is in the forefront, and fisheries-related production systems are advanced but, what must be regarded more important, the solutions and the machinery can be used in other sectors. Two of the leading firms here, Marel and Promens, have gained ground in the food processing industry in general.

To exemplify this aspect further, two of the twenty plus Icelandic firms present on the Chinese market originate from the fisheries; Marel; a manufacturer of advanced food processing systems, Promens a producer of insulated food containers. In both cases the companies were start-ups in the early nineties serving the country's fish manufacturers, producing highly specialized processing and preserving facilities. The solutions, applicable for handling fish, an extremely delicate commodity, showed to be useful in other food sectors. In recent years, both Marel and Promens have been operating worldwide and have become significant players in their respective fields, and, up until the 2008 crisis, expanding swiftly through leveraged takeovers. Both companies have sales offices in China, but the presence of the FTA is more likely to become important if the companies decide to operate manufacturing facilities in the country.

In order to evaluate the situation, the following is a relatively schematic overview focusing on the possibilities for further expansion. Although the firms are few in number, their field of operation is somewhat diverse. Seafood trading will profit immediately. So do logistics and transport; water export; clothing subcontractors; prosthetics and online role playing games as well as development and operation of geothermal space heating systems.

Seafood processing trade plays a minor role here and will probably do so in the future, partly because the Chinese firms are becoming less competitive when it comes to subcontracted production of generic commodities, as wages are getting higher and partly because only a handful of Icelandic firms operate on the consumer market.

An interesting niche here is the export of bottled water from Iceland where two firms are operating, Icelandic Spring and Icelandic Glacial. Drinking imported bottled water has become a token for exquisiteness globally. Importing water from Iceland to China gains a competitive advantage because of the trade agreement. Given a successful branding and sufficient profitability, exporting bottled water from Iceland to China might become a rewarding business. In contrast to seafood,

increasing supply is easy, given a fast growth in demand. In contrast, supplying the market for sea cucumbers, of which one company is in its start-up phase, is an incremental process.

Another interesting example is online role-playing games. The Icelandic subscription game company CCP has over 450,000 subscribers worldwide of which nearly sixty five thousand are located in China. Here, as nonsensical it might seem, the market is exponential.

Regarding the FTA from a Chinese point of view, the trade agreement will definitely strengthen individual firms such as Lenovo, a laptop manufacturer, but the imports of products from China to Iceland are increasing rapidly, mainly because the products are becoming more sophisticated and therefore more competitive.

At the time of signing of the FTA, Chinese investments in Iceland are minimal, i.e. only three.

The oldest aluminium smelter in Iceland was built by a Swiss company, Alusuisse, but is now owned by Rio Tinto Alcan. The Chinese aluminium giant CHINALCO is a shareholder in Rio Tinto Alcan and therefore an indirect investor in the Icelandic smelter. The ferrosilicium plant *Járnblendið*, mentioned earlier, is now owned by Bluestar.

The third Chinese investment in Iceland is in a fisheries company, *Stormur Seafood Ltd.* The Cadorie owns 43,75% of the firm indirectly. The sole owner of Stormur Seafood is Skiphóll, which is 75% owned by Austmenn and 25% by the Hong Kong firm *Nautilus*.

However, interest in exploring investment opportunities in Iceland among ambitious Chinese firms may be surging with the conclusion of FTA. The emerging free trade zone between Iceland and China has to do with substantial direct investments coupled with Iceland's strategic location in the Trans-Atlantic and the Arctic area is making Iceland an interesting subject of study for Chinese firms aiming at the Western market and the Arctic development.

Concluding remarks

Through the years the relationship between China and Iceland has been on good terms. In 2002 the then President Jiang Zemin paid a visit to Iceland and a few years later an informal discussion of a possible Trade Agreement between the countries started. The formal negotiations started in 2007, only to be put on hold in mid-2009 when Iceland started a

negotiation process with the EU in the wake the 2008 Meltdown in Iceland. At hindsight it is plausible that the repeated visits of high standing officials were a “tes bed” but as things evolved Chinese diplomats became more seasoned. For Icelanders the FTA had become important as part of regaining trust on the world market. Choosing Iceland as the first European country to be its FTA partner instead of Switzerland must be seen as a generous diplomatic gesture on China’s behalf, while the agreement is an actualization of potentialities already in the making for several Icelandic companies.

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Urban youth and risk. The case of the young inhabitants of the City of Buenos Aires (A diachronic analysis)

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Abstract

This research paper looks into the interrelations within the contextual changes taken place during the last decades in the Western world, in Latin America and specifically in Argentina and the city of Buenos Aires and focuses on the tensions resulting from the processes towards the constitution of juvenile identities.

Transformations in the concepts of youth and the risk in the Western metropolis will be analysed and the differences explored between the relative foreseeability granted to the biographies by their links to institutions in salaried societies and the situation urban youngsters currently face in the so called risk societies in which, as never before, they are driven to individualize.

Risk among young inhabitants in the city of Buenos Aires is studied through time, focusing on their ideas, attitudes and behavior under tension when measured against the society where they live.

Key terms: Youth, Risk, City, Buenos Aires

Introduction

We seek to analyze the interrelations between the contextual changes taken place in the last few decades in the western world and specifically in Buenos Aires, Argentina and the tensions this has unleashed in the constitutive processes of the young subjectivities.

We carry out a dynamic and plural conceptualization regarding youths by placing specific emphasis on their diverse components, especially those of a socio-cultural nature. It is precisely the historical conditions, the socio-economic situation and the cultural and gender

guidelines which shed light into the complexity that calls for a thorough analysis of youth.

We focus on middle-class youngsters which entails admitting a segmentation of the young population when developing the analysis both from the theoretical point of view as from the empirical. The issue of risk, as personal behavior but also from the social standpoint, is studied based on the comparison between two historical instances: one that refers to salaried societies in which institutions granted their subjects a relative foreseeability and one which relates to current societies called risk societies in which individualism and uncertainty reign and which in risk practices undertaken by youngsters can be seen as a consequence.

We also deal with the different risk concepts which in their inception carried a negative value but which in the more contemporary notion incorporates the opportunity of also experimenting positive, even pleasurable, feelings.

Finally, we analyze some risk practices among youngsters in the city of Buenos Aires through a dialogue and may be placing them on a tension stage with those pertaining to the society where they live. At the same time, we incorporate the gender perspective in the analysis developed in the research paper which allows us to unveil from the asymmetric point of view the differential aspects related to the perceptions, attitudes and actions among young men and women.

1. Urban youth/s and their transformation/s in society

The construction of knowledge regarding youth has a history which results from the inter relation of a number of epistemological, social, cultural and political components, among others. To talk about youth implies going beyond the act of appealing to a natural condition, but rather a social construction which supports psycho-biological elements and carries complex meanings. The historical conditions, the socio-economic situation and the cultural and gender guidelines define the when and the how of this blurry and diverse time of life (Margulis, 1996; Mendes Dizet al., 2004).

Nowadays, we are in the presence of the exaltation of what is young, unlike other times when what was valued was what was old while the young were undervalued. Notwithstanding, youth as it is understood nowadays is only a couple of centuries old. It was only during the first

decades of the 20th century when this term began to consolidate in speeches. More specifically, following the Second World War, countries regarded as developed began to distinguish more clearly a new vital stage between adolescence and adulthood. Key to that were phenomena such as economic prosperity, the lengthening of school years along with greater time under family dependence and the increase in educational demand on the part of an industrial and technological society that was increasingly striving. It should be noted that we are focused on middle-class youngsters, which implies acknowledging a segmentation of the youth population which is indeed much bigger.

For some, youth is "a post-war invention" (Reguillo, 2000): the winners had access to never before seen standards of living and imposed their values and styles. In any case, society defended the existence of youngsters specifically as consumption subjects. The post war years generated a powerful cultural industry which offered, for the first time, exclusive goods for youngsters. The idea that only youngsters can create a new society is expressed while war was "a mistake made by the old" who sacrificed the young to it (Criado, 1998).

In Argentina, more precisely in Buenos Aires, Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset was a precursor when talking about youth. When he travelled to the country in the period between the two world wars, he interviewed the youngsters in the city of Buenos Aires. Having said this, his youngster model, imported by the European youth, referred to a middle class youngster who could enjoy a social moratorium sheltered in their parents' homes with no work urgencies. This kind of youngsters was the pattern that existed during the 20th century when referring to youth, without making any distinction on any kind of diversity and characterized to a great extent by their hedonism and irresponsibility.

There have been many transformations regarding ideas about youngsters and their relationship in the last decades. In this sense, we see that youngsters are, to a great extent, a reflection of the society they live in, their most honest environment to express themselves symbolically and culturally, so that cultures and juvenile practices can be thought of as metaphors which, much like a mirror, give back images in which society can reflect itself. (Mendes Diz, 2001).

This entails imagining youngsters as a symbolic expression of the transition processes or the social and cultural changes of contemporary society (Mendes Diz, 2001; Fernández Poncela, 2003). In effect, youngsters

as social actors make up a discontinued and changing social universe in that their features are the result of a sort of negotiation - tension between the socio-cultural category assigned by the specific society and the subjective updating that specific persons carry out following a differentiated understanding of the current cultural schemes (A.M. Fernández Poncela, 2003). This is an image which reflects, on the one hand, how youngsters view themselves and, on the other hand, what their identities look like, mediatized by the look of adults and, specially, from the point of view of media which not only reflects reality but contributes to building it (Santout, 2005). When doing so, they emphasize the social practices of those more visible youngsters who are not necessarily a majority and then spread them to the rest when constituting a homogeneous collective group.

Having said this, in Latin America and of course in Argentina, we find youngsters from the 60s and 70s who are part of counter cultural movements which questioned the current social institutions. It is in this country and context that youngsters have been key players in the history of the 20th century. Viewed as students, they emerged as social actors by pointing out the unresolved conflicts in our societies. These were alternative groups which occupied the public world by being part of social, political and artistic movements striving towards a separation from the adults' values. The new musical genres, also in Argentina, such as rock and roll and twist set the tone for a type of dance, even of clothing and appearance which displayed more sexuality in the face of traditional conventions.

While they joined the guerrilla movements in many of our countries, no doubt influenced by the movement of May'68 in France, youngsters were considered responsible for urban violence. After the State-organized terrorism in Latin America in general and specifically in Argentina, came a political defeat that rendered youngsters invisible in the political arena, retreating and focusing their rebellion on their subjectivity. This is the generation that witnessed the decline of the great utopias. Thus, since the mid-80s, the story of uninterested youngsters has been continued, with some authors describing them as devoted to unplanned, eternal and apathetic leisure (Santout, 2005:18), a label the military dictatorships had already given them once they had been militarily beaten.

The 90s in Argentina - more precisely following the inauguration of President Carlos Menem- saw the appearance of the consumption

society, to which youngsters had to show adherence, thus turning them in the eyes of society into individualists focused on personal success. Naturally, those who left that path were regarded as delinquents and violent, with drugs acting as a good manipulation agent in this sense.

The 20th century youngsters would achieve a new leading role with specific features they created: virtual relationships. These ways of building "the youngsters" have not been different in central countries (Reguillo Cruz, 2000; Mendes Diz, 2001).

Lately, with the greater importance of youth and all its diversity, we see the inception and transformation of specific and differentiated leisure spaces for youngsters in cities, this being the logical thinking of a consumption society that tends to deepen and where risky behavior has become an ordinary thing (Mendes Diz y Schwarz, 2012). The city of Buenos Aires has not been an exception to this process. At the same time youngsters were kept busy with products, they became increasingly more visible in their conflict with the status quo, in the context of a universalization of a cultural environment where human rights were not discussed and were preserved at all costs: authoritarian fascism had ended.

2. From an order society to a risk society

The brief historical review we will carry out, takes us back, not without certain nostalgia, to the time when in Argentina social policies were structured around the relation with salary and the worker held his work identity high with pride, this identity sometimes being of a craft nature.

People had the right and the obligation to achieve by their own merits a social position and such position had to be acknowledged and approved by society: work constituted the main tool to face the construction of a social identity. Thus this could be built once and for all by going through clearly defined stages as the professional career had to be. Personal identity parallel to work identity was totally complementary. We are talking about times of a great deal less uncertainty which we could somehow equal to craft cultures. These are cultures where time is repetitive and social change slow, which represent a cyclical /circular vision of the vital cycle based on the wheel of generations that eternally repeated the behavior of those before them. Children learnt from parents, grandparents... and repeated in a post figurative fashion the vital phases,

the rights of passage and the biographical conditions previous generations had gone through (Feixas, 2003).

The risk society represented a substantial change: the choice of a regular, long lasting and continuous profession was no longer available or expected for everybody. Only in very few cases was a permanent identity defined based on work: the latter has stopped being permanent as the identity of the subjects had been fragmented.

We are then placed in the context of the recent transformations of the so called "second normality" in which the tensions in the constitution of youth identities are deepened, a phenomenon that was more visible in a metropolis such as Buenos Aires.

In this new cultural configuration, adults can learn from their children who constitute a new reference for authority, especially in the use of new information technologies and communication whose emergence dates to mid-20th century (Castells, 1999). The phases and biographical conditions which define the vital cycles are dislocated and the rights of passage that divide them disappear. Authority structures collapse and the ages become changing symbolic references (Schwarz y Mendes Diz, 2013).

Unlike the relative foreseeability that biographies were granted by their links to institutions in salaried and even craft societies, in the current "risk societies" youngsters find themselves, as never before, "made to individualize" (Beck y Beck-Gernsheim, 2003; Castel, 1997) and as Rossana Regillo (2000) would say, continuing with the classic mandate, incorporate to modern institutions any way.

Based on this deep metamorphosis of the social issue - consolidated in Argentina since the 1990s as a result of the loss of collective regulations -, "an individualism resulting from the lack of frameworks and not due to excess of subjective interests has spread (Castel, 1997: 472), typical of the risk society.

Where individualism rules, autonomous persons are shaped, individual interests take precedence over collective ones, freedom as a value is imposed over many other interests. Self-esteem, self-realization, personal initiative and achievement values are culturally desirable values. In an environment of such characteristics, uncertainty becomes routine and the adoption of risk behaviors is only a step away; may be as an escape mechanism to the anxiety brought about by uncertainty which, when expressed as risk, ceases to be a source of anxiety. Societies with a lesser control of uncertainty generate greater comfort in the face of ambiguous

situations, greater tolerance to social practices which steer away from standards and are, therefore, societies where a social climate appears, more included towards the adoption of risk behaviors (Hofstede 1999). The commotion experienced when taking up a risk depends precisely on the intentional exposure to uncertainty that allows for the practice in questions to stand out from everyday routines (Giddens, 1994).

Mary Douglas (1985), renown for her anthropological work on risk and culture, maintains that the notion of risk was introduced in the 17th century in the context of game, where it referred to the probability of an event occurring and it was combined with the magnitude of losses and gains. The concept still had a neutral value.

For Anthony Giddens (1994), the notion of risk appears in European thinking around the 19th century and began being used in the field of insurance. According to this author, we currently live in a risk society although he dismisses that these have increased: what actually happens is that thinking in terms of risks has become an everyday routine.

Another author who regards the current times as typical of a risk society is Ulrich Beck, who coined the concept of "risk society" in his book of the same name (1992). He focuses on the process of "individualization" that takes place among the inhabitants of the risk society which goes beyond the freeing of religious or transcendental certainties resulting from modernity in the context of the industrial society. Now such liberation takes place in a turbulent context whereby everything is subjected to the most varied types of risk of global and, naturally, personal scope. This means "the liberalization of individual people from the "encapsulation" of institutions, thus allowing the emergence of concepts such as action, subjectivity, knowledge, criticism, creativity. It is the return of uncertainty" (Beck, 1999).

Finally, Niklas Luhmann (1992) makes a distinction between risk and danger: while risk is undertaken, danger is received or perceived from the atmosphere and it is not attributable to decisions. Danger exists when the individual lacks sufficient information and is therefore unable to act on the factors that produce it with the resulting reduction /increase of the contingency (Mendes Diz, 2001). From this point of view, all social practices imply an opportunity to experiment positive/pleasant factors and risks/dangers of suffering the negative/ undesired effects (Pere-Oró& Sánchez Antelo, 2010). Notwithstanding, the difference is not always so clear; it therefore depends on the decision instance in question as well as

on the temporal fixation. This means that the risks can become dangers and dangers in risks.

Risk is therefore a social changing construction through time (García Jiménez, 2010, Mendes Diz, 2001). We believe that the decision making process, adoption and acceptance of the contingency are regulated by sense, norms and socially shared values which affect the protagonist of the decision. Based on this definition of risk, we steer away from the perspectives used by epidemiology and we go closer to a broader scenario which highlights socio cultural aspects. It is vital to include from this standpoint, the benefit –pleasure- that is assessed as attainable through risk decision taking (Faurai Cantarell, Sánchez Antelo et al., 2007).

3. Risk practices among the young inhabitants of Buenos Aires in the last decades: drugs, sexual practices and uses of the Internet.

In a risk society as the one analyzed in the previous paragraph, it could be stated that risky behavior carried out by youngsters are a consequence of the above. In this section, we shall analyze risk practices related to the consumption of substances, sexual practices, participation in violent situations and uses of the Internet, undertaken by young men and women in the city of Buenos Aires through time. Risk practices refer to those behaviors that can cause harm on their own or other people's health.

The information presented in the tables below, in which continuities and transformations are expressed, has been obtained based on the work carried out by our team during the last decades¹¹. The analysis of only these practices does not mean they are the only risk behaviors undertaken in the past and in the present by youngsters but they are the ones we have been able to observe with continuity during the time our research took place.

¹¹ These research papers have been carried out by a research team coordinated by the author of this document at the Gino Germani Research Institute, within the School of Social Sciences, University of Buenos Aires.

Table 1: Youngsters and drug consumption in Argentina

Substance	Date of Research	Women	Men
Illegal drug	1989	Non existent	“the others”
Proximity Access LSD, cocaine, marijuana	1993	25% were offered 12% tried it	54% were offered 23% tried it
Marijuana consumption	2009	8% took it	18% took it
Tobacco consumption	1993	37%	48%
	2005	43%	38%
	2009	45%	38%
Alcohol consumption	2005	42% occasionally	36% occasionally
Loss of control last month	2005	17% once 10% 2/3 times	16% once 10% 2/3 times
Alcohol consumption	2009	45%	36%

Source: our own elaboration, Gino Germani Research Institute. University of Buenos Aires

As shown in Table 1, in the research work carried out in 1989 (Kornblit, Mendes Diz et al., 1989), “drug appeared as an unexplainable phenomenon”, distant, almost nonexistent in the city of Buenos Aires, “it is something related to others”. No direct cases are met: there is not presence of drugs in everyday life. There were contradictory and ambivalent versions typical of the lack of knowledge on this subject, the motivations towards consumptions of others were attributed to conflictive social situations, loneliness or lack of family support. These "others" were only male and pleasure as reason behind the consumption was completely absent. We are referring to illegal drugs, not to social drugs –alcohol and tobacco-, which were already established, though on a smaller scale than nowadays, among secondary school students in the city of Buenos Aires

with preventive ends and we found ourselves having to adapt materials imported from Spain that made reference to illegal drugs (Kornblit, Mendes Diz y Bylik, 1992). We worked on the prevention against alcohol and tobacco.

In a research carried out in 1993 along with Deutsche Bank (1993), unlike what had been observed in the research work we conducted six years before, already almost half of the youngsters in the research were aware of the existence of drugs such as LSD (lysergic acid), cocaine or marijuana. 54% of male subjects admitted to have been offered drugs at one point and this percentage decreased to half in the case of women. At the same time, 23% of the men admitted to having experimented with some illegal drug and once again the percentage was down to half in the case of women who admitted to having incurred in this behavior.

Although in the case of illegal drugs the percentages for males double those for women, it is already possible to see in this paper that the consumption of tobacco, which is not illegal, is beginning to increase among women, drawing close to the percentage for men.

As regards the consumption of tobacco, in the research we conducted in 2005 (Kornblit, Mendes Diz et al., 2005) we observed that women who smoked daily already outnumbered men by seven points; they even took up smoking at a younger age than men. In the 2009 research instance (Mendes Diz et al, 2009) we also confirmed that tobacco and alcohol continued to increase on the part of women and that an 8% for marijuana was also added, though male figures still doubled this consumption

As regards alcohol consumption, the 2005 research paper (Kornblit, Mendes Diz et al., 2005) showed that 42% of women engaged in this occasionally and outnumbered men by six points. When we looked at their admittance of having lost control after having consumed alcohol in the last month, we observed similar proportions in men and women, both for those who admitted to having lost it once and those who admitted to having lost control 2 and 3 times in a month.

Although there are more women than men who consume tobacco and alcohol, it should be noted that men continue to consume greater quantities of daily cigarettes compared to women and that they drink more alcohol. As pertains the consumption of illegal drugs, this remains the only substance consumption where men outnumber women. If we applied the gender perspective, we could observe that women who

consume illegal drugs are more stigmatized and rejected than men since they break away from the standards demanded for her gender which regard women as more obedient and law abiding. On a world scale, women consume psychoactive substances in a lower proportion than men; the epidemiological data reveals that they use more legal drugs than men while the latter consume more illegal drugs than women (Romo, 2004).

Table 2: Sexual practices by youngsters in Argentina

Practice	Date of Research	Women	Men
Younger than 15 years old at the time of sexual initiation	1994	10%	40%
	2005	24%	39%
Did not use a condom	2005	27%	15%
	2009	31%	19%

Source: our own elaboration, Gino Germani Research Institute. University of Buenos Aires

As regards sexual practices, the research work carried out in 1994 (Kornblit y Mendes Diz, 1994), showed that the sexual issue appeared as taboo in the relations between youngsters and adults, which resulted in a high level of ignorance on the part of the former about safe sex and the prevention of pregnancies. Fifteen years would go by before the City of Buenos Aires Legislature passed in October, 2006 Law 2.110/06 on Comprehensive Sexual Education, which was unheard of at the time.

As shown in Table 2, sexual initiation in women came later than in men, with only 10% starting before they were 15 while the figure trebled for men.

Almost all the women considered that "there is a relationship between affective commitment and sexual intercourse", while only a third of men was of the same opinion. This has been, to present date, an argument to justify the differential use of condoms: with partners regarded as stable, it is not usually used.

It also shows that according to data from the research work we carried out in 2005 (Kornblit, Mendes Diz et al., 2005), 27% of women do

not use a condom during intercourse while this percentage decreased to almost half for men. At the same time, we observed that sexual initiation in women before the age of 15 more than doubled in the last eleven years.

The research work carried out in 2009 (Mendes Diz et al, 2009) shows a decrease in the use of condoms both in men and women. Sexuality has ceased to be an issue and even a taboo practice, sexual freedom is a fact as is an increasingly early sexual initiation date. Notwithstanding, these transformations have come about along with a carelessness that jeopardizes both men and women at a younger age.

Table 3: Violent situations among youngsters in Argentina

Kind of participation in violent situations	Date of Research	Women	Men
Undertook violent practices	2008	6%	12%
	2009	10%	25%
Was a victim of violent practices	2008	7%	18%
	2009	14%	21%

Source: our own elaboration, Gino Germani Research Institute. University of Buenos Aires

Finally, we will refer to violent situations involving young men and women in Argentina. We could say that the diverse senses and / or dimensions of violence could be looked at as multiple expressions of a crisis in social ties and precariousness in discursive and symbolic mediations of the individuals to recognize themselves in their relation to others, thus reflecting a primary need to attest their own identities in opposition to others.

As observed in Table 3 which shows the date resulting from the research work, there is a clear increase in violent situations both among young men and women in just one year. At the same time, it is men who acknowledge in a greater proportion having been involved in violent situations with other youngsters, both as victimizers and as victims. It should be noted that in cultures that record high levels of *androcentricity*, males are socialized to be aggressive and competitive while women are taught the opposite and are even sometimes prepared to passively accept male violence (Vance, 1992).

In the research paper we prepared in 2008 (Kornblit y Adaszko, 2008) 6% of women admit having undertaken violent practices with their peers, a percentage that doubles in the case of men. In other research instance we carried out one year later (Mendes Diz et al, 2009), we observed that both percentages notoriously increased, particularly that pertaining to young males: a quarter of the men interviewed admitted to having engaged in violent practices with their peers.

As for recognizing themselves as victims of violent practices, the 2008 paper (Kornblit y Adaszko, 2008) shows 7% of women admit to having been victims of violent practices while this situation more than doubles for men. In only one year (Mendes Diz et al, 2009) the percentage of women who feel they are victims doubled while in the case of men, it only increased 3 points and although it is greater than the figure for women, it is only by 7 points.

As with other risk behaviors analyzed (substance consumption and risky sexual practices), these practices have also increased with time but it should be noted that the percentages which have increased the most when looking at violence among youngsters are those referring to the victimization of women: these are cases reported and continuously shown in mass media.

In one of the latest research papers we undertook, we observed that youngsters themselves are aware of these changes between men and women in the last ten years, especially in the field of sexual practices, of consumption of legal and illegal substances and in violent situations. The transformations observed refer to two inter-dependent dimensions: that related to their own subjective experience and that related to the social context (Mendes Diz y Schwarz, 2012). Individuals make history when making themselves. These youngsters express in terms of "generation" which implies referring to social practices as generational characteristics. Although this concept refers to a common chronological age, it is necessary a more flexible criterion since these youngsters perceive themselves as belonging to a wider set which shares beliefs and social practices. This notion of generation, at the crossroads of biological time and historical time, makes it possible to link internal time with that occurring in interaction environments. It is feeling accompanied in the process through a certain membership shared by youngsters through standardized codes.

In this research study, youngsters talk about the changes in their recreational practices in relation to the time they began going out at night, making a difference between the first outings and current ones, within the timeframe going between 14/15 and 22/24 years of age. As regards their first approximation to going out at night at 14/ 15 years of age, many youngsters make reference to the search for experiences, mentioning an absence of reflection which is present when they go out now. When bringing together work, study and a stable relationship, there is an increase in practices that make it possible to maintain these levels of demand in older youngsters, which without a doubt goes against the time devoted to fun:

"It goes with age and the maturity you achieve. I don't go dancing anymore, I get together with friends at a pub, to have a drink quietly... We are older, it is not the same anymore: this thing of 'let's go dancing, jumping, drinking all night till we drop' is a no go anymore. Now we seek to talk or sit in the first corner you find, a stool, meet with friends you don't see during the week... and at about 2, 3 am we leave" (Sabrina, 21 years old).

These youngsters, at the same time, attribute the present time an ethos of great permissiveness and tolerance to new risk practices.

"If I told my mom that I drink or that I smoke weed, she would freeze; now she is more open" (María Sol, 24 years old).

The challenge the individual needs to face in Late Modernity is processing their actions amidst the uncertainty and intensity that comes with increasing degrees of freedom. As Beck states (1999: 227): *"We suffer, then, from freedom, not from a crisis; from the involuntary consequences and the forms of expression derived from a plus of freedom that has become an everyday thing. When talking about the downfall of values, we find fear to freedom, the fear of the children of freedom"*.

As regards sexuality, youngsters observe a greater leading role of women in this case:

"There is a lot more exhibitionism. As a matter of fact, yesterday it happened that I was having a beer with this guy who is 30 years old and this 15 year-old girl sends him very racy text messages, sexual innuendo and everything" (Carolina, 23 years old).

Another change specially pointed out by men is the issue of violence followed by discrimination. It is a form of violence attributed to "the other one", "that who is different", "who comes from abroad". This is

not a kind of violence acknowledged as their own in spite of occasional acts of discrimination on the part of the youngsters interviewed.

"It depends on where you go. If you go to those nightclubs where they play 'cumbia', where other kind of people go, yes, there is violence. But in the nightclubs where we go, a more university-like atmosphere, there is no violence..." (Omar, 23 years old).

Finally, it should be noted that youngsters also emphasize on the increase of several risk practices on the part of women:

"Nowadays you see girls sprawled anyone, drunk, it is a common thing" (María Sol, 24 years old).

"Nowadays, girls will leave a nightclub with just anyone and many times it is them who make the move" (Juan, 18 years old).

"Girls, we see this at school all the time, smoke more than boys" (Ezequiel, 19 years old).

"If a girl's ex is going out with somebody else, they will pull each other's hair and sometimes physically attack each other" (Pablo, 20 years old)

Another research we carried out in 2010 reflects the emergence of new risks following practices in the virtual world (Schwarz y Mendes Diz, 2013). New information technologies and communication are gaining increasing importance and they are part of different dynamics which make up the social reality, thus forever transforming our day to day life, especially in the case of the younger generations. From the moment they were created, there have emerged different ways to relate to ourselves and to others. Interactions in the virtual world are part of a complex framework that builds the senses and in which youngsters currently define themselves and are defined.

The conditions in cyberspace reinforce the feeling of control over what happens there, thus resulting in a feeling of security that extends to face to face encounters, hiding and redefining the possibilities and conditions of the exposure to risks.

The virtual experience involves a history novelty that lies mainly in the possibility of simulation, of fictionalizing one's own identity, of ties and the interactions conditions; this is the cosmovision that lines the great metropolis and which opens the door to potential risks.

In this research paper, youngsters acknowledged as risks in the use of the Internet grooming (adults passing themselves off as minors) and cyber-bullying (online bullying):

"The sexual threat, in the case of girls. A 10 year- old girl who lied saying she was 14 suggests meeting and then a 30 year-old guy who is a pedophile, grabs her, takes her and could end up killing her or getting her pregnant... that is one of the risks I see" (Fernando, 19 years old).

"In online games they come and say "Ok, I killed you, that is it" but then they actually want to murder in real life" (Juan, 18 years old)

As regards who they consider most vulnerable to the Internet risks they mention under-aged youngsters, especially girls:

"I think that youngsters are most at risk. There are many girls who want to date boys, they like hearing they are pretty and will take any situation to see the world... It is not a coincidence that there are cases of 15 year-old girls who disappear and that is terrible..." (Ema, 20 years old)

Boys, according to the traditional andocentric regulation within which the adoption of risks is a desirable male feature, show an attitude of less vulnerability in the face of the possible risks resulting from the use of the Internet:

"It could happen but I don't think I would be so dumb as to try a relationship over Facebook, over the chat that can get you in trouble, but I am not afraid" (Juan, 16 years old).

Finally, we should mention that the possibility of risks in the use of the Internet is made invisible; you are only a click away from walking away from an unsatisfactory situation:

"It was a person I had added and who always made negative comments: One day I eliminated that person but I continued to get messages until I decided to block her and that was it, end of the problem" (María Sol, 20 years old)

It is interesting to wonder if youngsters can look at themselves as the main drivers in the information society as they become its largest group of users and even the content creators in this media. On the other hand, could it be a case of being regarded as immature subjects, susceptible of being affected by a diversity of dangers and potential risks that adults associate to the Internet and social networks.

Final comments

In an attempt to understand the changes observed in the social practices among young women in connection to young men, allow me to go back to the perspective of the social metaphor as a symbolic expression of the socio cultural change processes taken place within the society where

they live. A society which, as expressed in the research work, has incorporated risk to its everyday life, in which phases and biological conditions that define the vital cycle are dislocated and rites of passage are suppressed. A society which is undergoing cracks in its traditional institutions, at least in their old format.

It is precisely these institutions - family, school, church- that have become the chosen scenarios by more women than men to seek shelter, thus representing the reproduction of the gender norm, something which has been observed in the studies carried out by the health team at the Gino Germani Research Institute at Universidad de Buenos Aires (already quoted in this paper). Boys, on the other hand, usually appear to be more unintegrated to these institutions and more anchored along with their peers, compared to women, to the public space that allows them more autonomy.

This is, then, the framework that lines the findings from the studies on youngsters in medium level we have carried out during the last decades. There we can see a progressive increase in risk practices on the part of women who, among other examples, consume increasingly more substances –tobacco, alcohol and ever illegal drugs-, use less protection during sexual intercourse and take more initiative in the sexual stage - a role that men represented without a doubt for decades- and who get involved in violent situations with their peers.

These findings have surprised us given that historically women have shown a clear alliance to an attitude towards looking after themselves and their surrounding, only affected by mayor problems. Boys, on the other hand, have been and are much more bound to take on risks deliberately; in a way, risk has been and is to them a constitutive aspect of their subjectivity; we could even suggest that one of their methods of integration is through the inclusion in risk groups (Mendes Diz, 2001).

The perception of a greater exposure to risk situations places women in greater public visibility. This carries a reconfiguration of gender relations, as well as a flexibilization of the stereotypes and gender norms. It is possible to observe symptoms of these change in the naturalness attributed to these transformations in their speech, as shown in the research paper.

These findings, rather than closing issues, bring about questions that call for reflection. Is it that young women, orphans of their traditional core find themselves in search of strategies that make them feel integrated

again? Could this increase in risk practices imply a turn towards the masculinization (in the traditional sense of what is masculine) of women to reach spaces still banned to them? Or is it simply - or not so simply- yet another result of the new cosmovision presented by Late Modernity?

This still incipient transformation of gender pattern comes under a paradigm of intelligibility and construction of experiences whose code it is necessary to continue to analyze in order to understand more thoroughly and in all its complexity the pluri-dimensionality of the youngsters' experiences. As stated by E. del Acebo Ibáñez (2012: 211), post modernity operates on the "radical historicity of the subject [...] atemporalizing or (imperatively) crystallizing certain age groups, especially youngsters, in a sort of vainglory in which desires of immortality, eternal youth and delighting sensuality are observed. [...] Deified youth that [...] still goes through its own via crucis, represented by the escape to the future pressed upon them by the adult world, future of *homo faber et onsumens*".

To conclude, we consider that if we "problematize" the issue of youngsters and their risk behaviors, we might find - as we have discovered during the course of our research work- youth behavior patterns which try to overcome the social harassment and post modernity, thus safekeeping their subjectivities, through the search of spaces and risks environments outside the (apparent) security of a consumption society that sings their praises or criticizes them according to needs not necessarily theirs.

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Institutional information

International Association of Circumpolar Sociocultural Issues (IACSI)

What is the IACSI?

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

What are we after?

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

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

What do we do?

- Generate scientific and academic projects bound up with circumpolar socio-cultural issues.
- Organize once a year an international seminar on the circumpolar socio-cultural issues.
- Organize cultural events, such as Films and Documentary Festivals related to these issues.
- Support academically the "Arctic & Antarctic International Journal of Circumpolar Socio-cultural Issues", published annually.
- Encourage relationships and academic collaboration between Universities and Research Centres sited in one or both circumpolar regions.
- Promote international workshops, seminars, and conferences. Contribute and award prizes to investigations, and activities concerning to solve problems in one or both circumpolar regions.
- Establish nets with national and international institutions, associations and NGOs linked to the matters which are the interest of the IACSI.

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

- a) 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 Psycho-pedagogy; 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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Faculty of Social Sciences

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Vice-Dean: Dr Zulma Barada

Academic Secretary: Dr Mariana Colotta

The Faculty of Social Sciences includes graduate and postgraduate studies on Sociology, Political Science, International Relations and Social Service.

The *Institute of Research on Social Sciences (IDICSO)* is a unit of the Faculty that promotes interaction between different disciplines, carries out high quality research in the field of Social Sciences and publishes *Miríada*, a peer-reviewed journal on Social Sciences.

Under this University framework, the *International Program of Studies on Circumpolarity, Antarctica and Extreme Environments (PIECA)* develops comparative studies and research between the Northern and Southern circumpolarities, some of them in collaboration with different researchers and scientists from Northern and Arctic universities (Iceland, Finland, Canada, etc.).

University of Iceland

(Reykjavík, Iceland)

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

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

Faculty of Social and Human Sciences

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

- Department of Library and Information Science
- Department of Antropology and Folkloristics

- Department of Sociology
- Department of Social Work
- Department of Political Science
- Department of Psychology
- Department of Pedagogy

Faculty of Humanities

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

Department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics

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

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

Programa de Español

Spanish and Hispanic Studies have been taught at the University of Iceland since the early nineteen-eighties. The instruction takes place in Spanish, the study program is demanding, and students are required to acquire excellence in academic work methods. Students are expected to have completed a matriculation exam from an Icelandic secondary school (or its equivalent), have completed two years of Spanish as a foreign language, and/or be near to fluent speakers of Spanish when entering the program.

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

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

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

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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 (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

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>

University of Jyväskylä (Finland)

Master's and Doctoral Programme in Cultural Policy

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.

Teamed 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 assessment on socio-cultural and socio-economic undertakings.

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

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

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

Contact

Fundación de Altos Estudios Antárticos & Ambientes Extremos (FAE)

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Arctic Centre University of Lapland (Rovaniemi, Finland)

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

Multidisciplinary research is currently implemented by three research groups:

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

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

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

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

Notes for Contributors

a) Submission of Papers

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

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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.

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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) and the *Universidad del Salvador* (USAL, 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 issue 8 will be published in June 2014. **Deadline for the manuscripts addressed to the eighth issue is February 28, 2014.**

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

Se terminó de imprimir el 10 de Septiembre de 2013,
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Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina

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

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

- Local Communities and Extreme Environments
- Habitat, Social Interaction and Identity
- Social Problems and Policies
- Minorities and Aboriginal Cultures
- Migration and Socio-cultural Integration
- Prehistory and History
- Literature and Arts
- Geopolitics and International Relations
- Arctic and Antarctic Comparative Studies
- Other issues related to socio-cultural themes concerning circumpolar areas.

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

* *Logo and name legally registered.*

The next issue of *Arctic & Antarctic - International Journal of Circumpolar Socio-Cultural Issues* will be published in June 2014. Contributions must be sent before the end of February 2014. Besides articles, the issues can include seminar and conference reports, book reviews, comments or discussions.

The views and perspectives expressed in this journal do not necessarily represent those of the Editors and/or the Scientific Editorial Board.

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